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A Complete Hiſtory OF ENGLAND:

WITH THE LIVES OF ALL THE KINGS and QUEENS THEREOF;

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From the Earlieſt Account of Time, to the Death of His late Majeſty King *WILLIAM* III.

CONTAINING.
A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE ECCLESIATICAL and CIVIL.

The Whole Illuſtrated with Large and Uſeful NOTES, taken from divers Manuſcripts, and other good Authors: And the EFFIGIES of the KINGS and QUEENS from the Originals, Engraven by the beſt Maſters.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

I. The Hiſtory of King HENRY VIII. Written by the Right Honourable *Edward* Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*.
II. The Life of King EDWARD VI. By Sir *John Hayward*.
III. The Life of Queen MARY. Written in *Latin* by *Francis Godwin*, Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, newly Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Mr. *J. H.*
IV. The Hiſtory of Queen ELIZABETH. Written by *William Cambden*, Eſq; Clarencieux King at Arms; newly done into *Engliſh*.
V. The Annals of King JAMES I. By the ſaid Mr. *Cambden*.
VI. The Hiſtory of King JAMES I. By *Arthur Wilſon*, Eſq;

LONDON:

Printed for *R. Bonwicke, Tim. Goodwin, John Walthoe, J. Wotton, Sam. Manſhip, R. Wilkin, Benj. Tooke, D. Midwinter, R. Smith, Ja. Tonſon, T. Ward, William* and *John Innys*. 1719.

KING HENRY THE VIII.th

THE

LIFE AND REIGN OF

King Henry the Eighth.

Together with which is briefly repreſented

A General HISTORY of the Times.

Written by the Right Honourable Edward *Lord* Herbert *of* Cherbury.

IT is not eaſie to write that Prince's *Hiſtory*, of whom no one thing may conſtantly be affirmed. Changing of Manners and Condition alters the Coherence of Parts, which ſhould give an uniform Deſcription. Nor *is it pro*bable that Contradictories ſhould agree to the *ſame* Perſon: So that nothing can ſhake the Credit of a *Narration* more, than if it grow unlike it ſelf; when *yet* it may be not the Author, but the Argument cauſed the Variation. It is impoſſible to draw his Picture well who hath ſeveral Countenances.

I ſhall labour with this Difficulty in King *Henry* VIII. not ſo much for the general Obſervation (among Politicks) that the Government of Princes rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but becauſe this King in particular, (being about his declining Age, ſo diverſe in many of his Deſires, that he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at laſt into ſuch violent Courſes, as in common Opinion derogated not a little from thoſe Vertues which at firſt made him one of the moſt renown'd Princes of Chriſtendom.

Conc. Trid. l. 1.

His Education was accurate, being deſtined (as a credible Author affirms) to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, during the Life of his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his Father chuſing this as the moſt cheap and glorious way for diſpoſing of a younger Son. For as he at once disburdned his Revenues, and the Publick from the Charge incident to ſo great a Perſon, ſo he left a Paſſage open to Ambition; eſpecially ever ſince *Eugenius* IV. had declared the Place of a *Cardinal* above all other in the *Church*. Beſides, he conſider'd it would be no little Security to his Poſterity, that his Dignity was conferr'd on one who had Intereſt in the Conſervation of the Crown. By theſe means not only the more neceſſary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even thoſe of Ornament; ſo that, beſides his being an able *Latiniſt*, *Philoſopher*, and *Divine*, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious *Muſician*; as two intire Maſſes compos'd by him, and often ſung in his Chapel, did abundantly witneſs. Theſe were Qualities which inveſted in an excellent and well-form'd Perſonage, made him every way recommendable. To which again, a great Courage and active Spirit being added, he ſeem'd to hold that ſtrong Temper of Authority, which made him eſteem'd and redoubted both at Home and Abroad. Had his Age anſwer'd his Youth, or Expectation, none of his Predeceſſors could have exceeded him; but as his exquiſite Endowments of Nature engag'd him often to become a Prey of theſe Allurements and Temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; ſo his

Vid. Conſti. An. 1440.

King Henry a good Latiniſt, Philoſopher, Divine, and Muſician.

He was Brave.

1509. Courage was obferv'd by little and little to receive into it fome mixture of Self-will and Cruelty.

But Obftinate and Cruel.

I am the more particular in his Defcription; for that Princes Actions are not always drawn from Reafon of State, but fometimes even from Inclination and Humour. They have many ways to be Wife, and feldom err while they keep their Eftate and Reputation. Nothing is fo eafie as to reign, if the Body of Government be well framed. Let the Counterpoifes of Reward and Punifhment go aright, the Wheels of this great Clock feldom fail. This King ufed both well as long as his Means and Complection fuffer'd him; though at laft, paffing thefe Bounds on either fide, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers Irregularities.

June 28. 1491. 1509. April 22.

The time of his Birth was *June* 28. 1491, and of his coming to the Crown *April* 22. 1509, when though he might be thought apter for Delights than Bufinefs; yet, as he follow'd the Advice of able Counfellors, fewer Errors were committed than when all Things were fwayed by his own Arbitrement; for, as they were felected (out of thofe his Father moft trufted) by the Countefs of *Richmond* his Grand-mother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent Lady) fo he took their Impreffions eafily, both out of a Diffidence of his own Strength in the managing of the weighty Affairs of his Kingdom, and a Defire he had to be free to thofe Exercifes which moft forted with his Youth and Difpofition. And certainly it was a happy Conjuncture for him, fince, if the firft part of Wifdom confift in an Ability to give good Counfel, the next is to take it; the Condition betwixt both being ever moft obnoxious to Danger. But that their Names may be known to Pofterity, I fhall mention them as they are upon Record.

His Council.

William Warham, Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.
Richard Fox, Bifhop of *Winchefter*, Secretary, and Lord Privy-Seal.
Thomas Howard, Earl of *Surry*, Lord Treafurer of *England*.
George Talbot, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Steward of the King's Houfhold.
Sir *Charles Somerfet*, Lord *Herbert*, of *Gower*, *Chepftow*, and *Rayland*, Lord Chamberlain.
Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Mafter of the Wards, and Conftable of the *Tower*.
Sir *Henry Wyat*.
Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Law.
Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, Controller.
Sir *Henry Marney*, * afterwards Lord *Marney*.
Sir *Thomas Darcy*, † afterwards Lord *Darcy*.

* April 9. 1532. † 1511.

The Frame of this *Council* was of Scholars chiefly, and Soldiers: Among the former fort I find the Archbifhop *Warham*, much celebrated by the learned *Erafmus*; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mention'd with Honour, in the following Hiftory. So that their Choice proceeded rather from their Sufficiency in the Bufinefs they were to difcharge, and Care of that Authority they muft fupport, than from any private Affection. Infomuch, that notwithftanding the high Reverence they bore to their Prince's Perfon, they were obferved fo to love the Profperity of his Affairs, as they would not only impartially advife, but often modeftly conteft with him in any thing for his Good. Befides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counfel. So that, without divulging any Secret, or defcending from the Dignity of their Place, to require Advice from their Inferiors, they mov'd in their own Orb. This held up the Majefty of the *Council*. Only I find it ftrange, that among all thefe, there was not fo much as one that I may call ftiled from the Common Law; which, though I cannot commend, (Wifdom evermore beginning at Home) yet I doubt not was fo temper'd, as when any Difficulty in this kind did arife, the Counfel learned in the Law was fent for. However, it feems that King kept them at a Diftance towards the beginning of his Reign; though towards the middle and latter end I find fome were (through their great Abilities) received into the Body of his *Council*; yet fo, as the King was noted not to admit reafon of *Law* every-where, for reafon of *State*: Therefore he us'd to take their Advice obliquely, and no otherwife than to difcover how fafe his own Defigns were, and fo with lefs Danger to vary from them. Which Deviations yet he would fo regulate, as his Actions at Home had ftill, if not their ground, yet at leaft their pretext from the Common Law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been fo long intercepted in the Civil Wars of *Lancafter* and *York*, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regal Authority, both in his Father's time and his, to appear in, and enter.

1509. No common Lawyer of his Council in the firft part of his Reign.

The firft Office perform'd by thefe *Counfellors*, was mix'd betwixt Piety to their deceas'd Prince, and Duty to their new; it being the beft Continuance of that Regal Authority which fhould never die, to revive the Memory thereof in that way only which is permitted, being Pomp and Ceremony. This appeared not only in a great Funeral, but by that magnificent Structure in *Weftminfter*, where the *Chapel* having been finifhed by *Henry* VII. himfelf, had the *Tomb* afterwards added and perfected by his Executors, 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the *Chapel* coft only 10000 *l.* (or, as others fay, 14000 *l.*) and the *Tomb* 1000 *l.* yet as Money went then, it might be thought a fumptuous Monument.

May 9.

Henry VII. Chapel coft but 14000 *l.*

April 23. *Hall.*

While the Obfequies and Rites were preparing (the Particulars whereof *Hall* after his manner relates) King *Henry* retired privately from *Richmond* (where his Father died) to the *Tower* of *London*, both that he might with more leifure advife with his *Council* concerning the prefent Affairs of his Kingdom, as alfo the better to avoid thofe Salutes and Acclamations of the People, which could not but be unfeafonable, till the Lamentations and Solemnity of his Father's Funeral were paft. He thought not fit to mingle the Noifes. Here then it was in the firft place refolv'd to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted Right to the Crown by the *Union* of the *White-Rofe* and the *Red* in his Perfon, than any King ever deliver'd to us by warrantable Hiftory. For this End he found or took Occafions. In one kind *Henry Stafford*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, ferv'd for Example, who (upon I know not what Sufpicion) was apprehended prefently, and committed to the *Tower*; which yet feem'd afterwards fo frivolous, that to repair this Difgrace, he was the fame Year made Earl of *Wiltfhire*. In the other kind, Doctor *Ruthall* became the Object, being (together with one of his Council) made the fame Day Bifhop of *Durefme*. Thus, though it feems he hafted to take upon him the real Marks of Soveraignty, yet he fo temper'd them, as to leave his Subjects in hope of an even hand. Befides, that he might fhew himfelf gracious to his Subjects, he not only confirm'd the Pardon his Father gave a little before his Death for all Offences, except Murder, Felony, and Treafon, (to which

1509. which general Abolitions do not properly reach) but for farther Performance of his Father's Laſt Will caus'd a Proclamation to be made; That if any Man could prove himſelf to be then wrongfully depriv'd of his Goods, by occaſion of a certain Commiſſion for Forfeitures, he ſhould (upon due Complaint) have Satisfaction: whereupon ſo many Petitions were preſently exhibited againſt Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudly*, Eſq; (employed lately for taking the Benefit of Penal Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Council, where *Empſon* ſpake to this Effect:

Empſon and Dudly call'd to an Account.

April 25.

Right Honourable and others here preſent:

Empſon's Speech before the Council.

I *Have remark'd two Cauſes in general, that move Attention. One is the Greatneſs, the other is the Strangeneſs and Novelty of Argument. Both theſe concur ſo manifeſtly in the Affairs now queſtion'd, that I will not much implore your Patience. Though on the other ſide, conſidering my violent Perſecution, I cannot but think it a Favour, that I may ſpeak for my ſelf; but (alas) to whom? The King my Maſter, to whom I ſhould appeal, as to my ſupream Judge and Protector, abandons me to my Enemies, without other Cauſe, than that I obey'd his Father's Commands, and upheld the Regal Authority. The People, on whoſe equal Tryal I ſhould put my Life, ſeek my Deſtruction, only becauſe I endeavour to execute thoſe Laws whereof themſelves were Authors: What would have happen'd to me, if I had diſobey'd my King, or broke my Country's Laws? Surely, if I have any ways tranſgreſs'd, it is in procuring that theſe Penal Statutes might be obſerved, which your ſelves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then ſubmitted, both your Perſons, Eſtates, and Poſterity; and if this be a Crime, why do you not firſt repeal your proper Acts? Or if (which is Truth) they ſtand ſtill in full Force and Vertue, why do you not vindicate from all Imputation both your ſelves and me? For who ever yet ſaw any Man condemn'd for doing Juſtice? Eſpecially when by the chief Diſpencer thereof (which is the King) the whole Frame of the Proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, whoever ſaw Man on theſe Terms not rewarded? And muſt that which is the Life and Strength of all other Actions, be the Subverſion and Overthrow of mine? Have you read or heard in any well-govern'd Country, that the Infractors of Laws made by Publick Vote, and Conſent, eſcap'd without Puniſhment, and they only puniſh'd who labour'd to ſuſtain them? Or when you had not read or heard any ſuch thing, could you imagine a more certain ſign of Ruine in that Common-wealth. And will you alone hope to decline this heavy Judgment? When, contrary to all Equity and Example, you not only make Preſidents for Injuſtice and Impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruel Death on thoſe who would maintain them; as if this might be a fit Guerdon for thoſe who (I muſt tell you) every where elſe would have been thought the beſt Patriots; what can we expect then, but a fatal Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the Sacrifice. Only, if I muſt die, let me deſire that my Enditement may be entred on no Record, nor divulged to foreign Nations, leſt, if they hear, in my Condemnation, all that may argue a final Diſſolution in Government, they invade and overcome you.*

To this was anſwer'd briefly, *That he receiv'd a great deal of Liberty to ſpeak ill, as well as to do: That he ſhould find at laſt, he was puniſh'd for paſſing the Bounds of his Commiſſion from the late King, and for ſtretching a Law which in it's ſelf was ſevere enough to the common and poorer ſort of People, from whom he exacted moſt unjuſtly.* The chief Parts of his Accuſation (that I can find) were,

H. Edw. 1. *That he had committed divers Perſons to Priſon, without ſuffering them to anſwer till they had compounded for their Fines.*

2. *For ſearching unduly Mens Eſtates, and bringing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call* in Capite; *without that the Parties could be permitted to a Traverſe, till they had payed great Fines and Ranſoms.* 1509.

3. *That Wards, being come to full Years, were not allow'd to ſue out their Livery, till they had paid an exceſſive Compoſition.*

4. *That Out-law'd Perſons could not be allow'd to ſue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the Profit of their Lands for two Years, upon Pretence that it was according to Law.*

5. *That he uſurp'd upon the Juriſdiction of other Courts, in Hearing and Determining divers Matters properly belonging to them.*

6. Laſtly, *That whereas a Priſoner being indicted for Theft, in the City of* Coventry, *to the value of one Pound, was by the Jury acquitted; the ſaid* Empſon *conceiving the Evidence to be ſufficient, committed the Jury to Priſon, till they enter'd into Bond to appear before the King's Council; where the Matter being again conſider'd, it was order'd, they ſhould pay Eight Pounds for a Fine, (which was thought ſo heinous, as, at a Seſſions being held afterwards at* Coventry, *a particular Indictment was fram'd againſt him, and he was found Guilty.)* How many of theſe Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the laſt King's Commiſſion, appears not to me. Howſoever, for the preſent, they were * committed to the *Tower*. * April 13.

This *Empſon*, reported to be a *Sieve-maker's* Son in *Towceſter*, from this mean Beginning, by his Wit and Induſtry, came to be of Council to King *Henry* VII. and Maſter or Surveyor of his Forfeits in divers kinds, in which Place he ſerved as an Inſtrument, for raiſing great Sums to the King. *Dudley* (a Gentleman of Birth, and ſuch Parts as he was choſen Speaker of the Parliament-Houſe † 19 *Henry* VII.) aſſiſting him. † 1503. Theſe Men (call'd by *Polydore Virgil*, *Judices Fiſcales*) having it ſeems, exceeded their Bounds, were deteſted of all, but eſpecially the poorer ſort, who found it eaſier to hate than to pay. To ſatisfy their Complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary ways of Juſtice: The *Promoters* they uſed being ſo ſeverely puniſh'd in the mean time, betwixt the Pillory and Shame, that they dy'd all (a few Days after) in Priſon, ſave one *Giovanni Baptiſta Grimaldi*, who, foreſeeing the Storm, took Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*.

Empſon & Dudly's Informers puniſh'd.

All Clamours being thus ſilenc'd, the next Care was, that the Crown might be put on the King's Head, with that Solemnity, which in former Times was uſed. This was not yet ſo ſpeeded, but that the King's *Council* thought fit firſt to adviſe with him concerning his Marrying. About which many Propoſitions being made, the graver ſort told him, that the ſame Reaſons which made his wiſe Father chuſe to match with *Spain*, (firſt by marrying his eldeſt Son *Arthur* to *Katherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and after *Arthur's* Death, by treating a Match between the ſaid Lady and Him) were in Force ſtill. That ſince he had Pretences on *France*, no Alliance could be uſeful on that Part. Beſides, that betwixt great Eſtates adjacent to one another, ſuch Jealouſies uſe to riſe, that they may make Peace ſometimes, but never Friendſhip. That Leagues and Confederations have in them the nature of harmonical Accords, which jar in the ſecond, but agree in the third Interval. Therefore, that he ſhould match with *Spain*, or at leaſt with ſome Prince, that might join with him, when there ſhould be queſtion of oppoſing *France*, which, ſince the late * Union of the Dukedom of *Britain*, he was to conſider as a potent and dangerous Neighbour. As for the Houſe of *Burgundy*, * 1499.

Reaſons offer'd to K. *Henry* for his marrying the Princeſs *Kath.* of *Spain*, his Brother *Arthur's* Widow.

1509. and *Low-Countries*, (which was come to the hands
of *Maximilian* the Emperor, by his Match with
Mary, Daughter and Heir to the laſt *Duke* cal-
led *Charles* the Bold, *Carolus Audax*) he needed
not fear any thing, unleſs he did wilfully pro-
voke them; the Cauſes of Love on that part ſeem-
ing to be perpetual, as being founded upon the
mutual neceſſity of thoſe Ports and Havens, to
which, upon all foul Weather, the Shipping muſt
1508. reſort on either ſide; and lately confirm'd by a
Dec. 16. new Contract of *Charles*, Grandchild and Heir of
Maximilian, with *Mary* the King's Siſter [which
yet held not,] it was then conſider'd, whether he
might not immediately take the ſaid Lady *Ka-
therine*; and the rather, becauſe the Treaty had
1505. not only been diſpenſed with, in the time of
Henry the Seventh, his Father; but ſome Offence
lately taken by *Ferdinand*, becauſe it was de-
ferr'd ſo long; (for perfecting whereof there-
fore, he had ſent ample Commiſſion to his Em-
baſſador here, (as I find by our Records, about
this time;) and to conduce hereto, was alledg'd
Polid. (as *Polydore* hath it) the Law, *Deuter.* 25. of mar-
Virg. Hi- rying the Brother's Wife; and, to help this again,
ſtor. Angl. the Princeſs *Katherine* proteſted her ſelf to be a
Virgin, offering to be try'd by Matrons. It was
added alſo, that the Lady was preſent, and that
ſaved Time and Charges; beſides, ſhe had given
ſo much proof of Vertue and Sweetneſs of Con-
dition, that they knew not where to parallel her.
Again, when ſhe ſhou'd depart the Kingdom, a
great Dower muſt follow her, which wou'd be
tranſported yearly out of the Nation. All which
Motives were corroborated by the above-men-
tion'd Diſpenſation, obtain'd divers Years before
from *Julius* II. who, as he was a ſtirring and
1503. warlike *Prelate*, and had his ends upon King
Henry the Seventh, in the Wars then begun in
Italy, made no great Difficulty to grant it; and
the rather, becauſe he was ſenſible, that all the
Children which ſhould be gotten betwixt them,
would be firm to the Papacy; ſince, if ever they
renounc'd the Pope's Authority, they muſt diſ-
claim the Power by which themſelves were made
Legitimate. A Meſſenger therefore having been
ſent to *Rome*, *Anno* 1503. (*Ferdinando*'s Power and
Mediation concurring) obtain'd a Licenſe from
the Pope, many of the Cardinals, in vain, oppo-
ſing it; whereof more amply, when we ſhall have
occaſion to ſpeak of the Divorce. Thus, upon
June 3. the third of *June*, being about ſix Weeks after his
Father's Death, he eſpouſed the Lady *Katherine*.
June 24. Their Coronation was yet deferr'd till the 24th
of the ſame Month. The Forms and Magni-
June 29. ficence whereof being ſet down by *Hall*, *Hollin-
ſhed*, and others, are by me purpoſely omitted.
Not long after the King, who had left off Mourn-
ing, was forc'd to take it again, for his Grand-
The Death mother, the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*
of the and *Derby*, a Vertuous Lady, and a great Bene-
Counteſs factor to both our *Univerſities*, by whoſe Advice
of *Rich-* (as is ſaid) chiefly the King's *Counſellors* were
mond, King choſen. Whom ſhe ſo diſpoſed, as they might
Henry's deliberate well among themſelves always, be-
Grand- fore they gave their Advice to this young King,
mother. as not thinking fit (at that Age) he ſhould be
diſtracted by difference of Opinions. Neither
did they vary much, during her Life; though
afterward, ſome ſmother'd Jealouſies broke out
into open Faction. Inſomuch that *Thomas Howard*
Earl of *Surrey*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Win-
cheſter*, out of a Competition for being moſt emi-
nent in the King's Favour, became at laſt not
ſufficiently united between themſelves. But, as
Polydore. it is a rare Felicity in Princes to make Election
of able Counſellors, ſo it is no leſs to order them
aright. For, as ſecret Combination for their
own Ends, uſually brings them too cloſe to one
another; ſo ambitious Oppoſition keeps them 1509.
too far off; the true Diſtance being that only,
which is created by a juſt Emulation to do their
Maſter Service; in which Poſture, unleſs they
be ſtudiouſly kept, without being ſuffer'd to de-
cline to either extream, many Inconveniences
muſt follow in the Adminiſtration of Publick
Affairs.

Now though theſe two (as *Polydore* relates)
had brought all Buſineſs within their Verge,
(*William Compton* chief Gentleman of the Bed-
Chamber, and who was next in Favour to them,
being more attentive to his Profit, than to Pub-
lick Affairs:) I doubt not yet, but their fellow-
Counſellors were often admitted; though, per-
haps, not being acquainted with all the Premiſes,
they were hardly able to ground a ſolid Advice.
The Biſhop was an old and intimate Counſellor
to King *Henry* the Seventh, and knew all the
Myſteries of State. The Earl of *Surrey* was (in-
deed) later in Credit, yet a brave and underſtand-
ing Nobleman, though (as *Polydore* obſerves) his
Eſtate was much waſted by the Civil Wars, (his
Father *John*, who was made Duke of *Norfolk* by 1485.
Richard the Third, having been kill'd in *Boſworth-*
field on his ſide, and the Earl himſelf kept Pri-
ſoner in the beginning of *Henry* the Seventh's
Reign.) However, his very Place of Lord Trea-
ſurer, (which he held ever ſince the 16th of *Hen-* 1500.
ry the Seventh) made him much in requeſt; as
one who both kept and diſpenſed that Maſs
of Wealth, left by *Henry* the Seventh; which (if
we may believe Authors) was 1800000 Pounds
Sterling. A greater Sum (doubtleſs) than any
King of this Realm before had in his Coffers.
And ſuch as might be thought in effect quadruple
to ſo much in this Age. It ſeems yet, ſo great a
part of it was, by the King's Order, diſtributed
to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Biſhop,
who was Lord Privy-Seal, and remember'd how
hardly it was gotten, repin'd at it, and thereupon
did ill Offices to the Earl, as if (ſaith *Polydore*)
he parted with it too eaſily; or, perchance, made
Advantage to himſelf thereby. But that we may
leave theſe Things to the Credit of *Polydore* (in
whom I have obſerv'd not a little Malignity,) I
find it reſolv'd between them, that in imitation
of his Father (who inſtituted firſt a Band of 50
Archers to wait on him) ſome Horſe-Guards
ſhould be ready always to attend his Perſon. [illegible]
The Number propos'd was but 50. But, as every
one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Cuſtrel
(as our Hiſtory calls it, but being truly *Couſtil-
lier*) or a kind of Ambactus, or Servant belong-
ing to him, beſides three great Horſes for his
own Uſe, ſo it grew to a conſiderable Number:
Of theſe *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex* was Captain,
and Sir *John Peachie* Lieutenant. But whether
this might raiſe ſome Jealouſie among the Peo-
ple (which yet my Authors mention not) or that
their Expence were greater than that it could
continue after the rate it began, (both they and
all their Horſes being trapp'd in Cloth of Gold,
Silver, or Gold-ſmith's Work) I find it was diſ-
ſolv'd at laſt, and came to nothing.

This Year a great Plague begun at *Calais*,
which though it conſum'd many Perſons, was not
thought ſufficient yet to keep off an Enemy.
So that Sir *John Peachie* with 300 Men, was ſent
thither to defend the Place; by whoſe good Or-
der the Town was ſecured.

Empſon and *Dudley* being (as is abovefaid) com- The
mitted to the *Tower*, new and ſtrange Crimes Crimes
were found and objected againſt them, as appears laid to the
in their Indictments upon Record, wherein, they Charge of
are accus'd of Conſpiracy againſt the *King* and *Empſon*
State; and firſt, that during the Sickneſs of the and *Dudly*.
late *King* in *March* laſt, they ſummon'd certain
of

1509. of their Friends to be in Arms at an Hour's Warning; and upon the Dea h of the said King, to hasten to *London*. Out of which, and other Circumstances, it was collected by the Jury, that their Intent was to seize on the Person of the new King, and so to assume the sole Government; or when they could not attain this, to destroy him.

Of which Crimes, how improbable soever, July 16. *Dudley* in his Tryal at *Guild-hall* in *London*, *July* 16. Octob. 1. 1509, and *Empson* at *Northampton*, *Octob.* 1. were They are condemn'd as Traytors. found Guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treason, and so remanded to the *Tower*.

Our King being thus settled in his Throne, took several Prospects upon all his Neighbouring Princes.

The Foreign Princes Contemporary with K. *Henry*. In *Scotland* (then) reign'd *James* the Fourth, being of a middle Age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother-in-Law by the Match of *Margaret* (whom *Henry* the Seventh gave him. 1503. *Anno* 1503.) Howbeit, as he held a stricter Correspondence with *France*, than stood with the Interest of our Kingdom; some Jealousies of State arose betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and him, which yet were past over a little before our King's coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty confirm'd.

In *France*, *Louis* the Twelfth, an old and warlike Prince reign'd; who studiously yet conserv'd the Peace made betwixt *Henry* the Seventh and 1498. himself, 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and settle in the *French* Crown the Dukedom of *Britaign*, claim'd by him in *Anne* his Wife's Right, (being not only a large Addition to his Dominions, but of great Nearness and Consequence to this Island) and that he might be freer to attend his Designs in *Italy* (whereof in its due Place.) For which Reasons also he 1499. Apr. 30. du Tillet. had concluded (by the means of *James* the Fourth) a League with *John* King of *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, then powerful by Sea; by which that King was bound to assist him, in case of Invasion.

In *Arragon*, *Ferdinand* an ancient and politick Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in *Castile* by the Right of *Isabel* his Wife, Inheritrix thereof, who dy'd 1504. By this Lady he had one Son, who deceas'd 1497, and four Daugh- * 1490. ters. *Isabel* the eldest being marry'd to * *Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, and afterwards to *Manuel* King † 1498. thereof, † dy'd without Issue, whereby *Jone* the second Daughter became Heir of *Castile* in the Right of her Mother; and had by her Husband *Philip* (Son to *Maximilian* the Emperor) *Charles* and *Ferdinand* (Emperors successively) and four Daughters, *Leoneta*, *Katherine*, *Mary*, and *Isabel*. * 1504. This *Philip* shortly after his * coming to the Kingdom of *Castile* in the Right of *Jone* his Wife † 1506. † dying, and she, through some Indisposition of Mind or Body, proving unapt for Government, *Ferdinand* reassum'd his Power in regard of the Minority of his Grandchild *Charles*. *Mary* third Daughter to *Ferdinand*, was Wife to the foresaid *Manuel* King of *Portugal*, in place of her deceas'd Sister. And for the Match of *Katherine* with *England*, the following History will sufficiently speak it.

In the Empire *Maximilian* (though chosen only King of the *Romans*) appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and by the Match he had made with *Mary*, Daughter and Heir of *Charles* the Bold, *Carolus Audax*, last Duke of *Burgundy*; by which not only his Estate there, but all the *Low-Countries* descended to him. Nevertheless, as he consider'd of what Importance it was, for his Designs to make a firm Alliance 1503. with *England*, He first offer'd a League 1503. to *Henry* the Seventh, and (for Consolidation thereof) his Daughter *Margaret*, Dowager of *Savoy*; 1509. and, when that fail'd, procur'd a kind of Contract *Decemb.* 16. 1508. betwixt *Charles* (afterwards Dec. 16. 1508. Emperor, and not above Eight Years old) his Grandchild, and *Mary* (afterwards Queen of *France*) younger Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh. Neither of which Marriages yet taking effect, the result was only a Peace and Friendship, establish'd upon the first Proposition of Alliance betwixt them; of which also *Maximilian* was no less glad (as having secured the *Low-Countries* thereby) than *Louis* XII. was for *Britaign*. And they had Reason; the adding of the one to *France*, and the other to the House of *Austria*, being not only the greatest strengthning our most suspected Neighbours ever had, but a weakning of us, while we lost two of our best and most useful Confederates; so that the permitting thereof so easily, may be thought a greater Indulgence than could stand with Reason of State, had not a Consumption and Weariness, through our long Civil Dissentions at Home occasion'd it. For the Inhabitants of both Countries, wanted not Pretext to dispute the Right of their Princes: In *Portugal* reign'd *Manuel*, of whose Matches having formerly spoken, I shall add little more, than that he had already made divers Discoveries to- 1501. wards the *East-Indies*.

In the *Low-Countries*, *Margaret* Dutchess of *Savoy*, appointed Regent by her Father *Maxi-* 1508. *milian*, and having also the Charge of her Nephew *Charles* his Education (who was born at *Gaunt*,) many ways approv'd her self a discreet Lady; as appears by the many good Offices she 1500. did to our King, and to all other Christian Princes, as well as by the bringing up of her Nephew for a Tutor, to whom, in that part of Learning call'd *humaniores Literæ*, the politer Studies, she chose *Adrian* of *Utrecht*, afterwards Pope; and for State-business *Anthoine de Croy*, Lord of *Chieures*, an able Person, who instructed him therein as soon as he was capable of it.

In the Papal See, *Julius* the Second, a warlike Prelate presided; who having far more, and other Designs than stood with the Dignity and Function of an Ecclesiastial Person, adventur'd to trouble all things. As supposing himself not only priviledg'd by his Place, from all Attempts of Foreign Princes; but that the Power of Peace and War did so immediately depend on him, that he should, at least, not want Occasion to exercise his Charge of Arbiter of their Differences. Towards which also, because he knew how much our King could contribute, he passionately desir'd a strict League with him, which was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

As for the Great Turk *Bajazet* the Second, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Christendom, our King look'd on him at a distance, and no otherwise than as he stood in Relation to his Confederates.

Having thus survey'd the present Monarchs in particular, he did not forget to take into his special Consideration the State of *Venice*, which about this Time did much inlarge it's Territories, so that, notwithstanding the Opposition not only of the chief Christian Potentates, but even of the *Turks* themselves, they extended their Dominions every way: Insomuch, that the Pope *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*, and *Louis* the Twelfth had the last Year, being 1508, enter'd at *Cambray* into a 1508. League against them, the Conditions whereof Dec. 9. were; That they should not desist till they had recover'd all those Places which the *Venetians* had taken from them; upon Confidence yet, that the first Conqueror should restore to any of the Confederates that which belong'd to him. And

that

1509. that *Louis* the Twelfth should be General of the Armies, and personally present in the Expedition. To which also he was the more dispos'd, for that the *Venetians* had gotten from him sundry Places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit, as these Affairs did not directly concern our King, so he took the more leisure to attend the Event, and to serve himself thereof.

A Parliament call'd.

By this time it was thought fit for many Reasons, but especially for contenting the Commonalty, which seem'd to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous Proceedings of *Henry* the Seventh, to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empson* and *Dudly*, formerly not only expos'd to the Revenge of all Men, but publickly condemn'd (as is above related) were attainted of High-Treason. And here I shall touch a little upon the Laws enacted the first Year of this King, as far as they may concern the more Historical and Political Parts. I find therefore, divers of these Statutes by which King *Henry* the Seventh took Advantage of the People, repeal'd, explain'd, or limited. Among which the Benefit of Forfeitures for Penal Laws, was reduc'd to the Term of three Years next preceding. Insomuch that the principal Scope of this Parliament, seem'd to have reference to *Empson* and *Dudly*'s Business, which was so represented, (by the Lower House of Parliament chiefly) that the King was willing to restrain his own Authority in some sort, that he might enlarge the Peoples Confidence and Affection towards him. Lastly, in this kind some untrue Inquisitions found by *Empson* and *Dudly*, as also some Assurances of Lands past to them, were annihilated and made void. Besides which I find little material, save only that a Sumptuary Law against Excess of Apparel, was Repeal'd, and a new one, a little more decent, Subrogated.

1510/11. *Regni* 1. Jan. 21.

As our King was now in high Esteem with his People for Justice, so was he no less redoubted Abroad, for the Hopes he gave of being an Active and Couragious Prince. All which was the more regarded, because his Treasure was so great, that he might be thought able suddenly, and without the Delays usual in raising of Money, to execute his Designs.

Therefore divers Ambassadors repair'd to him from *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and other Places, who were magnificently entertain'd.

The Business of the *French* King (*Louis* the Twelfth) was chiefly to keep good Correspondence between the two Countries, while himself went on with his Wars in *Italy*. In sequence hereof also, *Tillet* saith, there was a Peace made between *England* and *France* this Year, *March* 23. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July* 1498. *Louis* the Twelfth had given Caution to *Henry* the Seventh, to pay that which remained of 745000 Crowns, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* the Eighth, and the said *Henry*, 13 *Novemb.* 1492. Now the said *Louis* did stipulate to pay the Remainder of the Sum.

March 23. 1510. 1498. *Tillet.*

1492. March 23.

That of *Scotland* was Congratulation in King *James* the Fourth's Brother-in-Law, and his Sisters Names, with Confirmation of the late Treaty of Peace; containing also some Propositions tending to the penetrating of our King's present Designs, that they might frame their Counsels accordingly, which was with some relation to *France*.

That for *Denmark*, was chiefly to establish a better Course for Trade; for which Purpose a * Statute was repeal'd at this Parliament, which did prohibit our Men other Traffick towards *Denmark* and *Iseland*, than to a Place call'd *Northbarn*.

* 8 *Henry* VI. 1429.

The King finding now all Things safe both Abroad and at Home, took those Liberties which became his Youth; yet were not his Exercises sportful alone, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Arms. Therefore, though some relate, that he used Singing, Dancing, playing on the Flute and Virginals, *making* Verses, and the like: Yet his more serious Entertainments were the study of History and School-Divinity (in which he especially delighted,) Justs, Turneys, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the Two-handed Sword and Battle-Ax. These again were set forth with costly Pageants and Devises, and these so frequently, that not only much time, but a great part of the Treasure was consum'd in 'em. Of which whoever desires to see more, may peruse *Hall* and *Hollinshed*, who have many Particulars worth looking on, for him that hath so much Leisure. Besides these, he used sometimes Tennis and Dice, at which certain Strangers used to play with him; till the King, finding 'em to be Cheats, at length chas'd 'em away.

1510. K. *Henry*'s Sports and Exercise.

Empson and *Dudly* lying now in Prison, condemn'd and attainted by Parliament, the importunate Clamours of the People prevailing with the King in this Year's Progress, he not only restor'd divers Mulcts, but for further Satisfaction to the Commonalty (by a Special Writ) commanded to have their Heads struck off, *August* 18. doing therein (as thought by many) more like a good King, than a good Master.

Empson and *Dudly* beheaded. Aug. 18.

Julius the Second having recover'd what he desir'd in *Italy*, by his Wars the last Year, was contented now to accept the Submission of the *Venetians*, with whom (his Confederates not being privy thereto) he made Peace *Feb.* 24. 1510. and being jealous of the greatness of the *French* in *Italy*, (with whom he had also this Quarrel, that they defended *Alfonso d' Este* Duke of *Ferrara* against him) he endeavour'd all he could to oppose them; to this purpose he inclin'd *Ferdinand*, by giving him the Investiture of *Naples*; King *Henry* the Eighth he follicited, by putting him in mind of the Glory of his Ancestors, &c. and offering him the Honour to be *Caput fœderis Italici*. Our King upon this sends *Christopher Bambridge* Archbishop of *York*, to reside at *Rome*, and treat of these Matters. In the mean while the *Pope* and the *Venetians* proceed, and attempt *Ferrara*, *Genoa*, and other Places. But as they prosper'd not, he lays hold on his Spiritual Sword, and Excommunicates *Este*, with all his Adherents. *Louis* the Twelfth, on the other side, calls a Synod of the *French* Church at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Questions touching the Pope's late Actions and his Authority were propos'd, and resolved against him, and his Excommunication pronounced void. It was also decreed, that an Admonition should be sent to him, to imbrace Peace and Moderation; which if he refus'd, he should be summon'd to call a free and general Council (according to the Decree of the Council of *Basle*.) *Louis* having proceeded thus far, communicated the Matter to *Maximilian* (whom as yet the Pope had not won from him) and joyning with themselves the Cardinals *Barnardine*, *Brisonet*, and others, they summon'd a *Council* to be held 1 *Sept.* 1511. at *Pisa*; commanding the Pope to appear there. While these Things were doing, the *French* under *Chaumont* came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay sick, and besieg'd it, forcing him to such hard Conditions, as, upon the coming of Relief, he would not stand to. Howsoever, this besieging of the Pope being given out, sounded so ill, that our King presently made a League with *Ferdinand* for his Defence; which was an Engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we shall see in its Place.

Feb. 24.

Speed.

Head of the *Italian* League.

Pope *Julius* II. Excommunicates the Duke of ... Sept. *Dupleix.*

A National Synod in *France* declares the Excommunication void.

A Council summon'd without the Pope. He is cited to appear before 'em.

The

15$\frac{10}{11}$.
Jan. 1.
The first Day of this Year, being 1511, the *Queen* was brought to bed of a Son, which therefore in the Name of a New-years-Gift, was by her presented to the *King*. But as the Child liv'd not to the latter end of the next Month, so the greatness of Joy did more than expire in the shortness. Notwithstanding which, it is said the youthful Parents were soon comforted, reputing, that in Children (as in Silver Vessels) little is usually lost, but the Fashion. But it fell not out so well, for it pleas'd God, that no Heirs Males remain'd betwixt them two. In the mean time

Feb.
Ferdinand King of *Arragon*, being not ignorant in what Estate his Daughter was, sent Ambassadors to perform his due Complements on that Occasion, and withal, to sollicite the King for Assistance against the *Moors* in *Africk*. He had already conquer'd those in the Province and City of *Granada*; through the Streets whereof as he

1492.
rode triumphantly, 1492, the certain News was brought him of those great Riches, discover'd in the *Indies* by *Columbus*; which I therefore mention, because (to use the *Spanish* Phrase) I think it the greatest *Coyuntura* that ever happen'd; he having reduc'd his Dominions in *Spain* to an intireness, and at the same time receiv'd News of that immense Treasure in another World. His Demand was presently granted by our King,

June 1.
and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* sent with 1500 Archers (the Soldiers then in request) to *Ferdinand*, with whose help he intended to revenge the Loss

*Aug. 30. 1510.
receiv'd the * last Year at *Gelves* in *Barbary*. Howbeit, as *Julius* the Second being much press'd by the *French* (whose Affairs prosper'd in *Italy*) requir'd the help of *Ferdinand* against them; he desisted from his Enterprise, and resolv'd to succour the Pope; whereupon also our Men, richly rewarded, did return Home.

May.
In like manner *Margaret* Regent of the *Low-Countries*, obtain'd of the King 1500 Archers to assist her against the Duke of *Gueldres*, though Confederate of *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *James* the Fourth. These therefore under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Gar-

*June 9. 1509.
ter, lately * made Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, presently after their landing were met by the said Lady Regent, and thereupon united and recommended with much Favour and Particularity to the rest of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave *Cavalier*, and our *English*, I have not expresly set down, both for that the Lady Regent join'd not any considerable Forces with them, for the exploiting great Actions; and that themselves were not free to attempt any thing by themselves. Howsoever, I find they were licensed to return, (not without great Testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the Troops, Sir *Edward Poynings* found that not fully a hundred of his Men were wanting.

The King's Authority over the Narrow-Seas (studiously conserved ever by his Ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessen'd by the Piracies of *Andrew Breton* (whom our Chronicles call *Barton*) a *Scottish*-Man. This *Breton*, in revenge of his Father's Death, as also other Injuries, having in vain sought Redress in *Flanders*, for a Ship taken from his said Father by some *Portugals*, obtain'd Letters of Mark from *James* the Fourth, upon condition yet, he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seiz'd on divers of our lesser Barques (upon pretence of carrying *Portugal*'s Goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which Inconvenience, the two Sons of *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* (Lord Treasurer, and Earl-Marshal of *England*) were imploy'd. The younger call'd *Edward*, being Lord Admiral, commanding in one Ship; and *Thomas* the elder Brother in another. Thereupon (in several Places though at one time) they invested *Breton*'s

1511.
two Ships; which, though the *Scottish* Writers make to be far less than ours, maintain'd a cruel Fight: The obstinate Pirate (though so grievously hurt that he died on the Place) encouraging his Men with his Whistle, even to his last Breath. But our *English* pursu'd their Point so, that at last they forc'd these Ships, and brought them (together with the Men that remain'd) away, and presented them to the King; who, upon their Submission, graciously pardon'd them; so that they would depart out of his Kingdom within 20 Days. *James* the Fourth hearing of this, sent to require Satisfaction, as being against the Treaty betwixt them. But it was answer'd, That it did not become a King to impute Breach of Treaty to his Confederates and Allies, only for doing Justice on a Pirate. The Messenger, rather silenc'd with this Answer, than satisfied, returns to his King; who, when Occasion was offer'd, fail'd not to shew, how ill he took the Death of *Breton*.

Buch. *Andrew Barton*, a *Scotch* Pyrate, taken by the *English*. Aug. 2.

The King of *Scotland* resents it.

The Pope being freed from Siege at *Bononia*, proceeds in his Wars against the *French*; goes in Person against *Mirandola*, and by Composition takes it; but, not long after, loses *Bononia* to the *French*, led by *Gaston de Foix*, his whole Army being routed. Yet was not this a greater Affront to him than the Council to be held at *Pisa*, a City now in the hands of the *Florentines*, whom therefore *Julius* presently interdicts, and shortly after expelling *Soderinus* (Governor thereof by means of *Charles* the Eighth of *France*) restores the Family of the *Medices*, who were formerly expuls'd. The Princes also and the Cardinals who summon'd this Council being Excommunicate, &c. notwithstanding which they proceed. But being slighted by the Citizens of *Pisa*, they translate the Council to *Milan*; but finding no better Respect there, they remove it to *Lyons* in *France*; where they summon'd *Julius* to appear, and answer, and finally suspended his Authority. Upon this, the Pope thunders against *France*, exposing it (together with *Navarre*, whose King favour'd *Lewis*) to the Conqueror; and, to Abrogate the Council of *Lyons*, he summon'd another to be held at the *Lateran* in *Rome*, *April* 19. 1512. Unto this Council our King sent his Commissioners, being *Sylvester* Bishop of *Worcester*, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of Saint *Johns*, and *Richard* Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, *Feb.* 4. 1512, as appears by our Records. In this Council the Sentence of Excommunication was confirm'd against the Authors of the other Council, and the *Acts* of it revers'd. Not content herewith, he sent also to *Ferdinand*, and to King *Henry* the Eighth (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Arms, and fall upon *France*. Not neglecting together to use all means for withdrawing *Maximilian* from the *French* Party. For though he had join'd with *Lewis* to call the Council at *Pisa*, (first rough-hew'd at * *Tours*) and did still adhere to him: Yet, as the Pope and *Ferdinand*, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantagious Conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary Party, and *Lewis* expos'd to the Danger. The principal Agent which the Pope used to our King, was *Christopher Bambridge*, who had resided a while at *Rome*; and for this Service was thought to deserve the Cardinal's Hat, which also he obtain'd in *March* 1511. In the mean while, the Business being brought to our Council-Table, some spake in this manner.

Jan. 2. *I. de Serres* May.

The Council suspends the Pope *Ex Officio*.

Feb. 21 1512.

* 1510. Sept.

Hist. Pont. *Ciaconii.* &c.

Reasons for a Breach with France in favour of the Pope.

That a fairer Opportunity was never offer'd, whether he desir'd to maintain the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in France. *That either of these were just Considerations, but both together not*

1511. to be pretermitted. To further these Designs, he should not only have the Assistance and Blessing of his Holiness, but of his Father-in-Law. Besides which, it was possible Maximilian the Emperor might join herein; however he and Lewis the 12th, had of late concurred in their Designs. That it was probable, his Subjects in France retain'd still a due Memory not only of their Allegiance, but of the Benefit receiv'd from the Crown of England. Besides, that in France there never wanted discontented Persons, who would join with his Forces, And for his Coffers, they were not so full in any King's time; to which again he could not doubt but a large Supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in Contribution, when there was no question of War with that Country. As for the Difficulties he should find in the Enterprise, they were not considerable. Loüis the Twelfth being not only deeply engag'd in a War in Italy, but having lost his best Men there; so that before he could give order for his Affairs at Home, he might be oppress'd; or, when he would leave his Pretences on Italy, to look to his own Country, that would yet free the Pope from the Danger he was in, and consequently give his Majesty the Honour of performing his Intentions.

Reasons against it.

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the Business, opin'd thus; That the King's Title indeed in France, especially to the Hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the Occasion fair; and many Circumstances besides conducing to this great Business: Yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a War against so potent a Neighbour, unless there were more than possibility of effecting our Purposes. This they might consider by comparing these Times with the former. And if when all Guyenne, Anjou, Touraine, and for a long while Normandy was ours; and when, besides this, the Duke of Bretagne was our Friend, and the House of Burgundy an assur'd Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our Designs in that Country, what hope is there now to attain them? Are we stronger now than at that time? Or can we promise our selves better Success? Let it be granted, that as many Battels as we have fought against the French, have been almost so many Victories; what was this Kingdom the better for them; Who can say he made a Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time than that of Edward the Third; and was yet the Country ever more poor or weary of the Wars. If you will not believe our Histories, look even on our Records, and you will find not only how the Treasure of our Kingdom was much exhausted, but even the People themselves glutted with their Prosperity. And shall we trust now to better Days? What though with our 12000 or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000, or 60000? Stands it with reason of War to expect the like Success still? Especially, since the use of Arms is chang'd, and for the Bow (proper for Men of our Strength) the Caleever begins to be generally receiv'd. Which, besides that it is a more costly Weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be manag'd by the weaker sort. Let us therefore (in God's Name) leave off our Attempts against the Terra firma. The natural Situation of Islands seems not to sort with Conquests in that kind. England alone is a just Empire. Or, when we would inlarge our selves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the Eternal Providence hath destin'd us; which is, by Sea. The Indies are discover'd, and vast Treasure brought from thence every Day. Let us therefore bend our Endeavours thitherwards; and if the Spaniard or Portugals suffer us not to join with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equal to that of succouring Julius the Second, be wanting; since, by converting those Infidels to the Christian Religion, there will be a larger Field open'd for doing good, than by establishing a doubtful and controverted Head of the Church: The Council of Pisa having determin'd both to depose him, and substitute another.

But our young King, with whom Zeal to do the Pope Service, and Ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King *Henry* the Sixth was in Possession, and which our Civil Wars only lost, declin'd this sober Advice, and adher'd to the former. And that, especially, for two Reasons urg'd by way of Supplement; whereof the one was, that there was new hope *Maximilian* the Emperor would be won to his side. The other was, that he understood from *Rome*, the Pope had an Intention to take away the Stile of *CHRISTIANISSIMUS* from the *French*, (which their Historians confess) and transfer it on him; which he thought would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation. 1511.

Henry himself for a War, and wh[...]

Hereupon it was resolv'd, together with calling a Parliament, to send (by *John Young* Doctor of Law, and Master of the Rolls) unto *Louis* the Twelfth a Monitory Ambassage, requiring him to desist from War against the Pope. But *Louis*, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor assur'd to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a Peace, (he having been privately advertis'd that our King resolv'd War) regarded not at all his Advice; our King therefore, that he might have more than one Title to invade *France*, sent to require his Patrimonial Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guyenne*, &c. and, in case of Refusal, to denounce War. This then being proclaim'd, Levies were commanded, and Monies granted by Parliament (which began *Feb.* 4.) were rais'd. While these Things were doing, I shall observe my former Method, and by the way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to History.

War declar'd.

A Parliament call'd.

That because Money, Plate, and Jewels being transported out of the Kingdom, had impoverish'd it, a double Value should be paid by the Offenders.

15$\frac{11}{12}$. Feb. 4. An. Reg. 3. Parl. 1 H. 8.

There was also confirm'd an Order formerly taken concerning Escheators, Commissioners, and finding and turning of Offices; which it seems had relation to *Empson* and *Dudly*'s Proceedings. Because also unlawful Games kept Men from shooting in the Long-Bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better understanding of which Act, another past, whereby the Cross-Bow was also forbidden.

There were likewise certain great Priviledges granted to Men that went beyond Sea with the King. As also Penalties ordain'd for Captains that abridg'd the Number of their Soldiers, or detain'd their Wages; as also for Soldiers departing without License.

At this Parliament also the King was pleas'd to restore *John Dudly*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Dudly* lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his Reign, he conferr'd the Place of Lord Admiral of *England*, as shall appear in this History.

John Dudly Son of Edmund Dudly restor'd in Blood.

About this time there was one *Hieronymo Buonviso* born at *Lucca*, who being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his Friends in *Italy*, obtain'd so much Favour from the Pope, as to be made a kind of Agent here. This Man being acquainted with all the Pope's Business, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewise the King's and Council's Answers to his Negociations, became so expert in all those Affairs, that being corrupted by the *French*, (who gave him a Pension, as I find in our Records) he discover'd many Things that much concern'd either side. And from hence it arose chiefly, that *Louis* the Twelfth was so particularly inform'd of our Designs, that he used many Preventions, as may be observ'd in the following History.

Buonviso the Pope's Agent, betrays the King's Councils to the *French*.

The War with *France* being thus determin'd, it was consulted in what part we should begin. And though

1511. though that of *Calais* ſeem'd the moſt ready way, yet, becauſe *Ferdinand* promis'd to join with the King in this War, (which was call'd *Holy*) it was by his conſent, reſolv'd to land ſomewhere in the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and that from thence, both their Armies (being united) ſhould jointly invade *Guyenne*. For better underſtanding of which Project, I muſt obſerve, that both the Kings (beſides (that of vindicating of *Julius* the Second) had their ſeveral Deſigns, as will appear afterwards. The General nam'd by the King was *Thomas Grey*, Marquiſs of *Dorſet*, with whom went, beſides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Perſons, and about 10000 Soldiers; among whom, I find in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, there were about 5000 Archers, who beſides their Bows and Arrows, carri'd Halberts, which they pitch'd on the Ground till their Arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do execution on the Enemy. An excellent part of Military Diſcipline, and yet not remarkable by our *Engliſh* Chronicles. Theſe Men about the third, or as the *Spaniards* have it, the eighth of *June*, (being ſhip'd in *Spaniſh* Veſſels) arriv'd at *Paſſage*, a Port in *Guipuſcoa*, where one *Faderique* Biſhop of *Siguenca*, (an able Perſon) attended them. This Biſhop, after he had aſſur'd them of their welcome, and that the Duke *d' Alva*, General of the *Spaniſh* Forces, with 1000 barded Horſe, 1500 Gennets, or *Light-Horſe*, and 6000 *Foot*, would ſhortly join with them, did much cheer our Men after their long Sea-Voyage. In the mean while, *John d' Albert* (King of *Navarre*, in the right of his Wife *Katharine de Foix*) having the *Spaniſh* Army in *Arragon* on the one ſide, and the *Engliſh* on the other of his Kingdom, thought himſelf in ſome Straits. And the rather, that the Pope having lately Excommunicated him for aſſiſting the *French*, and by a *Bull* dated *March* 1. 1512, expoſed his Kingdom in prey to the Conqueror; He ſuſpected *Ferdinand* had ſome Deſign upon him. Neither was he deceiv'd; for, that he might be drawn away from *Louis*, or at leaſt, that a Quarrel might be pick'd againſt him, *Ferdinand* ſends to require, that he would declare himſelf; pretending ſome jealouſie of his Proceedings, ever ſince *Louis* the Twelfth (who was advertis'd of this *Holy League*, as it was termed) had requir'd his help, or when he would refuſe, threaten'd him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* alſo, the *Engliſh* General ſent to him, not only to remember the ancient *League* and Friendſhip betwixt the two Nations, when the *Engliſh* were in poſſeſſion of *Guyenne*; but thereupon (as well as in the name of the *Church*) to require his help in this *Holy War*. The King of *Navarre* in this perplexity (for he was urg'd no leſs to the contrary by the *French*) proteſted, that it concern'd him to be Neutral, he being as much in danger of loſing *Bearne* on the *French*, as *Navarre* on the *Spaniſh* ſide. Yet, whether to gain time, or indeed really to ſhew his forwardneſs in this *Church* Affair, he offer'd (upon Security given, that neither *Ferdinand* nor the *Engliſh* ſhould moleſt him) that for four Months ſpace, the States of *Navarre* ſhould (by their Oaths) ſolemnly aſſure him of all amicable Uſage in that Country; and before that time, he doubted not, but *Bayonne* (which was the Key to *Guyenne*) would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the *Engliſh*. But this was not thought ſufficient; therefore it was demanded, that the King of *Navarre* would depoſite ſome Towns as cautionary on that behalf. But as he ſtill excus'd himſelf, the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* (who had ſeparately treated before) thought now jointly to ſend their Agents to the King of *Navarre*; ſo that *Antonio de Acuna*, Biſhop of *Camora*, and Sir *John Stile* (Reſident Ambaſſador for our King in *Spain*) were preſently diſpatch'd to him. Being admitted to Audience, their demand was, to have the Fortreſſes of *Eſtella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, conſign'd for their ſecurity in the Enterprize of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* proteſting ſtill, that it concern'd him to hold Neutrality, was at laſt preſs'd to make a final Anſwer. Here then he agreed, that *Viana*, and ſome other Places of leſs Strength than thoſe demanded, ſhould remain as Pledges of his Fidelity: Yet, before this could be ſettled, the *French* were come to the confines of both Juriſdictions: Where the *Engliſh*, being deſirous to give ſome proof of their Valour, without any Order from their General, paſs'd over the River *Vidaſſona*, which divides *Guipuſcoa* from *Guyenne*, to skirmiſh with the *French*. This grew at laſt ſo hot, that the *Marquiſs* was conſtrain'd to paſs over the reſt of his Army to diſengage them; which being done, he retir'd again to his Camp near *Fuentarabia*, in good Order. Hereupon the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* began to complain, that the delay of *Ferdinand* had given the *French* time to raiſe theſe Forces to oppoſe them; and together demanded briefly his clear Reſolution, what he meant to do in the point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was anſwer'd, that ſince the King of *Navarre* would not admit a way through his Dominions, he muſt be forc'd; neither did he think, that *John* would take it ill to ſuffer a little Violence, when it were for nothing elſe, but to ſhew the *French*, that he did not voluntarily conſent thereunto. The *Marquiſs* reply'd, that this being no part of his Commiſſion, he muſt firſt acquaint the King his Maſter with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the *French* Army increas'd, and that the ſuffering them to come nearer might fruſtrate his Deſigns in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alva*, without more delay, to inveſt *Pamplona*, the chief Town of *Navarre*, entertaining in the mean while *John*'s Ambaſſadors with hope of an Accommodation, who ſeem'd alſo to believe it, until they heard of the Siege. The induſtrious *Ferdinand*, that he might draw alſo the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* to aſſiſt him, us'd theſe Reaſons, That the Paſſage to *Bayone* by the way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow, having the Sea on one ſide, and on the other ſide the huge Mountains of *Navarre* and *Bearne*; ſo that if they ſhould undertake the Siege at *Bayone*, without aſſuring themſelves of the Countries behind them, they might be ſhut up on every ſide, whenſoever *John* ſhould declare himſelf for the *French* Party. Therefore, that he ſhould proceed according to Military Rules, and prevent this Inconvenience, by ſeizing firſt on all the Avenues. The Marquiſs of *Dorſet* hereupon calling a Council of War, return'd this Anſwer; That he deſir'd to loſe no time, and therefore thought it the beſt courſe for both to divide the Armies: And that *Ferdinand* ſhould enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he took the way of *Bayone*. Yet the King, who ſtill purſu'd his *Deſign*, ſeeming not ſatisfy'd herewith, deſir'd rather that both the Armies might paſs jointly through *Navarre*. The *Spaniſh* marching ſtill firſt, and making way for the *Engliſh* to follow. But the Marquiſs of *Dorſet* anſwer'd again, he might not tranſgreſs his Commiſſion, which permitted him not hoſtilely to enter into *Navarre* upon any Terms. Inſomuch that now almoſt ſix Weeks were ſpent in thoſe Treaties. 1512.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the *Engliſh*, reſolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promiſing the *Marquiſs* yet from thence to fall

Margin notes: The Marquiſs of Dorſet's Expedition into Spain. — Cubit. — June 3. — The English abus'd by the Spaniards.

1512. on *Guyenne*; not doubting (on this assurance) but the *Marquis* would stay, and at least serve as a Countenance to his Enterprize. Hereupon the

* July 22. Duke of *Alva* being commanded to * proceed, (without hurting any yet, but those who resisted)

† July 25. soon after † took *Pamplona*; which when our *Marquis* heard, he testify'd much Discontentment, both as he found *Ferdinand* kept not his Promise, and as his Victuals were much shortned on this occasion, he having been abundantly supply'd before from *Navarre*.

In the mean while, *Ferdinand*, to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the *Marquis* might give, sends to *England* a Messenger on purpose, with account of his Actions, and to desire a more ample Order to the *Marquis* to assist him; not neglecting the while, any occasion either for reducing the best part of *Navarre* to Obedience,

*July 31. or * entitling himself to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all particulars of this Affair, do much confirm the *Spanish* History.

Being thus advanc'd, he thought fit again to sollicite *John*, King of *Navarre* (now retir'd to

August. wards *Bearne*) that he would join in this *Holy War*. And that he might do so the better, He temper'd Threats and Promises in a more effectual manner: The Bishop of *Camora* and Sir *John Stile*, hereupon were dispatch'd again, requiring his final Answer. But the Duke of *Longueville* being come with puissant Forces near to those Parts, they made bold to detain the Bishop, not without terrifying him with worse usage; giving leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to return. Things being brought to these Extremities, *John*, King of *Navarre*, thought fit to go to the *French* Court, to excuse himself for suffering the *Spanish* to become so soon Masters of *Navarre*. Neither had he it seems any way to make this so credible, as by permitting the *French* with the same facility to seize on *Bearne*. Thus was this King in a short time, dispossess'd of all his Estate, only for not knowing how to behave himself, either like a Friend or Enemy.

The Spaniards and French dispossess the King of Navarre of his Territories.

Now *Lewis* the Twelfth, though not so much as hoping, that the *English* and *Spanish* should stand thus divided, yet as he desir'd rather a War in that Country, than his own, so he prepar'd as if he were at once to sustain both their Forces; commanding the Duke *de Longueville* to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great: For though *Salvatierra* was kept by *John*, as long as he treated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandon'd it to the *French*, and retir'd himself to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayone*, then the *French* enquarter'd their Army, though for having 3000 in that City (daily reinforc'd by new Levies) it seem'd not to stand in so much need of Defence. This while the Duke *de Alva* requires an Oath of Obedience from those of *Pamplona*, and in general from the rest of the chief Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it upon the Terms agreed on, which was for four Months, and till they had given proof of their Neutrality in the business of *Guienne*. But the Duke reply'd, that King *John* being fled away to the *French*, and therein having declar'd himself an Enemy both to him and this *Holy War*, He would now accept no Oath, but that of a simple Obedience to his King and Master: Upon this ensu'd Disputes and diversities of Opinions; all which yet were moderated by the *Spanish* Army, which did not much insist upon Reason, having Power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduc'd, *Ferdinand* sends the *Mareschal Aquilera* to the *Marquis Dorset*, protesting that his Army should pass the Mountains at Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*: And this he did to try, whether it would move him yet to join Forces. But the *Marquis*, who was inform'd that the place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an intire Conquest of the Dominions of *John*) as well as to *Bayonne*, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the *Spanish* Army. *Ferdinand* on the other side, taking this as a delay, would not omit the prosecuting of his Intentions, laying (in the mean while) all the fault on the *Marquis*'s slackness. But no Man ought to blame any General in this kind, unless he knew his Instructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke *de Alva* who consider'd of what moment diligence is in great Affairs, sends some away presently to seize on Saint *Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was perform'd, though the *French* were now entring that Country. To make this good also, the Duke himself (by the King his Master's Commandment) follows with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again sends to invite the *Marquis*. But as the *English* could not pass thither, but by a Place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almost untrodden Passage) or another way far about (for either of which they wanted Horses to draw their Ordnance) so was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joining the Armies. Howsoever, it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many delays) to acquit himself so far, as to seem at least roundly to go on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Masterpiece was, together with performing his own Intentions, now to have brought his offer to our King, within the compass of Probability. He consider'd also, that alone, he was too weak for the *French* Forces; so that he had more than one Reason to sollicite the *English* Army.

Being in this Posture, he begins to think what remain'd to be done: On the one side, he had the honour of diverting the *French* from their great Designs in *Italy*; (for *Louis* began now to attend his Home Affairs) and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other side, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, (only *Estella* excepted, which he took afterwards) and pass'd the Mountains, He seem'd engag'd to secure his Conquests. Therefore he thought on nothing now, but going on; trusting for the rest, to the Negotiation of *Martin de Ampios*, whom he had sent to our King. And this Man, (if we may believe the *Spanish* History) obtain'd, that the *Marquis* of *Dorset* should do whatsoever he was advis'd by *Ferdinand* for the *Holy-Cause*. But, before this Instruction could come, the *Marquis*, who saw Winter now approaching, and very near 3000 of his Men sick or dead of Disorder, and drinking those hot Wines, and for the rest suffering much for scarcity of Victuals; and lastly, being advertis'd that the *French* had fortify'd *Bayonne*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterprize. Therefore he sent the Treasurer of his Army, and Sir *John Stile*, to *Ferdinand*, to represent those Difficulties, and to acquaint him with his Determination to be gone. At last, though with much ado, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement, provided some Ships for the *English*; but before they could depart, the *Marquis*, between Discontent and ill Diet, so distemper'd himself, that he fell sick, the Lord *Howard* being substituted in the mean while for Command of the Army. While yet they made ready for Sept. their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windsore* the Herald, commanding the Army to stay; promising withal to send a new Supply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But the Soldiers so mutined, that at last the Generals were

1512.

The Marquess Dorset returns without doing any thing.

Novemb.

were constrain'd to embarque themselves, and come home (about the end of *November*) to *England*. Whereupon *Ferdinand* (who desir'd now only to maintain what he had gotten) turns himself to other Arts; labouring (by *Maximilian's* Mediation) to withdraw the *French* from assisting *John*. The Conditions being, that *Charles* Prince of *Castile* their Grand-Child should match with *Reynera*, or *Reynee*, second Daughter to *Lewis* the Twelfth (which yet was but colourable as appears in their Histories) and, that the *French* should condescend hereunto, it was no little Motive, that they had acquir'd so much in *Bearne*; so that keeping their Possessions on either part, much Treaty pass'd without any other Effect, than that *John* on both sides was outed: Though, for Ostentation, *Richard de la Pole* (calling himself Duke of *Suffolk*) as I find by our Records

October.

was appointed by *Lewis* to attempt the Recovery of *Pampelona* though in vain. And thus ended this Voyage to the Grief of our King, who seem'd so much offended with the ill Success that he purpos'd once to punish the principal Authors of it. But his General excus'd himself by the narrowness of his Instruction, and partly laid the Fault on *Ferdinand*, who being bound by Promise to furnish the Army with many Necessaries, yet fail'd. Lastly, they made it appear, that *Ferdinand* never intended any thing but the Conquest of *Navarre*, (which therefore his Successors hold to this Day.) ¶ Though this Voyage were improsperous, yet I find by *Polydore*, that Sir *Edward Howard*, who conducted the *Marquiss* to *Spain*, having with the Fleet first

May.

clear'd the Seas from Enemies, landed at a little Bay in *Brittaign*, and march'd seven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning some Towns) he brought away rich Spoils. Not contented herewith yet, he put his Men on shore at *Conquet*, and divers other places; where the *French*

May 23. Hall. June 1.

still receiving the worse, they at last desir'd a Parley. The Substance whereof was, That the *English* would leave off this kind of desultory and cruel War, which tended only to the burning of Villages, and ransacking the Poor. But he reply'd, He was not to take his Directions from them: Besides, that it was the Part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not shamefully to sue for Mercy. After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were dismiss'd, and our Admiral return'd home. ¶ The *French* in the mean while, making great Preparatives by *Sea*, Our King thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding *to* twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, *five* and twenty more under the Command of the choicest of those Gallants that attended him; placing in the chief Ships call'd the *Regent*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Master of his Horse, and Sir *John Carew* in the *Sovereign*; Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford*, went with sixty of the tallest Yeoman of his Guard. This brave Fleet chancing to meet thirty-nine Sail coming out of *Brest* in *Brittaign*, assaulted

Aug. 10. Bellay.

them; where two of the greatest Ships on both sides being grappled, fell on fire by some Accident, or as the *French* will have it, by the desperate Courage of *Primauguet* (barbarously, as I conceiv'd it, styl'd by our Chronicles Sir *Pierz Morgan*) and so were consum'd. The Captain

A Sea-fight between the English and French.

of the *English* Ship (being the *Regent*) and of the *French* (call'd the *Cordeliere*) together with the Soldiers in them, perish'd all, save only a few *French*, who sav'd themselves with Swimming. Howsoever, the rest of the *French* were so terrifi'd herewith, that they made away presently, some to *Brest*, and some to the Isles adjoyning. To repair this Loss, our King built a Ship, the greatest ever known before, though *Buchanan* and *Lesle* say, that *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland* made one; whom the *English* and *French* King desiring afterwards to imitate, fail'd so much, that they were not able to make it steer.

1512.

1306.

The King finding now that Businesses were grown to some Extremity, betwixt the two Nations, discloses his Design of going in Person into *France*, as choosing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at home. This also, that he might the better perform, He is advis'd to discover what Correspondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had sent a good while since Sir *Robert Wingfield* to Negotiate with *Maximilian*, and draw him to his Party; neither found he much Difficulty therein. The *Emperor* being glad that the Warlike Disposition of our *King* turn'd it self against *France*; so that with Assurance of his Affection, he incourag'd our King to go on. For *Maximilian* was now fallen off from the *French*, both that the Pope strongly procur'd it, and that he thought it best to adhere rather to *Ferdinand* and his Grand-Child's Interests: For Pretext whereof, yet alledging only some breach of Article of the Treaty of *Cambray* on *Lewis* his part. The *French* on the other side, joyning with the Duke of *Ferrara*, prepar'd to defend themselves; raising for this Purpose a gallant Army, under the Command of *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, Governor of *Milan*, who (in the Name of the *Pisan* Council) fought the Battle of *Ravenna*, which being won for his King, he lost for himself, as dying (almost wilfully) against a little Body of the Enemies, when the Victory for the rest was gotten. Howbeit, the *French* under *Monsieur de la Palisse* proceeding, took *Ravenna*, and divers other Places, which they deliver'd to a Cardinal *Legate* in the Name of the *Pisan* Council, so that they were now (together with this City) Masters of *Milan*, *Genoua*, *Bononia*, and *Florence*. Nevertheless, as the contrary Part led by *Raymond de Cardona*, (Vice-Roy of *Naples* under *Ferdinand*) had in the Name of the *Holy-League*, brought huge Forces into those Parts, the *French* were forc'd to quit all those Places, within the space of two Months: (as *Sandoval* hath it,) *Maximilian Sforza* (Son to *Lodovico*) whom the *French* had divested, being replac'd in *Milan*, to hold it in the Name, or at least under the Protection of the *Suisse*, whereupon also the Duke of *Ferrara* (unable any longer to subsist) humbled himself to the Pope, and was pardon'd. *Maximilian* yet, not content with these Victories, would have added to them *Vicenza* detain'd by the *Venetians*. But they refusing, the Pope, whether desirous to conserve *Maximilian's* Friendship at what Price soever, (since he had now disavow'd the *Pisan* Council) or that perchance he thought not himself sufficiently reveng'd on the *Venetians*, joyns in the Enterprize.

Apr. 11.

Sandov. Vida del Ca. I. V.

Ferdinand in the mean while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double Treaty: On the one side therefore, he not only joyn'd Offices with our King to *Maximilian* for this purpose, but incourag'd him to repair the Imputation of slackness laid on the *English* in their Voyage to *Spain*, desiring yet, that if he sent any Army again into those Parts, it might be under the Command of his General. While on the other side, he secretly treated with *Lewis* the Twelfth, for the Match above-mention'd; promising also to assist him in his Affairs in *Italy*. That Politick King's Intention being, by one means or other, to divert the *French* from aiding King *John* to recover *Navarre*: (who yet I find * dy'd of Grief not long after.) Lastly, our King remem-

* 1516.

1512. remembering how the *Scots* have usually helpt the *French*, and being inform'd besides, that *James* the Fourth did resent still the Death of *Breton*, and some other Affronts, he sends *Nicholas West*, Dean of *Windsor*, and Doctor of Law, to know how he stood affected: And the rather, that he was inform'd King *James* had an Army on Foot. To which he answer'd, *That he lov'd and esteem'd alike, both* Henry *the Eighth, and* Louis *the Twelfth; and therefore that he thought it best, to be Neutral in any Difference betwixt them. West* reply'd, *that he might do well to signifie thus much by Letters.* But King *James* said, *that the sending any Declaration of Neutrality under his Hand, might argue he inclin'd a little to the* English *side, and consequently might breed a Suspicion; especially when* Louis *the Twelfth could not be ignorant of the favourable Audience given him*, and therewithal dismist him. Upon whose Return; our King taking this Cautelous Answer into mature Consideration, found it arose from a private League betwixt *Louis* and *James*, (which our Records furnish us) to this Effect.

Articles of a Treaty between the King of France and Scotland, against K. Henry. May 22. I. *Because the King of* England*'s Predecessors have often fought to endammage both Princes and Realms, therefore they combine to resist the same; and one to aid the other perpetually against the said King.*

II. *If the King of* England *shall at any time wage War against the King of* Scots, *the King of* France *and his Successors shall wage War with all their Power against the King of* England, *and the* Scottish *King promiseth the like.*

III. *Neither King shall suffer his Subjects to serve or aid the King of* England *against the other.*

IV. *Neither of the two may take Truce with the King of* England, *without the other give his Consent, or be comprehended therein if he please.*

V. *If the said* Louis *decease without Children, and there be Strife about the Succession, the King of* Scots *shall not intermeddle, but accept him who shall be made King, for his Friend, and defend him against his Adversaries, if the King of* England *assist them. And the same* Louis *promises to do, if the* Scottish *King decease without Issue.*

This Convention shall be confirm'd by the Pope, and neither of the Contrahents shall procure nor accept any Absolution from the Oath.

Our King understanding this, resolv'd to send his Treasurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* into *Yorkshire*, and the Northern Parts, to have an Army in readiness, in case the *Scots* should stir in his Absence. Together with all this Provision, he thought fit to call a Parliament, where, besides enacting divers good Laws (whereof I shall hereafter mention some) he obtain'd two Fifteens and four Demies. He had also a kind of Subsidy, call'd Head or Poll-Money, That is, of every Duke ten Marks; an Earl five Pounds, a Lord four Pounds, a Knight four Marks, every Man valu'd at Eight hundred Pound in Goods, four Marks: And so after that Rate till him who had Forty Shillings in Wages, who paid twelve Pence; after which, every one who was above fifteen Years of Age, paid four Pence. Order was also given that Bulwarks, Brays, and Walls, should be rais'd in his Castles, and Strong-holds on the Sea-side, wheresoever it was needful.

A Parliament call'd. Regni 4. Nov. 4. A Poll-Tax rais'd.

1513. Feb. 21. *Julius* the Second expecting now the Success of that War he had kindled against the *French*, dyes; in whose Place was chosen Cardinal *Giovanni di Medici*, by the Name of *Leo* the Tenth. This Pope pursuing his Predecessors Designs, incourageth our King to War against *France*. But he having now accomplish'd the Age of twenty one Years, needed little Invitation, and the rather, that he was assur'd by his Ambassadors, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *John Young*, that *Maximilian* would really perform his Treaty with him, only he suspected *Ferdinand*. 1513. Therefore (I find by our Records) he sent into *Spain*, *William Knight* Doctor of Law; command- Jan. ing him, together with Sir *John Stile*, to use all Arguments to perswade *Ferdinand*, that the Return of the *English* Army, was contrary both to his Will and Command; offering further, that if he might have Assistance against *France* for the Conquest of *Guyenne*, that 100000 Crowns should be given in Hand to *Ferdinand*, and as much more when it was gotten. For this purpose also promising Pay for 6000 Men at six Pence *per diem* for six Months. But *Ferdinand* now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the Conservation of his Conquest in *Navarre*, cunningly declin'd this Proposition; as hoping by a Treaty with *France*, to effect his Purposes; howbeit he advis'd our King to send his Standard Royal with some Forces to *Guyenne*; and to try whether the People would follow it; since he said, they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well by some private Advertisements, that *Ferdinand* treated secretly with *France*, resolv'd to press him to declare himself, and therefore by Letters, *June* 17. he requires *Ferdinand* to seal a Treaty against *France*, to which June 17. his Ambassadors here had consented. But *Ferdinand* disavowing his Ambassadors Proceeding, since the *Holy* League (as he said) became void, upon the Return of the King's Army, discovers withal that he had made a Truce with *France* for one whole Year, which he advis'd our King also to accept. The Treaty to which *Ferdinand*'s Ambassadors enter'd at this time, was the Treaty here set down, which I find among our Records, and have mention'd, as being full of Design, however eluded.

I. *The first Article of the Confederation made between the Pope, Emperor, Kings of* England *and* Arragon, *against* Louis *the Twelfth, was to be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies, &c. to give mutual Aid, at the Charges of the Demandant.* The Treaty for the Holy War, of which K. Henry was the Head.

II. *To denounce War within* 30 *Days after the Date hereof, and within two Months to invade him, viz.*

The Pope in Provence *or* Dauphine.

The Emperor in some other fit Place.

The King of England *in* Aquitaine (*or* Guyenne) Picardy *or* Normandy.

The King of Arragon *in* Bearne, Languedoc, *and* Aquitaine. *Not to desist from Hostility, or make any Truce without common Consent.*

III. *That the Subjects of the Confederates serve not the Enemy under pain of losing Life and Goods.*

IV. *That the Emperor (if he have not yet done it) shall recall the Authority by him given to the Schismatical Cardinals, and their Conventicle, and within a Month after the Date of this, signifying his Pleasure to them, shall Void and Nullifie all their Proceedings and Acts in the same.*

V. *The Pope shall (at the Request of the Confederates) fulminate his Ecclesiastical Censures against all that oppose this League.*

VI. *The King of* England *shall give the Emperor, (towards the great Charges he shall be at)* 100000 *Crowns.*

VII. *Yet the Emperor by this Treaty will not engage his Grand-child* Charles (*now under his Tuition*) *into this War with* Louis.

But this Treaty being refus'd by *Ferdinand*, our King proceeds by the help of his other Confederates, to the War with *France*; the Pope for the more declaring himself, both confirming an Excommunication granted by *Julius* the Second against *James* King of *Scots*, in case he should break the Peace and Treaty with the King of *England*, and * granting an Indulgence to all * March. that should assist King *Henry*, and the other Confederates,

1513. federates, against L[...]s and the Schismaticks of the Council of *Pisa*.

All things here being thus dispos'd for a War, *Maximilian* with some Patience attends the coming of our *English* Army; as being confident, however the Business succeeded between the two Nations, he could make his Advantage thereof. That he might do this the better, he thought it not amiss to interpose some Difficulties. Neither could he be wholly won, till he had obtain'd of *Henry* 120000 Ducats towards his Charge in bringing 3000 Horse and 8000 Foot which should enter *Burgogne*, as soon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While these Preparations were in hand, our King, to take off *James*, sends Doctor *West* again into *Scotland*, where, instead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a Peace with *France*, promising on those Terms his Friendship. But our King being resolv'd to proceed, thought fit in the first place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy: And therefore sends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty-two Sail, besides lesser Barques, against them. The *French* being inform'd hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rodes*, (called by our Historians, Prior *John*) with four Gallies to pass the *Streights*, and come to *Britagne*, where many good Ships were appointed to join with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keep within the Haven of *Brest*, than to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in sight of them. Our Men therefore resolve to attempt them in the middle of their Defences; while they intend this, one of our Ships (under the Command of *Arthur Plantaginet*) was cast away on a blind Rock. This staid our Men a while; at last they pursue their Design, and enter the Haven, where the *French* Fleet lay under the Covert of many Platforms that were raised on the Land. Besides, they had joined twenty four Hulks together, with purpose to set them on Fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our *English* should approach them; or (as our Records have it) to keep the Fire

April 17. from theirs. Lastly, they mored their Ships as near the Castle as they could, and so attended *Pregent's* coming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admiral, Sir *Edward Howard*, considering the Order in which the *French* lay, thought fit to advertise his King and Master thereof, advising him withal to come in Person, and have the Glory of this Action. But our King's Council taking this Message into Consideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether Fear (as was thought) but Stratagem and Cunning, that made the *French* thus attend their Advantage, thought the King was not so much invited to the Honour, as Danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the Overture. Thereupon they write sharply to him again (as our Historians say, though our Records mention not this Particular) commanding him to do his Duty. Whereof that brave *Cavalier* was so sensible, as it caused him to hazzard his Person afterwards so rashly, that it occasion'd his Death; the manner whereof was thus, as it was drawn out of our Records: Where, by a Let-

April 17. ter dated from him, *April* 17, it appears, That, after he had come before *Brest* with his Navy, he sent out his Boats, to make a shew of Landing; whereupon the *French* flocking to the Shoar, to the Number of above 10000 (the *English* in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over-against *Brest*, where he burnt the Country in sight of the Castle; the *French* Ships (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more till Victuals came, whereof he stood then in need; though he said, he had them at a great Advantage, their Gallies being not yet come. Together with which Dispatch unto the King, he sent Mr. *Arthur Plantaginet*, much discouraged, as he said, by the casting away of his Ship; and disabled to serve in any other kind, because his Soldiers that remain'd were bestow'd elsewhere. After which I find by ano- May 6. ther * Letter of Sir *Edward Echingham* (who was present in the Expedition) that, *April* 22. six Gallies of the Enemies, (being two more than were expected) and four Foysts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-sablon-bay* near *Conquest*, a little below *Brest*; which being notified to our Admiral, he himself, being attended with four choice Captains, resolv'd to board them *April* 25. Where- April 25. upon entring himself into one of the two Gallies (which only the *English* had at that time) and committing the other to *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-Barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was Sir *Thomas Cheyney* and Sir *John Wallop*, in the other Sir *Henry Sherborne* and Sir *William Sidney*; *Pregent* (this while) lying between two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deter our Lord Admiral, who therefore about four in the Afternoon (the same Day) boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and enter'd it with his Sword and Target, one *Carroz*, a *Spanish* Cavalier, and seventeen *English* more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be fastned or grapled to his Enemies; but whether the *French* hewed asunder the Cable, or our Mariners let it slip for fear of the Ordnance, the *English* Galley fell off, and this Noble Person was left in the Hands of his Enemies; of whom therefore our Men could give no other Account, but that when he was past all hope of recovering his Gallies, he took his Whistle from his Neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean time (who was in the other Galley) fail'd not to do his part, until having spent all his Shot, and seen the Admiral's Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row-Barges also did, as not knowing but the Admiral was safe. The sad News of whose Loss yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to send to the *French* Admiral, to know what was become of him. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and Sir *John Wallop* came to know what Prisoners were taken; to whom *Pregent* (or Prior *John*) answered, None, but a Mariner, who told him, that a certain Person they bore overboard with their Pikes was their Admiral. Lastly, he added (in the Letter) that the *French* in *Bourdeaux* had made six new Gallies, which were shortly expected at *Brest*, and that our Gallies, as he said, could do the *French* Men most Displeasure.

Sir Edw. Howard, the English Admiral, engages the French.

And is kill'd.

* Apr. 22.

Upon News of our Admiral's Death, his Place was * presently bestowed on his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wisely considering the Advantage of the *French* Gallies in a Calm, and Number of their Ships, and the Danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-west, desired of the King so many Soldiers as might both Man the Ships, and make good the Landing. But before he came, our Fleet (it seems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and *Pregent* (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in *Sussex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that Year. And now the Lord Admiral having equipp'd the Navy Royal, scoured the Seas, and secur'd our King's intended Passage. The Particularities I shall omit, until (in Imitation of *Polydore*) I have set down the Description of *Thomas Woolsey* (afterwards Cardinal) a Man at this time beginning to be in special Favour with the King; the Original whereof I must

* May 4.

The French land in Sussex, and are repuls'd.

1513. muſt reduce from his chief Raiſer and Founder, *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

The Riſe of Cardinal Woolſey. This Biſhop, being made Principal Secretary and Privy-Seal, became not only an able, but potent Miniſter of State; having yet Difference with the Lord Treaſurer *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, a Noble Man of great Courage and Experience in Affairs, he ſtood not ſecure. They had often been reconciled by the King, who not only beſt knew, but often ſuffered moſt for their Oppoſition. Yet as the wiping out of Blots ſometimes makes them greater, ſo Satisfactions for Injuries ſeldom expiate them ſo totally, but that ſome Impreſſion remains. Therefore they ſtood ſtill at a diſtance, in which Condition yet they wanted not their Advantages on either ſide. The Biſhop had abundant matter to ſuggeſt; the huge Treaſure, which *Henry* VII. left, being ſo exhauſted, that it was now almoſt conſumed; while the Lord Treaſurer in the diſpoſing of this young King's Bounty, ſo ordered Buſineſſes, as in facilitating Diſpatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treaſurer on the other ſide, ſaid, that nothing being done without the King's ſpecial Order, it was through Envy only the Biſhop thus oppos'd him. In theſe Terms then they ſtood ſtill, without almoſt concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the King's Diſpoſition; which yet they did not ſo much by mutual Conſent, as by diminiſhing in their turns, every body elſe, that was extraordinarily in his good Opinion. At laſt the Biſhop thinking how to better his Party, brought in this *Thomas Woolſey*; to which purpoſe alſo Sir *Thomas Lovell* Knight, and Maſter of the Wards, aſſiſted him. This Man, though of mean Birth, being obſerved by them to be of a quick and ſtirring Wit, and particularly famous for a Diſpatch in *Henry* VII. his Time, wherein he uſed extraordinary Diligence, was thought a fit Inſtrument for their Purpoſes. He was already a Chaplain in the Houſhold, and Almoner, and from thence raiſed to the Place of a Counſellor. Being in this nearneſs, he knew as well how to diſcourſe with the King in matter of Learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his Delights; inſomuch, as (ſaith *Polydore*) he would ſing, dance, laugh, jeſt, and play with thoſe Youths in whoſe Attendance and Company the King much delighted. Briefly, (to uſe *Polydore*'s Words) he made his private Houſe *Voluptatum omnium Sacrarium, quo Regem frequenter ducebat*: *A Recepticle for Pleaſures of all Kinds, where he frequently entertain'd the King*. He omitted not yet in the midſt of all theſe Jollities, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, repreſenting ſo all Buſineſſes to the King, as he got much Credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by thoſe Gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he ſhould ſometimes follow his Studies in School-Divinity, and ſometimes take his Pleaſure, and leave the care of Publick Affairs to him: Promiſing that what was amiſs in his Kingdom ſhould be rectified. Likewiſe, he omitted not to infuſe Fears and Jealouſies of all thoſe whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became ſo perfect a Courtier, that he had ſoon attained the heighth of Favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdoms, Courtiers have thoſe by which they govern their Princes, when through any Indiſpoſition they grow unapt for Affairs. Theſe Arts being Hopes and Fears, which as Doors and Paſſages to the Heart, are ſo guarded by their Vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keep all others out: And therefore may be termed not only the two Ends of that Thread upon which Government depends, but through their dexterous handling, may be tied upon what Knot they will. Particularly, he deſired to reduce all Buſineſſes to himſelf; for which End he ſpake in this manner: 1513.

Sir, Your Highneſs hath now ſufficient Experience of ſtrange Effects, which Contradictions in Councils bring forth. It is unſafe to believe ſingly either of thoſe on whoſe Advice your Highneſs moſt relies, and impoſſible to believe both. May your Highneſs therefore chooſe ſome one, who being diſ-intereſs'd, may have no Paſſion or Thought but to ſerve your Highneſs. All thoſe ſtrong Reaſons of State which conclude Monarchy the beſt Form of Government, make for a Favourite in the next place. Inſomuch, that of Supream Authority, as of thoſe Pyramidal Heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently plac'd, I dare ſay, there can be none well rais'd, that from the loweſt Foundation is not ſharpned by degrees unto its Point. But leſt this ſhould be thought looking upwards only, be pleas'd a while to look down, and conſider things the other way, and the Proſpective will hold its Proportion. For how, Sir, *ſhould a King conſerve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferior Perſons? Believe me,* Sir, *to diffuſe it over ſuddenly, is to take away not only from the Dignity, but even intireneſs of it: It being with Authority, as with a Spring or Fountain, which, that it may keep his Courſe and Name, muſt be cheriſh'd and entertain'd, till it grow great, by the Contributions and Concurrences of thoſe leſſer Heads that run into it. Kings muſt never deſcend but by ſteps. The more Orders are under them, the higher ſtill they ſtand. Neither will your other Councellours think themſelves much leſſen'd this way; for when they may uſe the ordinary Power and Sway allow'd them over their Inferiors, they will not think themſelves much concern'd for the reſt. Beſides, your* People *will be glad of it, as knowing which way to addreſs their Suit. To leave them more at large, were to expoſe them to thoſe Delays and Uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be unpoſſible any other way to keep Secrecy in Buſineſs, (which yet is the Life of* Council*) or almoſt to find out who is the Divulger. Moreover, when your Highneſs in ſome great and perplex'd Affairs, hath occaſion to acquaint your* Counſellors *only with ſome part of your Meaning, what Inſtrument can be ſo apt as a Favourite? While, if things ſucceed ill, or otherwiſe that your Highneſs would not ſeem to have the Advice proceed from you, how eaſily may your Highneſs difavow all, and lay the Fault on him? Thus may your Highneſs find the many Uſes you may make of your Favourite. Yet,* Sir, *let me ſay, I ſhould never adviſe your Highneſs to ſee by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only; this were to keep you in too much Darkneſs and Subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able Perſons, and ſuch as may not know of each other, by whom your Highneſs may be inform'd, not only what is done, but even ſaid vulgarly. Thus ſhall your Highneſs take Order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtful and intricate Parts of Buſineſs, which require particular Scrutiny and Examination, your Highneſs, in my Opinion, may do well to have three or four confident Perſons, not yet of the Body of your* Council, *with whom ſeparately your Highneſs may adviſe, before thoſe Difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highneſs to ſpeak thereof when you transfer it to the Body of your* Council, *and make you diſcern their Opinions; only, if any thing be determin'd, let your Favourite ſtill be the chief Actor in the Execution. Hereof then your Highneſs may pleaſe to adviſe. Neither will I preſume to nominate my ſelf otherwiſe; only I will crave leave to ſay thus much, that when your Highneſs would out of your own Election, think fit to uſe my beſt Service herein, I ſhould not doubt but ſo to eſtabliſh and conſerve your Highneſs's Authority, as to make you the greateſt and happieſt Prince living. Neither ſhould I fear to fall when any Benefit might grow to your Majeſty thereby.* The young King being

Woolſy's Speech to the King before his Advancement.

1513. ing perswaded thus without other Advice or Consideration, adopted *Woolsey*, and thereupon orders him to dispatch his chiefest Affairs. This got him not only Estimation and Addresses, but Presents and rich Gifts from the greatest Persons. They again brought him to that Insolency, that he seem'd not only to forget his Birth, (being a Butcher's Son) but all his former Friends; insomuch as no Man, (saith *Polydore*) durst remember him of an ancient Acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof (he saith) appear'd in his outward Garment, he being the first (saith the same *Polydore*) among all Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silk for his uppermost Vestment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Priests imitated him, some envy was rais'd on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silk was either more rare, or more esteem'd; it being in this Age so common, that it is become the wearing of every mean Person. The Gallants of the Court finding now the King's Favour manifestly shining on *Woolsey*, apply'd themselves much to him: And especially *Charles Brandon*, who for his goodly Person, Courage, and conformity of Disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his Exercises and Pastimes. Notwithstanding all which, (saith *Polydore)* the King sadly examin'd Businesses himself; and howsoever the chief Trust was committed to *Woolsey*, did not omit yet (as far as his Youth would suffer him) to use his own Judgment in his weightiest Affairs.

He is great in the King's Favour, and forgets his Relations and Friends.

All Preparations for the Expedition to *France* being now hastned, amongst which, that of Victualling the Army was (not without a Sarcasm to his Birth) recommended to *Woolsey*, it was yet controverted, whether the King should go in Person. They who oppos'd it, urg'd first their due affection to, and tenderness over him; saying further, that *if the King should die without Issue, (however the Succession were undoubted in his Sister Margaret)* yet that the People were so affected to the House of *York*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the *Tower*, and set him up. That the War in *France* was not of that Consequence (especially since, with the death of *Julius* the Second, it seem'd the chief Cause of dissention ceas'd) that the King should go in Person, and desert his own Kingdom. On the other side it was alledg'd, that to commit an Army, wherein the flower of his Nobility and Kingdom was, to any one Subject, was not only unsafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy *Competitors* for that Honour. That it was no new *thing (whether they regarded the ancient* Kings of *England*, or the modern Emperor, and two *French* Kings successively) to go in Person with a Royal Army. That the same Providence rul'd every where. But it was reply'd, that till the King had more Issue (and that Masculine) it was against all reason of State to hazard the Kingdom to those Tumults which might follow; to which Opinion, as the best, it is likely the King would have condescended, had not fresh Letters arriv'd from *Maximilian*, in the Pope's Name, exhorting him speedily to come; and promising that he would not only give him meeting, but take Pay under him. In the mean while it was thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole* (Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk* by *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Edward* the Fourth, who had been made Prisoner by *Henry* the Seventh, and so continu'd many Years) should have his Head * struck off; Our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his departure out of the World commanded, (*as Bells hath it.) And true it is, that he was of a turbulent and audacious Spirit*: But whether any late matter was alledg'd against him, doth not sufficiently appear to me by any Record. Though some Correspondence with his younger Brother *Richard de la Pole* (who I find by the *French* Writers, commanded 6000 *French* at the Siege of *Therouene*) might perchance accelerate his End. 1513.

Reasons against the King's going into *France* in Person.

Reasons for it.

* Apr. 30. *Edmund de la Pole* beheaded, no lawful Cause alledg'd for it.

The King resolv'd now to go in Person, thought fit yet to send his Vanguard before. This was Commanded by *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of the King's Houshold, who was accompany'd with *Thomas Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra*, Lord Prior of the Order of St. *John's*, Sir *Robert Ratliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, and *Lord Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Captain of the Light-Horse, and many other brave Knights and Esquires, and the number of above Eight Thousand, who came to *Calais* in Mid-*May*. These being follow'd again with the Middleward of about Six Thousand more, Commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King (whom also the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la ware*, the Barons *Carew* and *Curson*, and divers other worthy Knights and Esquires, accompany'd) arriv'd at *Calais* Fifteen Days after. These two Lords attending the King's further Directions, stay'd there till *June* 17. when they both in good order of Battle march'd towards *Therouene*, before which Town they arriv'd upon the Two-and-twentieth following, pitching their Tents about a Mile off. This Town was fenc'd with a large Ditch, strong Bulwarks, and a quantity of great Ordnance, which shot freshly, insomuch that the Baron of *Carew*, Master of the Ordnance, was the first Night kill'd by a Bullet in the Lord *Herbert's* Tent, which came so near him, that the *French* (though erroneously) writ he was slain there.

Hall.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* passes over to *Calais* with 8000 Men. *May*.

The Lord *Herbert* follows him with 6000. *June* 17.

June 22

Hall.

They attack *Terouene*.

L. de Serr.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* planted himself on the North-west, and the Lord *Herbert* on the East-side of the Town, whence they made their Approaches. In the Town was a Garrison of about Two thousand Foot, and Two hundred and fifty Lances, Commanded by Monsieur *Francois de Teligny*, and *Anthoine de Crequy*, Sieur *de Pondormy*: To relieve them again, the *French* rais'd a puissant Army, to which Ten thousand Men under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and Six thousand more under *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to *Edmund*, lately Beheaded, were added.

In the mean while our King having constituted Queen *Katharine* Regent, passeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the last of *June*; bringing with him the rest of his Army, which was transported with about 400 Sail: With him came also the *Almoner*, and new Favourite *Thomas Woolsey*, who for having liv'd long in that Town under the Treasurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the Addresses of it. The King being visited by the Ambassadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brunswic*, stay'd here till the 21st of *July*, when hearing that the *French* meant to relieve *Therouene*, under the Command of *Louis Duc de Longueville*, and Marquis *de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Palisse*, as also the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d' Anjou*, and *Bussie d' Amboise* accompany'd, he hasten'd his departure. His Army consisted of about 9000 good fighting Men, besides those who belong'd to the Carriages, which were some 2000 or 3000 more. Sir *Charles Brandon* (a little before * Created Viscount *Lisle*) had the Vantguard, whom the Earl of *Essex*, (Lieutenant-General of the Spears) accompanied. In the Battle the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one hand with 600 chosen Men, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the other, with as many more; Sir *Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal. The

Hall.

June 30.

Queen *Katharine* appointed Regent.

The King passes over to *Calais*.

July 21.

Marches towards *Terouane*.

* *May* 15.

Hall.

Rere-

1513.

Rereguard being compos'd in great part of the Retinue of *Richard Fox*, Bifhop of *Winchefter*, and *Woolfey*, to the number of 800 Men, was led by Sir *William Compton*. In the fpaces betwixt, the great Ordnance (among which *Bellay* mentions thofe call'd the Twelve Apoftles) was drawn, and part of the Carriages difpos'd. After all thefe yet came Sir *Anthony Oughtred* and *John Nevile*, with 400 Spears. This little, but flourifhing Army, was fcarce enter'd the *French* Confines near *Ardres*, when News was brought that the Enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir *Rice ap Thomas* (who came from *Therouene* with 500 Light-Horfe to meet the King) joining with the Earl of *Effex*, and Sir *Thomas Guilford*, who commanded 200 Archers on Horfe-back, drew towards the *French*, but they prefently difappear'd. As they march'd yet, two pieces of Ordnance mifcarry'd, the one whereof was * loft, the other † recover'd in defpite of the *French*. Upon the fourth of *Auguft* the King came to *Therouene*, before which he caus'd a fumptuous *Pavilion* to be pitch'd. Sir *Alexander Baynam*, Captain of the Pioneers, fhortly after caus'd a Mine to be made under the Walls; but the *French* countermining, it was well difputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. *Maximilian* being * now come to *Ayre*, it was thought fit an Interview fhould be made. But the Day being very foul, the Ceremony was fhort.

* July 28.
† July 29.
Aug. 4. Pitches His Tent before the City.
Aug. 9.

Aug. 11. *Lyon* King of Arms in *Scotland* comes to his Camp, and denounces War in his Mafter's Name.
*Dat. Jul. 9.
K. *Henry's* Anfwer.
Aug. 12.

About two Days after, *Lyon*, King of Arms in *Scotland*, in his Herald's Coat, comes to the Camp, and defires leave to deliver a Letter * to the King: *Gartier* brings him in. The King having perus'd the Contents (which were Expoftulation for fome pretended Injuries, and thereupon denunciation of War unlefs he return'd) makes a fharp Anfwer by word of Mouth, among other things, telling him, *That he had left an Earl behind him in the North, who could very well defend his Kingdom againft the attempts of his Mafter.* But *Lyon* refus'd to carry any verbal Meffage. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again to anfwer to this purpofe, *That he underftood his Expoftulation to be nothing but the picking of a Quarrel to affift the* French, *and Invade him in his abfence. That he wifh'd him to call to mind, how* John, *King of* Navarre, *for aiding the* French *in the fame manner, loft his Kingdom; and advis'd him to take that for a warning.* Laftly, *He bid him be affured, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was abfent, fhould be remembred, and requited again in like meafure.* Before yet thefe Letters could be deliver'd by *Lyon*, his King and Mafter, *James* the Fourth was kill'd, as fhall be hereafter related.

His Letter to the Scots King.

Aug. 12. The Emperor *Maximilian* comes to the King's Camp, wears St. *George's* Crofs, and receives his Pay, a hundred Crowns a Day.

Upon the twelfth of *Auguft*, *Maximilian* the Emperor came to the King, in the quality of his Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Crofs of St. *George*, but receiv'd his Pay duly, which I find by fome, to have been a hundred Crowns *per diem*. Notwithftanding which, that all due refpect might be render'd to his Perfon, the King gave order to lodge him according to his Dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; for the reft, moft fumptuoufly entertaining him the fpace of two Days that he ftay'd in the Camp. *Therouene* was not yet fo ftraitly Befieg'd, but that on the one fide, which was towards the River *Lys*, there was a way open, on which part the *French* intended to relieve it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be inftantly made over the faid River, by which himfelf with *Maximilian*, (who was now * return'd again) and a great part of his Army pafs'd. † This was fcarce done, when our Light-Horfe brought word, that the *French* were in fight. Our King thereupon march'd towards them. The *French* at firft, came as if they meant to fight; but after a flight Skirmifh, fled away in much Diforder, which feem'd the ftranger, that the Fight was between the Horfemen only, and many of the braveft of their Nation were among them; our Men purfu'd, and took *Louis Duc de Longueville*, Marquifs *de Rotelin*, *Bayard*, *Fyette*, *Clermont*, and *Buiffe d' Ambois*, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The *Seigneur de la Paliffe*, and *Monfieur d' Imbrecourt* were alfo taken, but agreeing for their Ranfom upon the Place, were prefently let free, or as others fay, efcap'd. This Battle happing the 16th of *Auguft*, was call'd by the *French*, *la Journee des Efperons*, becaufe they made little ufe of any thing but their Spurs: For the good fuccefs whereof therefore, both the King, and *Maximilian* the Emperor (wearing ftill his Badge of the Red-Crofs) did upon the Place, congratulate with each other, and afterwards affifted at a folemn *Te Deum* for this eafie Victory. Neither had the *French* better Fortune, in fetting upon a Convoy going with Provifions for our Army, betwixt *Guifnes* and *Therouene*, they being repuls'd (as *Bellay* hath it) and *Monfieur de Pleffis* flain. While the *French* held Battle with our King, as is aforefaid, part of their *Cavalry*, which had divided itfelf, that it might the better bring in Provifion, fell on the Quarter of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, on the other fide of the Water; but they were alfo foon repuls'd; though the Garrifon and Townfmen taking this occafion, fallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord *Herbert*, to make a Diverfion; for that Lord being prepar'd to receive them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few Days after the *Seigneur de Pontdormy* defpairing to keep the Place long, * yielded both it and the Ordnance to the King, upon Condition they might depart with their Arms, Bagg and Baggage, and Drums beating, in Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor (who, as I find it confirm'd in an ancient Manufcript Diary extant in our Records, ftill gave our King the Precedence) enter'd the Town, *Auguft* 24.

* Aug. 15.
† Aug. 16. *Hall.*

The Battel of Spurs. The Englifh beat the French and take feveral Perfons of Quality.
Aug. 16.
Another Skirmifh, in which the French have the worft.
Aug. 22.
Aug. 23 *Diary M.S.*
Therouene furrender'd to K. *Henry*. Aug. 24.

This City being gotten, it was now difputed, whether our King fhould hold it; a Queftion which could not but feem ftrange as well to the Authors of the Council as Complices in the hazard, efpecially fince it coft fo much, as *Guicciardine* doubts not to call it, *Spefa intollerabile, & infinita*; Howbeit, it was at laft refolv'd, that becaufe it fo confin'd on *Maximilian's* Territories, and that the Garrifon infefted his Subjects by frequent Incurfions, that at *Maximilian's* Intreaty, the Town fhould be raz'd, fave only the *Church* and Religious Houfes; fo much did our King defer to the Emperor *Maximilian* for being his Soldier, and taking Pay under him. Befides, our King confider'd, that to leave any Troops behind, would difable his further Defigns; for which Motives therefore, he gave the Town to *Maximilian*, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not fo done, but that the *French* did fhortly after repair, and put it into defence. From hence the King (being perfwaded to it by *Maximilian*) refolves to befiege *Tournay*: But by the way, being diverted by the Princefs *Marguarites* Perfwafions (who defir'd much to fee him at *Lifle*) he pafs'd three Days in her Company, and the many fair Ladies that attended her; when remembring himfelf, that it was time to vifit his Army (which lay at fome diftance from him ftrongly Encamp'd) he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a Mile or two, fome fuch Mift happen'd both to him and all his Train, that they had loft themfelves; neither could they refolve which way to turn, until a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoicing of

Aug. 24. Diar. *J.T.* *Terouane* raz'd.
Bellay.
Sept. 12. Diary of *Jo. Taylor*, M. S.
Hall.
Sep. 14.
K. *Henry* lofes his way in Flanders.

1513. [Sept. 15. He besieges *Tournay*.] of them all. The 15th of *Septemb.* the Army (which *Maximilian* had now left, upon Pretence of I know not what unsatisfaction, which yet was shortly repair'd,) set down before *Tournay*, which thereupon was summon'd to yield; but the greater part refusing, the King encamping on the North, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* on the South, and the Lord *Herbert* on the West of the Town began their Batteries. [Sept. 21.] When upon the 21st a Messenger from the Earl of *Surrey* brought the Gantlet, or as * others say, the Coat-Armour of *James* the Fourth, as a Token of the Victory obtain'd at *Flodden*. [* I.T. Diar.] [He receives News of the Victory over the *Scotch* King at *Flodden-field*. *Hall.*] This, as it rejoyc'd the King, so it put him in mind of the Vicissitude of all worldly Things. Therefore he temper'd his Mirth with a serious Consideration of the Events to which Wars are subject. Howsoever, he caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung publickly the Day following, and a Sermon to be preach'd by the Bishop of *Rochester*, who laid all the Fault on that King's Breach of Word. [Sept. 22. *Tournay* yielded to him.] Which Day also those of *Tournay* capitulated and yielded to our King, [The Citizens stile him the most Christian King.] by the Name of *Roy Tres-Chrestien* (as I find in the Original * Contract) upon Condition of Fidelity, and present Payment of Fifty thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, and a yearly Pension of Four thousand Pounds *Tournois*, for the space of ten Years. [* Dat. Sept. 23.] Whereupon the King, as *John Taylor* Doctor of Law, present at the Seige, saith in his Manuscript *Latin* Diary, [Diar. *J. Taylor.* MS. Latin.] gave them leave to enjoy their Ancient Customs and Liberties; upon Condition yet they should admit a Garrison. Neither as it seems could they do otherwise; the *French* being so much discourag'd by their late Misfortune, that they did not attempt the relieving of it. [Sept. 24.] Thus, on the 24th of *September*, our King enter'd the Town triumphantly. And here, upon Consultation what was next to be done, it was resolv'd to surcease the War for this Year, Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit also, to leave Sir *Edward Poynings* with a strong Garrison to keep it. Which cannot but seem strange, to those who consider that *Therouene* was rais'd; since *Therouene* was nearer the *English* Pale, and might be better defended, and would besides, have kept the Passage open to this. But false Councils are like false Gemms; which, how counterfeit soever, have (when they are well set) one good Light to be seen by. Therefore *Woolsey*, (who was so much Author of this Council, as he got the Bishoprick of the Place thereby) could gloss his Advice, with telling the King, he might now have Confidence in *Maximilian*, as having serv'd under him. Besides, that the raising of *Therouene* at his Request, would put a perpetual Obligation on him. But as for *Tournay*, that it was fit it should be kept as a Trophy of his Victories; and the rather, that *Cæsar* (in his Commentaries) confesseth here, more than in any Place else, to have found a valourous Resistance. But how well the Arguments were grounded, the sequel will shew. The first use our King made of this Town, was to repay the Courtesies receiv'd of the Princess *Margaret*. [Sept. 25. J.T. Diar.] Hereupon she being invited, came thither, as also her Nephew *Charles* Prince of *Castile*; (afterwards Emperor,) between whom and his Sister *Mary*, there had interceded a kind of Contract, (as is before related) ever since the time of their Father *Henry* the Seventh; which likewise for the present seem'd to be confirm'd betwixt them, insomuch that they came to divers Particularities; among which one was, that the King should bring her with him the next Spring. I find also some Overture of a Match between *Charles Brandon*, now Lord *Lisle*, and the said Princess *Margaret*; which though it took no Effect, was not yet without much Demonstration of outward Grace and Favour on her part. In the mean while, that the Ladies and the Emperor who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their Quality and Worth, [1513. Diar. J. T.] the King taking the said Lord for his Associate, did * hold a solemn Justs there against all Commers; which he bravely perform'd. [* Octob. 1.] And now having feasted the Ladies Royally for divers Days, he † departed from *Tournay* to *Lisle*; [Tilts and Tournaments in *Flanders*.] where he was invited by the Lady *Margaret*; who caus'd there a Justs to be held in an extraordinary manner; [Octob 13. † Octob. 16. *Jo. T.* Diary.] the Place being a large Room, rais'd high from the Ground by many Steps, and pav'd with black square Stones like Marble; while the Horses, to prevent sliding and noise, were shod with Felt or Flocks, (the *Latin* Words are *feltro sive Tomento.*) After which, the Lords and Ladies danc'd all Night.

Yet, as I find by foreign Authors, these Jollities were not the only Cause of his Stay. For [*Surita.*] *Ferdinand* (the first Mover of these Troubles) hearing that the War against *France* was likely to cease for this Year, sends *Pedro de Orrea*, and *Juan de la Nuca*, and *Gabriel de Orti* to *Henry* the Eighth, with Commission to treat for a League, by which both Kings, with the Emperor, should severally enter *France* the next Spring: And that, for this purpose, each of them should from their Frontiers begin the War. That *Ferdinand* therefore from *Navarre* should invade *Guyenne* with Fifteen thousand five hundred Foot, and one thousand five hundred Horse of his own Subjects, and to be paid by him; and Six thousand *Germans*, to be paid at the rate of Twenty thousand Crowns Monthly by the King of *England*. In Consideration whereof, the War was to be made in the said King of *England's* Name, and for the Recovery of his Patrimony in *Guyenne*. One the other side, that the King of *England* assisted by *Maximilian*, should with Sixteen thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse, from his Territories, invade *Normandy* or *Picardy*; and that they should not relinquish this War without mutual Consent. [A Grand Confederacy against *France*.] Lastly, there was Place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of *Milan*, the *Swiss*, and the *Florentines*, to enter into this League; which was sign'd at *Lisle* on the 17th of *October*, [Octob. 17.] by *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Marquiss *Dorset* on our King's part; the *Seigneur de Berghes* first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, and *Gerard de Pleine* President of his Council; and *Pedro de Orrea*, *Don Luis Carroz*, and *Juan de la Nuca*, Ambassadors of *Ferdinand*. This being done, and the King for the rest testifying much Satisfaction, [Octob. 17.] departed thence, and two Days after, in good Order of Battel, came to *Calais*, having in this Voyage bestowed Honour upon divers Persons of Worth, Sir *Thomas Cornwal*, Baron of *Burford*, [Diar. MS.] Sir *Thomas Leigton*, Sir *Tho. Blunt*, Sir *Henry Sacheverel*, &c. being made Knights Bannerets; and Sir *John Maynwaring*, Sir *John South*, Sir *John Digby*, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave Order for securing *Tournay*, as well as the rest of his Possessions in those Parts, which being done, and the Wind proving fair, he shortly [Octob. 22.] came to his Queen at *Richmont*, who had long expected him. [The King returns to *England*.]

Having now related the King's Expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening Occasion) I must return to the Narration of that Battel, which was fought betwixt *James* the Fourth, and *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, commonly call'd *Flodden-field*. [The *Scots* War.] This King retaining in his Mind some Rancour for divers Causes formerly related, thought he could not any time more seasonably revenge himself, or for the rest give a more acceptable Testimony of his Love to *Louis* the Twelfth, than now in the King's Absence, by invading his Realm. Therefore, ha-

1513. Aug. ving first denounc'd War by his Herald, he sent *Alexander* Lord *Humes*, his Chamberlain, to forrage the Borders; which Sir *William Bulmer* hearing, used that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, so that he

Aug. 22. *Hall.* Aug. 27. recover'd a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Person, with an Army of Sixty thousand (some write a Hundred thousand) Men, enters the Country, and, after a few Days Siege, takes *Norham*-Castle. *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* hereupon hastens his Army, which consisted of Twenty-six thousand, appointing his Son, the Lord Admiral, to come by Sea, and meet him at or near *Alnewick*, in *Northumberland*. This brave Lord fail'd

* Sept. 4. not his * time, bringing with him also about One thousand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken view, and given Order in what Place every one should fight, he marches towards the King; who had remov'd his Army to an Hill call'd *Flodden* (or *Fluidon*) on the edge of the Mountain *Cheviot*; where he strongly entrench'd himself.

Buch. The *Scotch* Writers here relate, that many of their Country-Men (for want of Victuals) secretly fled Home, leaving the King's Troops but thin. Our Writers on the other side, make the *Scotch*-Men much superior in Number. Howsoever, the Earl of *Surrey* desir'd nothing more than to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts so forrag'd and spoil'd, that he could not

Sept. 4. long subsist. Therefore on *Sunday*, *Sept.* 4. he thought fit to send *Rouge-Croix* Herald, with a Trumpet, and Instructions to *James* the Fourth,

The Earl of *Surrey* challenges the *Scots* King. to tell him, *That in regard he had violated his Faith and League, and beastily enter'd the* English *Ground, that on* Friday *next he would bid him Battel, if the said King would stay so long in* England, *and accept it.* The Lord *Thomas* his Son, also requir'd *Rouge Croix* particularly to certify the King of his Jour-

The Earl's Son defies him. ney by Sea; and that, *because he could meet no* Scotch *Ships there, he thought fit to land, that he might justify* Andrew Breton*'s Death*: And added further, *as he look'd for no Mercy from his Enemies, so he would spare none but the King only, if he came in his Hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vantguard of the Battel.* Lastly, *Rouge-Croix* was charg'd, if any were remanded, he should (for preventing Espial) bring him no nearer than two Miles unto the Camp. *James*

* Sept. 6. the Fourth * receiv'd this Message gladly; and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own

That King's Answer. Herald assures the Earl, *That he did so much desire to encounter him, that though he had been at* Edenburgh, *he would have left all Business for that purpose: And therefore wish'd him to rest assur'd, he would not fail to abide Battle the Day nam'd, which was* Friday. This being done, the Herald delivers a Protestation from his King and Master, in these very Words, being in Answer to the former Expostulation of the Earl's.

Hall. His Defence of his invading England. *As to the Causes alledg'd of our coming into* England, *against our Bond and Promise (as is alledg'd,) thereto we answer; Our Brother was bound as far to us, as we to him; and when we swore last before his Ambassador, in presence of our Council, we express'd especially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our Brother brake first unto us. And since his Breach, we have requir'd divers times him to amend. And lately we warn'd our Brother, as he did not us e're he brake. And this we take for our Quarrel, and with God's Grace shall defend the same at your affix'd time, which with God's Grace we shall abide.* Hereupon the Earl advancing, came within three Miles of *Flodden*; but perceiving that the King still kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, he

Sept. 7. sent *Rouge-Croix* again, with a Letter subscrib'd by himself, his Son the Lord Admiral, and divers other principal Noblemen and Knights, where, in respectful Terms, they provok'd him to descend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain call'd *Milfeild* (which lay between them) upon *Friday* following; alledging for this purpose, the Promise they receiv'd from his Grace heretofore. But no satisfactory Answer being given to this, and the Heralds being return'd on either side, the Earl removes with his Army to such a Place, that if the *Scotch*-Men would not leave the Advantage of their Site, he might cut off their Victuals, and consequently draw them down. *James* the Fourth hereupon firing his Hutts, dislodges covertly by the Benefit of the Smoak, and keeping still on the higher Ground, at last he commands a Stay. Presently after the Earl also traversing some Boggs and Marshes, till he arriv'd to the bottom of this Bank, found the Ascent not very steep, and thereupon incourageth his Men to fight. This done, he marcheth up; the Vantguard was led by his two Sons, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edmund*; the Battle by himself, and the Rear by Sir *Edward Stanley*. The Lord *Dacres* with his Horse, being appointed as a Reserve on all Occasions. The King observing this well, and judging that it was not without much Disadvantage that the *English* came to fight, exhorts his Men to behave themselves like brave Soldiers, and thereupon joyns Battle. Sir *Edmund Howard* at first was in some Distress, by the singular Valour of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argile*; but the Lord *Dacres* coming to his Succour, as also one *Heron*, the Fight was renew'd: The Lord *Thomas Howard* pursu'd his Point better; yet so, as he found a brave Opposition from the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*. The *King's* Battle, and the *Earl's* likewise maintain'd together a long and sharp Fight. This while Sir *Edward Stanley* by force of Archers, constrain'd the *Scots* to descend the Hill, insomuch that, for avoiding his Storm of Arrows, they open'd their Ranks, and therein seem'd to give one of the first Overtures for Victory. The *King* perceiving the Disorder, redoubl'd his Courage, insomuch that our Writers confess, he had almost overthrown the *Earl's* Standards. But the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Edward Stanley*, who had discomfited their Opposites coming to Succours, and the Lord *Dacres* also flying in with his Horse, the *Scots* were so hardly put to it, that for their last Defence they cast themselves into a Ring; in that order of Fight doing all that valiant Men possibly could to defend themselves. No Man yet did in his Person more than the *King*; insomuch, that pressing on still, he was at *last kill'd* on the Place, as our Writers have it. The *Scotch* Writers yet say, it was one *Elphinstone*, who wearing the same *Arms* the *King* did, was taken for him; affirming further, that the *King* fled over the River *Tweed*, and was there (I know not how) slaughter'd. The Fight continuing three Hours, made the Event doubtful, and the Execution great. In Conclusion, most of the nobler sort, one Arch-Bishop, and two Bishops, besides four Abbots on the *Scots* side were slain there, and about Ten thousand others. On our side (says *Polydore*) there died about Five thousand, others say fewer; so that as it was a Bloody Victory, it might be thought somewhat uncertain till the next Morning, when the Body, suppos'd for the *King's*, and so acknowledg'd by divers of both Nations (as our Historians say) was found among the dead Carkasses, having receiv'd (as our Writers have it) a mortal Wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill. The *Scots* lay the Occasion of their Overthrow chiefly on some of their Troops that look'd on, and never so much as gave stroak. But that we may leave these Things to their Relations, I find after this Battle the *Scots* that remain'd,

[Right margin notes:] 1513. — The Battle of *Flodden-field.* — *James* the IVth. King of *Scotland* kill'd. *Buch.* — The *Scots* routed. — *Hall.*

1513. Sept. 9. main'd, return'd home much griev'd for the unfortunate Succefs of that Day, being *Sept.* 9. The *Earl* took all the Ordnance, and particularly feven extraordinary fair Culverins, call'd *the feven Sifters*. And fo after giving God thanks, difmifs'd the greateft part of his Army, and retir'd himfelf home, until News of the King's coming to *Richmont* brought him thither, taking order in the mean time, that the dead Body, being embalm'd, fhould be carry'd firft to *New-Caftle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surry*; though, as that King was excommunicate, it may be doubted, whether it were buried in any confecrate Place; fince I find

Nov. 29. Records. by *Breve* dated *November* 29. 1513, and extant in our Records, that our King obtained a *Breve* from the Pope, for transferring the Body to St. *Paul's* in *London*. Upon Condition yet, that the Bifhop of *London* fhould firft abfolve the faid *James*, and our King *Nomine ipfius aliquam convenientem pœnitentiam adimpleret*; *in his Name underwent fome fitting Pennance*.

Jan. 3. 1513/14. The Parliament fits. *Regni* 5. Our King now (the Parliament ftill fitting) eftablifh'd an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquifitions in *France*, might recover their Debts from thofe in *England*, as well as the *Englifh* from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Perfon that would fue for the King's Pardon, upon certain Articles, fhould have it.

M. S. In this Parliament alfo *Margaret*, Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late Wife of Sir *Richard de la Pole* Knight, petitioned, That fince, by Act of Parliament, 19 *Henrici* VII. *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* was declar'd Traytor, and fo his Lands forfeited; it would pleafe the King, that fhe might inherit (as being Sifter and next of Blood) his State and Dignity, and fo be ftiled Countefs of *Sarum*; which was granted.

I find little elfe memorable this Year among our Hiftorians, fave only a Commotion in *London*; which hapned on this manner. The Villages of *Iflington*, *Hockfton*, and *Shoreditch* having fo inclos'd their Grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accuftom'd Freedom and Exer-

A Tumult in *London* by the Apprentices. cifes; the *Apprentices* of *London* threw down the Hedges and Ditches, after this manner. A Turner running in a Fool's-Coat through the Streets, and crying *Shovels and Spades*, was prefently follow'd in fuch Numbers, as all their Inclofures were quickly levell'd. For which therefore the Lord-Mayor was well check'd, and Command given him to prevent further Mifchief.

The *French* King, now finding two principal *Frontier*-Towns taken, the Flower of his Chivalry made Prifoners, while the reft ran away, his beft Confederate *James* IV. kill'd, and the chief Adminiftration of *Scottifh* Affairs devolv'd to the Hands of *Margaret*, Sifter to King *Henry* VIII. (at leaft until fhe married again,) a League, in Oppofition to him, fworn by three the moft puiffant Princes of Chriftendom: The Pope animating all this againft him, under the odious Name of a *Schifmatick*; and laftly, himfelf far ftrucken in Years, begins to think how beft he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winter's fpace; for the War was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope firft. To this End he offers Satisfaction for his Obftinacy; next, he ftipulates to give Way to the accomplifhing the Pope's Defigns in *Bononia*, and elfewhere; to renounce the Council of *Pifan*, and accept that of *Lateran*, promifing withal to remand the Cardinal *Bernardino*, (whom as the Pope defired to have, fo he gracioufly pardoned.) Laftly, whereas great Inconveniencies might follow, not only to his Holinefs, but all Chriftendom, if, by thefe Inteftine Wars a Paffage were made open for *Selyme* the *Turk* to invade it, (who had lately taken eighteen ftrong Places near *Presburg* in *Hungary*,) he promifeth his Affiftance againft them. All which being taken by the Pope into ferious Confideration, makes him relent; and in fequence therefore, not only recommends Peace and Unity to all Chriftian Princes, and particularly to our King, but, fhortly after enters into a League againft the *Turk*; for this Purpofe ufing thofe potent Minifters of his the *Church-men*, who were in favour with their feveral Princes. *Louis* the Twelfth alfo draws *Maximilian* off, partly by reprefenting the Danger above-mention'd in *Hungary*, which (next *Ladiflaus*) moft concern'd him; and partly by according the Demands he made about divers Pretences in *Burgogne*; and laftly, urges fome Difcontents remaining in *Maximilian's* Mind, ever fince *Henry* VIII. and himfelf met laft, (though in Effect they were little more than *Puntiglios*, ordinarily hapning on the Interview of great Princes.) And for *Ferdinand*, he was eafily taken off, fo that he might enjoy *Navarre*, and for the reft keep his Authority in *Italy*. To which therefore *Louis* the Twelfth condefcended, proroguing the laft * Year's Truce with him for twelve Months longer. Laftly, becaufe *Henry* VIII. was (without all thefe) able alone to find him work, he offers his Friendfhip, and Alliance in matching with his Sifter the Princefs *Mary*, thought then one of the faireft Ladies of her Time. To ftrengthen this Propofition alfo, he advertifes our King, that *Charles* Prince of *Caftile* (afterwards *Charles* V.) was treating of a Marriage with *Anne* Daughter of *Ladiflaus* King of *Hungary*; and were it in earneft, that he intended to match with his Sifter the Princefs *Mary*, that yet (being but Fourteen Years old in *February* next) he was not ripe enough for her; concealing in the mean time that himfelf was as much too old.) He privately alfo acquainted the King, how *Ferdinand* did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy *Navarre*. Together with which, it is probable he did reveal the aforefaid fecret Truce made by the *Spanifh* Secretary *Quintana*, betwixt himfelf and *Ferdinand* for one Year more. An Article whereof was, That, during the faid Truce, *Louis* XII. fhould not moleft *Milan*. He told him, befides, that *Maximilian's* Defigns were on the *Venetians*, and not on *France*. And that the Levies in *Flanders* for the Wars propofed againft *France* the next Year, were and fhould be retarded by the Princefs *Marguerite*, purpofely, becaufe her Father had other Defigns: All which was reprefented to the King by private and confident Meffengers, who under colour of treating for the Delivery of *Louis Duc de Longueville*, and the reft who were Prifoners of War, negotiated this great Affair. Our King hereupon difdaining to be twice deceived by his Father-in-Law *Ferdinand*, and detefting withal the Ingratitude and Levity of *Maximilian*, agreed a League with *Louis* XII. upon the feventh of *Auguft* 1514. for the Term of their joint Lives and one Year after. The Effect was, *That all former Offences fhould be remitted and abolifh'd, Traffick reftor'd, and all Impofitions on Strangers fince fifty-two Years laft paft, extinguifh'd. That no Letters of Merque fhould be granted, but againft the principal Delinquents, and that only in cafe Juftice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea fhould be maintain'd on either fide. That Rebels and Fugitives fhould not be entertain'd, but render'd (within twenty Days after Requifition) to their Sovereigns. That they fhould be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, That (for mutual Defence of their prefent Eftates)* Louis XII. *fhould furnifh at the Requifition of* Henry VIII. *one thoufand two hundred Lances by Land, and five thoufand Men at Sea, with convenient Shipping. And* Henry VIII. *ten thoufand Archers by*

Right-margin notes: 1514. — Decemb. — The French K. makes his Peace with the Pope. — * April 1513. — K. Henry concludes a Peace with the French K. Aug. 7. Du Tillet.

1514. by Land, and five thousand Men at Sea, with Shipping, at the Requisition of Louis XII. But if either of the two Kings shall require Aid of the other for the recovery of his Pretensions, then Louis shall lend King Henry six hundred Lances only, and King Henry him but five thousand Archers for Land-Service; the Sea Forces retaining the Numbers above-mention'd. All this to be at the Cost of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the said Princes shall be invaded, only for the Cause of this Confederacy, then the other shall aid him at his own Charge. If War be made by common Consent, neither Prince may make Peace severally. That the English Merchants should have their ancient Privileges at Bourdeaux restor'd. That this Treaty should be publish'd and ratifi'd by the Pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) with a Clause of Excommunication on the Infractors. Among the Allies of each Prince, the Scots also were comprehended herein, upon Condition, that after Septemb. 15. they should make no Incursion on the English by publick Authority; and if any were otherwise made, that Satisfaction should be speedily given. Besides this, the French Writers confess there was a Treaty apart, by which Louis promised to pay Henry VIII. a Million of Crowns, the said Henry rendring him an Obligation, by which Charles Duke of Orleans, Father of the said Louis, and other Princes of France were bound to pay the said Sum. (Tillet.) For, whereas Charles VIII. Predecessor to Louis XII. by a Treaty at Estaples 1492, bound himself and his Heirs to pay King Henry VII. and his Heirs, the Sum of 745000 Crowns; and, after the Death of the said Charles, Louis XII. bound himself and his Heirs to pay so much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the said Louis XII. first to Henry VII. 1498, and after to Henry VIII. 1510. And whereas (besides this Bond) the aforesaid Charles had bound himself to the Lady Margarite, Dutchess of Somerset, Anno 1444, to pay her a certain Sum of Money, which was not yet discharged. Therefore, as also for confirming the Amity betwixt Louis and Henry, the said Louis did now bind himself and Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be paid to King Henry VIII. in his Town of Calais, at several Times, (viz.) November 1. next following, fifty thousand Francs; and May 1. next, so much more, and so till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I find in an Original thereof, dated Sept. 14. 1514. All which minuted by Louis de Longueville (called by some Louis d'Orleans Duc de Longueville) during his Restraint, was at last thus fully concluded. The Princess Mary also was to be consigned to him, with convenient speed; notwithstanding (saith Polydore) the King had secretly destin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was so much for her Dignity, yet married her not long after. The Condition for the Marriage, betwixt the said Louis XII. and Mary the King's Sister, were these, as we find them in our Records.

(Orig. Rec. Nov. 5. 1492. — July 14. 1498. — July 22. 1510. — March 7. 1444. — Sept. 14. — Polyd. Virg. — The Fr. K. Louis XII agrees to marry K. Henry's Sister.)

(The Marriage Articles. August.) That, 1. within ten Days following, Matrimony shall be contracted by both Persons by Proxies, per verba de praesenti. 2. After the Contract above-said, within two Months, the King of England shall send and convey her, with Jewels and Houshold-stuff fitting her Estate, to Abbeville in France; where, within four Days following the said Louis XII. shall solemnly marry her. 3. King Henry shall give with the Princess Mary four hundred thousand Crowns; of which Sum (in regard of the Traduction of the Lady, her Apparels, Jewels, &c.) Louis will be content to accept the one half, i.e. two hundred thousand Crowns, and to pay himself the rest out of the Monies which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King Henry. 4. Louis shall assign to the Princess Mary a Jointure as great as any Queen of France (and namely as Queen Anne the last Queen) hath had. And this during her Life she shall enjoy, wheresoever she reside. 5. If Louis die first, then the Princess Mary, during her Life, shall enjoy her Dowry and Jointure, and all Jewels which the Queens of France have used to enjoy after the Death of their Husbands. 6. If Louis survive the said Princess, then he shall have and enjoy her Portion, Jointure, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Custom of France. 1514.

While these Things were in Agitation, the King (who called to mind many that had serv'd him with much Fidelity, Courage, and Success in his late Occasions and Enterprizes) thought he could not do any thing more justly and prudently, than to bestow some condign Recompence upon them; it being such a Mystery of State as not only gives the greatest Lustre of Regal Authority, but of that Consequence, as being used well, there will be little need of Punishment. The Reward to these brave Cavaliers he had selected out for this Purpose, the King thought good to invest in Honour chiefly. Therefore upon the second of February, Thomas Earl of Surrey was by him created Duke of Norfolk; (a Title * before conferr'd on John his Father by Richard III. and then again extinguish'd.) His eldest Son, the Lord Thomas Howard also being substituted Earl of Surrey. Together with which he had an Augmentation of Arms for his Atchievement in Flodden-Field. Sir Charles Somerset also, being in Elizabeth his Wife's Right, (who was Daughter and Heir to William Herbert, Earl of Huntington) Lord Herbert of Chepstow, Gower, and Ragland, was created Earl of Worcester. Sir Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle, was now also created Duke of Suffolk; and Sir Edward Stanley, not long after, made Lord Mounteagle. Lastly, Thomas Woolsey Bishop of Tournay, was constituted Bishop of Lincoln.

(Feb. 2. — * 1483. — A creation of Noble-Men.)

The King, being at some rest now from transmarine Affairs, begins to look towards Scotland; upon which he had many Advantages. For as the two Princes, left by King James, were very young; his Sister Queen Margaret (their Mother) having the Administration of all the Affairs there; the chief and most active Part of their Nobility kill'd, there wanted not many Occasions to prevail himself of; whereupon also, either by gentle means, or otherwise by Force, he resolv'd to procure an Interest in the Government of that Kingdom. To this it conduced not a little, that those Nobles which remain'd, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were distracted among themselves. The Queen foreseeing well, that, in this ill Condition of Affairs, many Inconveniencies might follow, in a Country, whereof (by special Clause of a Testament made by the King before the last Expedition) she was declar'd Regent, as long as she continued unmarried, sends to the King her Brother, to crave his Advice and Assistance; beseeching him withal, that he would desist from Hostility. The King most generously answer'd, that, If the Scots would have Peace, he would keep Peace; if they would have War, he would likewise have War. Thus were all Things compos'd for the present, and James V. (being not two Years old) in Parliament declared King, in February 151¾. Yet as, not long * after, she took to Husband Archibald Douglass Earl of Anguis (one both for Birth and other Perfections the eminentest she could chuse in that Country) some Innovations and Troubles ensued. For while Douglass labour'd by his private Power to supply that Authority, which by marrying him, she seem'd to have lost; the Kingdom was broken into Factions. The Favourers of Dowglass alledg'd, there was no other way to keep Peace, but by submitting all to Queen Margaret; for, since the King of England did therefore only desist from pursuing his Victory, because the Administration of Affairs was in his Sister's Hands, it were best to leave them there; to erect any

(The Queen Regent of Scotland begs a Peace. — The King's Answer. — * Aug. 6. Feb. — Division in the Scottish Government.)

other

1514. other form of Government, were to draw the *English* in again; and when all their Forces united were not able to refift him abfent, what might they attend from him prefent? Efpecially, when not only their chief Strength was loft in the late Battel, but *Henry* fhould find a Party with his Sifter, (both in her own Name, and in the King her Son's) would make for him. The other Faction (whereof *Alexander Humes* was chief) urg'd the Ancient Cuftom of *Scotland*, which in thefe Cafes, he faid, did always choofe fome Protector or Vice-Roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto paid fo much deference to the Vertues of the Queen, that as long as poffibly there was pretext for it by the King's Teftament, they had admitted her for Regent: For now, fince the Marriage of *Douglafs*, fhe had voluntarily relinquifh'd that Power, that the Country therefore fhould refume their wonted Right and Priviledges. For, if in the moft quiet and ferene Times, Women had been excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the only Reafon that mov'd *Humes*: For, while he doubted left the ancient followers of his Houfe, fhould by the Power of *Douglafs*, be now drawn from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminifh and weaken either him or the Queen's Authority. Therefore he recommended every where *John Stewart*, Duke of *Albany*, Coufin-German by the Father, to *James* the Fourth; who, though then in *France*, was yet of great efteem at Home. This again, was feconded by the Arts of the *French*, who could by no means fuffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much lefs drawn from them. Howbeit, *Louis* thought not fit openly to difcover himfelf, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a ftrait League and Affinity. Therefore he would not fuffer the Duke to come into *Scotland*, though not long

* March 13. *Lesl.* before * elected Governor; by the Queen's confent, as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; fhe protefting † to our King afterwards, it

† March 15. 16. was extorted from her.) Howfoever, after the Death of *Louis*, he was fent over, (as fhall be fhewed hereafter) well furnifh'd both with Men

1515. and Money, to take Poffeffion of the chief Government of all things, during the Minority of the Prince.

While Bufineffes were now in preparation for Peace and Alliance betwixt our King and *Louis* the Twelfth, it was thought fit, for difcharge of the King's Engagement and Honour, to fend to *Flanders*, to difcover how in thofe Parts their affection ftood towards the Match propos'd be-

15. 8. twixt Prince *Charles* and the Princefs *Mary*; and withal to require Men for the War intended the next Spring. But *Charles* having already broken two Articles of the faid Treaty of Marriage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen Years of Age, he fhould fend a Proxy into *England*, to contract the Princefs *per verba de præfenti*; the other, that at a Day appointed he fhould come himfelf to *Calais* to efpoufe her; and our Ambaffadors finding for the reft nothing but delay and irrefolution, the King would no longer omit to give order, that his Sifter fhould neither be flighted, nor his Affairs otherwife fuffer detriment. Therefore, after a fhort Proteftation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was difclos'd for difpofing the Princefs *Mary* in any other Place, or of making a League with *Louis* the Twelfth) the King proceeds more roundly in his Bufinefs. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies coming to *Suffex* by Night, and landing there, after a fhort ftay, was driven back, and in the Retreat, fhot in the Face with an Arrow.

Sir *John Wallop* hereupon being fent into *Normandy*, burnt divers Ships, and One and twenty 1514.
Villages, landing many times in defpight of the May.
French, which feem'd the more ftrange, that his Soldiers exceeded not eight hundred Men. The *French* alfo appearing in fome numbers near the
English Pale, Sir *Thomas Lovell* was fent with cer- June.
tain Troops to *Calais*, for the better ftrengthning of the Place; and the rather, that *Richard de la Pole* was now gathering Forces for fome great Defign. But before he could do any thing, the Treaty and Peace was made; among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of *Richard de la Pole* was propos'd, yet *Louis* would never confent to it, but
fending him out of *France*, gave him an Yearly *Bell.*
Penfion.

Louis de Longueville having now Power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de prefent* with our King's Sifter, fhe alfo fent * her
* Aug. 22.
Procuration to the fame effect, the Ceremony whereof was folemnly held at the *Celeftins* in *Paris*, *September* 14. News whereof was no fooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen, conducting her to the Sea-fide, bid her farewel, and recommended her to the Duke of *Norfolk*'s care. Shortly after which, landing at *Boulogne*, and being met by fome principal Perfons deputed by the King, fhe was attended on, and guided towards *Abbeville*; in the way to which, the old King, on Horfeback, met and faluted her, and afterwards retir'd himfelf privately, while fhe was receiv'd into *Abbeville* with

Sept. 14. The King's Sifter, the Princefs *Mary*, paffes over to *France*, Octob. 3.

much Pomp. Where, on St. *Dennis*'s Day, *Octob.* 9. Octob. 9.
fhe was in Perfon, marry'd to *Louis* the Twelfth; who, after beftowing many Jewels on her, and rich Prefents to thofe who came along, difmifs'd all, fave a few Officers and Attendants, amongft whom I find Mrs. *Anne Bollen*, Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bollen*, as one. Howbeit, occafion was given of bringing over fome of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to *Paris*, not long after.

And is marry'd to *Lewis* the 12th.

Mrs. *Anne Bollen*, one of her Retinue.

Francois de Valois, Duke of *Angoulefme*, and next Heir Male to the Crown (having in *May* before
marry'd *Claude*, eldeft Daughter to *Louis* the May 18.
Twelfth, by *Anne*, who was Inheretrix of *Bre-* 1514.
tagne) defir'd now, in the King's declining Age, to give fome proof of his Valour. Therefore, before the *English* departed from *Abbeville*, he caus'd Jufts to be proclaim'd; which, for being fo extraordinary, (the Perfons and manner confider'd) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that in *November* enfuing, he, with nine Aids, would anfwer all Comers that were Gentlemen of Name and Arms, on Horfe-
back, and on Foot. The Laws on Horfe-back *Hall.*
were, that with fharp Spears they fhould run five Courfes at Tilt, and five more at Random, being well Arm'd, and cover'd with pieces of Advantage, for their beft Defence. After this, to fight twelve ftroaks with fharp Swords. This being done, he and his Aids offer'd to fight at Barriers with the fame Perfons, with a Hand-fpear and Sword. The Conditions were, that if any Man were Unhors'd, or fell'd, fighting on Foot, his Armour and Horfe fhould be render'd to the Officer of Arms. That for this purpofe, an Arch Triumphant fhould be fet forth at the *Tournelles*, near *Rue* Saint *Antonie* in *Paris*, on which four Shields fhould be plac'd. That he who would touch any of them, muft firft enter his Name and Arms. That he who touch'd the firft, which was Silver, fhould run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touc'd the Golden Shield, fhould run at Random, as above-mention'd. He that touch'd the Black Shield, fhould fight on Foot with Hand-fpears and Swords for the one Hand; fix Foynes with the Hand-fpear, and then eight ftroaks to the moft Advantage (if the Spear fo long

Solemn Jufts proclaim'd by *Francois*, Duke of *Angoulefme*, afterwards *Francois* the Firft.

The Conditions of them.

1514.

long held.) and after that twelve ſtroaks with the Sword. He that touch'd the tawny Shield, ſhould caſt a Spear on Foot with a Target on his Arm, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Marquiſs *Dorſet*, and his four Brethren, the Lord *Pinton*, Sir *Edward Nevile*, Sir *Giles Capell*, *Thomas Chenye*, and others, obtain'd leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they ſo haſten'd, that before the end of *October*, they came to St. *Denis*, where they found the Queen; the Solemnities for her Coronation, as alſo for her Reception at *Paris*, being not yet in readineſs. *Francois de Valois*, kowing how good Men at Arms the Duke of *Suffolk* and Marquiſs *Dorſet* were, requeſted them to be two of his Aids; to which they aſſented. But while theſe things were in preparing, *Mary* the *French* Queen, was upon the Fifth of *November*, Crown'd in St. *Denis*, the Earl of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Weſt* (who were appointed for this purpoſe by our King) attending her in the Solemnity thereof, and *Francois de Valois* (afterwards King) holding the Crown (which was very weighty) over her Head. The Day following ſhe enter'd *Paris* with great Pomp, and the morrow after the Juſts began, of which the King and Queen were Spectators; the King being yet ſo weak that he lay on a Couch. Theſe Juſts continu'd three Days, in which Three hundred and five Men at Arms were anſwer'd by the Defendants; among which, ſome were ſo hurt, that they dy'd not long after: At *Randon* and *Tourney*, the Duke of *Suffolk* hurt a Gentleman very dangerouſly, and the Marquis *Dorſet* did no leſs to another. Then the Duke overthrew a Man both Horſe and Arms, and ſo did the Marquiſs. *Francis* at laſt being hurt, deſires the Duke and Marquiſs to fight at *Barriers*; who therefore took the firſt place agginſt all Comers. In the mean while, *Francis*, intending an Affront, (as was thought) to the Duke, cauſeth a *German* (the ſtrongeſt Perſon in all the Court) to be arm'd ſecretly, and preſent himſelf at *Barriers*; they both did well; yet the Duke at laſt, with the but-end of his Spear, ſtruck the *German* till he ſtagger'd, and ſo the Rail was let fall. The Marquiſs *Dorſet* alſo foil'd another *French*-man. Then they took ſome breath, and retur'd to fight again; when the Duke ſo pommell'd the *German* about the Head, that Blood guſh'd from his Noſe; which being done, the *German* was convey'd away ſecretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewiſe, which the Reader may find elſewhere. At laſt our *Engliſh* with ſingular honour, return'd to their King and Maſter, whom they found much comforted for the * birth of another Prince, though not living long after.

He deſires the Duke of *Suffolk* and Marquiſs *Dorſet* to be two of his Aids.

Nov. 5.

Mary the *French* Queen Crown'd Nov. 6.

Nov. 7.

The Duke of *Suffolk* and Marquiſs of *Dorſet*'s Braveryat the Juſts.

Hall.

* Nov.

$15\frac{14}{15}$. Jan. 1.

But the contentment of *Louis* the Twelfth was almoſt as ſhort; who being aged, and infirm, after ſome Eighty days poſſeſſion, rather than enjoying of his Queen, dy'd *January* 1. 1515. leaving behind him no Iſſue Male; though otherwiſe of that eſteem among his Subjects, for his care not to oppreſs them with Impoſitions longer than his neceſſities requir'd; that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple, Father of his People.* After him ſucceeded *Francois de Valois*, above-mention'd, a Prince of great hope. His Age was twenty-one, or twenty-two; wherein, as well as in the moſt part of his Manners, there was much conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodlieſt Perſonages, not of their Quality only, but of their Time. This Prince was *Sacred* (to uſe the *French* term) at *Reymes*, 25 of *January*, 1515, taking on him, together with the name of King of *France*, that of Duke of *Milan*. To which he ſeem'd to have a double Title, both as he was of the Houſe of *Orleans*, to which the Claim of the ſaid Dutchy belong'd; as alſo being comprehended in the Inveſtiture made by the Emperor, according to the Treaty at *Cambray*. And becauſe he ſucceeded as well to the Right, as to the Means of recovering the ſaid Dutchy, he thought on nothing more, than how to vindicate the Glory his Predeceſſors had loſt in that Attempt. His firſt care was, how to aſſure himſelf of our King: This he procures, partly by addreſſing himſelf to *Woolſey*, who then prevail'd moſt with the King, and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the * laſt Treaty of Peace with *Louis* the Twelfth, (being to endure but till the firſt of *January* † next,) was (as I find both by ours and the *French* Record) renew'd in the ſame Terms, the 5th of *April* following, and prorogu'd for term of their joint Lives, and one Year after. Only better order was given for Depredations than before; it being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation ſhould depart out of their Ports, without giving caution to their ſeveral Admirals, that no Wrong or Moleſtation ſhould be done by Sea.

Louis the 12th dies. *Francis* the I. ſucceeds him.

Jan. 25.

1515.

1508.

* Aug. 7. 1514.

† 1515.

K. *Henry* confirms the Peace with *France*. April 5.

Upon the 8th of *May*, the *French* King agreed alſo to pay, at certain Days, a Million of Crowns to our King; (for ſo the *French* have it,) which, whether it were a new Stipulation, or that formerly agreed on by *Louis* the Twelfth, appears not to me; and *Polydore*'s words are obſcure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum, Money paid for obtaining a Peace.* The 15th of *May* following, the *Scots* enter'd into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the Peace.) Neither did our King eaſily believe, that underhand they would have made any other. Notwithſtanding which, the *French* and they did, upon the ſecond of *January* following, privately enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt *England*.

May 8. *J. du. Till.*

Polydore ſays, *Francis* bought the Peace.

May 15. The *Scots* included in the Treaty.

Jan. 2. $15\frac{15}{16}$. *Tillet.*

The Treachery of the *French* and *Scots.*

Together with the propoſing of this Treaty, (in which the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Wingfeild* Deputy of *Calais*, and Doctor *Weſt*, were employ'd,) our King ſent a Letter to the Queen his Siſter; wherein he deſir'd to know, how ſhe ſtood affected to her return to *England*, deſiring her withal not to Match without his Conſent. She on the other ſide, who had privately engag'd her Affection to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, made no great difficulty to diſcover her ſelf to both Kings; intreating *Francis* to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former *Francis* eaſily agreed, (though once intending to propoſe a Match betwixt her and the Duke of *Savoy*;) but our King, for the conſervation of his Dignity, held a little off: However he had long ſince deſign'd her to *Suffolk*. The Queen alſo believing that this Formality was the greateſt Impediment, did not proceed without ſome ſcruple, though proteſting, (as appears by an Original) that if the King would have her married in any Place, ſave where her Mind was, ſhe would ſhut her ſelf up in ſome Religious-Houſe. Thus, without any great Pomp, being ſecretly married, the Queen writ Letters of excuſe to the King her Brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her ſelf, and together, for the more clearing the Duke of *Suffolk*, profeſs'd, that ſhe prefix'd the ſpace of four Days to him, in which ſhe ſaid, unleſs he could obtain her Good Will, he ſhould be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as alſo through the good Office of *Francis*, who (fearing leſt our King by her means, ſhould contract ſome greater Alliance) did further this Marriage; our King did by degrees reſtore them to his Favour; *Woolſey* alſo not a little contributing thereunto, while he

Feb. 3.

The *French* Queen Marries the Duke of *Suffolk*. March.

1515. he told our King, how much better ſhe was beſtow'd on him, than on ſome Perſon of Quality in *France*.

Thus having prepared all Things for their Departure, they took their Leave of the *French* Court; the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate, and Tapeſtry of *Louis* XII. to the value of Two hundred thouſand Crowns, as the *French* have it. Among which a great Diamond, call'd *le Miroir de Naples* (as I find by our Records) was one; though not without much Reluctation of *Francis*, who would fain have redeem'd it at a great Price. Order alſo was taken for the Payment of her Jointure, being Sixty thouſand Crowns yearly. Whereupon the Queen and Duke with all her Train (ſave Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, who ſtaid in the *French* Court) * began their Journey; to the Satisfaction of *Francis*, as hoping by their means to confirm his ſo much deſir'd Peace and Treaty with our King. Thus arriving at *Calais* the 25th of *April*, and from thence coming to *Dover*, and after to *Greenwich*, they were publickly married the 13th of *May*. Thus our King's two Siſters, after their being join'd with great Princes, did not diſdain to accept inferiour Perſons for their Huſbands.

Mrs. *Bolen* ſtays in *France*.
April 19.
April 25.
The *French* Queen arrives in *England*.
May 13.

Feb. 5. $15\frac{14}{15}$. Reg. 6.
Laws made in the Parliament, 6 *Hen.* 8th.
about Apparel.
Archery.

But that I may return to my propoſed Method in this Hiſtory, I ſhall ſet down the Laws enacted in the Parliament (*ſexto* of this King) beginning *February quinto*; where I find one of their chief Cares was, to put into better Order the former Laws concerning Apparel; which yet was not ſo well digeſted, but that the Year following, even the Law it ſelf chang'd Faſhion. Howſoever, that of Archery, made before, was not only confirm'd, but made perpetual; ſo that, notwithſtanding the uſe of *Caleevers* or Hand-guns (for Muſkets were not yet known) it was thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I cannot but commend the Conſtancy, if not Wiſdom of thoſe Times; it being certain, that, when he that carries the *Caleever* goes unarm'd, the Arrow will have the ſame Effect within its Diſtance that the Bullet, and can, again, for one Shot return two. Beſides, as they uſed their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to Execution on the Enemy with great Advantage. I cannot deny yet but againſt the Pike they were of leſs Force than the *Caleevers*: Therefore I believe the meaning of theſe Times was, to command it as an Exerciſe to the common People, and for the reſt reſerve it for thoſe Occaſions, where they might be of uſe. Howſoever, Hand-guns and Croſs-Bows were forbidden under certain Penalties, to all Men that had leſs than Five hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Wages for Artificers alſo was ſettled, and the Price of Watermen. A Penalty alſo was impos'd on thoſe who changed Tillage into Paſture. And very good Order taken concerning Deceit in Cloth, as being the only Cauſe they had not ſo good Vent Abroad. The Commiſſion of Sewers extending to the making up of the Sea-walls, *&c.* in *England*, the Marches of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and *Hames*, (begun *ſexto Henrici ſexti*, and continued *quarto Henrici ſeptimi*, for Twenty-five Years) being now upon Expiration, was continued alſo for ten Years more. It was commanded alſo, that the River of *Canterbury* ſhould be deepned. It was provided alſo, that Wooll ſhould not be carried beyond Sea; which was to the Benefit of Clothiers. No ſecond Letters Patents alſo might be taken, without mentioning the firſt: Which was very equal, both for the King and Subject. And becauſe divers now, being weary with ſitting ſo long in Parliament, did depart Home without Licenſe, (they only remaining who factiouſly combined themſelves, with Intention to gain the major part of Voices, in any thing they deſired to obtain) it was order'd, they ſhould loſe their Wages, if they went without the Leave of the Speaker, and Common Houſe, to be entred in the Book of the Clerk of the Parliament.

Wages for Mechanicks.
Prices of Watermen.
About Tillage.
Cloth.
Commiſſions of Sewers.
Againſt Exportation of Wooll.
1515.
Parliament Men loſe their Wages, if they went Home without Leave of the Houſe.

During the Stay of the *French* Dowager and her Huſband, a Treaty alſo paſt concerning the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, upon a Sum of Money offer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in Exchange thereof, the County of *Guiſnes*, or *Ardes*, *Francis*, who deſir'd not any enlarging of the *Engliſh* Pale, fell off, ſo that our King provided for Defence. For which purpoſe, as well as diminiſhing his Charge in keeping an exceſſive Garriſon, he rais'd a Citadel there; without that *Francis* thought fit either to interrupt the Deſign, or otherwiſe to offend our King; as hoping, by the means of *Woolſey*, (to whom, together with the unuſefulneſs of *Tournay*, he repreſented a Cardinal's Hat) to obtain his Deſire. And it was the true Bait to take him; he being extreamly ambitious of that Dignity, both as he thought it would ſecure his Greatneſs, and as it enabled him to ſerve his King and Maſter's Turn. Therefore he had many ways attempted it, and particularly by the Intervention of Cardinal *Hadrian de Caſtello* an *Italian*, (Biſhop of *Bath*, and the Pope's Collector in *England*) not omitting together to uſe the help of *Sylveſter* (*Italian* likewiſe) Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and the rather, that they were both at *Rome*, were Cardinal *Bambridge* alſo on our King's part reſided: But this Cardinal dying *July* 14. 1514 not without Suſpicion of Poyſon, our King having lately * given *Woolſey* the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, he ſurrender'd it now, and † took the Arch-biſhoprick of *York*; and, not ſatisfied herewith, aſpir'd alſo to be Succeſſor in the Cardinalſhip; wherein, becauſe it ſeems, he conceiv'd that *Adrian* Biſhop of *Bath* had not ſerved him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Collectorſhip, and put *Polydore Virgil* (his Sub-collector) in the *Tower* (from whence he came not * ſuddainly, nor without the Pope's Mediation.) He uſed therefore, beſides his ordinary Means and Friends in *Rome*, the help of *Francis*; who, for the more obliging of him, ſent firſt News, that, in *September* this Year, his Suit was granted, and the Title of *Sanctæ Ceciliæ trans Tiberim* * conferr'd on him; for the maintaining of the Charges whereof, he had at this time in Farm, at very eaſie Rates, the Biſhopricks of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, in regard the Biſhops of theſe Places liv'd beyond Sea; he got alſo ſucceſſively the Biſhopricks of * *Bath*, † *Durham*, and ‖ *Wincheſter*, which he ſo exchang'd, as he held ever one of them with his Arch-biſhoprick; he held alſo in *Commendum* the * Abby of St. *Alban*'s, and many other Eccleſiaſtical Perferments, and had the diſpoſing of moſt of the Benefices that fell void. Alſo, ſhortly after his being conſtituted Arch-biſhop of *York*, *William Warham*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, reſigning to the King voluntarily the Place of Lord Chancellor, and retiring himſelf from Court, by reaſon of his Age, (or perchance ſome Diſcontent) to a private Life, that Place was conferr'd on him. Thus were Dignities and Wealth heaped ſo faſt on *Woolſey*, that, being in his Nature inſolent, he grew at length intolerable. Neither could thoſe excellent Parts, wherewith he was endowed, exempt him; inſomuch, that not only much Arrogance, but extream Vanity was obſerved in him, whereas yet nothing commends *Church-men* ſo much as a pious *Modeſty*: All Degrees of Perſons, but eſpecially theirs, being like Coins or Medals; to which, howſoever Vertue give the Stamp and Impreſſion, Humility muſt give the Weight.

March. 4. 1514.
Nov. 6. 1514.
Polydore Virgil impriſon'd by *Woolſey*.
* 1515.
Sept. 7.
Woolſey made Cardinal.
* Nov.
* 1518.
† 1522.
‖ 1528.
* 1521.
His Benefices,
And Dignities.
His Pride,

1515.

Polyd. His State.

Yet this Cardinal, contrary to all Example, is noted by *Polydore* to have uſed Silk and Gold in his outward Veſtments, and even Saddles: He cauſed alſo the Cardinal's Hat to be born by ſome principal Perſon before him, on a great height, *as it were an Idol to be worſhipped*, (*Loco cujuſdem Idoli ſacri*,) and, when he came to the King's Chapel, would admit no Place to reſt it on but the very Altar; he had beſides, his Serjeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, beſides his Croſs-bearer; concerning which it is obſerved, that he did bear the Croſs of *York*, ſomewhat to the Prejudice of that of *Canterbury*, which perchance might be ſome Cauſe of Diſcontentment to the Arch-biſhop *Warham*. In Concluſion, all his Actions were ſuch as argued a haughtier Spirit than could become his Place (as *Polydore* will have it.)

The Clergy refuſe to give the Pope a Supply. * Aug. † Nov. 12. Nov. 25.

The Pope, being intentive now to a War againſt the *Turk*, * requires Aid from the *Engliſh* Clergy, deſiring our King to give his Aſſiſtance therein; which they yet (in their † Synod) deprecated, alledging (by Letter to the Pope, dated *November* 25. 1515.) that they were exhauſted through their Contribution to the War of *France*, at the Inſtigation of *Julius* II. remonſtrating further, that by a Decree of the *Council* of *Conſtance*, the Pope could impoſe no Tributes on the *Church*, but in caſe of Neceſſity, and by a General *Council*.

Nov. 12. Regn. 7. A Seſſion of Parliament. Laws concerning Husbandry & Trade. To regulate Indictments.

The Twelfth of this Month the Parliament ſate again; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing Tillage to be turned into Paſture. A Repeal of Licenſes alſo to Strangers for carrying in of *Gaſcoigne* and *Guyenne* Wines, or *Thouloufe* Woad was enacted. Which was much to the increaſe of our Shipping. A Time was alſo prefixt, without which all Motions, Suits, Bills, Indictments, or Informations popular ſhall be ſued, either for the King or Party; and this ſettled a great deal of Quietneſs. The Act concerning Labourers Wages, made the Year preceeding, was alſo repealed, foraſmuch as concern'd certain Labourers in *London*.

Biſhop Fox retires from Court. His Saying to the King. The King's Anſwer. The Duke of *Norfolk* retires, & the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir *Edward Poynings* deſiring to be diſcharg'd from his Government in *Tournay*, and the adjoining Places of *Mortaigne* and St. *Amand*, Sir *William Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*, was ſubſtituted; who appointing Sir *Sampſon Norton* to be his Marſhal, ſo offended the People, that they roſe in Arms: Neither would they be quieted, till the ſaid Sir *Sampſon* was baniſh'd for ever. But, if *Poynings* return'd to his Counſellor's Place, divers others went away from it. For, beſides the Arch-biſhop *Warham*, Biſhop Fox, offended with the Cardinal, retir'd himſelf; deſiring this only of the King, *That he would not ſuffer the Servant to be greater than his Maſter*. To which the King anſwer'd preſently, *That it ſhould be his Care, that thoſe who were his Subjects ſhould obey and not command.* Then *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* craved Leave to go to his Country-Houſe. For, as the King's Coffers were much exhauſted by his late Wars and Triumphs, ſo not finding it eaſie to ſupply thoſe vaſt Expences, which (in Pageants and Devices) increaſed daily, he wiſely withdrew himſelf: *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* alſo, not long after, following them: For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into *France*, and being unable (through the Cardinal's Oppoſition) to obtain Remiſſion thereof, or otherwiſe to pay it preſently, he retir'd into the Country; ſo that the Cardinal had his free Scope and Liberty to ſway all Things, under Colour of doing the King Service. For, whatſoever he went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the moſt part) in labouring to *reform*, he did nothing but *innovate*.

Cardinal *Woolſey* left to do what he pleas'd.

Hence many Clamours aroſe among the People, who being capable of almoſt nothing but their own ancient Cuſtoms, ſeldom endure a Change, though for their Bettering and Advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none ſo true among them, as thoſe who traduced the preſent Government; nor ſo wiſe, as thoſe who ſuſpected moſt, though beyond all probability.

His Aſcendant over the King.

There was yet Occaſion enough to fear *Woolſey*, being obſerved to have that Aſcendent over the King's Diſpoſition, as he knew not how to be ſerious, or almoſt merry without him: In either of which Ways he ſtill introduced ſomething for his own Ends; for no Man ſtudied them more. One Example whereof I will here inſert.

A French Man procures a Bull for the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. 1515.

The Cardinal, having for his firſt Biſhoprick, that of *Tournay*, was not yet without an ancient Competitor, one *Louis Guillart* a *French*-Man, to whom it formerly appertained: This Man, grudging to be thus diſpoſſeſs'd, obtains from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was reſtor'd to that Place, (as far as Words could carry it,) with a Clauſe of *Uſque ad Invocationem Brachii Secularis*, if denied Admiſſion, to call in the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate, both in the City and without. So that the *French* and *Flemmings* ſeem'd equally intereſted thereby to procure his Conſervation.

* 1517. March. K. *Henry* writes to his Agents at *Rome*, in favour of Cardinal *Woolſey*.

Our King underſtanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous Conſequences, * writes to the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Worceſter*, his Agents then at *Rome*, to proteſt againſt this ſtrange and inordinate Bull, (as he terms it in his *Letter*;) *commanding* them withal (not without ſome Threats) *to labour* that it might be recall'd, as tending not only to the raiſing of Sedition in that City, and Quarrels betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongful diſplacing of the Cardinal, who, being ſubrogated to the other as well in Conformity to the Right *of* his King, as upon the Contumacy or Negligence of the other (*who* had not as then done his Homage and *Fealty for his* Temporalities) could not now be remov'd without much Scandal.

Polydore Virg. *Woolſey* incens'd againſt the French King about it. * Apr. 5. 1515. † 1516.

Before this, the Cardinal had deſired *Francis* to beſtow on *Guillart* ſome other Biſhoprick: But *Francis* delaying to give Satiſfaction herein, ſo incenſed the Cardinal, that he became his ſecret Enemy afterward, (as *Polydore* hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to *Maximilian*, that, notwithſtanding the * late League betwixt *England* and *France*, there was probability, the King would not ſuffer *France* to grow greater by the Acquiſition of *Milan* † (*Maximilian* therefore ſent, in the Name of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, one *Anchiſtes Vis-Conte*, a *Milaneſe*, to implore our King's Aſſiſtance againſt *Francis*, in Men or Money: Of which alſo there was ſome hope ſecretly given by *Woolſey*.)

Fox and Norfolk recall'd. Novemb. A Conſultation about breaking with Fr. *Woolſey* ſpeaks for it firſt.

However, our King (in ſo great a Cauſe) would reſolve nothing, without communicating the Buſineſs firſt to the ancienteſt and wiſeſt of his Counſellors. Therefore recalling *Warham*, *Fox*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Lovell*, and divers others, he demanded their Opinion in full Counſel; where *Woolſey* ſpeaking firſt, *alledged, that* Francis *had already broken the Treaty, by favouring* Richard de la Pole, *a Fugitive and Traytor; in aſſiſting thoſe* Scots, *which oppos'd his Siſter Queen* Margaret; *and in contriving a ſecret League with that Nation, to the Prejudice of that into which they lately entred with* England. *Beſides, that* Francis *with-held ſome Goods and Jewels of Queen* Mary. *That when all this were otherwiſe, yet it ſtood not with reaſon of State to ſuffer* France *to grow any greater. Laſtly, he ſaid all this might be done warily, and without effuſion of* Engliſh *Blood, only when he would but privately aſſiſt* Maximilian.

The Bp. of *Durham* confirms his Speech.

This was no ſooner uttered, but *Thomas* Biſhop of *Durreſme* riſeth up, and not only confirms the Cardinal's Speech, but extols it with ſome palpable Flat-

1515.

Polyd. Virg.

Flatteries. Neither must it seem strange, that the Churchmen concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (besides Cardinal *Woolsey*'s particular Animosity against *Francis* the First) *Leo* the Tenth had a hand herein, as knowing how much safer it was for *Italy*, that a single *Duke* should govern *Milan*, than such a Potent Prince as *Francis* the First; all the others at the Table yet were of another Opinion. Among whom therefore a Reply was made to this Effect.

The Answer to it.

That to break a Treaty or League (solemnly sworn) did seem a strange Council in any, but especially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publick Faith, was to call God and Man in Judgment against them. They would not deny yet, but just Cause of dissolving Leagues might be given. But then that the wrong'd Party ought both to protest the Fault and denounce War. That, if any other Course should be allow'd among Princes, and Estates, there were no ground for upholding Truth and Justice; without which yet the Law of Nations, and even Mankind it self could not subsist. That therefore it were good to examine the Grounds of the Proceedings mention'd. In which though it could not be deny'd but Richard de la Pole *was admitted still in* France; *yet, whether as Traytor to his Country, or a Person that came thither only for Safety of his Life, might be question'd. That if the Spies, they had on* Richard, *said true, his Design was only to go into* Italy *with* Francis *the First, and then there could be no danger on his part. And for the other Point, which was assisting the* Scottish *Faction against Queen* Margaret, *or contriving a secret* League *which might be a Prejudice to the former, much might be said; yet if Businesses were well examin'd, both the Treaties of* Francis *might consist; This latter with* Scotland *being provisionally only, in Case we should come to a Rupture with* France. *They would not deny yet, but herein an Advantage was taken by the* French, *somewhat against the Laws of Honour. But that we might make a Benefit thereof: For, while* Francis *was in* Italy, *and far remote from* Scotland, *it was easie for his Majesty, under colour of resisting the new* Faction *set up by the* French *in* Scotland, *to be more than reveng'd. For, whether in his Sister's Name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a divided Country to his Devotion. And that this might be thought a greater Addition to him, than* Milan *to the* French, *when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other Course, was to seek Causes of Quarrel, without colour, either of Reason or Justice; to draw the* French *on himself; to interrupt his way to* Scotland, *which now lay open; and lastly, to make him loose Credit both at Home and Abroad.* The King, who knew the Opposition among his *Counsellors*, seem'd to temper the diversity of Opinions in a middle way; yet so, as in Effect, he inclin'd to the *Cardinal*.

The King inclines to the Cardinal's Opinion.

* April.

Therefore he said, *he would hinder the Designs of* Francis, *without coming yet to a manifest Rupture*; whereof also occasion was given. For as *Francis* being * Confederate with *Charles*, (now sixteen Years old, and taking on him the Government of the *Low-Countries*) as also with the *Venetians*, had renew'd a War in *Italy*, and after a

Sept. 13.

bloody Battel at *Marignan*, had compell'd *Maximilian Sforza* to resign his Right to *Milan*, and accept a Pension in *France*; so our King, who suspected this great Addition to *Francis* might be damageable to him, resolv'd secretly to assist the Emperor, with whom also the Pope and *Ferdinand* joyn'd, for the Defence of *Italy*, and Opposition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpose by *Richard Pace* (late Servant to Cardinal *Bambridge*, and for the present Secretary of State) not only a huge Sum of Money; but giving him Commission to treat both with the Emperor and *Francisco Sforza*, Brother to the late Duke of *Milan*, concerning the Loan thereof, and a strict *League* upon certain Conditions. Among which it was agreed, *That, if* Milan *were recover'd, such a yearly Tribute or Pension should be paid our King, as this Supply of Money did deserve*; Woolsey *not forgetting also, (after his usual manner) to capitulate for an Annual Payment of ten thousand Ducats to himself.* Hereupon, *Pace* levying for the Emperor's Service certain Regiments of *Swiss*, (who willingly entred this War, both as they were obligd'd to the Conservation of *Sforza*'s Interest, and as they desir'd to revenge their Loss at *Marignan*,) the Emperor in Person marcheth towards *Milan*. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to *Francis*, and had appointed an Interview at *Bononia*, for the accommodating of their Mutual Affairs; the Pope promising *Parma* and *Piacenza* to *Francis*; and he, on the other side, stipulating to recover *Urbin* for the Pope (as indeed follow'd the next Year.) Where also an Agreement call'd the *Concordat* was made, which the *French* Writers observe as Derogatory to the Pragmatick Sanction, and the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church. Being thus upon his Way, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed by *Francis* to defend his Acquisitions in *Italy*, sends to his King for Relief, preparing in the mean time to defend himself the best he could. But *Maximilian* being now in a fair way of obtaining his Desires, retires suddenly into *Germany*; neither could he alledge other cause of it, than a simple Diffidence of the *Swiss*, (as *Polydore* hath it;) tho' *Guicciardine* tells another Reason; which was, that *Maximilian* receiving no Supply of Money from *England*, and being not provided himself to pay them, was forc'd to desist. This encourag'd the *French* and *Venetian* to proceed in their Designs of besieging *Brescia*, which they got; but being repuls'd at *Verona*, *Maximilian* takes heart again, and sends *Matteo* Cardinal of *Sedun* (or *Sitten*) into *England*, to negotiate for a Supply of Money, and withal to excuse his late Retreat, both for his distrust of the *Swiss*, as also because they openly refus'd to fight against some of their Countrymen, who were under *Bourbon*. Besides, as he had long entertain'd our King with a hope that he would resign the Empire to him, so on this Occasion (as I find by an Original from Sir *Robert Wingfield*, dated 17 *May*, 1516.) he renews the Propositions; offering, besides, to give him the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the more Assurance whereof, desiring our King to pass the Seas to *Calais*, and so to take his way through the *Low-Countries*, till he came to the City of *Triers*; where he, together with the Electors would meet, for Performance of the aforesaid Resignation of the Empire; which also being done, he propos'd, that an Army from thence should invade *France*, while our King with one thousand Horse, and one thousand Archers should pass through *Germany* to *Coyre*, and so over the Lake of *Como* to the State and City of *Milan*; where having repos'd a while, *Maximilian* promis'd to go along with him to *Rome*, to see him receive the Imperial Crown; which being done, he said, our King might choose whether he would make an honourable Peace with *France*, or War, for recovering his Right; which, he said, the Pope and all Christian Princes, could not but like well of. And thus far *Wingfield*; to whose Relation though our King gave as much Credit, as a Profession often made by *Maximilian* could Merit; yet, as he consider'd withal, that there was much Improbability in the Offer, and the Action it self in a manner without Precedent; and, howsoever, that he should engage his Kingdom for the Affair of the Empire, (it being then so scant of Moneys, as *Maximilian* was nick-nam'd *Pochi-Dinari*.) So by his Answer in *June* following,

Novemb.

K. Henry agrees to assist the Duke of Milan against France on Conditions.

Records.

Woolsey to have 10000 Ducats yearly.

Dec. 11.

1516.

May.

Octob.

Maximilian flatters King Henry with hopes that he would resign the Empire to him.

May 17.

Invites him to come to Triers for that purpose.

June.

1515. he wish'd *Wingfield* to tell *Maximilian*, that though he thankfully accepted those Offers, yet that he desir'd they might be kept secret until the *French* were driven out of *Italy*. For which purpose, (as well as the Reasons before set down) I find he promis'd *Maximilian* some more Money, excusing together the former Defect of Payment, with laying the Fault on some *Genoua* Merchants. Besides, at the Cardinal of *Sedun*'s Intreaty in the Emperor's Name, he enter'd into a strict *League* with *Maximilian*; which yet, because it lasted not, I shall not Particularly mention. For *Maximilian*, considering how little Trust he could repose in our Cardinal for the obtaining of Money, and (for the rest) being wearied with the Wars, first makes a Truce with his Adversaries, and particularly the *Venetians*; after which, for a Sum of Money, being two hundred thousand Ducats, he restores *Verona* unto them, and then makes a Peace. To which purpose the Death of *Ferdinand* did serve; who departing this Life in the beginning of *Anno* 1516, did free himself rather than the World, from not a few Troubles, whereof he was the first Procurer and Author.

Nov. 2.

Maximilian would not trust Cardinal *Woolsey*.

Makes his Peace with the *Venetians*, Decemb.

Jan. 23. 151⅚.

This Prince (leaving to his Successors the Stile of *Catholico*) was thought the most active and politick of his Time. Insomuch that he hardly took rest, or suffer'd it in others. No Man knew better how to serve his Turn on every body, or to make their Ends conduce to his. But while he escap'd not the Opinion and the Name of *False*, (which yet his Country Writers palliate, no otherwise than with calling it *Saber-reynar*) he neither comply'd with his Dignity, nor indeed the Rules of Wisdom; true Reason of State consisting of such solid Maxims, that it hath as little need of Deceit, as a sure Game at *Chess* of a false Draught; there is no use of it, therefore, among the wiser sort; as being only a supply of Ignorance among the ruder and worse kind of Statesmen. Besides, it appears so much worse in Publick Affairs than Private, as it is never almost hid or unreveng'd. Reputation again is still lost thereby; which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell than such as imagine them without it. This is strange of him, that being of vast Possessions, enrich'd much from the *Indies*, prosperous in almost all his Attempts, of a frugal Disposition, and long Life; (for he attain'd sixty-three) there was hardly yet found in his Coffers, enough to discharge his Interring, though not very sumptuous; that I may say nothing of his Debts.

The Death and Character of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*.

Curita.

His Will and Testament declar'd his Daughter *Juana* of *Castile* to be his Heir. Only, because of her Defect of Wisdom, and her Son's young Age, He appointed the Cardinal *Ximenes* Archbishop of *Toledo* to govern, till the said *Charles* came to *Castilia*. He left also to *Fernando*, Brother to *Charles*, great Possessions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly best; both that being born at *Alcala*

1503. 1503, he was a Native of *Spain*, (which his Brother was not,) and that he gave much hope of Towardliness, and besides bore his Name. Insomuch that, could he have contriv'd it handsomly, it is thought he would have made him his Heir in *Spain*: Sundry Particularities whereof, concurring much with the *Spanish* History, being advertis'd to our King by Sir *John Stile* his Ambassador there; Our King and Queen (as they had before done for *Lewis* the Twelfth) caus'd a solemn Obsequy for him to be kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*. But they mourn'd not long; the Birth of our Princess *Mary*

Fondov.

Feb. 18. following shortly after, upon the eighteenth of *February* 151⅚.

Ferdinand thus dead, *Charles*, who thought himself as capable of governing *Castilia*, as he was of the *Low-Countries* (which *Maximilian* the last Year put into his Hands) sends immediately to *Spain*, to claim the Right and Title; which also was acknowledg'd; yet so, as it was thought fit to publish it together with his Mothers; so that it ran thus, *Donna Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, Queen and King of *Castilia*, *Leon*, and *Arragon*, &c. *Navarre* (which was now incorporated to them) being not forgotten: He determin'd also in Person to go thither. For which purpose, as well as the better securing the *Low-Countries* in his Absence, he past several Treaties with *Francis* and our King. The former was concluded at *Noyon*, *Aug.* 15. where it was agreed, *That within six Months following* Henry d'Albret (Jean d'Albret, *and* Catherine *his Wife being newly dead*) *should be restor'd to the Kingdom of* Navarre, *or at least sufficient Content given him otherwise; and if not, that it should be lawful for* Francis *to assist him. That* Charles *should marry* Louise *Daughter of* Francis, (*then not a Year old*) *who in Consideration thereof should renounce his Claim to* Naples, *and accept a Pension of one hundred thousand Crowns yearly. That the* Venetians *giving the Emperor two hundred thousand Ducats, he should deliver them* Verona. Besides which, *their Orders of Chivalry were sent to each other, and an Interview appointed; which yet took no more Effect than the Treaty it self.*

A Peace concluded between *Charles* K. of *Spain*, and *Francis* I. *Bellay*.

The Conditions of it.

Sandoval.

The latter League was form'd at *London*, *October* 29. betwixt *Jean* and *Charles* of *Castile*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, and our King, to this Effect.

The Conditions of the Treaty between *Charles* and King *Henry*. *Octob.* 29.

That the Confederates should defend one another, and bring Aid by Land at their own Costs, (being requir'd) within a Month after Complaint, against the Enemy.

If the Enemy have Port-Towns, &c. then the War shall be also made by Sea, by them both, and the Fleet supply'd if it be diminish'd, &c.

That no Peace shall be made with the Enemy, or Truce, but by mutual Consent.

Place also was left for other Princes whatsoever, to come into this League within eight Months, by the Consent of all the Confederates.

That Leo *the Tenth shall be comprehended in this League, if he will Excommunicate the Persons and States that shall molest the Confederates, and that he enter within six Months.*

That the Swiss *shall be admitted, if they will; so that they bind themselves to serve under the Confederates, and not under any other Prince; And, on those Conditions to have Pensions.*

I must now return to the Business of *Scotland*, (intermitted a while, that I might not break the Context of my History,) and therein call to mind, how *John Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his Arrival (which was *May* 20. 1515.) declar'd Vice-Roy, till the King came to full Age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the Time of his Father's Banishment; and, for the rest, such a Stranger, that he could not speak the Country Language. For as a singular Opinion of his Worth went before, and the Recommendation of the *French* accompany'd him, so was he saluted with that universal Applause, wherewith new Comers that have given hope of themselves, are usually welcom'd. The Businesses of the Country were yet so strange to him, that he was inforc'd to use the Directions of others. In this Number, one *John Hepburne* did much appear. His first Advice was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well ally'd; and as it would gain him strong Enemies. That he had more use of the Peoples Affections, than to alter them at his first Entrance. That therefore his chief Endeavour should be, to make good his Authority, neither should he oppress any, but those who were in Estate to oppose him; amongst

The *Scots* Affairs.

May 20. 1515.

1516. amongst which three were most considerable, *Archibald Douglass* was one, who, besides that he had marry'd the Queen, was a Person much in Favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busie, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great Design. The Vice-Roy taking this Advice into consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglass*, lest the Queen, for protecting him, should draw the *English* into *Scotland*, which he most doubted. Besides he was so gracious with the greatest part of the Kingdom, that he was to be undermin'd rather than assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his Wealth that made him envy'd. Only *Humes*, he thought it not amiss to question; as having between vehement Suspicions, and some Proofs, not a little matter against him. *Humes* having some notice thereof, changes his Party, and now strives to combine with *Douglass* and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the King, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his Country, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heir to the Crown, after the King and his Brother. That this was the more probable, because his Father *Alexander* (as the *Scottish* Writers have it) had taken the like course with his eldest Brother, *James* the Third, whom he would have dispossest of the Kingdom. That there was no way to avoid these Dangers, but to fly with her Son into *England*, to which also our King had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his Care. This Advice (whether spoken by *Humes* to discover the Queen's Designs, and thereupon to make his Advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed think this to be the best way for the King's Safety,) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it easily, thought fit to seize on *Sterling-Castle*, in which the young King and his Mother were, and to put a Guard on them; yet admits some, who were of great Credit, to give by turns their Directions for the young King's Education, and useth briefly some such Providences, as might argue all was done with a good Intention; among which the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King, was most remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his Brother *William*, refusing to obey a Citation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proscrib'd, fled to *England*; *Douglass* also, taking the Queen with him, follow'd shortly after, staying yet at *Harbottle*-Castle in *Northumberland*, by our King's Command, till further Order was given. It appear'd not yet, whether this were an Escape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand consenting to their Departure, only to be freer for his Designs. Howsoever, he sent instantly to our King, to clear himself from all sinister Practices against the Queen. He also labours with the Friends of *Douglass* and *Humes* to draw them Home, promising for this purpose all the good Conditions that could be requir'd. *Humes* takes the Invitation, and returns; *Douglass* also (considering the Queen was with Child, and near her Time, and therefore unable to remove any way far) makes use of this Occasion to settle his Affairs at Home. The Queen, in the mean while, being * brought to bed of a Daughter, (whom she call'd *Margaret*) by easie Journeys comes to the *English* Court in the next Spring 1516. Yet were not Businesses in *Scotland* so quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having submitted himself (as aforesaid) to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the Custody of his Brother-in-Law, *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, upon pain of Death if he suffer'd him to depart; shortly after by re-

[Margin: *Buchan.* — Aug. 10. 1515. — July 12. *Buch.* — * Octob. 7. 1515.]

presenting to *Hamilton* some nearness of Blood on his part, which might enable him to be Vice-Roy, perswaded the Earl to escape away together with him; while the Vice-Roy being not griev'd (perchance) thus to be quit of those he suspected most, seems now to be at rest. Only he would not omit to take this Advantage against *Hamilton*; therefore he batter'd and took his Castle; *Humes* in the mean time ravaging the Country about *Dunbar*. The Vice-Roy hearing this, returns to his wonted Invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come back. *Hamilton* accepts it first, and *Humes* after; but *Humes* being summon'd again to come to the Parliament, thinks fit (for redeeming his former Fault when he last absented himself) to appear. He perswades his Brother *William* also to go with them, though many of their Friends oppos'd it; for as his Brother was equal with him in Power and Authority, so the keeping him back would have conduc'd perchance to the securing of both. But he, confident of good Usage, neglects the Advice, and comes with his Brother to Court; where being seiz'd on, they were committed to divers Prisons, for Crimes objected against them; and particularly against *Alexander*, who was thought to have used some Treachery in *Flodden*-Battle, if not to have kill'd the King. All which though he conceiv'd either suggested maliciously against him, or at least by a long Intermission to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevail'd not; his Head and his Brother's being struck off in *October* 1516. Shortly after which (as *Lesleus* hath it) the King's younger Brother dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtain'd in Parliament to be declar'd next Heir. Which being done, he enters (in *January* following) into a League with *Francis*, and so * return'd to that Country; only that he might manifest his Pretences were without any Ambition which might derogate from his Loyalty.

[Margin: 1516. — Octob. 12. 1515. — Sept. 24. — *Buch.* — Octob. *Lesl.* — Nov. — Jan. $15\frac{16}{17}$. — * June. 1517.]

The Queen of *Scots* coming to *London*, *May* 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the King, the Queen, and her Sister Queen *Mary*, who all enjoy'd therein a Happiness rare for Princes in that kind, which was to see one another after they had been once dispos'd of Abroad; the King, for the more Honour of her coming, commanded a Justs, in which Sir *William Kingstone* was, both himself and Horse, overthrown by him.

[Margin: May 3. *Margaret* Queen Dowager of *Scotland* comes to *London*. May 19.]

This Year also those who manag'd any Money for the King in the Wars, or otherwise, were by the *Cardinal's* Command call'd in question. Among whom, some by Bribery, and some by Cunning escap'd; others being condemn'd in great Sums; so that the *Cardinal* might be said to have in him so much of a good Servant, as he willingly suffer'd none other to deceive his Master. To accompany this Severity also, he caus'd Perjury to be rigorously punish'd, wherein I can never enough commend him; all other Treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of Life, Possessions, or good Name; but this such a one, as without much Labour may take away all together. Some Courts also were erected in the favour of poor *People*, against the Oppression of the *Great*; which at the beginning were much frequented; but at last, the *People* receiving many Delays and Unsatisfactions in their Suits, every one left them, and went to the Common-Law: As fearing, under this Pretence, an Innovation. I must not deny unto the *Cardinal* yet, the Attribute of Just, in all Affairs of publick Judicature; whereof, (if we may believe Authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where Disorders were committed, he severely punish'd, unless the Parties found means to make their private Peace.

[Margin: The Cardinal's good Qualities. — *Hall.*]

1517. I will conclude this Year with a Paſſage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing ſtill the *Council* of *Lateran*, among other Reformations, propos'd that of the *Calendar*, inviting (for this purpoſe) our King, to ſend ſome of our moſt learn'd Divines and Aſtronomers thither; but as it appears not what Anſwer our King return'd to this Breve, dated *July* 10. 1516, ſo neither ſhould I have inſerted any thing hereof, but that it ſeems they were not ſufficiently ſatisfy'd concerning the Principles from which the Calculation ſhould be deduc'd.

July 10.

Hall.

A Riot by the *London* Apprentices againſt Foreigners.

About this time a Riot and Sedition in *England* hapned in this manner. Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London* of the poorer ſort, being offended that all their chief Cuſtomers were won from them by the Diligence and Induſtry of *Strangers*, and (for the reſt) pretending to have receiv'd from them divers Contempts, Affronts, and Injuries, found ſome Occaſions, and took others, to make an Inſurrection againſt them; and the rather, that the Seditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Inſtigation of *John Lincolne*, a Broker, had not a little incited them: Who taking Texts (as near as he could find in the Scriptures) to this purpoſe, traduced the Senſe thereof even to encouraging the People to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not ſo witty as the laſt, neither ended it ſo well. For two Apprentices playing only at Buckerels in the Street, late on *May*-Eve, contrary to the Lord-Mayor's Command, (who upon notice taken of the Citizens Intent, was charg'd by the King's *Council* to require, under great Penalties, all Houſholders to keep themſelves and their Servants within Doors from Nine over-Night, till Seven of the Clock the next Morning) an Alderman came to arreſt one of them; but the ſaid Apprentice thinking therein that an ancient Cuſtom for taking Liberty at that time more than any other, was infring'd, cry'd *Clubs*. Herepon, they came forth in ſuch great Numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encouraged herewith, and for the reſt finding themſelves in a greater Multitude than to do nothing, break open ſome Priſons, and took out divers Perſons, committed thither for abuſing and hurting of *Strangers*. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffs then preſent, hinder this, nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, (late Judge of the Sheriffs Court in *London*, but now of the King's *Council*,) though much reſpected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Priſoners being now ſet looſe, adviſe the Multitude to run to the Houſe of one *Meutas* a *Picard*, much hated by them: Where they kill'd ſome, chas'd the reſt, and rifled his Goods. Hence they went again to other *Strangers* Houſes, which they ſpoil'd in like manner. The *Cardinal* hearing this, and being not much more in the Peoples Favour than the *Strangers*, fortifies his Houſe with Men and Ordnance. But the Lieutenant of the *Tower* proceeding otherwiſe, diſcharg'd ſome of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit, this made them not ſo much deſiſt, as that having reveng'd themſelves as far as the Offence taken ſeem'd to require, they thought good about three in the Morning to ſcatter and go Home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the City-Officers firſt, and afterwards by ſome Followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this Diſorder, and taking the Inns-of-Court Men with them, clear'd the Streets of this unruly Company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincolne* ſent to the *Tower*. About three Days after, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey* his Son, and divers others, with about 1300 arm'd Men came into the *City*, and joyning with the Lord-Mayor, proceeded legally againſt the chief Offenders; to the Terror of the *Citizens*, who were the more afraid, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon the killing of a Prieſt of his in *Cheape*, was reported to have ſaid (as our Hiſtorians have it) in ſome Paſſion, *I pray God I may once have the Citizens in my Danger*. This (though perchance a Calumny forg'd againſt the Duke) wrought ſo, that they thought themſelves over-rigorouſly dealt with, in that the Statute *Secundo Henry* the 5. Chap. 6. (which makes Breakers of Truce, and ſafe-Conducts, guilty of High-Treaſon) was extended againſt them, tho' repeal'd afterward, 20 *Henrici Sexti*. Howſoever, much Mercy was ſhew'd; for, of Two hundred ſeventy eight Perſons which were Priſoners; *Lincolne* only, who was thought the moſt Seditious, and three or four more, were Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd; the reſt, who were about ten, ſuffer'd nothing extraordinary in their Death, but that for the more Example, they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the others were thus pardon'd; the Recorder of *London*, and divers Aldermen coming in Black to Court, and deſiring moſt humbly to be heard, the King, after ſome Admonition and Check, as if the better ſort had conniv'd at this Riot, refers the reſt to the *Cardinal*, then Lord Chancellor. In Concluſion, the King ſitting in *Weſtminſter*, and being attended with his principal Nobility and Officers, and the Lord Mayor; all the Priſoners in white Shirts, and Halters about their Necks (into which Habit divers alſo, (*not yet diſcover'd*) put themſelves, to be capable of the King's Pardon) did, upon their Knees, crave Mercy. Which the King graciouſly accorded, permitting alſo the Gibbets, which much ſcandaliz'd the Citizens, to be taken down.

Incourag'd to it by one Dr. *Bele* a Preacher.

April 30.

Hall.

May 1.

May 4.

1517.

Hall.

May 7.

May 11.

May 22.

The King's Clemency to the Rioters.

Shortly after, the Sweating Sickneſs (call'd for the Propriety, by which it ſeiz'd on the *Engliſh* Nation chiefly, *Sudor Anglicus*,) did much infect the Kingdom, being of that Malignity, as within the ſpace of three Hours it kill'd. This caus'd the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Terms 1517, to remove *Trinity* Term, 1518. to *Oxford*, where yet it continu'd but one Day, and was adjourn'd again to *Weſtminſter*. Nevertheleſs divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers in the King's Court dy'd thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others of Quality, the vulgar Sort ſo commonly periſhing, as in ſome Towns it took away half the People, in others the third part.

Sweating Sickneſs.

July.

Hall.

Let us look now a while on foreign *Buſineſs*. *Maximilian* continuing the forementioned Treaties with our King, concerning divers publick Affairs, and particularly that of rendring the Empire, was deſired by King *Henry*, to give him a Meeting in the *Low-Countries*. But *Maximilian* returning Anſwer, That to excuſe that Labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Worceſter*, and Doctor *Cuthbert Tonſtall* to him, * lately then come into *Flanders*. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great Diſſimulation, they obſerv'd in him, that while on the one ſide he entertain'd our King with the Offer of the Empire, &c. on the other he continu'd his Treaty (begun in *December* laſt) with the *French*. Beſides, his Grand-child *Charles* refus'd to confirm the late League with our King. So that our Agents thought fit to repreſent to his *Grace*, how little was to be expected; becauſe the Emperor vary'd ſo much in his Offers; ſometimes ſaying, He would reſign the Empire to *Henry* the Eighth, and himſelf remain King of the *Romans*; which Honour his Poſterity ſhould inherit. Sometimes, that he would reſign the Empire to *Charles* of *Caſtile*, and make *Henry* King of the

Maximilian's double Dealings with King *Henry*.

* Jan.

Octob. 19. 1516.

1517. the *Romans*, and his Grand-Child *Ferdinand* King of *Austria*, and himself *Marshal* of the Empire, that so he may be equal to the *Electors*. But as Doctor *Tonstal* advertis'd the King, that the Emperor must be Elect out of the *German* Nation: That King *Henry* in accepting the Empire, must confess *England* to be under the Empire; Lastly, that he must be first King of the *Romans*, when yet the Emperor had declar'd he meant to hold that Title still: So our King rejected these Propositions, as Vain, and Artificial, only to draw Money from him; and our Agents return'd having only obtain'd, at last, an Oath from *Charles* and Queen *Joane*, his Mother, for Performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with some small Alterations. *Maximilian* also, about the same Time * departed out of *Flanders*, having † first concluded a League at *Cambray* betwixt himself, *Francis*, and his Grand-Child *Charles*, by which they confirm'd the League at ‖ *Noyon*, and * *Bruxelles*, resolv'd on a War against the *Turk*; (as it was now projected in the *Council* of *Lateran*,) and appointed an Interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place also was left for the Pope to enter as *Protector* thereof, and for King *Henry*. This being advertis'd to our King, made him think how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore caus'd a *Citadel* to be built there; not neglecting together to prevail himself of the Pope's Mediation for a General Peace. Which, as it was willingly embraced, so our King was intreated to send him two hundred thousand Ducats (on Security) for that War, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for some Affairs in *Italy*. Who also sent a *Croisade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other Places: The Conditions of which were, That, *whosoever perform'd certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, should have their Sins forgiven*. Neither was there, in the use of these *Indulgences*, that distinction of Persons or Sins made, which from so grave a Pastor might be expected, so that (promiscuously) all Men, who would come to the Price, (as some Authors have it) were not only promis'd everlasting Bliss, but made capable of delivering the Souls of others out of Purgatory. When those *Indulgences* first came forth, no Divine Worship in the West Parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* prescrib'd, was publickly known. For though some Opposers of the Papal Authority had appear'd long since, yet wanting those Supporters who might establish and uphold their Doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their Impressions yet were deriv'd to Posterity; though in so obscure and perplex'd a manner, that they serv'd rather to shew Errors, than rectifie them; forming (for the rest) no eminent and visible Body, or at least no other than such as quickly disappear'd. So that all those, who for the present dissented inwardly from any Opinion commonly taught, kept yet the Unity of the *Church*. Of which kind though (*I* doubt not) there were many, yet by distinguishing in private only the good Doctrines from the ill, they both conserv'd their Consciences, avoided *Schism*, and maintain'd towards God, and among themselves, an Uniformity; being therein not unaptly compar'd to Sheep, and other Creatures, *who in* Pastures, where both wholesom and hurtful Herbs grow, choose yet only the better sort. While thus, they might not only reach to Antiquity in all Times, but Universality in all Places; since not the Men (who may err) but the Doctrine giveth the true Denomination unto the *Church*. It will be enough therefore, that there was always a *Catholick*, and a visible Doctrine in the more important Parts thereof. And thus were all Controversies (save those

The King rejects his Offers about resigning the Empire.

Octob. 29. * May † March. 11. ‖ Aug. * Decem. 1516. March 26. 1517.

An extravagant Indulgence sent into England by the Pope.

The Rise of the Reformation.

which the Subtilties of the *Schoolmen* brought forth) declin'd. Neither did Men think themselves bound to study the *Intricacies* and *Sophisms* of Authors, in matters impertinent to Salvation; but were contented with a single Faith in God, the Comfort of a good Life, and hope of a better upon true Repentance; taking the rest for the most part upon the Faith of the *Church*. By which means as Peace was generally conserv'd, so it was not doubted by those who search'd into the Primitive Times, but that together divers new Doctrines (if not Errors) were crept into the *Church* Discipline. Among which some, yet, might have been more excusable, had not they not been so severely commanded, that the common sort understood them for little less than necessary Articles of Faith. While thus they were held in much Subjection, as being not able sufficiently to distinguish the true and essential Parts from those that were added only for Conveniency or Ornament. But as Learning now (the Benefit of Printing) became Publick, so almost all Men, either through Reading or Conversation, were Literate. Insomuch, that they durst look into the Principles of Religion, and take upon them to discuss the Parts thereof. Among these, none was more famous than one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Fryer about thirty-two Years old, living about this time at *Wittenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*. This Man, having observ'd divers things, not mention'd in the Belief, call'd *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to be introduc'd lately, examines all; beginning first with the *Indulgences* that came out this Year; though so modestly, as he advertis'd only his Superior the Arch-Bishop of *Mayentz* of some abuse therein, and pray'd Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement Wit, to set forth ninety-five Conclusions, and preach publickly against them; (which yet he submitted to the Pope, by Letter dated in *June* 1518.) *Maximilian* also, foreseeing whither these Divisions might tend, (and the rather, that he found them favour'd not only by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, but divers other great Personages) wrote to the Pope, desiring him to moderate things so, as all Cause might be taken away, not only of Disputations, but concerning impertinent Points of Religion. But as the Pope, about those Times, had, (betwixt publick Affairs and private Liberties) so exhausted the Ecclesiastical Revenue, as it was necessary to supply the Wants thereof by extraordinary means, he pursu'd his Design, using therein much the help of *Lorenzo Pucci Cardinal Sanctorum* the Fourth; who, finding the Schism of the Council of *Pisa* so far extinguish'd, as the *Roman* Church needed not fear to reassume her former Authority, confirm'd the Pope therein. So that, though for not above four hundred Years, they had taken on them this and divers Authorities, not known before, he perswaded their Continuance, lest any thing of that kind should seem invalid, or usurp'd; Especially, where the Pretence was, if not the same, yet of a like Condition. Whereupon looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* the Second, had not only given *Indulgences* to those, who went Personally to the War of the Holy Land; but that his Successors had bestowed them on such, who being not able to go, would maintain a Soldier there; And lastly, having discover'd, that they were granted even against those that were disobedient to the *Roman* Church, and also to those who gave Money for building or repairing *Churches* in *Rome*, &c. He neither question'd their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy Kinsmen and Favourites, and as it maintain'd his Authority.

1517.

Learning the benefit of Printing.

Martin Luther opposes Indulgences.

J. Sleidan, *l.* 1. *Comment.*

At first modestly.

He writes to the Pope.

Aug. 18. 1518. *Maximilian* writes also to the Pope.

Concil. Trid. l. 1.

The Pope persists in the point of Indulgences.

1517. thority. Whereupon, a War against the *Turks* being projected, he sent forth these *Indulgences*, granting besides, the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Fasting-days, of choosing their Confessor, and some such Habilities. Had this yet been all, less Scandal had follow'd. But without regard to the End for which they were given, He, by way of Anticipation, bestow'd on several Persons the Money to be levy'd; assigning, among others, to *Magdalen* his Sister, and Wife to *Francesco Cibo* (Natural Son to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth) all that quarter from *Saxony* to the Sea-side. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himself had been made Cardinal at fourteen Years old, 1489, and therein given a beginning to the Ecclesiastical Greatness of the House of *Medici*. Besides, he was indebted to *Cibo* for his Entertainment at *Genoua*, at what time he was forc'd to fly the Persecution of *Alexander* the Sixth. They again committing this Business to *Arembaldo* a Bishop, but a covetous Person, much Rapine was us'd: The *Indulgences* (as is said) being generally granted to such as gave most for them. And as this caus'd much Offence, so again the Fryars Hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily dispenc'd) were not a little troubl'd, that the *Dominicans* had now charge thereof. All which, together with the sinful and inordinate Life of certain Commissioners deputed under *Arembaldo*, for those Levies, together with the so notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinalships (as *Sandoval* himself dissembles it not) *Anno* 1517. being notified, occasion'd these following Revolutions, which take up a great part of this History. For, as these *Indulgences* (upon further Examination,) were found to be no elder than is abovemention'd, nor much confirm'd but by a Bull of

Sand.

1520. *Clement* VI. 1350. (who abridg'd *Jubilees* from every hundredth Year to the fiftieth) nor anciently practis'd at all, but for Relaxation of Pennances, or Eccesiastical Discipline (without that they were said to deliver from any thing towards God) many Exceptions were taken against them; so that, though to the *Merits* of such *Saints* as did Works of *Supererogation* (being a Treasure which might be consumed) they had added the *Merits* of Christ, by way of supply; yet *Luther* and others after him, vexed all this again, with that Success which shall be told hereafter. Neither did there want such as opposed them in *England*, amongst whom, one who was zealous of God's Honour and the publick Good, observing that not only *Sins* towards God, were pardoned for Money, but *Offences* towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates (as shall be told more particularly in its place, where it will appear to what Excess this Abuse grew) spake after this manner to some of the principal Clergy. *That Punishments might have been left to God, but that they serve to deter others. But who would be afraid now, when he knows at what he may put away his Crimes? Of what use would our Threatnings for Sins be, if they grow so contemptible as a little Sum of Money would discharge them; is not this to make Heaven venal, doth not this reflect so much on Christian Faith, that it makes a new Price for Sin? Believe me, my Lords, to make our Faults cheap, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that Reverence is due to Vertue, but to dissolve those Bonds which knit and hold together both Civil and Religious Worship. For when Men see what they are to pay for their Faults, what will they care for other Redemption? I would I could say we were not already fallen under some disesteem, when by our enjoyning of easie Fasting, Prayer, and some little Alms, Men find they suffer no more than what they would gladly endure to sin again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our Penances: Let us not then make the Mysteries of Salvation mercenary, or propose everlasting Happiness on those Terms, that it may be obtain'd for Money, which we find so seldom yet without Deceit or Mischief. Let Mens Sins rather lie against them still than open such easie Ways to remit them: And take this Advice in good part, since it so much concerns us all.* What Effect yet this Advice took will appear hereafter.

Indulgences oppos'd in England.

A Speech to the Bishops against them.

1518. The Dissentions of *Italy* being for the present compos'd, *Francis* first thought himself at leisure, now to resent our King's assisting of *Maximilian*. But (saith *Polydore*) because he consider'd as well, that he should get nothing that way, and that withal he was inform'd this Business cost our King so much, that the Loss thereof might be taken for a reasonble Revenge; (for I find in our Records, that in one Year it cost our King five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand Ducats,) he dissembled the matter. Therefore converting Malice into Guile, his only Labour was how to corrupt the Cardinal; whom at length, between Bribes and Flatteries, he so dexterously won, that he durst commit his Designs to him. These yet were such, as the Cardinal would not abruptly disclose to the King. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the King first some Present; which yet (saith *Polydore*) was but part of that which *Francis* gave him; so that while the King consider'd the Workmanship or Rarity of the Gift, he would convey his Meaning, and give those Impressions he most desir'd should remain in the King's Mind. At these Opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, *That* Francis *sought to him by Letters earnestly* (concealing in the mean while his large Bribes) *and that all this did reflect on his* Majesty, *whom that King did address himself to, by his Mediation. That others perchance would suppress and hide these things, as being enough to breed Suspicion, but that he would ever proceed clearly and openly with his* Majesty. *According to which Liberty he would take the boldness to advise, That, since the* French *King did sue to his* Majesty *in so submissive a way, as to begin at his Servants, that he could not but think he was in earnest: And for* Maximilian *(as being often disoblig'd) little help, or indeed trust could be expected.* Our King also considering that so much hereof was true, that if he could not make Friendship with *Francis*, it were not amiss yet to avoid War, embraces the Motion. Of which *Woolsey* makes his Advantage, and brings again another Message from *Francis*, to such Effect, that our King said openly, *that he saw well now* Woolsey *would govern them both.* The *French* King, having obtain'd this Interest in the Cardinal, besides new Gifts, sends him divers Letters, terming him therein *Dominus* and *Pater*, and his Advices Oracles, till at last he thought he might open unto him his Design of having *Tournay* redeliver'd for a certain Sum of Money. *Woolsey* promiseth his Assistance, and hereupon brings the Business to the King, and from thence, by his Command, to the Council: Where he openly declares, *what vast Sums it had cost the King to win* Therouene *and* Tournay; *in the former of which yet he had got nothing but the gratifying of an unthankful Person, which was* Maximilian; *in the other little else but a Number of unuseful and suspected Subjects; who, that they might be kept in Order and Obedience, would cost more than they were worth. The Charge of the Garison alone being above twelve thousand Pound yearly; besides that of Convoies and Ammunition. That after all this Expence, yet we could hold it no longer than it pleased either of the two Princes, between whose Dominions it stood; since being so remote from the* English Pale, *it was improbable that from thence we could succour it; so that it were better to let it go fairly, as for a Sum of Money, or the like, than to strive to hold it under so weak and dangerous a Title, at the sufferance of his Enemies;* one

Francis I. bribes the Cardinal again to his Interest.

Woolsey's Speech to the King in his Favour.

K. Henry's Saying of *Woolsey's* Conduct. *Polyd.Virg.*

Woolsey gain'd by *Francis* to consent that Tournay should be restor'd.

His Reasons for it.

1518. one of which, being Francis, he thought by the Restitution thereof might be oblig'd to be his Friend, and the Affront he might receive through the taking it by Force, avoided. Neither could Maximilian take it ill in point of Justice, if we restor'd to Francis a Town formerly in his Possession. This being done, that it were most expedient for all Christendom to join in League with one another, and against the Turk, who lately had made himself formidable. These Reasons were valid enough, had they not come from so false a Ground as the Corruption of the Cardinal; (which Polydore continually inculcates:) therefore they were embrac'd by all, but especially the Bishop of Durham, now Lord Privy-Seal; only it was requir'd, how much that Money was, and of what kind those Conditions were? Whereupon it was declar'd, that if it pleas'd the King to hear the Ambassadors of Francis, he had already demanded Leave for them to come over, which also he had reason to endeavour; for as I find by our Records, he and Nicholas de Villeroy the French Resident, had in a manner concluded the Business in private already. This being granted, Guillaume

July 9. Records. Gouffier Seigneur de Bonivet and Admiral of France, and Estienne de Poncher Bishop of Paris * came, with an unruly Number for an Ambassade, (their Train being twelve hundred) unto Greenwich; the French yet, betwixt Pride and Dissimulation, thought fit not to begin at the Business they most desir'd to effect.

* Sept. 20. 1200 Men in the Fr. Ambassador's Train.

Their Proposition. 1517. Mar. 16.

Therefore their first Overture was a Proposition for a League in general betwixt all Christian Princes against the Turk, projected by the Pope the Year before. That the Authors hereof should be both their Majesties. That the Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain should be admitted hereunto, as principal Contractors (if they desired it) within a certain time, and their Allies and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into Consideration, upon the second of October 1518. a League was concluded; which, for being singular in its kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to the future Ages, I shall more at large recite, both out of our own and the French Records; and the rather that it seems to have been the Rule by which our King framed his Actions many Years after, as will appear in this History.

Octob. 2. A League concluded between England & France against the Turk.

The Articles of it.

That perfect Friendship and Amity should continue for ever betwixt them, and their Successors, by Land and Sea; (wherein likewise all their Subjects and Allies were to be comprised.) That they should be the Friends of the Friends, and the Enemies of the Enemies of each other; insomuch, that, if any of the said Confederates, or other being a Stranger to them, should invade any of the said Confederates present Dominions, they should give the said Assailant an Admonition to desist and make Reparation; which if he did not, within the space of a Month accept, they should declare themselves his Enemies, and two Months after, both by Sea and Land, make War against him, at an equal Charge; allowing for this Purpose free Passage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if Civil Wars did arise in any of their said Countries, none of the Confederates should meddle, unless the said Civil Wars were kindled and maintain'd by some Foreign Prince. That no one of the Confederates should suffer their Subjects to bear Arms against the other, or should levy any Forces of Strangers, to be imploy'd against the said Confederates, upon pain of being held a Violater of the said League; which notwithstanding should hold firm among the rest. That none of the said Confederates should take the Vassal or Subject of the other into Protection, without the Consent of the King, to whom formerly he owed Obedience: That all Rebels, Traytors, or suspected of High-Treason, and Fugitives should not be receiv'd, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the Dominions of the said Confederates; but that, after twenty Days Warning and Requisition, they should be remanded. That the Pope should have notice of this League, upon Condition yet, that if he accepted these Articles within four Months after, he should be a principal Contractor in this League, and name his Allies also. That all the Princes before-named should, within the space of four Months, be received as principal Contractors, if they desire it, otherwise not, without Declaration and Request to the said two Kings. That any other King, Potentate, or chief Lord, might upon his Suit be admitted to have the Benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principal Contractor. Lastly, That, howsoever other Princes should observe or accept the said Treaty, that yet it should remain inviolable betwixt them two. 1518.

Leo X. hereupon, though more desirous of a General Confederacy against the Turk, accepted this League, as an Introduction thereunto, upon the last of December following, naming together some lesser Allies whom he desired might be compris'd; the Venetians having been nominated already both by Henry and Francis; upon mature Deliberation also, Charles King of Spain enter'd into it, and the rather that Maximilian the Emperor, conceiv'd that all Christian Princes might the sooner be dispos'd thereby to war against the Turk. Though as he died shortly after, the League seem'd restrain'd chiefly to Henry, Francis, and Charles, and particularly to the first Contractors, though not with such Confidence and Fervency as it first began. To reinforce this Treaty also, (which was but an Introduction to another,) Francis did propose a Match betwixt the Dauphin his Son, and the Princess Mary, which accordingly was * concluded two Days after, upon these Conditions.

Dec. 31.

Jan 12. 1519.

A Match concluded between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary of England. Octob. 4.

That our King should give with his Daughter 333000 Crowns, and Francis as great a Joynture as any King of that Country ever gave. That within four Months the Sponsals should be made by the two Kings in the Childrens Name. That if the Dauphin died before this Marriage, the next Son of Francis should take the Princess on the same Conditions. And if the Princess died first, the King's next Daughter (if he had any) should be given. For further Testimony of this desired Alliance, our King condescended also to restore Tournay, Mortaigne, and St. Amand, and the Territories adjacent, upon the Payment of six hundred thousand Crowns, at certain Terms. For which Payment, as also performing of the Marriage, sufficient Hostages should be deliver'd to the said Francis. That yet out of this Sum the said Francis might detain 333000 Crowns, for the aforesaid Dowry of the said Princess Mary, in case she did not inherit the Crown of England. That the said French King should pardon, and take into his Favour all the Inhabitants of the said City of Tournay, and Places adjacent, reserving to them all ancient Privileges; and that King Henry should thereupon release the Oath of Obedience they had made him. That whereas the Citizens of Tournay did yet owe to King Henry twenty three thousand Livres, which now the French King had stipulated to pay, he should substitute the French King to receive it of them again. That King Henry might carry from Tournay all the Artillery, Munition, and Instruments of War, either Offensive, or Defensive, Victuals, &c. That in case the Marriage intended should take no Effect by the default of Francis, that then Tournay should be deliver'd back again to King Henry or his Heirs, together with the Profits receiv'd in the mean while, without any Deduction for Reparation of the said Place. And that the Inhabitants thereof should be discharg'd from all Superiority or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledg'd to the said French King: Upon Condition that the said King Henry should restore the said French King the Sum of six hundred thousand Crowns, or so much as he should receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage should happen on the part of King Henry, that then, upon Payment of the intire Sum of six hundred thousand Crowns, Tournay should

Tournay to be restor'd.

Tillet.

On Payment of 600000 Crowns.

1518. *ſhould remain to the* French *King.* And herein our Records and *du Gillet* do ſo concur, as the chief Difference ſeems to be only about the Sum of 500000 Crowns, which our Records ſay, was the Penalty on either ſide, for Non-performance of the Marriage. There was alſo at the ſame time a Treaty concerning the *Admiralties* in both Kingdoms, having relation to one made the Year

July 16. 1517. *Rules.*

precedent *July* 16. and that of *April* 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, *That all Suits, upon occaſion of Depredation by Sea, might from the ordinary Judge be removed to* London *before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, or their Deputies, and the Maſter of the Rolls of* England; *and at* Rouen *before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of* France, *their Lieutenants, and the firſt Preſident of the Parliament in* Normandy; *who, upon Appeal of the Parties on either ſide, were bound to give a definitive Sentence within the ſpace of one Year; which, in caſe of Neceſſity, might be executed by ſtrong Hand, or main Force. The ſaid Appeals yet might be brought before the King's Council on either ſide, there to be determin'd definitively within the ſpace of ſix Months, &c.*

A Treaty concerning the Admiralties of both Kingdoms.

All Things being thus ſetled for future Quietneſs, the Princeſs *Mary* was promiſed and * betrothed to the Dauphin in St. *Paul's* in *London*. And the Earl of *Worceſter*, with *Nicholas Weſt* now Biſhop of *Ely*, and a Train equal to that of *Bonivet*, were ſent to require Performance from *Francis*, who thereupon * took his Oath, gave eight Hoſtages for Payment on the Rendition of *Tournay*, and contracted the Sponſals in the Name of his Son. In ſequence whereof, *Feb.* 8. following, the Earl of *Worceſter* delivered *Tournay*, though not unwillingly, ſince it was the King's Pleaſure, yet with ſo much ſcruple (having been by the Name of Lord *Herbert* at the taking thereof) as he would not ſuffer the *Mareſchal de Chaſtillon* to enter it with Banner diſplay'd, but rolled up, it being (as he ſaid) voluntarily yielded, and not gotten by Conqueſt. Our Writers add, that by *Francis* four hundred thouſand Crowns were allowed our King, for the building of the Citadel; but becauſe neither the *French* nor our Records (from whom I have taken the Effect of theſe Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the Diſcretion of the Reader. Only I muſt not forget what I find concerning the Cardinal's Satisfaction in this Particular, who had twelve thouſand *Livres Tournois* yearly, for relinquiſhing the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*. As for the other chief Counſellors, *Polydore* ſaith, a certain Sum of Money ſhould be diſtributed among them by the *French* King, *ita ut conſuevîſſent facere olim ejus Majores*; *as had been cuſtomary amongſt his Anceſtors.*

* Oct. 11. The Princeſs *Mary* betroth'd to the Dauphin in S. *Paul's* Church, *London.*

* Dec. 14. Dec. 19. 1519. Feb. 8. *Tournay* reſtor'd to the *Fr. K.* *Hall.*

Woolſey has 12000 Livres a Year, in Compenſation for the Biſhoprick. The *Engl. Counſellors* have Money given them by the *Fr. K.*

Thus was *Tournay* reſtor'd again to the *French*, however divers concurrent Articles were not perform'd afterwards, as will appear.

Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that *John* Duke of *Albany* ſhould not be permitted to return to *Scotland* any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in Succeſſion to *James* his Nephew, ſhould have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed, that this young King ſhould be comprehended in the League. This Particular being reſolved a good while ſince, though not fully ſigned till now, was the cauſe that Queen *Margaret* * return'd to *Scotland*, where her Huſband met her at *Berwick*; yet ſo, as there was not thenceforth that intire Love formerly obſerv'd betwixt them. Our Ambaſſadors being ſtill in *France*, the Biſhop of *Ely* went to ſee the Queen at *Amboiſe*, from whence he certified our King, that he ſaw the Dauphin (now almoſt a Year old) and imbraced and kiſſed him. Four Days after the above-mention'd Treaty, being the eighth of *October* 1518. another was concluded, for an Interview betwixt the Kings, accompanied with their Queens, and Madam *Louiſe* the Mother of *Francis*, and their Houſhold Officers. The Time appointed was the laſt of *July* 1519, at *Sandinfield* in *Picardy*, or ſome other Neutral place, according as their Deputies on either ſide ſhould adviſe; which upon the firſt of *April* following were to meet together for this purpoſe.

May 18. 1517.

Octob. 8. An Interview between the two Kings agreed on.

While Affairs paſt thus with *France* and *Scotland*, the Pope ſent *Laurentius Campejus* Cardinal, as Legate, hither; to procure a general League among *Chriſtian* Princes (or at leaſt a quinquennial Truce) for a War againſt the *Turk*. Beſides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy, as alſo a Commiſſion (ſpecified in a Bull) wherein Cardinal *Woolſey* and himſelf had *Legantine* Power to viſit Monaſteries. This Legate (called by *Polydore*, *Inter Juris-conſultos Jure-conſultiſſimus*; *the moſt a Lawyer of all the Lawyers*) coming to *Calais* was deſired by our Cardinal to ſtay there, as our * Hiſtorians write, till he had procured from *Rome* that *Woolſey* might be join'd in the aforeſaid Commiſſion with him; but, as I find in our Records and *Polydore*, until he had obtain'd from the Pope, that *Hadrian de Caſtello*, the Cardinal (now in Priſon for a Conſpiracy againſt the Pope) might be deveſted from the Biſhoprick of *Bath*, and the Dignity conferred on him; of which alſo he had the greater hope, that the Pope (as I find by our Records) had condemn'd him for the ſaid Conſpiracy. Beſides, it was the care of our Cardinal, to ſuffer none to have Acceſs to our King, whom he had not firſt obliged. Therefore our Cardinal preſented him, together with a Promiſe to aſſiſt him for the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury* when it ſhould fall, ſome red Cloth to apparel his Train, which otherwiſe were but poorly cloath'd. To ſuit this alſo the † Night before his coming to *London*, he ſent him twelves Mules, with empty Coffers fairly covered; ſome of which yet were overturn'd and broken in his Paſſage † through the City, to the great Shame of *Campejus*; who, finding at laſt his Demand for a Tenth rejected by our Clergy, advertiſes the Pope, and proceeds to the other Point of viſiting Monaſteries. But our cunning Cardinal thinking himſelf able enough to diſcharge this Office alone, (while *Campejus* ſtaid in *England*) diſpatches *John Clarke*, Doctor of Law, to the Pope, both to give account of this Buſineſs, and to obtain the whole Power for himſelf. This *Clarke* coming to *Rome*, negotiated, by our King's Commandment, ſo well on the Cardinal's behalf, that he obtained from the Pope a * Bull, whereby (*Campejus* being now revoked) he was made *Legat à Latere*, and enabled to viſit not only Monaſteries, but all the Clergy of *England*, and diſpence with Church-Laws for one Year next enſuing the Date thereof: Which though it gave him great Power, miniſtred much Offence; as abridging the Biſhops Power, and ſcandalizing the whole Clergy, who were ſo defam'd by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed *Dati in reprobum ſenſum*, *given up to a reprobate Senſe*, and the like, in the original Bull among our Records, which I ſhould have inſerted in *toto contextu* intire, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all religious Perſons. And now (ſaith *Polydore*) the Cardinal's Pride did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe, that on ſolemn Feaſt-Days, he would ſay *Maſs* after the manner of the Pope himſelf, not only Biſhops and Abbots ſerving him therein, but even Dukes and Earls giving him *Water* and the *Towel*. Beſides, not contented with the Croſs of *York* to be carried before him, he added another of his *Legacy*, which two of the talleſt Prieſts that could be found, carried on great Horſes before him.

June 29. * *Hall.* *Antiq Brit.* *Polyd.*

Cardinal *Campejus*'s poor Attendance and

July 28. Publick Entry. † July 29.

* Dat. June 10. 1519. Cardinal *Woolſey*'s Power.

His prodigious Pride.

Infomuch

1518. Insomuch (as *Polydore* saith) it grew to a Jest, as if one *Cross* did not suffice for the Expiation of his Sins. All this yet was but a kind of Prelude to that which follow'd. For, erecting a particular Court of Jurisdiction, which he call'd the *Legats* Court, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjur'd wicked Person, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making Enquiry into the Life of every Body, no Offence escap'd Censure and Punishment, unless privately they gave Money; of which they found two Commodities: One that it did cost less, the other that it exempted them from Shame. Thus as the Rules of Conscience are in many Cases of a greater Extent, than those of the Law, so he found means to search even into their secretest Corners. Besides, under this Colour he arrogated Power to call in question the Executors of Wills, and the like. He summon'd also all Religious Persons of what sort soever before him; who, casting themselves at his Feet, were grievously chidden, and terrify'd with Expulsion, till they had compounded. Besides, all Spiritual Livings that fell were conferr'd on his Creatures.

And Arbitrary Proceedings.

The Arch-bishop of Canterbury acquaints the King with it. Polyd Virg. The King's Answer.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* understanding how all Orders were thus ransack'd by the Cardinal, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, *That he should not have heard hereof but by him; adding, that no Man is so blind any-where, as in his own House; therefore, I pray you, said he, Father, go to* Woolsey, *and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it.* This grave Person hereupon admonishes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in medling with the Last Wills and Testament of the Dead, he assum'd a Power, not so much as claim'd by the Pope himself; and for disposing some Benefices in the Gift of the Nobility, and other great Persons, he thought he usurp'd too much upon them. All the Use *Woolsey* made thereof, was to hate the Arch-bishop, with whom he was formerly offended; only because (as *Polydore* hath it) he stil'd himself in the Superscription of his Letter, *Gulielmus Frater Cantuariensis, your Brother William Cant.* Yet, lest the Arch-bishop should do him ill Offices, he temper'd his Speech for the time. But shortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accus'd by one *John London* a Priest, it appear'd sufficiently that all the former Allegations against *Woolsey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Cardinal so sharply, that after that time, he became, if not better, yet more wary than before: At this time also certain Abuses about *Sanctuaries* were taken away by the King's Authority, in sequence of a *Bull* granted to that purpose by *Julius* the Second, 1504. *June* 19. to King *Henry* the Seventh.

He grows more Moderate.

1517. August. Let us turn our Eyes on foreign Businesses, now somewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a Journey into *Spain*, the *French* King offer'd him the Convenience of passing through *France*, and Hostages for Security, together with the Keys of the Cities he should go thorough; but *Charles* (as our Ambassadors write) refus'd, saying, *If he landed any-where it should be in* England. According to which Resolution, taking Ship, he came to *Spain*, *Aug.* 25. 1517. as *Sandoval* hath it, (our Records say, he set not to Sea till *Sept.* 8.) where he found Things much discompos'd, through the Severity of the Cardinal *Ximines*. Besides, there wanted not Suspicion, that many would have set up his Brother *Ferdinand* against him, whom therefore he shortly after sent to *Flanders*. Howsoever *Ximenes* dy'd, not without Probability that he was poyson'd, though by whom is uncertain. *Charles* his first Art was calling a *Cortes* or Parliament in *Castilla* and *Leon*,

Sept. 7. 1517.

which pass'd not without Trouble; there being no little Contention, whether the People should first swear Obedience to *Charles*, or he the Observance of their ancient Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, which yet at last was so temper'd, as they came near in time together; though, for conserving the Royal Dignity, some particular Persons were induc'd to swear first. He also caus'd Justs and Tourneys to be held according to the manner of that Age: Into which *Sandovall* saith, sixty Cavaliers enter'd, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who also encountred so roughly, that most of them were overthrown and sore hurt, and twelve Horses kill'd; though yet this was little in regard of a Justs that * follow'd, at which seven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein nevertheless *Charles*, though very young, appear'd, breaking three Lances in four Cariers. After this, establishing some Laws, and obtaining some Money from his People, he went to *Aragon*, where he call'd a *Cortes* likewise; and shortly after, (hearing, that since the Death of *Horruc Barbarossa* (who from a low Fortune and Birth, made himself first a formidable Pirate, then * King of *Argier*) *Hariadin Barbarossa* his Brother, succeeded in that Kingdom; and in the Exercise of Piracy,) sent *Don Hugo de Moncada* Vice-roy of *Sicily* to *Argier*, with as ill Success as their Expeditions thither have commonly prov'd. Not long after which, News was brought him of the Death of *Louise* of *France*, whom by the Treaty of *Noyon* he should have marry'd, and of the Sickness of *Maximilian*; who, now growing old and infirm, determin'd to make one of his Grand-children Emperor: Assembling for this purpose a Diet at *Augsburgh*, and proposing particularly *Ferdinand*; as believing the Electors would sooner choose him, than *greaten* any other Prince with that Accession. But as he alone could not dispose this Business, so both *Francis* and *Charles* were earnest in it. Our King also not omitting to discover how *Germany* stood affected to him; and the rather, that the Pope, as I find by our Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilian's* Death upon a Dissentery *January* 12. 1519. ensuing this while, *Richard Pace* was * sent to *Germany* by our King; who, in his † Dispatches certify'd with what Ambition *Francis* and *Charles* aspir'd to this Dignity; saying nevertheless, that the Electors of *Moyentz*, *Colen*, and *Tryers* stood so affected, that if our King had put in sooner, and before they were engag'd, he thought his Majesty might have carry'd it, since the Pope's Nuncio there affirm'd still he had Commission from his Holiness *to assist him*; as being desirous it were bestow'd on any rather than either *Charles* or *Francis*, but especially on *Charles*. Though at last, finding that betwixt Money given, and Forces rais'd by *Charles*, he would prevail, his Holiness thought fit to comply, and give his Assent: And the rather, that the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refus'd it. Whereupon *June* 28. 1519. *Charles* was publickly chosen at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcelona*, at first rejoic'd, but afterwards troubled him; as considering what a Burden he had undertaken, especially in a time when the *Turk* made his Approaches against Christendom. Yet, were not these all his Cares; for, as his Clergy in *Spain* was so offended at the Demand of a Tenth of their Revenue towards a War against Infidels, that there was *Cessatio à Divinis, no Divine Service*, (as *Sandoval* hath it) for above four Months in all the Kingdom; and as the People again began a dangerous Insurrection for the Conservation of their Liberties (which endur'd some Years following, with more Method than in such popular Commotions are ordinarily

1519.

1518. Jan.

1518. March 4.

* 1517.

1518. Aug.

Maximilian's Death.

* May 20.

† June 20.

K. *Henry*, *Francis* the I. and *Charles* K. of *Spain* Competitors for the Empire.

Jun. 28. *Charles* the Fifth chosen Emperor.

Sandov.

1519. ordinarily found) so he had much to do at Home. Besides the People in *Austria* began another no less dangerous in those Parts, and of little less Continuance. Again, *Francis*, who was now in good Correspondence with our King, press'd the Restitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and rais'd him Troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*. All which important Affairs yet were pretermitted, only to comply with the Ceremony (for it was no more) of receiving the Imperial Crown, so secure was he of all Things but his Title; only in the midst of these Afflictions, the happy News of the Discovery, and begun Conquest of *Mexico*, and *Nueva Espanna* arriv'd; which, though worthy a particular Relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much encrease the Bulk of this History, Though for giving a Taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortes*, Undertaker thereof, going with about Four hundred *Spanish* Foot, and Fifteen Horse, and Seven little Field-Pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected Kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that, playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Soldier, he prevail'd himself of all. And, in Conclusion, notwithstanding the Opposition both of his Country-men and Enemies, laid a Foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. Before yet I come to the Actions of the New Emperor, I shall exhibit the Description of *Maximilian* I have collected out of several Authors.

Mexico discover'd.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and call'd Emperor, though never crown'd by that Title, gave much Occasion of Discourse concerning the Reason thereof; some saying, he declin'd the Charge and Hazzard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands; others believing, that according to his often Profession, he meant first to be Emperor of *Constantinople*, which he said was his most lawful Title. As for his Education, he was a Prince brought up in much Ignorance, yet studious to repair that Defect by Conversation with the more learned sort. His Bounty was observ'd such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the Pursuit of his Designs; wherein he made a Royal Vertue criminal. He had treated with the Princes of his time with so ill Success, that he knew not in what Posture to keep himself; being in the same Danger for the most part, whether his Faith were broken or theirs. This made him Devout even to Superstition. For his Enterprises in the War, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad Peace, than a just War. His spare Time he employ'd in *Poetry*, writing the History of his Life in *Dutch* Verse, which Book by *Pedro Mexia* is call'd *Teur danck*; and another call'd *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefest Happinesses was, that his Posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best Parts of *Europe*. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obsequy was solemnly kept in St. *Paul's*, by our King and the Knights of that Fellowship.

The Character of *Maximilian* Emperor of *Germany*. He was never crown'd Emperor.

He wrote his own History in Verse.

Hall.

I must remember now, that at the Conclusion of the Treaty with *France*, *October* 8. 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there should be an Interview in *July* 1519, which yet took not Effect, because of the Death of *Maximilian*, and the Occasions ensuing, formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520. both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards, till they saw each other. *Francis* having also now a second Son, desir'd our King to give him his Name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, (afterwards King, and second of that Name.) Neither did he omit any thing, which might argue his Respect. Therefore he sollicites our *Cardinal* (whom he call'd his Father and Cousin) still with Gifts, sends Presents to the Princess *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might secure him on that side, knowing well how puissant an Enemy he had provok'd. *Charles*, on the other side, considering how much it concern'd him to keep the *Cardinal* at his Devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own way. On which Occasion I shall observe, that, as since the Discoveries of the *Indies*, Coin hath been much more plentiful, so greater Matters have been done in these later Times by Bribes, than by the Sword; those who have Money (that is to say, a Seed which will spring any thing in corrupt Minds) finding means, either in the Authors or the Actors in Businesses, to dispose them to their Ends, or at least to make Advantage of the Intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* suspecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the *Scots* his Friends; therefore though it was his Motion formerly to comprise the young King and that Nation in general within his *League* with *England*, yet now he strives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King sent to require their Oath thereunto, they refus'd; so that all that Business ended in a Truce only for one Year. And here I must not omit to relate the *Cardinal's* extream Ambition; who having a Design to make himself Pope, did ever comply with those, who he thought might be his best Assistants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more Potent, and that, besides it was manifest, that, to which Party soever our King inclin'd, he would turn the Ballance, he hop'd by favouring *Charles* to obtain his Desire. Neither wanted he continual Presents on his part equal to, if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the Assistance of *Francis*, though offering him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals (as I find by our Records) and applies himself to *Charles*; nevertheless the Design for the Interview with *Francis* continu'd; which being minuted by our Ambassador Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continu'd by his Successor in *France* Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whose Dispatches (extant in our Records) I find this Passage in a Letter to the King, *March* 16. *I have presented to the* French *King the Sword, for the nimble handling whereof, he hath nor knoweth no feat, but thought it not maniable: And call'd the Admiral to him, and caus'd him to feel the weight thereof, who shew'd him, that he had seen* your Grace *weild one more weighty. But for such Promise as he had made your* Highness, *he might not discover it; saving that it was by means of a Gantlet. The* French *King desires one of those Gantlets, and he will send your* Grace *such a Pair of* Cuirasses, *as your* Grace *hath not seen, the Secret whereof is for the easy bearing of such Weight, as rests upon the* Cuirasses, *which is commonly born by the Shoulders, and in this* Cuirass *the Shoulder bears no Burden.* All which I have set down, to awaken the Industry of these Times in such Inventions. I will come now to the Order of the Interview, remitted both by our King and *Francis* unto the Cardinal's Direction. Who accordingly, upon the 12th of *March* 1520, declar'd this Order. *That, in regard his King was to pass the Seas, to his Danger and Cost, and should leave his Kingdom, only to do* Francis *Honour: Therefore that the Interview should not be in a Neutral Place, but that King* Henry, *his Queen, and the Queen Dowager of* France *should comes to* Guisnes, *and the* French *King, his Queen, and Madam* Louise *his Mother, to* Ardres, *before the end of* May *next; and then that, before 4 of* June *following, King* Henry *should go half a League towards* Ardres, *without passing yet the Limits of* Guisnes *or the* English *Pale,* and

The Interview between the Kings of *England* and *France* put off. Records. *Jovius.*

1519.

Charles the V. bribes the Cardinal.

Lesle.

Who aims at the Papacy.

And sides with *Charles*.

March 16.

The Interview goes forward. March 12.

1520. *and there, in ſome open Place, near the Confines of the* French, *(which ſhould be declar'd by Deputies on either ſide) the ſaid* French *King parting from* Ardres *the ſame Day, and Hour, and coming to the ſaid Place (where no Tent was to be pitch'd) ſhould meet the ſaid King* Kenry *within his own Territories, and there ſhould ſalute one another, and ſpeak together on Horſeback, as long as they pleas'd. This being done, that the* French *King ſhould return to* Ardres, *and King* Henry *to* Guiſnes. *The next Day that the ſaid Kings ſhould meet in ſome Neutral Place, to be nominated by their Deputies; where, after Salutations on both ſides, King* Henry *ſhould go to* Ardres *to ſee and dine with the Queen of* France, *and his Mother, and the* French *King to* Guiſnes, *to ſee and dine with the Queen of* England, *and Dowager of* France. *That the ſaid Interview ſhould be celebrated with* Tourneys *and* Juſts, *and Exerciſes of Arms, as well on Foot, as on Horſeback, in ſome place choſen by the ſaid Deputies, betwixt* Guiſnes *and* Ardres; *which ſhould be ditch'd, fortified, and guarded by an equal Number of Perſons to be appointed by the ſaid Kings. And that, during the ſaid Exerciſes of Arms, the Queens and their Train might familiarly converſe together, in the Evening ſtill returning to their ſeveral Lodgings of* Ardres *and* Guiſnes. *That the Honour and Precedence, ſhould be given to them ſtill, who came to ſee the other. That the Number of the Perſons and Horſes permitted to be at this Interview, ſhould be ſign'd in certain Rolls by the ſaid Kings, and ſhould not be increas'd without mutual Conſent. That two Gentlemen with an equal Number of Followers ſhould watch continually upon the Highways, as well for ſurety of the ſaid Kings Perſons, as for the ſafer conducting the Victuals. And that theſe every Night ſhould give account, to their ſeveral Kings and Councellors, of their Charge. That the Soldiers of the Garriſons of* Boulogne *and* Calais *ſhould not come near, without expreſs Licenſe of both Kings.* I find alſo that it was agreed, *that the number of Strokes at* Tourney *ſhould be determin'd by the Ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all Places, that could furniſh Beauty, and Worth enough to deſerve ſo much Honour.*

The Order of it.

This being concluded, the Earl of *Worceſter*, on our King's part, and *Monſieur de Caſtillon* on the part of *Francis*, laid out the Ground for theſe Triumphs, between *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*, but within the *Engliſh* Pale. While theſe *Magnificences* were preparing, much Diſcourſe paſt betwixt both Princes, and the Ambaſſadors reſident in either Court, concerning the Ancient Forms us'd at great Solemnities. Among which it appears, in a Diſpatch of *Wingfield's*, that *Francis* told him, how he had heard that our *Edward*, (I think he meant *Edward* the Third) was us'd at ſuch times to have his Meat carry'd up by Cavaliers on Horſe-back. But to let theſe Things paſs, and come to our Hiſtory, I find *Francis* purſu'd ſtill his Point, and is ſo confident now of the *Cardinal*'s Favour, that he durſt make an Overture to him, for reſtoring *Calais*, and all the other Towns in the *Engliſh* Pale, for a certain Sum of Money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the *Cardinal*; though the Difficulty of effecting it did ſomewhat deter him. For as the narrow Seas have been (Time out of mind) under the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh*, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the Paſſage over, were a kind of Bridge, ſo it could not but ſeem ſtrange, to every Man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion ſhould be made, whereby we might looſe the further end thereof, and therein deprive our ſelves of a Landing place. Therefore the *Cardinal* did not think fit to propoſe the Buſineſs at once, nor without diſcovering firſt, how it could take with the general ſort. For this Purpoſe, then, he would caſt out theſe Words in his ordinary Speech, and at his Table; whenſoever there was Queſtion of foreign Buſineſs; *What have we to do with this Calais, that lies in the Continent, and coſts us more than it is worth? I would we were honeſtly rid of it.*

April. To be within the *Engliſh* Pale.

The French K. treats with *Wolſey* about the Rendition of Calais, &c.

1520.

The Time now drew near, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt *Guiſnes* and *Ardres*. This alſo was ſeconded much by the Cardinal, who between Pride and Vanity, deſir'd to ſee theſe Two together; whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew alſo his Preſents would not be little; therefore he perſwaded our King to build ſome ſuch Houſe near *Guiſnes*, as might be worthy the Reception of two ſo great Princes. To perform this, two thouſand Artificers were appointed. The Model whereof is ſtill extant in *Greenwich*, among thoſe many rare Pictures, which the moſt vertuous Prince, King *Charles*, my good King and Maſter hath. The *Cardinal* alſo ſummons the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that Splendor which might become Perſons of their Dignity. Some of the more thrifty ſort yet, and eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham* repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this Expence on the *Cardinal* chiefly, who hearing thereof, for this as well as ſome other Cauſes, hereafter-mention'd, reſolv'd his Ruine.

Preparations for the Interview.

Charles the Emperor hearing now of theſe Preparations for the Interview, thought fit perſonally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other Friendſhip with *Francis*. For thoſe Ambaſſadors whom he had ſent before to the *Engliſh* Court for this Purpoſe, had fail'd, our King alledging to them for all other Reaſons, his Promiſe given. Neither could they deny, but the Engagement was deep; for a King of Arms had been in the *Engliſh* Court on the part of *Francis*, with a Proclamation, declaring that, in *June* next, the two Kings, *Henry* and *Francis*, with fourteen Aids, would, in a Camp betwixt *Ardres* and *Guiſnes*, anſwer all Comers that were Gentlemen, at *Tilt*, *Tourney*, and *Barriers*. The like Proclamation was made by *Clarenceaux* in the *French* Court. And yet theſe Defies ſtopt not there, for they were ſent by our King to the *Low-Countries*, *Burgundy*, *Germany*, and by *Francis* into *Spain*, and *Italy*. And now our principal Noblemen had made themſelves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was ſo gorgeous as the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, finding the King yet not ready to ſet forth, went before to ſee ſome Lands he had in *Kent*. But his Tenants exclaiming there againſt one *Charles Knevet*, his Steward or Surveyor, for exacting on them, the Duke diſcharg'd him. This piece of Juſtice yet prov'd afterwards the Cauſe of his Overthrow, as ſhall be declar'd in his Place, ſo fatal was it to that Houſe of the * *Staffords* to ſuffer by their Servants. Our King finding now the time of meeting to grow near, comes to *Canterbury*, *May* 25, intending there to paſs his *Whitſontide*. This while *Charles* the Emperor had ſo laid his Journey from *Spain*, that the Day following, himſelf accompany'd with divers, not only Lords but fair Ladies, comes unexpectedly to *Dover*. Our Cardinal hearing this, Poſted away preſently, to aſſure him of his Welcome. Our King alſo the next Day after, very early, came to *Dover* Caſtle, where the Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs, where being ſaluted by our King, and afterwards conducted to his Chamber, *Charles* continues his Deſign to break this Interview, as well, as all other Correſpondence with *Francis*: for both *Charles* and *Francis* had great Deſigns at that time; *Francis* deſir'd to hold the Territory of *Milan*, and to recover *Naples*, (which the *French* having * once got under *Charles* the Eighth, did again ſo ſuddenly † looſe, that it ſeem'd no place there was

* 1. Rich. 3.

May 25. *Charles* the V. comes to *Dover*.

May 26.

Serres.

* 1494.

† 1495.

1520. strong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in) besides, he purpos'd to re-establish *Henry d'Albret* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*. Again, the Duke of *Gueldres*, being taken under his Protection, he could do no less than defend him against *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into Subjection: But especially, the Right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he desired to conserve, against the Pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other side, endeavoured to oppose him in all these Places; and was, besides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made
* 1515. † 1516. before in * *Paris*, had extorted from him new Conditions in the Treaty at † *Noyon*. Therefore, knowing no Prince could so much help or hinder him in these Affairs, as our King, he offers more advantageous Conditions than *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both presented the Cardinal, and promis'd (if ever Occasion happen'd) to make him Pope. And that he might the better in Gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the first part our King excus'd himself, as being far engag'd in Honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as soon as this Interview was past. From thence then, our King
May 27. invited him to *Canterbury*, where he gladly saw his Aunt Queen *Katherine*; the Queen Dowager of *France* also (once proposed for his Wife) seem'd very considerable, as being for her Beauty much celebrated by the *English* and *French* Writers. And, if we may believe *Polydore*, his Passion in seeing of her was sad, as he could not be persuaded to dance, and not that *Spanish* Gravity, which, in his Age, and amongst such Company, might well have been laid aside. Therefore, having pass'd over the *Whitsontide* Holy-Days in those Sports and Entertainments, which
* May 29. our King gave him; he * departs to *Sandwich*,
† May 30. whence † taking Ship he arriv'd in his Native Country of *Flanders*, while our King the same
* May 31. Day past to *Dover*; and thence * with all his
June 4. Train and Company to *Calais*. The 4th of *June*, the King, two Queens, and all the rest, who were assign'd in his Roll or List, remov'd to his Princely Lodging near *Guisnes*, being a Square of Timber, whereof every side contain'd three
K. Henry goes to the Place of Interview. hundred twenty-eight Foot, with a Savage before it, carrying a Bow and Arrows, and the Words *Cui adhæreo præest*; *he governs with whom I side*: The parts of which great Building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken asunder, and
A Description of it. brought home. This, again, was most sumptuously furnish'd, especially the Chapel; from which a private Gallery reached to the strong Castle of *Guisnes*. The House for *Francis* (near *Ardres*) was a Building rather great than costly, as being erected with such Materials, as could be gotten in haste; his first Intention being to lodge in a rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold, until the Wind threw it down. Before yet these Kings met together, the Cardinal went to see *Francis*, and treat with him concerning some Particulars, about the Marriage betwixt the Dauphin and Princess *Mary*: The Substance whereof was, (as
Till. I find by the *French* Records) That after the Million of Crowns (agreed on in *May* 1515.) were satisfied, *Francis* should pay at *Calais* one hundred thousand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, until the Marriage were solemnized in the Face of the Church; and so, during the Life of the said *Henry*; after which, if the Dauphin should in Right of his Wife, be King of *England*, to her and her Heirs. But if the Marriage were not accomplished, then the said Payment should cease. As for the Differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, That Madam, the King's Mother, and the Cardinal of *York* should determine them: 1520.
All which were concluded the 6th of *June* 1520. June 6.
The Day following the Interview began. The Signal of departing, was a warning Piece, to be shot, when either of the Kings were ready. This being given, they both issued forth Royally attended. There was some stay yet, upon a Report, that the Numbers exceeded the Lists agreed on. *Francis* stopp'd first, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergavenny*, the *French* were twice as many. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury* affirming, the *French* were more afraid of the *English*, than the *English* of them, they went on, our King (being thought the goodliest Prince of his Time) appearing somewhat before the rest. The *French* King beholding the Demeanor of the *English* a while, rode himself also before his Train, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked Sword before him, and his Admiral and Master of the Horse following him. Our King observing this, caus'd the Marquiss *Dorset*, who bare the Sword of Estate, to draw it, and go on likewise. At last coming near, and the Trumpets sounding on both sides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Andren*, and saluted each other, passing from thence Arm in Arm to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there (the first Agreement concerning these Points, being it seems so much alter'd.) Where, Compliments being pass'd on both sides, they took Leave, and return'd to their several Lodgings. Upon the
9th, both Kings came to view the Camp, or June 9.
Place of Exercise, being 300 Yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, save at the Entries; having on the side Scaffolds erected for the Beholders. There were also set up two artificial Trees (the one a Hawthorne for *Henry* our King, the other a Framboisier or Raspis-bush for *Francis*) with the Arms of the two Kings and their several Aids, on which also the Articles of Justs, Tourney and Barriers were fastned. The Aiders The Justs.
on the *English* side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiss *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carewe*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the *French* Party were *Monsieur le Duc de Vendosme*, Mr. *de Saint Pol*, Mr. *de Montmorancy*, Mr. *de Bryon*, Mr. *de Saint Mesme*, Maister *de Brucall*, and Maister *Tabanes*. To encounter these again, divers noble Persons, and good Cavaliers, came from Foreign Countries; who, presenting their Arms to the Heralds, were thereupon admitted to the Exercise,
being appointed upon *Monday* the 11th, when June 11.
the Queens on both sides and *Ladies* coming to the Place, the Kings armed themselves, with their Aids, who did wear suitable Liveries on either side. I will not here particularly set down the
Courses of these Champions, since *Hall*, who E. Hall.
seems to have been an Eye-witness, relates them at large. And less shall I recount their Devices, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardie*; according (perchance) to the manner of that Time. Let it suffice that, among all, none did better (if so well) as the two Kings, and especially ours; who disabled *Monsieur de Grandeville* at the second Course to run any more that Day. *Monsieur de Montmorancy* held him yet better to
it, yet so, as to get no Advantage. This Exer- June 16.
cise continued four Days together: The next Day, the *French* King came early to *Guisnes*, with a small Train; our King also (after giving him his *bien-venu*) departing with the like Equipage to *Ardres*; so that they pass'd that Day with feasting and dancing with the Queens, and other Ladies on either side. Only I observe our King's manner was more genteel than that of *Francis*:

For,

[1520.] For, coming disguis'd in Masking Clothes, he not *only* prevented Treachery against his Person, when any was intended, but avoided Contestation for Precedence in his Return home, that Night, when he met *Francis* by the way. On [June 17.] *Sunday* * they repos'd, for the Honour of that Day; and on *Monday* for foul Weather. On *Tuesday* they continued their Courses with a [June 20.] like Honour: On *Wednesday*, being the twentieth, the *Tourney* began; where with Swords was a rude *Chamaillis*; yet the Kings and their Aids beat the Counter-party to a disarming: Where our King, particularly, got that Honour, that a brave *French* Noble-man, with whom he fought, presented him his Horse as a Gage of his being overcome. The next Day our King in *Tourney* likewise broke the Poldron of *Monf. de Fluranges*, and made him depart the Camp. But this Sport was so rough, that four of the Aids being hurt, others were substituted in their Places. [June 22.] The 22d, the Barriers began; and, after it, the casting of Hand-spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed Sword. At which Exercise likewise much Commendations was given to either King. For celebrating these Magnificences also, the Cardinal solemnly sung an high *Mass*, being attended in the most Pontifical manner. At the close whereof, he dispensed the Treasure of the *Roman* Church (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo* X.) unto the two Kings, who that Day din'd together by themselves, their Queens eating together also in another Room: *This being done, they* both turn'd *to Barriers, where our King, with a few Stroaks,* disarm'd his Adversary. The next Day our King, with his Sister Queen *Mary*, went in Masking-Apparel to see the *French* Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewise going to the *English* Queen. At the Return they alighted, and after many Compliments, Embraces, and rich Presents to each o- [June 24.] ther, bid Adieu the twenty-fourth of *June*. *Polydore* observes yet, that there was some abruptness in the Farewell; and saith, *Francis* told our [The two Kings part. *E. Hall.*] King, *that our Nation did not well comply with the* French *in their mutual Visits*. But our King putting this off discreetly, their Discourse passed no further. And perchance the occasion of this *Mal-entendu*, was, that the *French* gave forth, *Calais* should be deliver'd up for Money. The next Day the King and all his Train departed to *Calais*, giving Licence unto many there to return un- [July 10.] to *England*. Upon the 10th of *July*, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, (with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*) our King (at their Request) ad- [An Interview between *Charles* V. and King *Henry*.] mits another Interview. To this purpose going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him on the Way, and conducted him thither, giving for the rest to the *English* all that good Entertainment so little a Place could afford. The next Day, [July 11.] the Emperor and his Aunt, the Lady *Margaret*, went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings, and Magnificences passing, Businesses yet were not forgot. For our King (together with *Monsieur de-la-Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*) read and offer'd to *Charles* (now Emperor) the *Tripartite* League, sign'd betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereunto by the Name of *Emperor* (as I conceive it.) But the Emperor having formerly sign'd the League by the Name of *Charles*, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his Designs in *Italy*, and else-where, than to confirm that Agreement, so deferr'd or avoided this Proposition; that I find not what Effect it presently took. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the Affairs, betwixt himself and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his Adversary. He would also have gone out of Town that Night, being, the third after his coming; but our King [1520.] using a courteous kind of Violence to make him stay, the Rumour went among the Emperor's Servants, that he was detain'd; but the next Day clear'd this: For the Emperor, being conducted some part of his Way towards *Graveling*, was courteously bid Farewell, and presented with a brave Courser richly trapped. The *French* King hearing of these kind Passages, and remembring particularly that *Charles*, by his first Agreement, had constituted our King Arbiter of all emergent Differences, took this *Interview* extreamly ill; and the rather, that he heard some muttering of a Match proposed by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperor and the Princess *Mary*, though a Child. Which yet was a Mistake, it being not treated of seriously (as the *Spanish* Writers have it) till near two Years after; and not before the *French* had both broken the common *League*, and given new Provocations by their Practices in *Scotland*. Our King having now no more to do at *Calais*, took [The King returns to England.] the first fair Wind, and, with all his Train, came safely into *England*.

I shall return now to the Business of *Luther*, [*Luther* cited to *Rome*.] whom *Leo* cited to *Rome*, 1518, giving * Order also to Cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat in *Germany*, to oppose his Doctrine, not omitting Letters to this [* Aug. 23. 1518.] purpose, both to *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, and to the Superior of the *Augustines* in *Germany*: Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers Conferences at the Diet of *Augsburg*, labours to convert him, but in vain. At last *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's Name, he appeals to him, in the [*Sleid.*] Form usual in these Cases, *tanquam à Pontifice mi-* [1518. Oct. 19.] *nus edocto ad eundem reˈctius edocendum*; *from the Pope under Misinformation, to the same Pope better informed*; but desires, withal, he might answer for himself in *Germany*, and that Caution might be given for his Safety; since what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this [1518.] while, to make good his Authority, * grants new [* Nov. 11.] *Indulgences*, which no Man should reject unless [*Sleid.* c. *l.* 1.] he would be Excommunicate, &c. *Luther* finding, thus, no hope of Alteration, and besides that he [1518.] was branded with the Name of *Heretick*, * ap- [* Nov. 28.] peals from *Leo* to a General Council; yet writes to the Pope, (1519) a very submissive Letter, [1519.] wherein he protests, *That he was never intended to* [March 3. *Luther's* second Letter to the Pope.] *fall away from the Church. That all he said, was chiefly intended against those who abused the Power of* Indulgences; *concerning which therefore he would speak no more, so that his Adversaries were likewise silenced; briefly, that he would omit nothing, which might concern Peace in Religion.*

Maximilian dying about this Time, *Luther* had some respite. Mens Eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed *Maximilian*, than any other Argument. Besides, he seemed now unwilling any longer to dispute the Pope's Authority, to which his Adversaries enviously reduced all the controverted Point. Yet as *Ulricus Zuin-* [*Zuinglius* appears in *Swisser-land*,] *glius* appeared about this time at *Zurich*, to consent with *Luther* in many things, and that a Letter of *Erasmus* also, dated 1519, did much encourage him, so he began to recover Force. That of *Erasmus* (*extant l.* 6. *Epistol.*) telling him, *he* [and *Erasmus* in *Holland*. His Letter to *Luther*.] *had some Favourers in the* Low-Countries, *but many in* England, *and among them divers* principal Persons; *that yet he should do well to use Modesty and Discretion*; Christ *having thereby both instituted his Doctrine, and his Apostle* Paul *destroyed the Jewish Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto* Allegorie. *That he should do well to speak against those rather who abused the Papal Authority, than against the Pope himself. In Conclusion, that he should take heed of doing any thing out of Anger, Hate, or Vain-glory.*

Philip

1520.

Philip Melanthon embraces his Opinions.

Philip Melanthon also, a Learned, Pious, and Charitable Man, did many ways second *Luther*. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Scholars, who liv'd at that time, it may be observ'd, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected Singularity in some one Point or other, they might have found more Followers of their Doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the Pope either to cut off some Points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more Indifferency to the People. Howsoever, all these Persons concurring with *Luther* in great part, gave him that Courage, that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning *Purgatory*, true *Penitency*, (or *Penance*) the Office or Duty of *Charity*, and *Indulgences* and *Pardons*, he began now to question the *Pope*'s *Authority*, *Images* in *Churches*, the *Cælibate* of Priests, and some other Points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great Fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom, that he might give an Account of his Doctrine, he comes to Conference at *Lipsick*, 1519. accompany'd with *Philip Melanthon*, where *John Eccius* oppos'd him, desiring to begin his Disputation at the Pope's Authority; but *Luther*, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the Question; for the rest, thinking fit only to send unto the Pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he writes to this Effect. That, *though he appeal'd from him heretofore to a* General Council, *it was not with an ill Mind, as having in his continual Prayers solicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himself to be sharp and censorious enough, when Offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holiness in particular, only it griev'd him that he liv'd in so wicked a Court as that of his at* Rome, *which he said was now become another* Babylon *or* Sodom; *that he being amidst such People, as a Lamb amongst Wolves, it were pity he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple Parsonage or Living, or otherwise to maintain himself with what he had gotten already, than to hazard himself to such Pestilencies and Infections; That, in this Advice, he did but imitate* Bernard, *who did deplore the Estate of* Eugenius, *when* Rome *was far purer than at this Day. In Conclusion, he recommends to him his late Book entituled,* De libertate Christiana. But whatsoever *Luther*'s Advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his Words had either the Power or Spells to call the Pope from his Seat; or that tenderness of Conscience to live among wicked Persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his Charge, all his *Dignities* and *Honours*; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himself understood it, only for a Pasquil, or *Satyr*; which made him also assemble the *Cardinals*, and consult with them herein, who all condemn'd *Luther*; yet not so, but it was wish'd by some, a Reformation of divers Abuses had either preceded *Luther*'s Admonition, or at least accompany'd it at that time, when in humble and modest Terms he submitted himself to the *Church*. That their arrogating Supream Power in Temporal Things, had made divers Princes disaffect their Government, who yet embrac'd their Doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an Author for deserting the *Church*, who had already sought Occasions for it, in the late Council of *Pisa*, and elsewhere; Neither was it a good Argument, to say, that *Luther* was a dangerous Person; since, the more hurt he could do, the less he was to be forc'd to Extremities; as having betwixt his Wit and Favourers, enough to trouble all Things: Briefly, that, to avoid his venemous Doctrine, the best way was, not to urge him to cast it forth,

Their Differences among themselves prejudicial to the Reformation.

Sleid.

Luther carries his Opposition to the Church of Rome higher.

1519. July 4.

April 6. *He writes a third time to the Pope.*

Sleid. l. 2.

Would have the Pope leave his Throne for a Parsonage.

1512. *Some Cardinals for accommodating Matters with Luther.*

but rather (if it could be done handsomly) to quiet him by bestowing some Ecclesiastical Preferment. But so haughty were the major part of the Spirits in this Assembly, that rejecting *this* Politick Advice, they condemn'd *Luther*'s Books to the Fire; but *Luther* growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length Excommunicated, and his Books burnt. He, on the other side, striving to revenge this, at *Wittenburg*, in a full Assembly of Scholars, burns * the Book call'd *Jus Pontificum*; warning Men besides to take heed of the Papal Government, and Doctrines, appealing again to a *Council*. *Charles*, understanding these Passages, was much troubled, as foreseeing the following Dissentions. Nevertheless, he temper'd Businesses so, as he held the Pope thereby in some Suspence; therefore he would not precipitate his Sentence against *Luther*, or so much as censure him, till he were publickly heard. For which purpose, (after his being * Crown'd solemnly at *Aix*.) He assembled a Dyet at † *Worms*, whether he call'd *Luther*, giving him a safe Conduct also, to go and return. Whereupon *Luther* came in his Fryers Habit, but refusing to retract his Opinions, he and his Favourers were † proscrib'd by Decree or Edict. Howbeit, as this did rather punish than convince him; our King (being at leisure now from Wars, and for the rest delighting much in Learning) thought he could not give better Proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write against *Luther*. To this also he was exasperated, that *Luther* had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the Learned *Thomas* of *Aquine*, who yet was so much in request with the King, and especially the *Cardinal*, that (as *Polydore* hath it) he was therefore call'd *Thomisticus*. Our King hereupon compiles a Book, wherein he strenuously opposes *Luther* in the point of Indulgences, number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority, and other Particulars, to be seen in that his Work, entituled, *De sept. Sacramentis*; a principal Copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to *Leo*, I remember my self to have seen in the *Vatican Library*. The manner of Delivery whereof (as I find it in our * Record) was thus; Doctor *John Clarke* Dean of *Windsor*, our King's Ambassador, appearing in full Consistory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot, and then his Cheeks to kiss; then receiving the Book, he promis'd to do as much for Approbation thereof to all Christian Princes (which our King much desir'd) as ever was done for Saint *Augustin*'s or Saint *Hierom*'s Works; assuring him withal, that the next Consistory he would bestow a publick Title on our King: Which having been * heretofore privately debated among the Cardinals, and those of Protector or Defender of the *Roman* Church, or of the Apostolical Chair; or Apostolical, or Orthodox King. *Protector*, or *Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, or *Sedis Apostolicæ*, or *Rex Apostolicus*, or *Orthodoxus*, produc'd, they at last agreed on DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. DEFENSOR FIDEI. A Transcript of which Bull (out of an Original *sub Plumbo* in our Records) I have here inserted.

1520.

The major part against it. June 15.

Luther's Books condemned to be burnt.

He is Excommunicated.

* Dec. 10. He burns the Book call'd *Jus Pontificum at Wittenburg.*

* Oct. 23.

† Jan. 6. 1521.

* *Charles* V. summons him to a Dyet at *Worms*.

* Apr. 16.

† May 8. He is proscrib'd.

K. *Henry* writes against him.

K. *Henry* call'd *Thomisticus*, for his Veneration of *Thomas Aquinas*.

Octob. 10. The manner of delivering K. *Henry*'s Book to the Pope.

* 1515. 1516. He has the Title of *Defensor Fidei* bestow'd upon him.

LEO Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, salutem & amplissimam ben. Ex supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Universalis Ecclesiæ Regimini præsidentes, ad hoc cordis nostri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, sine qua nemo proficit ad salutem, continuum suscipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis mendacibusque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, sanâ Christi fidelium præsertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinâ

The Bull for it.

sunt

1521. *sunt disposita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes nostri ministerii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et sicut alii Romani Pontifices prædecessores nostri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, specialibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, illos præsertim qui, procellosis temporibus, & rabida Schismaticorum & Heriticorum fervente perfidia, non solum in fidei serenitate & devotione illibata, sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipsius Ecclesiæ legitimi filii, ac fortissimi Athletæ Schismaticorum & Hæreticorum insanis furoribus spiritualiter & temporaliter se opposuerunt:* Ita *etiam nos Majestatem tuam propter excelsa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divinâ sedemus, opera & gesta condignis & immortalibus præconiis & laudibus efferre desideramus, ac ea sibi considere,* Propter *quæ invigilare debeat, à grege* Dominico *Lupos arcere, & putrida membra, quæ mysticum Christi Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abscindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in fidei soliditate confirmare. Sane cum nuper dilectus filius Johannes Clarke, Majestatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Consistorio nostro coram Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & Compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis,* Librum, *quem Majestas* Tua *Charitate, quæ omnia sedulo & nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholicæ zelo accensa & devotionis erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra errores diversorum hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos tanquam nobile, & salutare quoddam Antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde authoritate nostra approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta Oratione sua exposuisset Majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum authoritatibus, notorios errores ejusdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos sequi & defensare præsumentes totius Regni viribus & armis persequatur; Nosque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & cælestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam diligenter accurateque introspexissemus; Omnipotenti* Deo, *a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum est, immensas gratias egimus, qui optimam & ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inspirare, eique tantam gratiam superne infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea scriberes, quibus sanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum hujusmodi suscitatorem defenderes, ac reliquos* Reges & Principes *Christianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipsi etiam Orthodoxæ fidei &* Evangelicæ *veritati in periculum & discrimen adductæ, omni ope sua addesse opportuneque favere vellent. Æquum autum esse censentes, eos, qui pro fidei Christi hujusmodi defensione pios labores susceperunt, omni laude & honore afficere; voluntesque non solum ea quæ Majestas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum absolutissima doctrina nec minori eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, authoritateque nostra approbare & confirmare, sed etiam Majestatem ipsam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut nostris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi fideles omnes intelligant, quam gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majestatis tuæ Munus, hoc præsertim tempore, nobis oblatum.* Nos, *qui,* Petri, *quem Christus in Cælum ascensurus vicarium suum in* Terris *reliquit, & cui curam gregis sui commisit, veri Successores sumus, & in hac sancta sede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris matura deliberatione, de eorum unanimi consilio & assensu, Majestati tuæ titulum hunc,* (viz.) Fidei Defensorem *donare decrevimus, prout* Te *tali titulo per præsentes insignimus; mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut Majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, &c. cum ad eam scribent, post dictionem,* Regi, *adjungant,* Fidei Defensori. *Et profecto, hujus tituli excellentia & dignitate ac singularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpensis & consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque Majestati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuissemus: Quod quoties audes & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujusmodi titulo intumesces vel in superbiam elevaberis, sed solita tua prudentia humilior, & in fide Christi, ac devotione hujus sanctæ sedis à qua exaltatus fueris, fortior & constantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum posteris tuis relinquere, illisque viam ostendere, ut, si tali titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, talia etiam opera efficere præclaraque Majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi studeant; quam, prout de nobis & dominica sede optime merita est, unà cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te & ab illis nascentur, nostra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas nobis data est, largâ & liberali manu benedicentes, Altissimum illum, qui dixit, per me* Reges Regnant, & Principes *imperant, & in cujus manu corda sunt Regum; rogamus & obsecramus, ut eam in suo sancto proposito confirmet, ejusque devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro sancta fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti Orbi terrarum conspicuam reddat, ut judicium quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni titulo decorantes, à nemine falsum aut vanum judicari possit; demum, Mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, sempiternæ illius gloriæ consortem atque participem reddat.*

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Primo, Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno Nono.

✠ Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ss. Ego P. tt. S. Eusebii Presb. Cardinalis ss. Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. ss.

Ego Iauf. Scop. quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis ma. propr. ss.

&c. (24. alii Cardinales.

LEO *Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our most dearly beloved Son in Christ,* Henry King *of* England, *Defender of the Faith, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We, by Divine Permission, the chief Ovarseer for the Govement of the Universal Church, though unsufficient for so great a Work, do pour forth the Cogitations of our Heart, that the Catholick* Faith, *without which no Man can attain to Salvation, may receive continual Increase, and that those good Laws and Constitutions decreed, by the Wisdom and Learning of such as are in Authority, especially the Faithful in Christ, for restraining the Attempts of all that labour to oppress the same, or by wicked Lies and Fictions seek to pervert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetual Increase, we do bestow our Pains and utmost Endeavour in our Office and Ministry. And like as the* Roman *Bishops our Predecessors were wont to shew especial Favour to the Catholick Princes (according as the Quality of Matters and Times requir'd) especially to them that in troublesome Times, when the madness and perfidious Dealings of Schismaticks and Hereticks most of all abound, did abide constant and immoveable not only in the soundness of Faith, and pure Devotion to the holy* Roman *Church, but also as the most Legitimate Sons and valiant Champions of the same, oppos'd themselves both with Mind and Body against the furious Madness of Schismaticks and Hereticks. So also do we desire to extol your Majesty with worthy and immortal Praises, for your high and immortal Deserts and Labour toward us and this Holy See, wherein by God's Permission we sit, to grant unto it those Things for which it ought to watch, and drive away the Wolves from the Lord's Flock, and to cut off with the Material Sword, rotten Members which infect the Mystical Body of Christ, and to confirm the Hearts of the Faithful in soundness of Belief. Now whereas of late our beloved Son* John Clerk, *your Majesty's Orator with us, being in our Consistory before our venerable Brethren of the Holy* Roman *Church,*

1521. *Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a Book unto us to be examined and allowed of us, which Book your Majesty, (who doth all Things with Diligence, and nothing amiss) enflamed with Charity and Zeal to the Catholick Faith, and with ardent Devotion towards us and this Holy See, hath composed, as a most worthy and soveraign Antidote against the Errors of divers Hereticks, often condemned by this Holy See, and of late stirr'd up and brought in by* Martin Luther: *And your said Orator hath also largely declared unto us, that your Majesty is ready and purposeth, like as you have confuted the notorious Errors of the said* Martin, *by true Reason and invincible Authority of sacred Scripture and ancient Fathers; so you will punish to the uttermost of your Power all those of your whole Kingdom, that shall presume to follow or defend them: And we have diligently and exactly perused and viewed the admirable Doctrine of your said Book, watered with the Dew of heavenly Grace, and do heartily thank Almighty God, from whom every good and perfect Gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to inspire your noble Mind, inclined to every good thing, and to endue you with so great Grace from Heaven, as to write those Things, whereby you are able to defend his holy Faith, against such a new Innovator of damned Errors: And also incite by your Example all other Christian Kings and Princes to be willing to favour and to further, with all their best Aids, the Orthodox Faith, and Evangelical Truth, whensoever it be brought into Danger or Doubt. And we think it also meet, that they who have undertaken such godly* Labours *for us, should meet their due and just Commendations: And we are desirous that not only the Things themselves which your Majesty hath written, being both of most sound Doctrine, and no less Eloquence, should be extolled and magnified with condign Commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our Authority; but also that your Majesty should be graced with such an Honour, and such a Title, as that both for our time and ever hereafter, all Men may perceive how grateful and acceptable this Gift of your Majesty's hath been unto us, especially offered unto us at this time. We who be the true Successors of* Peter, *whom Christ at his Ascension into Heaven left his Vicar on Earth, and to whom he committed the Care of his Flock: We, I say, who sit in this Holy See, from which all Dignities and Titles do flow, upon mature Deliberation had with our said Brethren about these Things, have by the general Agreement and Consent of them decreed to bestow upon your Majesty this Title, namely,* The Defender of the Faith. *And accordingly by these Presents do instile you with such a Title; commanding all faithful Christians that they name your Majesty with this Title; and when they write to you, that after the word King, they adjoyn* Defender of the Faith. *And truly, we diligently considering and weighing your singular Merits, were not able to bethink us of a Name more worthy and convenient for your Majesty, than the Excellency and Dignity of this Title; which so often as you shall hear and read, so often you may call to mind this your singular Vertue and great Desert: Nor may you by this Title puff up your self with Pride; but according to your wonted Prudence become more humble, and be more valiant and constant in the Faith of Christ, and in Devotion to this Holy See, by which you have been exalted, rejoycing in the Lord the Giver of all good Things, leaving this as a perpetual and immortal Monument of your Glory to your Children, shewing them the way unto the like; that if they shall desire to be graced also with such a Title, they must labour to do such Works, and to follow the excellent Steps of your Majesty, whom, accordingly as you have well deserved of us, and of this said See, together with your Wife and all your Children that shall be born of you or of them, we bestow on you our Benediction with a large and liberal Hand, in the Name of him from whom the Power of granting this Blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty God, who saith,* By me Kings reign and Princes rule, *and in whose Hand are the Hearts of Kings, that he will confirm your Majesty in your holy Purpose, and encrease your Devotion, and by your worthy Endeavours for the sacred Faith, so to illustrate your Renown, and make you glorious through all the World; that this our Testimony which we have given of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may never be judged by any to be false or vain. Lastly, we desire God, that after this Life ended he would make you Partakers of his Eternal Glory.* 1521.

Given at *Rome* at St. *Peter's*, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord God, 1521. the fifth of the Ides of *October*, the ninth Year of our Papacy.

Ego Leo X. *Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus ss. &c.*

Such was the Covetousness of the Richer sort at this time in *England*, that they converted many large Corn-fields into Pasture; hereof ensued a general Decay not only of Houses, but of Persons, which should do their King and Country Service. Besides, Sheep, Cattel, and Clothes being thus within the Hands of a few, the Price was much inhaunsed. To remedy this Mischief, the King caused the ancient Statutes, provided on that behalf, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commission to the Justices of Peace, to restore all the Tillage Ground that had been enclosed any time within fifty Years last past, and to cause the Houses anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as *Polydore* hath it) divers by compounding secretly with the *Cardinal*, exempted themselves.

Edward Stafford Duke of *Buckingham*, hated by the Cardinal.

About this time *Edward Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, eminent for his high Blood, and large Revenue, drew on himself a dangerous Suspicion; which though it was again fomented by the *Cardinal*, who disaffected him for some Speeches he had cast forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that some Indiscretion of his own concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill Offices of *Charles Knevet*, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appear, till he saw the Duke not only discountenanced, but weakned in his Friends and Allies. And of these I find two principally; one, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Daughter the Duke had married; the other, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, who had married the Duke's Daughter. Against *Northumberland*, cause was taken for claiming certain Wards; which, after close Commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquish. Against *Surrey* the *Cardinal* proceeded otherwise: For, though he hated him for drawing his Dagger at him on some Occasion; yet as the Earl was more wary than to give new Offence, he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable Employment for which he found this Overture.

Camp. Hist. of Ireland.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of *Kildare*, made Deputy in *Ireland* to *Henry* Duke of *York*, (now King, who at * four Years old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Country) having done divers good Services against the Rebels, was made † Knight of the Garter, and enjoy'd that Place till his Death; when his Son *Gerald* being * substitute therein, so behaved himself, as he likewise got much Credit: Though, as he had the House of *Ormond* his Enemy, and particularly Sir *Pierce Butler* Earl of *Ossory*, secret ill Offices were done him; nor did it avail, that he had given his Sister in Marriage to the said *Butler*, and help'd him to recover the Earldom of *Ormond*, detained wrongfully, since the Death of *James*, by a Bastard of that Family: For it was impossible to oblige him; especially, where he found so advantagious an Occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earl of *Desmond*, his perpetual

* 1495.

† 1504.

* 1513.

Campian. Hist. Irel.

1521. petual Adverfary, fince the Divifion of *Lancafter* and *York*, (in which his Anceftors were on the fide of *Lancafter*, and the *Kildares* and *Defmonds* on that of *York*,) he difcovered more Favours done the prefent Earl of *Defmond*, (whom he called a Traytor) than he thought due to him; infomuch that he complain'd to the *Cardinal*, who thereupon fent for *Kildare*. Though *Polydore* faith, he came voluntarily into *England* to match with fome *Englifh* Lady, and there behaved himfelf fo un refpectfully to the *Cardinal*, that he was caft into Prifon. But whatfoever the Caufe was, his Charge was beftowed on the Earl of *Surrey*, who going to *Ireland* in *April* 1520, reduced the Earl of *Defmond* and others to Obedience.

The Earl of *Kildare* imprifon'd for his difrefpectful Carriage to the Cardinal.

1520. April.

Buckingham accus'd by his Servant.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being thus expofed and unfriended, the Cardinal treats fecretly with *Knevet*, concerning him; who thereupon difcovers his late Mafter's life; confeffing, that the Duke, by way of Difcourfe, was accuftomed to fay, how he meant fo to ufe the Matter, that, if King *Henry* died without Iffue, he would attain the Crown, and that he would punifh the *Cardinal*. Befides, that he had fpoken hereof unto *George Nevill* Lord *Abergavenny*, who married the faid Duke's Daughter. By what means yet the Duke intended particularly to effect thefe Defigns I do not find exactly fet down by *Charles Knevet*. Neither do the Authors, who write hereof, relate his Pedegree; only our Heralds fay, he was defcended from *Anne Plantagenet*, Daughter of *Thomas of Woodftock*, Son to King *Edward* the Third. How far this yet might entitle him to the Crown, in cafe King *Henry* fhould have no Iffue, I have neither Leifure nor Difpofition to examine. I fhall only therefore, for Satisfaction of the Reader, felect fome principal Points out of his Indictment; leaving the Reader, for the reft, unto the fearch of the Record: In which, the Points that in my Opinion made moft againft the Duke, were; Firft, *That at * feveral times he had fent to one* Hopkins, *a Monk in the Priory of* Henton, *to be informed by him, concerning the Matters he imagined; and that the Monk fhould return Anfwer, The Duke fhould have all; and therefore fhould labour to procure the Love of the People.* 2. *That the Duke* † *afterwards fhould go in Perfon to the faid* Hopkins, *who confirmed the faid Prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the faid Duke fhould give him feveral Rewards.* 3. *That he fhould * fpeak to* Ralph Nevill *Earl of* Weftmorland *(his Son-in Law,) that, if ought but Good come to the King, the Duke of* Buckingham *fhould be next in Blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no Iffue. That, to comply herewith, he did many Things which argued Ambition, and Defire to make himfelf popular. That he* † *faid to one* Gilbert, *his Chancellor, that whatfoever was done by the King's Father, was done by Wrong; murmuring withal againft the prefent Government.* 4. *And to the faid* Charles Knevet, *that if he had been committed to the* Tower, *(whereof he was in Danger, upon Occafion of one Sir* William Bulmer) *he would have fo wrought, that the principal Doers thereof fhould not have Caufe of great Rejoycing; for he would have plaid the Part which his Father intended to have put in practice againft King* Richard *the Third at* Salifbury, *who made earneft Suit to come into the Prefence of the faid King, which Suit, if he might have obtained, he having a Knife fecretly about him, would have thruft it into the Body of King* Richard, *as he had made femblance to kneel down before him. And that, in fpeaking thefe Words, he malicioufly laid Hands on his Dagger, fwearing, that, if he were fo evil us'd, he would do his beft to accomplifh his intended Purpofe.* 5. *That * being in Speech with Sir* George Nevill, *Knight, Lord* Abergavenny, *he faid, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realm, in fpight of whofoever faid the contrary; fwearing, that if the Lord* Abergavenny *reveal'd this, he would fight with him.* This I conceive to be the Subftance of the moft fpecial Articles in the Evidence; which the courteous Reader yet may do well to confider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet thefe Particulars were proved, and in what fort, my Authors deliver not. Only I find (out of our Records) that the Duke of *Buckingham* being committed to the *Tower*, *April* 16. did, under his own Hand, declare to Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Conftable of the *Tower*, the Paffages betwixt him and *Hopkins*, in this manner; that is to fay, *That the Summer before our King made War in* France, Hopkins *fent for him; but, not being able to go, he commanded one* Delacour, *his Chaplain, to repair thither; howbeit, that* Hopkins *faid nought to him; yet that himfelf came the next* Lent; *where, in Shrift the faid Monk told him, that our King fhould win great Honour in his Journey to* France; *and that if the King of* Scots *came to* England *then, he fhould never go Home again. And that, when he asked* Hopkins *how he knew this, he faid,* ex Deo habeo; *It is reveal'd to me of God. And that* Hopkins *demanding afterward what Children the King had had, he told the Number; and that* Hopkins *fhould fay thereupon, I pray God his Iffue continue; for that he feared God was not contented, becaufe he made no Reftitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to advife the King's Council to make Reftitution. Further, That he told his Chancellor thofe Words, and at his return out of* France, *came to* Hopkins *again, and faid, he had told him true: Alfo, that (another time) he came to* Hopkins, *together with his Son* Stafford, *and the Earl of* Weftmorland; *and that* Hopkins *asked who he was? and thereupon fhould fay, that fome of his Blood or Name fhould prove* Great Men. *And that, after this,* Hopkins *fhould fend to the Duke, to pray him, according to his Promife, to help their Houfe (being at* Henton *in* Somerfetfhire) *to make their Conduit; the ten Pounds, formerly given by him, being fpent.* And more than this he confefs'd not. Notwithftanding which, when the *Indictment* was openly read, the Duke faid, It was *falfe, untrue, confpir'd, and forg'd,* to bring him to his Death; alledging (as he was an eloquent Perfon) many Reafons to falfify the *Indictment*. The King's Attorney, on the other fide, producing the *Examinations, Confeffions, and Proofs of Witneffes*. The Duke hereupon defired the *Witneffes*, which were *Knevet*, *Gilbert*, *Delacour*, and *Hopkins*, to be brought forth. Thefe confirming their Depofitions, the Duke was tried by his Peers, (being a Duke, a Marquis, feven Earls, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was for the time made Lord High-Steward of *England*. They condemning him, the Duke of *Norfolk* deliver'd his Sentence, not without Tears. To which he reply'd, *My Lord of* Norfolk, *you have faid as a Traytor fhould be faid unto, but I was never one. But, my Lords, I nothing malign for what you have done to me; but the eternal God forgive you my Death, and I do. I fhall never fue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him, than I defire. And fo I defire you, my Lords, and all my Fellows, to pray for me.* Whereupon he was brought back to the *Tower*; where all the Favour he received was a Meffage from the King, declaring his Sentence was mitigated fo far, that, inftead of receiving the Death of a Traytor, he fhould have only his Head cut off. Thus ended the Duke of *Buckingham*, much lamented by the People, (who libell'd the Cardinal for it, calling him *Carnificis filium*, *Son of a Butcher*,) as being thought rather *Criminal* through Folly and rafh Words, than any Intention declar'd by Overt-Act againft the King's Perfon; and therefore not uncapable of his Mercy; which alfo it was thought would not have

The Articles againft him.

* 1512. April 24. & July 22. & 1513. April 26. & 1517. July 20.

† 1515. April 16.

* 15[illegible] March 20. & Feb. 20. 15[illegible]

† Feb. 20. 15[illegible]

* 1519. Sept. 10.

1521. April 16. 1512. His Confeffion to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. 1513.

Hall. Hollinfhead. *E. Hall.*

He is try'd by his Peers, May 13.

He is condemn'd.

His Speech.

May 17. He is beheaded.

1521. been deny'd, had he su'd for it in fitting Terms. But since at his Arraignment, he did, as it were disclaim his Life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only caus'd a Letter of Comfort to be written to the Dutchess, and Lord *Stafford*. Yet the *Tragedy* ended not so; for though *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, after a few Months Imprisonment, was, through the King's Favour, deliver'd; yet *Hopkins*, after a serious Repentance that he had been an Author of so much Mischief, dy'd of Grief. And here I must observe, that together with this Duke, that great Place of High-Constable of *England* remains extinguish'd, unless some extraordinary Occasion revive it.

I shall return here to speak of *Charles* the Fifth, who having, as is said, kept a Diet at *Wormes*, did now levy Forces. And the rather, that he heard what was intended against him by *Solyman*, who, being a Martial Prince, and crown'd the very same Day at *Constantinople*, that *Charles* was at *Aix*, seem'd to have somewhat of the same Ascendant; however they differ'd in their Interests. Besides, it was observ'd, that as *Charles* the Fifth was the eleventh Emperor from *Albertus*, in whose time the House of the *Ottomans* began; so *Suelyman* (or *Solyman*) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. However, on their Occasion, much of their Subjects Blood was spilt, and more would have been, had not *Francis* turn'd the Arms of *Charles* upon himself. The Causes of Dissention betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, were, First, that *Claude* eldest Daughter of *Louis* the Twelfth and *Anne* of *Bretagne*, having by a solemn * Treaty been accorded to *Charles*, *Francis* yet † obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his Hopes of *Bretagne*. Secondly, their mutual Ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, ill Offices done by their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefly, the Incompatibility of their Demands for their ancient Right; whereof I find these most urg'd. Homage for *Flanders* and *Artois* requir'd by *Francis*, as being held anciently of the Crown of *France*; which *Charles* yet refus'd, saying, That, since that Estate was devolv'd to an Emperor, it was in a higher Dignity, than could be submitted to any Inferior. But to this again *Francis* reply'd, That it derogated from no body to give what was due. Besides, that the Title of a King was greater and more august than that of an Emperor; both as the Power is more absolute in it self, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which Purpose a Passage was alledg'd out of *Matth. Paris*, when the Empire having been offer'd to *Robert*, Brother of *Saint Louis*, the Council of State refus'd it, for this Reason; saying further, It was enough that *Robert* was Brother to so great a King. For which cause also, the *French* observe, that none ever aspir'd to it of the Line of the *Capet*'s, but *Francis*. Again, they differ'd about *Milan*, of which *Louis* the Twelfth having gotten the * Investiture, *Francis* did in pursuit of his Right, expel *Maximilian Sforza*; whose Brother and Successor yet was protected by *Charles*, and reinplac'd. Moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* was question'd by *Charles*. For though *Louis* the Eleventh had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto, it was alledg'd, that *John* King of *France* had given it to his younger Son *Philip*, to hold to him and his Heirs Males only; and that *Charles* last Duke of *Burgundy*, having but one only Daughter, it therefore reverted; yet *Charles* understanding the Business otherwise, claim'd it by a long Succession of his Ancestors in *Burgundy*. These so many Pretences on either side engag'd the two Princes into perpetual Wars, which began this Year. For *Francis*, insisting
1516. still upon the Treaty of *Noyon*, prepar'd to recover *Navarre*; and to this he thought the Communidades or Insurrections in *Spain* (begun 1519, and continued still) would conduce. For as the People held their *Junto* or Assembly for redress of their Grievances, he conceiv'd some might be drawn to his Party. But he was deceiv'd; for they mutiny'd not for his sake, but their own, as appear'd; pretending for their chief Grievances only, that their King liv'd in foreign Parts, and transported their Money for his Occasions there, and bestow'd divers great Places in *Spain* on Strangers. So that, though they continu'd their Demands with much Insolency and Boldness, they persisted nevertheless in their Love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with *Francis*. All which yet could not preserve them. For, though they proceeded with more Sobriety and Correspondence, than hath been observ'd in any popular Insurrections, (as *Sandoval* relates it at large) they were divided at last, and overthrown by the Name of *Rebels*; their Actions being so bad and dangerous, as their Intentions could not excuse them. However, *Francis* thought fit to make use of this Occasion, and therefore, before their Defeat, he levy'd Forces; and, not long after, sent *Andre de Foix*, *Seigneur d'Asperrant*, and Brother of the famous *Lautrech*, to *Navarre*; where a War began, that, in divers Places, lasted 38 Years following (as *Sandoval* observes it,) and cost the Lives of above Five hundred thousand Men, the *French* speak of a far greater Number. Their first Progress was happy; for, in less than 15 Days, they took *Navarre*. But as they would go farther to *Catalonia*, and besiege *Logronno* (or *Groyne*,) the *Spanish* Commanders, attended now with many of the Communidados, gave Battel and overthrew them, taking *de Foix* Prisoner: whereupon also *Navarre* was regain'd in less time than it was lost, and *Pamplona* thenceforth better fortify'd. But not on this Part only did the *French* shew their *Mal-Talent*, but discover'd it on this Occasion also towards another Coast. The Prince of *Chimay* contesting in Law with the *Seigneur d'Aymeries* concerning a Castle or Town in the Forest of *Ardennes*, and County of *Luxemburg*, call'd *Hierge*, gain'd his Cause, by the Judgment of the Peers, of the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, who determin'd Businesses in chief; and accordingly enjoy'd Possession thereof, for many Years. Howbeit *Aymeries* (being not contented herewith) appeal'd to the Chancellor of *Brabant*, and prevail'd so far, that the Heirs of *Chimay* were summon'd to give Account of their *Title* unto the Emperor. But, because the Soveraignty of *Robert de la Mark*, *Duc de Bouillon*, was most concern'd herein, they, for their best Refuge, made Complaint to him; he again addresseth himself to the Emperor, and remonstrates his Right: Yet, finding the Cause of *Aymeries* likely to prevail, secretly treats with *Francis*, for Assistance and Protection. Being assur'd hereof, he (though a small Prince) sends a publick Defiance to *Charles*, being then at the Diet in *Wormes*. The Emperor, judging quickly from whence this Audaciousness proceeded, prepares for *War*. Neither wanted he a seeming Occasion. For though he ever suspected that *Robert de la Mark*, (as one who had serv'd heretofore the *French* in *Italy*, had his chief Dependance on *Francis*) yet now being inform'd that *Fleuranges* (Son unto the said *Robert de la Mark*) having rais'd in *France* about Three thousand Foot and Four hundred Horse, (all Voluntiers) had besieg'd *Vireton*, a little Place in *Luxemburg*, appertaining to the Emperor, he nothing doubted but that the *French* had assisted him herein. Howbeit, *Francis*, considering it was not convenient to begin a *War* so near Home, and

Margin notes:

The Causes of the Wars between *Charles* V. and *Francis* I.

* 1505. † 1514. May 18. 1519.

* 1500. * 1515.

March. The War breaks out in which 500000 Men lost their Lives.

The Duke of *Bouillon* defies the Emperor *Charles* V.

1521.

Bellay.
Mar. 22.

and besides, being advis'd by our King to keep the Peace, signifies his dislike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon * dismiss'd his Forces. Notwithstanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry*, Count of *Nassaw*, to go with an Army against *Robert de la Mark*, not omitting withal to dispatch an Ambassador to *Francis*, with Instructions, to protest, that *Francis* had first broken the Treaty of 1518, by aiding *Robert de la Mark*. He sent word to our King also of this Proceeding. Who taking the Matter into consideration, pronounc'd sentence against *Francis*, as the first Infractor of their Tripartite League: Which being maturely ponder'd by *Francis*, (who knew well how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who (by an express Article of the said Treaty) was to fall on the first that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuse the Matter, and undertake that *Robert* should desist from Hostility. This was not yet so accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the sending of his Army under *Henry* of *Nassaw*, and not *Francisco Sichino*, as *Jovius* hath it) to seize on the Dominions of *Robert*; who accordingly took divers Places. But *Robert* going to the Emperor hereupon, obtain'd a Truce for six Weeks; *Henry* of *Nassaw* in the mean time putting Garrisons in the Places he had won. The Emperor yet not dismissing his Forces, but proceeding hostilely, our King takes notice hereof, and offers *Woolsey*, as his Lieutenant, to compose their Differences. For *Francis* had now Arm'd; as finding that, under colour of private Quarrels, *Tournaisis* was invaded; howbeit, *Woolsey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge; both as some Jealousies had past formerly betwixt our King and him, (as is above related) and that he knew *Woolsey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the *Papacy*. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the Arbitrement of *Woolsey*, but shortly after dispatch'd the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland*. Howsoever, *Woolsey* came 2 *Aug.* 1521. to *Calais*, and treated of an Accommodation; not neglecting together to write of *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the Treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this Business; both as it argued his Authority, and gave him means to choose his Friend, when otherwise he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of *France* (*Antoine du Prat*) *John de Selve*, and *Monsieur de Paliss*, *Mareschal* of *France*, with four hundred Horse. The Emperor not failing on his part likewise to send proper Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara*, his Chancellor, and *Monsieur de Berghes*, and others. The Pope had likewise a particular and conceal'd Nuncio there, being *Hieronymo de Ghinnucciis*, Bishop of *Ascoli*; though, as he pretended, to be without Authority; his Business, it seem'd, was for the present, rather to espy and observe the Proceedings there, than to advance the Peace, as did appear afterwards. Many things were represented to the *Cardinal* on both sides. The Emperor demanded, among other things, Restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and abolition of the Homage he ow'd to the Crown of *France* for the *Low Countries*. *Francis* again not only refus'd this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might be restor'd to *Henry*, Son of King *John*; and a Pension of one hundred thousand Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this again *Charles* his Minority was alledg'd as an excuse, though a weak one in Princes; they being not consider'd under the notion of their Age, but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* grounded his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queen *Joan*, Daughter and heir of *Ferdinand*; so that to have paid this Money, would have weaken'd his Claim; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; especially when he thought *Francis* did no less in with-holding *Burgundy*. Howsoever, that *Francis* himself had first broken the said Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an ancient Enemy of the House of *Flanders*. And for the abolition of Homage, the *French* Chancellor on the other side, particularly said, it was not the work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not be handled at this time, when there was question of right only. Besides this, the Dutchy of *Milan* bred no little Contest among them. In conclusion, their Demands were so obstinate, and Minds so averse from Peace on either side, that the *Cardinal* could or would do no good. Hereunto, also, did concur a close and private Convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the *Nuncio*; and a confidence that *Charles* had, (by the *Cardinal's* means) that, in case of Rupture, our King would incline to him, as having more pretence to his ancient Dominions of *France*, than to any thing in the *Low-Countries*. Again, *Charles* renew'd his Promise, to give him his best assistance to be elected *Pope*, when *Leo* should die; which prevail'd more than any other Gift. Although (to use *Polydore's* words) speaking of both Princes at this time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quaritabat*; *Both sought to obtain his favour by Presents.* This hope of the *Papacy* therefore comforted our *Cardinal*, now it was likely he should loose one of his Customers. ¶ The King of *Hungary* at this time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's Malice) did much gain upon *Christendom* (as having lately gotten *Belgrade* in *Hungary*) and knowing there was no way to defend himself, without an *Union* betwixt *Christian* Princes, sends an Ambassador so opportunely, as to find our *Cardinal* at *Calais*, treating of this Universal Peace. But such was the animosity of these two great Princes, that the pious consideration of repelling the *Turk*, could not prevail with them. So that the *Cardinal*, by this time, finding small hope of Reconciliation, advertis'd our King thereof; and crav'd his Resolution; unto which he much prepar'd him, by giving Intelligence of what had pass'd. To gain this space also, he told the *French*, he would go in Person to *Bruges*, and Negotiate by word of Mouth with the Emperor. Our *Cardinal* departing hereupon, the Emperor met him by the way, (a Mile out of Town,) accompanying this Honour with all other demonstrations of Affection to him and our Nation. After thirteen days Treaty, and agreement what was to be done in case of Rupture, (which our *Cardinal* perceiv'd now could not be avoided,) he returns to *Calais*, where the *French* Ambassadors impatiently attended him: He doth not yet discover his despair of Success to them, and much less discloseth his private Treaty with the Emperor, but mediates still a Peace, yet so, as to promise less hope of it than before, since Matters were come to such extremities on both sides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperor's, upon private Quarrel with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, had now surpris'd *Amand* and *Mortagne* in *Picardy*, and the *Bourgonians Ardres*, (which they raz'd,) but the Count of *Nassaw* taken *Mouzon*, and besieg'd *Mezieres*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency*, and *Pierce de Terrail*, commonly call'd *le Chevalier Boyard*, defended until *Francis* coming with a great Army, the Imperialists retir'd, and *Mouzon* was re-taken, while the Emperor, who was at *Valenciennes*, kept himself more covert than was expected; since *Francis* proceeded still: Though as he discontented *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the quality of *Constable de France*,

Marginal notes: *K. Henry declares, that Francis broke the Peace. Octob. 2. 1518.* — *Record.* — *de Serres.* — *The difference referr'd to Woolsey.* — *Aug. 2.* — *A Meeting to adjust them.* — 1521. — *Dupleix.* — *Proves ineffectual.* — *Aug.* — *Sept.* — *Octob.*

1521. thought to have the leading of the Avantguard (rather than the Duke *de Alanzon*, Brother-in-Law to the King) an Error was committed which cost him dear, as ſhall be told in its Place. Notwithſtanding which, *Woolſey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, ſends to the Emperor the Lord of Saint *John's*, and Sir *Tho. Bolen*; and to the *French* King (lying then with a great Army near *Cambray*) the Earl of *Worceſter*, and Biſhop of *Ely*; by whom he obtain'd, that the Emperor ſhould raiſe the Siege of *Tournay*, before which his Forces now were, and that he ſhould recall his Army in the *Milaneſe*, and that *Francis* ſhould likewiſe retire his, and the reſt ſhould be referr'd to our King. But the taking of *Feuentarabie* by *Bonivet* intervening, *Francis* refus'd to render it, and ſo the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our *Cardinal* (who now had heard from our King) gives a kind of Sentence in the Buſineſs. The Effect hereof was, that the *French* King being guilty of the firſt Breach, our King was bound by the Common Treaty to aſſiſt the Emperor; to which alſo he was the more diſpos'd that the ſecret Practiſes of the *French* in *Scotland* had diſoblig'd him; ſome hopes of Accommodation yet were repreſented, in caſe the Emperor and *Francis* might be reconcil'd; but ſmall Appearance hereof being given, the *Cardinal* concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope againſt the *French*, the Pope entring it on Condition, that the Emperor ſhould reſtore to him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and aid him, afterwards, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Effect of the Treaty was this.

Belley.

Nov. 24. A Treaty between the Emperor, the K. of *England* and the Pope. Records. Nov. 24.

Becauſe the Expedition againſt the Turk *cannot be undertaken, until the Pride and Injury of the* French *be ſuppreſs'd; therefore between the Pope, Emperor, and King of* England, *by their ſeveral Ambaſſadors, theſe following Articles are concluded.*

I. *This Treaty ſhall not derogate from any former, and it ſhall extend not only to the preſent Poſſeſſions of the Contrahents, but their future Acquiſitions.*

II. *That, when the Emperor ſhall paſs over into* Spain, *to provide himſelf of Men and Money, and quiet his People (which ſhall be the next Spring) the King of* England, *(upon a Month's warning) ſhall give him a Convoy of Ships through the Channel, with at leaſt Three thouſand fighting-men, with Artillery, &c. together with leave to land at* Dover, *or* Sandwich; *and after honourable Entertainment, ſhall conduct him himſelf to* Falmouth, *or ſome other ſuch Place. In regard whereof, if the King of* England *have occaſion to paſs over to* France, *the Emperor ſhall do the like for him, till the Charge be equal on both ſides.*

III. *The Contrahents ſhall declare themſelves Enemies to the* French, *in* March 1522, *and by* May *ſhall be in Arms, (viz.) The Pope in* Italy, *with a ſtrong Army; without* Italy, Cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis. *Secondly, The Emperor with Ten thouſand Horſe, and Thirty thouſand Foot, or more, on the Confines of* Spain; *at which time the* Low-Countries *and other Dominions of the Emperor, ſhall declare themſelves Enemies to the* French, *and Commerce ceaſe. Thirdly, The King of* England *ſhall paſs the Sea with Ten-thouſand Horſe, and Thirty-thouſand Foot or more, to invade* France *on the Coaſts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire Horſe-men out of* Germany, *and Foot (if he will) of the Emperor's Subjects. And if the King of* England, *upon upon a Battle to be fought, ſhall ſtand in need of aid, the Emperor's Lieutenant, being inform'd of it, ſhall (if it be poſſible) help him.*

IV. *That, before the Month of* March *abovesaid, the King of* England, *and the Emperor, ſhall by Sea, infeſt the* French, *each with Three-thouſand fighting-men, and other Proviſions proportionable; joining their Forces upon occaſion, and not recalling their Fleets, but by common conſent; which if they chance to be impair'd by Fight, or foul Weather, they are to repair within a Month. Neither ſhall one make any Appointment, or Treaty, or Truce, with the common Enemy, but by the conſent of the other.* 1521.

V. *That, if, by the end of this preſent* November, *there be no Peace made, between the Pope, Emperor, and King of* France, *or that the* French *King ſhall a-freſh begin the War: Then the King of* England *ſhall, at the coming of the Emperor into* England, *declare himſelf Enemy to the* French, *and within a Month after certifie it to the* French *King. In which caſe, the Fleet prepar'd by the King of* England, *for the Convoy of the Emperor, after his landing in* Spain, *ſhall, together with the Emperor's Fleet, turn themſelves againſt the* French, *ſo infeſting him by Sea. Alſo by Land each Prince ſhall have Forces againſt all Invaſion both of the* French, *and other Princes; wherein they ſhall aid one another.*

VI. *To facilitate theſe deſigns, as ſoon as ever the War ſhall be begun againſt the* French, *the Pope ſhall ſend out his Cenſures againſt him, ſubjecting all his Dominions to the Interdict; and calling the Secular Arm againſt him; ſhall warn the Emperor, (as the Protector and Advocate of the Church) and alſo the King of* England, *to war againſt him, as Enemy of the Church.*

VII. *That the Emperor and King of* England *take on them the Protection of the Pope, and Family of* Medicis, *againſt all whatſoever. And, on the other ſide, that the Pope undertake the Protection of them with their Confederates. So that it be not permitted that one of them ſhall name for his Confederates the Enemy of the other.*

VIII. *The* Swiſs *are nam'd Confederates on all ſides, and are to be diſpos'd either to enter this League, or hold themſelves Neutral.*

IX. *That the Emperor and King of* England, *ſhall in their Dominions, as they have begun, proceed againſt thoſe,* qui de fide Catholica male ſentire videntur, *who differ in their Opinions from the Catholick Faith; or that ſeek to wrong the Authority of the Apoſtolick See. And that in the Lands and Poſſeſſions which the Emperor and King of* England *ſhall gain from the* French, *the Pope ſhall enjoy all Privileges, Rights, and Authority, due to the See Apoſtolick.*

X. *That after the War with the* French, *they ſhall invade the* Turk.

XI. *They ſhall not treat from this time apart with any Prince in prejudice of this League.*

XII. *That notwithſtanding the Emperor hath agreed Marriage with the King of* France's *Daughter, and the* Dauphin *with the King of* England's, *yet, for the publick good of Chriſtendom, the Emperor may marry the Princeſs* Mary; *to which and the Pope ſhall diſpenſe; ſeeing they are Couſin-Germans, their Mothers being two Siſters.*

XIII. *That this Convention ſhall be kept moſt ſecret, until it be publiſh'd by common conſent.*

XIV. *That the Contrallers are to give their Letters Patents in confirmation of this Treaty, within three Months.*

XV. *That this Agreement ſhall not derogate from any Treaty that hath been between the King of* England *and the Emperor; ſo they be not contrary to this Treaty.*

Thus was *War* reſolv'd gainſt *France*, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fiſhing in the narrow Seas, and uſe of *Engliſh* Ports, was allow'd the *French* till *February* following. While theſe great Affairs were in agitation, our *Chroniclers* obſerve, that the *Great Seal* of *England* being with the *Cardinal* at *Calais*, many *Engliſh* repair'd to him to receive their Diſpatches, and at home the conſtituting of Sheriffs was ſuſpended, &c. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd againſt him. And now all foreign Buſineſſes being done, the *Cardinal* * returns to *England*. Where, to magnifie his

War reſolv'd againſt France. *Hall.*

Woolſey's State.

*Nov. 27.

Negoti-

1521 Negotiation, he presents our King with the *Bull* of his Title of *Defensor Fidei*, which the Pope † Aug. had put into his Hands, together with a † continuation of his *Legantine Power*, only to gratifie him for his assistance against *Francis*; the King * Nov. 13. on the other side * bestowing on him the Abbacy of St. *Albans*, towards his Charges in this Dec. 19. Journey. The *War* thus continu'd, the Emperor took *Tournay*, to the no little scandal of *Francis*, who was yet oblig'd to continue his payments for it to our King. On the other side, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Mareschal *Thomas de Foix* (*Seigneur de Lescun*, and Brother to *Odet de Foix*, *Seigneur de Lautrech*) had now for some time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold Oppressions, the People sought occasion to revolt. Which the Imperialists under *Ferdinand d' Avalos*, Marquiss of *Pescara*, understanding, requir'd the Pope's assistance; who, in conformity to his League, sent Forces, whereof *Prospero Colonna* was chief. The War in *Italy*. His first Action was the besieging of *Parma*, which *Lescun* defended, until his Brother *Lautrech* coming with an Army of Twenty-thousand *Swiss*, seven or eight thousand *Venetians*, besides *French*, to relieve him; the Army of the *League* rose, and retir'd. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for some few Days, sixteen hundred of the *Swiss* being not well paid; and for the rest gain'd by Octob. the Cardinal *de Medicis* to the contrary Party, forsook him, and serv'd *Colonna*, (who thereupon Nov. 23. marching to *Milan* (whether *Lautrech* had retir'd himself) took it easily, the Castle yet holding out;) howbeit, *Lautrech* escaping to *Como* with four thousand *Swiss*, and some *Venetians*, and from thence to the Territories of the Republick; whereupon *Pavia* and *Parma* yielded, and *Cremona*; all save the Castle. When the *Venetians* fearing the Storm might fall on themselves, desir'd *Lautrech* to depart; who being also forsaken of his Four-thousand *Swiss*, got into the Castle of *Cremona*, and sent his King word of the ill Success. Which the Pope also hearing, and being assur'd together, that *Sforza* should be restor'd to *Milan*, was so overjoy'd, that he * Dec. 1. The Pope dies of Joy. * dy'd thereof: (so can every Passion in his turn kill) though some suspected he might die of Poison.

Muskets first us'd in this War. I will conclude this Year with the invention of Muskets; which *Bellay* saith, were first us'd in this *War*.

1522. Cardinal *Wolsey* pretends to the Papacy. The Cardinal of *York* finding occasion now fair, sends Dr. *Richard Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, to *Rome*, to *essay* if by any means it were possible to make *him* Pope. He writes also to *Charles*, remembring him first of his Promise; next it was represented, how unjust it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of *his own* nominating; there being so many businesses of his to be determined in the Consistory; that the particular utility which would redound to him thereby, ought not to be laid in ballance against the universal dishonour that both he and the whole *Christian Church* would suffer in such a factious and scandalous Election; especially when his business *might* be done in a more *decent* and safe way. For if the *Papacy* were conferr'd on him, his Imperial Majesty might be confident he should find the same faithfulness he had experience of in the last Treaty. *Since* therefore this was the best expedient for giving himself Reputation, and securing his Affairs, that he should not fail herein. For, as it was the place of *Henry* the Eighth *to* be, *Arbiter* of Christendom, it would be his to be the chief Instrument thereof. For which purpose also, he should be ready ever to dispose King *Henry* to hold good Correspondence with his Imperial *Majesty*. Neither must he think that being Pope, he would alter this Language; it being manifest, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the only way to conserve Peace in it, which our King desir'd. Some of these Reasons also *Pace* was desir'd to scatter amongst the *Cardinals* at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to represent how much occasion of Calumny the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of their Religion would find, if an unfitting choice were made at this time. That this must follow, if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; besides that, it would make their Differences irreconcileable. Or, when otherwise the Papacy fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintain the Authority of the See; as an *Italian*, or some other not strongly supported Person; that then it must become a Prey to the strongest. That the sole way to remedy these Inconveniencies, was to choose him who had a King able and well affected to maintain Religion and Peace in these dangerous Times. Our *Cardinal* also did not forget *Francis*; to whom, if not favour, yet at least indifferency was promis'd, in case he were Pope; and that this was more than he could hope for any other way. But before *Pace* could come to And is disappointed. *Rome*, *Adrian*, Cardinal of *Tortosa*, heretofore Tutor to *Charles*, and for the present residing in *Spain*, (where he had the quality of *Gouvernador de Castilla*) was † chosen Pope, though not with Jan. 9. *Adrian*, Charles the Vth's Preceptor chosen Pope. such an universal consent; but that (as I find by our Records) our Cardinal had sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, and sometimes nineteen Voices. *Guicciardine* seems much to wonder at this Election, scurrilously terming him not only *Pontifice Barbaro*, because he was a *Fleming*, but alledging divers other Incapacities in him for that Place. But the wiser sort did not think so; *Charles* having given those Testimonies of his good affection to the Peace of *Italy* (especially by his generous restoring of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*) that they nothing doubted but he would prove their best Patron and Help for the expulsion of all Strangers. Howsoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calm Disposition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the way that *Adrian* was chosen, yet holds on his Journey, as having second Instructions to countenance his Employment, when the first succeeded not; therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Venice* about *July* this Year, he mediated a Peace July. betwixt *Charles* and the *Venetians*, (who had hitherto held with the *French*, remonstrating to them the many Reasons which they had to join with the Emperor and King of *England* against *Francis*, who had first broken the common Peace, made 1518, wherein the said State of *Venice* was compriz'd, and thereby bound to fall on the Infractor thereof, *&c.* But the *Venetians* being engag'd to *Francis*, took time only to advise thereof.

Adrian being thus chosen, *Julio*, Cardinal *de Medicis*, who aspir'd to the Papacy, was highly discontented; insomuch, that forsaking the Imperial Party, he join'd himself with Three-thousand Foot, and Two-hundred Horse, to the *French*. *Francisco Maria* also, who (upon *Leo's* Death) had recover'd *Urbin*, adhering to them; so that, with the addition of Sixteen Thousand *Swiss* newly levy'd, and some Troops *Lautrech*, the *Mareschal de Foix*, brought, the *French* had a considerable Army, with which he besieg'd *Pavia*. But *Prospero Colonna* coming with the Imperial Forces to relieve it, *Lautrech*, raising the Siege, offer'd Battel; which yet the Imperialists would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, return'd; so that the *French* now pursuing their Point; the Imperialists were forc'd to

get

1522.

get themfelves within a ftrong Retrenchment at *Bicocca.* And here either fide attended their Advantage, the *French* hoping to drive the Imperialifts away by Famine, and they again, that the *Swifs* for want of Pay, would defert the *French.* That of the *Swifs* fucceeded firft; for demanding either to have their Pay, or leave to depart, or at leaft order to fight; the *French*, who wanted Money, chofe this latter, as the lefs inconve-

* April 27.

nience, and fo gave * on. But being repuls'd with great lofs, the next Day the *Swifs* return'd, and the reft of the Army retir'd towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and laftly, to the *Venetian* Territories; while the Imperialifts, making ufe of their Victory, got both thefe Places, the Caftle of *Cremona* only excepted, which held out for the fpace of one whole Year, though the Caftle of *Milan* yielded prefently. *Lautrech* thus finding all things

The *French* unfortunate in *Italy*.

defperate, retires to *France*, laying the Fault upon his not receiving Pay for his Soldiers; which yet the *French* fay, was not for want of Order from the King, but through the covetoufnefs of his Mother *Loüife*, or the default of fome Officers. And now the Imperialifts lofing no time, march'd to *Genoua*; in which were two Factions, thofe of the Family of the *Fiefchi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialifts, and thofe of the *Fregofi* and *Doria*, *French*. That of the *Fregofi* go-

* May 30. The Imperialifts take Genoa

vern'd now. Howfoever the Imperialifts * enter'd and fack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had depos'd the *Fregofi*, and fet up the *Adorni*. *Francifco Sforza* was reftor'd alfo to that of *Milan*, the Emperor not referving to himfelf fo much as one Place in that Country. And fo *Colonna* concluded the War for this Year of 1522. Neverthelefs the Treaties with the *Venetians* proceeded, which at laft took effect, as fhall be more particularly related.

The Proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles*, were not kept fo fecret, but that they became fufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet inftantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided than fuddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continu'd a while his fmooth Letters to the Cardinal. At laft, betwixt Impatience, and the Order he hop'd to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to find our King enough to do, he began to declare himfelf. Therefore, his Subjects having made fome Depredations on the *Englifh* Merchants, and Satisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delay'd, if not deny'd Reparation. Thefe particular Offences were accompany'd with a main breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who fhould have continu'd in *France*, was now after five Year's abfence, return'd to his Charge of *Scotland*, as fhall be told more largely hereafter. Our *Englifh* forefeeing thus a Storm likely to enfue, retire themfelves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their Goods from the Port-Towns, and the Scholars their Perfons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Bolen* alfo

* *Tillet, Recueil. Scip. Dupleix. Tom. 3.*
† 1514.
Anne Bolen returns to *England*.

(who is faid by the *French* * Writers, to have liv'd in that Court ever fince fhe † came over with our King's Sifter until this time) quitted it now, and return'd to *England*; where fhe did partake afterwards more good and ill Fortune than fhe could reafonably imagine. Our King alfo writ to *Francis* fharply, telling him, *that howfoever he excus'd himfelf for fending over the Duke of* Albany; *yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his Direction; and that it was the manner of his Country*, aliud clam moliri, aliud fpecie fimulationis oftentare, *to look one way and row another*; (as *Polydore* hath it,) *reproaching him alfo with breach of his Oath*. *Francis* much mov'd with this rough Expoftulation, objecteth to King *Henry* the fecret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor

1521, requiring King *Henry* to declare himfelf. 1522.
Befides, he caufed all the *Englifh* Mens Goods that remain'd, to be feiz'd on, through his Kingdom, and efpecially thofe at *Bourdeaux*; which feem'd fo much the unjufter, that divers of our Merchants had not only bought Wines there with ready Money, but paid Cuftom for it.

A Rupture between *England* & *France*. March 6.

Our King hearing this, confined the *French* Ambaffador to his Houfe, feizeth on all other *French* and *Scots* here, and commits the better Perfons for a time, or until they had paid a pecuniary Mulct, the poorer fort being exempt, yet upon ten Days Imprifonment. The Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* (being in *January* laft, recall'd from his Ambaffage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* fent in his place) alfo was commanded to Sea with a ftrong Fleet, to fecure our Merchants, and take what *French* he could. April. Moreover, becaufe the *French* denied the reft of the Money due, and detain'd the *French* Queen's Dower, our King caufed the *French* Hoftages to be kept under an honourable, yet fomewhat ftricter Guard, than before, without ufing further Rigour. And whereas, *Francis* had defir'd him to declare himfelf, King *Henry* fent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, in March. the end of *March*, with his Declaration; whereby it was fhew'd, that becaufe *Francis* was the Infractor of the common Peace, the King of *England* muft take the Emperor's part againft him. Upon this, Ambaffadors were recall'd on both fides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord May. *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captains, died about this time, (not of Poifon given at * *Ardres* * 1520. (when the Interview was) as fome would have it; but of a Peftilential Air, as *Hall* relates;) fo our King left thofe whofe Service he now moft needed.

And becaufe King *Henry* meant to put to Sea a Royal Fleet, the Earl of *Surrey* (as being Admiral of *England*) was recall'd from his Charge Jan. in *Ireland*; Where having among other Services, repreffed the Irruptions of the *O-Neale's* and *O-Carrol's*, he fo govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable Service, and gain'd the love of the civil People of that Country; leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June*, 1521, to the end of *March*, 1522,) *Pierce Butler* Lord Deputy; who yet kept not long Poffeffion of this Honour, as fhall be fhew'd in its due Place.

The Cardinal about this time, whether for oftentation of his Power, or redeeming the People's Favour, caus'd the Preachers at *St. Paul's* Crofs in *London*, to publifh, that all thofe who would eat White-meats that Lent enfuing, fhould, without paying any thing, be exempt from Punifhment and Sin. But the People unwilling to be caught by thofe Baits, fo contemptuoufly rejected this offer, that the Cardinal might eafily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the moft fubtile fort of Favourites hath been not to ftudy fo much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amufe and entertain

Cardinal *Woolfey's* Policy.

their Princes; fo this Cardinal, by the perpetual variation (he feem'd to caufe) in the Affairs of *Chriftendom*, held not only the Minds of the People in attenfion and fufpence, but made his Counfels more confiderable to the King, than if he had purfued any one way. The laft Change, whereof he was Author, had its chief Overture at *Bruges*, where, among other things, the Emperor refolv'd to repair to *England*, to fpeak with our King, more particularly, concerning the general Affairs of *Chriftendom*, and to treat of a Match betwixt himfelf and the Princefs *Mary*, Daughter to our King. And finally (which our King took for a fingular Honour) to be Inftall'd Perfonally

sonally of the Order of the Garter at *Windsor*, while himself sate there as Chief. For after his *retaining *Maximilian* the Emperor in Pay, the next great Testimony of Respect this World could give him (he thought) was, that so brave and great an Emperor as *Charles*, should, in so busy and difficult Times, undertake a Voyage, to be admitted into that most noble Fellowship. Into which also *Ferdinand* his Brother, afterwards Emperor, was elected the last St. *George*'s Day, (*viz.*) *April* 23. 1522, and had the Order and Habits sent him to *Noremberg*, where, being the Emperor's Lieutenant, he held a Diet that Year. And now, for the more magnificent Reception of the Emperor, the Marquis *Dorset* was sent to *Calais*, and the Cardinal to *Dover*; whither, upon the 26th of *May*, 1522, (being about the time his Forces enter'd and sack'd *Genoua*) the Emperor arriv'd. The Cardinal first assur'd him of his Welcome; which our King following * presently afterwards, confirm'd. From hence the King conducted him to † *Greenwich*, where the Queen (his Aunt) with much Joy attended him. Hence again the King, riding in great Pomp through *London*, conducted him to his Lodging in *Black-Fryars*: His Train being plac'd in the † new beautified Palace at *Bridewell*. To relate the Justs and other Solemnities on this Occasion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earls, and Lords gave Water to the Cardinal at an high Mass in *Paul's*, (where the Princes were on *Whitsunday*) is not my *Intention*. *Only for the Rarity I cannot omit*, that on *June* 19. the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and sitting in his Stall at *Windsor*, accompany'd the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites usual at that time: Which being done, both he and our King receiv'd the Sacrament together, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this Effect, as appears by an Original, subscrib'd and seal'd by *Charles*:

* 1513.
Ibid.
Charles V. comes into *England* May 26.
* May 28.
† June 2.
June 6.
† *J. Speed* in *Ed.* VI.
June 8. *Wolsey's* State.
Charles install'd Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*. June 19.
Record.

The Treaty of *Windsor*. 1518.

Whereas there was lately War *begun betwixt us* Charles, *and the King of* France, *and (by virtue of a League concluded between us and King* Henry, *and the said King of* France) *both we and* Francis, *by our Letters, required Aid of the said King* Henry, *one against the other; and the said King of* England, *in the beginning of this War, to compose these Differences, sent to* Calais *the most Reverend Father in* God, Thomas *Cardinal of* York, *as his Lieutenant, before whom, when many Disputes had been on both sides, who first began the War, and it was found that the Fault was in the* French King, *and that he first began with us, not in* Luxemburgh *only, by* Robert de la March, *suborn'd by him, but by his Captains also in* Navarre, *and hir'd foreign Soldiers which were not his Subjects to break the publick Peace, contrary to the Treaty of* London; *wherefore, when the most Reverend Father aforesaid could not effect at* Calais *either Peace or Truce under any honourable Conditions, the said King of* England *understanding, as well by the Relation of the said most Reverend Father, as by the Letter of* Francis *King of* France, *written to his Orators and Captains (which were shew'd to the said King of* England) *that the said* Francis *had broken both the Treaty of* London, *and all other Treaties and Agreements of Affinity concluded between them; not only by sending the Duke of* Albany *into* Scotland *(which was against his Oath given) but also denying the King of* England *his Pensions, and violating his Subjects against the League: The said King of* England *hath resolved hereupon to lend us Aid against him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of* London. *And therefore upon Treaty of a perpetual and stricter Confederacy between us and the said King* Henry, *as also of a Marriage with the Princess* Mary, *(we being on both sides free from all Agreement made heretofore in this kind with the* French) *have concluded both League and Alliance in the manner following:*

The Treaty of Matrimony between the Emperor and Princess *Mary*.

I. The said Emperor shall not contract any Marriage with any Woman, while the said Princess *Mary* is under Age, but shall tarry for her, and when she is ripe, marry her; as soon as she is twelve Years old, he shall send a Proxy to contract with her a Marriage *per verba de præsenti*, and she shall send a Proxy to him to the same Purpose.

II. The King of *England* during this time shall not give her to any else.

III. As soon as this League is publish'd, both Princes shall (at common Costs) send Orators to the Pope, and obtain of him a Dispensation sufficient for the Performance of the said Marriage in its due time; notwithstanding that they are in the second Degree of Consanguinity and Affinity; so that the Issue may be Legitimate.

IV. The Princess shall be transported at the King of *England*'s Charge, with all Equipage and Furniture fitting her Dignity, within four Months next following the Contract *per verba de præsenti* abovesaid. And she shall be transported to *Bruges*, if *Charles* be in the *Low-Countries*; if in *Spain*, then to the Town of *Bilboa*; whom within four Days next ensuing, *Charles* shall marry publickly in the face of the Church; and, till that time, she shall remain in the Hands of the Commissioners of King *Henry*, who transport her.

V. Her Dowry, which King *Henry* shall give with her, shall be 400000 Crowns; whereof shall be paid the first Half the Day of Marriage, or within eight Days after; and the other Half within a Year following, *Charles* giving Acquittances. Yet, if the said Princess (for want of Issue Male left by King *Henry*) shall succeed in the Kingdom of *England*, then nothing shall be paid for Dowry with her; and whatsoever shall have been paid, shall be restored to the Executors of the King of *England*. It is also agreed, that out of the second Payment of the latter Moyety (as abovesaid) of the Dowry, the King of *England* may deduct all Monies which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the said now Emperor, or his Grand-father *Maximilian*, if they shall not be paid before. And the said King of *England* shall restore to the said Emperor the Deeds of Obligation, and the Pledges for the same. But if the King of *England* have a Son, then the whole Dowry (above assign'd) shall be paid, and shall be increas'd to a Million of Crowns, by the Addition of 600000; which 600000 shall be paid (after the 400000 are paid) yearly by 200000 Crowns *per Annum*. For her Jointure, the Emperor shall assign her in Lands and Cities 50000 Crowns of yearly Rent clear; and particularly for a part thereof, such Towns as the late Lady *Margaret* of *England* had for Jointure in the *Low-Countries*, the rest in *Spain*, to enjoy as long as she lives. If she die before the Emperor her Husband without Children, then all her Jewels, &c. shall remain to the Emperor.

VI. The Emperor binds himself, his Heirs, and his Dominions, unto the King of *England*, his Heirs and Successors, under the Pain of 400000 Crowns, that this Treaty of Marriage shall not be hindred on his part. In like manner the King of *England* binds himself.

That this Matrimony may be more firm and certain, a Treaty of League is renew'd.

The Treaty of Peace and Confederation.

I. That all former Treaties shall remain in force.

II. They shall be Confederate strictly for the Conservation of all their Dignities, Titles, Rights, &c. howsoever, and by whomsoever impeached: To have the same Friends and Enemies,

1522. mies, &c. And, when one is invaded, the other shall aid him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himself.

III. And because the King of *England* hath entertain'd the Emperor, and given him leave to pass through his Country into *Spain*, to provide the better for Recovery of his Rights against *Francis*, and hath transported him over into *England* by a Fleet of 3000 Men; therefore, in requital, the Emperor, when King *Henry* shall pass over to *Calais*, or any other Port, in Expedition against the *French*, will provide and lend him at his own Cost a Number of Ships or Vessels to transport his Soldiers, Horse, and Munition, 'till the Charge equal the Costs which King *Henry* bestow'd on the Emperor in this kind.

IV. To recover such Lands as the *French* King detains from both, each Prince, before the end of *May* 1524, or sooner, shall levy Armies thus; (*viz.*) the Emperor in Person with Ten thousand Horse, and Thirty thousand Foot or more, with competent Ammunition, shall invade *France* on the Coast of *Spain*. And, at the same time, all the Dominions of the Emperor shall declare and wage War against *Francis*. Also, the King of *England* by the same time (*May* 1524.) shall pass the Sea in Person, and, with Ten thousand Horse and Thirty thousand Foot, or more, and Ammunition, &c. shall fall on *France*, on what part he shall see most convenient. And because the King of *England* hath not of his own so many Horse, the Emperor will provide him Horse (so he pay them) and Foot (if he need.) If the King of *England* be coming to Battle with the Enemy, and send to the Emperor's Forces, being near at hand, to assist him, they shall come and aid him, unless there be a just Impediment.

V. War shall be made by Sea, (*viz.*) the Emperor in his Navy shall furnish Three thousand fighting Men; the King of *England* so many likewise, to infest *Francis*'s Dominions severally, or jointly. They shall not revoke or diminish their Fleet without Consent, but reinforce it, if impaired.

VI. Neither shall desist from Hostility without Consent of the other.

VII. Each shall give the other free Passage through his Country.

VIII. The King of *England* shall maintain and keep Two thousand Soldiers in the Borders of *Calais*, and the Emperor as many in *Artois*, which shall make Inroads into *France*, and repell the Invasions of the *French*, either singly or jointly.

IX. Because the *French* use much the *German* Soldiers, therefore each Prince, to divert them from the *French*, shall entertain as many *German* Foot as he can; and within two Months next following, the Emperor shall renew and publish the Imperial Edicts, whereby all *Germans* are (under Pain of being accounted Rebels, and Confiscation of their Goods) forbidden to serve under the *French*. And the Duke of *Lorrain* shall be admonish'd not to suffer any *Germans* to pass through his Country to aid the King of *France*; if he do, then these two Princes will account him their Enemy.

X. If either of the two recover from *France* Places belonging to the other, he shall, upon requisition, restore them, within a Month: And, to prevent Ambiguities and Quarrels, each Prince, before *May* 1524, shall declare his Pretences.

XI. Also, if either Prince have an Intention to recover any other Rights, against other Withholders; as if the King of *England* will subject *Scotland* unto the Kingdom of *England*, or reduce *Ireland* to due Obedience; or the Emperor recover *Gueldres* or *Frise*, or punish any Rebel; or, if either of the *Scots* trouble and invade *England*, or the *Gueldres* the Dominions of *Charles*, each shall give Aid to other. 1522.

XII. To confirm this Treaty; It is agreed, there shall be mutual Intelligence between the two Princes, and all Things done by common Consent; so that neither shall treat with *Francis* or any other Prince, without the Knowledge and Consent of the other, to the Prejudice of this Treaty. And, if any former Treaty made, be prejudicial to this, they shall be counted of less Value and Force than this.

XIII. Both Princes, appearing before the Cardinal of *York* as Judge, in what Place he shall chuse, shall voluntarily submit to his Jurisdiction as Legate, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this Treaty, shall require the said Legate to pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against them, if they violate the Articles thereof.

XIV. If the Princess *Mary* die, and so this Marriage take no Effect, and it happen that the King of *England* have a Son, and the Emperor by some other Wife have a Daughter, *vel è Converso*; then Affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV. This Treaty, 'till it take its Effect, and be put in Execution, shall be kept secret from the *French*.

It was agreed also, that this Treaty shall be signified to the Pope *Adrian* VI. and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principal Contrahent, if he accept it within three Months. The *Venetians*, if they will accept this Treaty 1518, within three Months, so, as (according as they ought by the Treaty of *London*) they will forsake the *French*, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The *Swiss* shall have this Treaty signified to them, and be practised to renounce the *French*, or, at least, to be Neutral. None shall be comprised in this Treaty, which is Enemy to either of the two principal Contrahents: For the rest, each may name his Friends.

The same Day that this Treaty was sworn, June 19. *Charles* gave his Oath also to another Agreement, call'd the *Indemnity*; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himself *to save King* Henry *harmless for all the Sums of Money and Pensions, which were or should be due to King* Henry *from* Francis, *(upon former Agreements betwixt them) and now were or should be with-held by the said* Francis, *upon Denunciation of War against him.*

This was sworn in the Presence of *Thomas Cardinalis Eborac.* Legate and Chancellor of *England*. *Mercurinus Comes Gattinaria. Baro Ozane & Terrugie. Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin.* Johannes Aleman. *Thomas* Bishop of *Duresme*. Lord Privy-Seal. *Cuthbert Tonstall* Doctor of both Laws, elect Bishop of *London*, Vice-Chancellor of *England*.

Lastly, *Charles* wanting Money for his present Occasions, our King supplied him abundantly, upon Assurance given him of Repayment. *Charles* having dispatch'd his Affairs here, and commanded his Fleet, consisting of 180 Sail, to meet him at *Southampton*, is * accompany'd by our King to *Winchester*. * June 22. Before yet they departed, it was resolv'd betwixt them, to make use of some *Venetian* Gallies (then riding in our Ports) upon Pretence of conveying the Emperor to *Spain*. Which Proceeding yet, lest it should be thought abrupt, and prejudical to our League with that State, was by Instructions from hence to *Pace* (his Majesty's Ambassador resident there) excused in great part, by alledging, that if they would make good the Confederacy enter'd into, 1518,

1522. 1518, they must not take it ill that their Gallies were employ'd against the *French*, as the first Violaters and Disturbers of the publick Peace. And when they would not join, it was but a just Punishment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be understood in that Rigour, but they should be restor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were shortly after. This being done, *Charles*, having taken * leave of our King, goes to *Southampton*, and attends a Wind and the Convoy of our Admiral, who for better complying with the common Cause, according to the League 1518, was likewise constituted his; the Patent whereof, for the rareness as well as honour of the Person, I have caus'd to be set down.

* July 1.

The Earl of *Surrey's* Patent to be the Emperors Admiral.

CAROLUS Quintus, divina favente Clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliæ, Jerusalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, &c. Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, Comes Habspurgi, Flandriæ, Tirolis, &c. Cum ita sit quod Serenissimus & potentissimus Princeps Henricus Octavus, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Frater, Avunculus, & Confœderatus noster charissimus, pro ejus Jure Fœderis quod cum eo nobis inter-cedebat, nuper Francisco Francorum Regi, tanquam Fœderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, Bellum justè indixerit, causamque suam cum nostrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo invasi fuimus, conjunxerit, Classemque ob id maritimam inter cæteros Belli apparatus instruxerit, cui præfecit Illustrissimum Consanguineum nostrum charissimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis sui Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ, Vasconiæ, & Aquitaniæ; nosque pariter eundem communem hostem Gallum armis etiam maritimis urgere (ut par est) decreverimus, juncta ipsa nostra cum præfati Serenissimi Avunculi nostri classe, reputantesque tum jam dicti ejus Admiraldi insignem Bello peritiam, fortitudinem, atque alias singulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora onera committi possent, tum quæ Conjunctis viribus armisque geruntur multo meliùs uno duce, uno capite regi quàm pluribus: Ea propter non abs re duximus, si & nostræ ipsius Classis onus, Bellique maritimi provinciam eidem Angliæ Admiraldo destinaremus. Itaque in vim præsentium Literarum nostrarum, prædicto Illustrissimo Thomæ Comiti & Admiraldo, ac Classis prædicti Regis Avunculi nostri Capitaneo Generali eandem damus & concedimus authoritatem, plenamque & omnimodam potestatem super Classem nostram maritimam, omnesque ejus Capitaneos, Milites, & Classiarios, cujusque Tituli sunt gradusve & conditionis, quam ipse Admiraldus super Regis sui Classem habet, tam in honorandis Militibus, Equestrique dignitate quos dignos censuerit insigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus statuendis, eorumque Causis cognoscendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus & singulis faciendis & executioni mandandis, juxta authoritatem eidem à prædicto Rege suo concessam, ac quemadmodum aliàs spectat ad officium unius maritimæ Classis Capitanei seu Generalis præfecti, ipsiusve prædicti Admiraldi singulari prudentiæ convenire in omnibus visum fuerit, atque expedire. Mandantes ob id, atque expressè committentes universis & singulis Capitaneis, Vice-Capitaneis, Locumtenentibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Militibus, Magistris, Naviculatoribus, Classiariis, cæterisque Militibus omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus in Classe ipsa nostra existentibus, aut futuris quòd eidem Comiti Admiraldo & Capitaneo generali ac ejus in hac parte sufficienter Deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, & obedientes sint, in omnibus prout decet, contrafacientibus debitâ pœnâ non carituris. Harum testimonio Literarum manu nostrâ subscriptarum, nostrique Sigilli appensione munitarum. Dat, in Urbe Londinensi. Die VIII. Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Secundo, Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tertio, Cæterorum verò omnium Septimo. 1522.

Per Imperatorem CHARLES.

J. ALEMAND.

CHARLES V. *by the Divine Favour and Clemency elected, most August Emperor of the Romans; King of* Germany, Spain, *both* Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, &c. *Arch-Duke of* Austria, *Duke of* Burgundy, Brabant, *Earl of* Habsperg, Flanders, Tirol, *&c. Since it is so that the most serene and powerful Prince* Henry *the Eighth, King of* England *and* France, *our most dear Brother, Uncle, and Confederate, according to the Tenor of the League enter'd into with us, hath most justly proclaimed War against* Francis *King of* France, *for his breach and violation of the Treaty concluded with either of us; joining herein with us, who have been invaded by the said King of* France: *And to carry this on more effectually, hath, among other warlike Preparations, fitted out a Fleet, which he hath put under the Command of the most Illustrious* Thomas *Earl of* Surrey, *our most dear Cousin, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of* England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascogne *and* Aquitain: *We likewise with the same Reason, have decreed to infest and invade the said common Enemy the King of* France, *with our Forces at Sea, by joining our Fleet (with that of our aforesaid most serene Uncle, both in consideration of the Valour, Skill and Courage, and other singular Vertues of the said Admiral, whereby he is rendered capable not only of this, but even of a greater Trust, as also because whatsoever is undertaken by Confederate Forces and united Arms, may be better executed by being under the Conduct of one Captain-General than many: Therefore we judged it not unfit likewise to place the charge of our Fleet, and the conduct of this War by Sea, under the Command of the said Admiral of* England. *By these therefore our Letters Patents, We grant and give to the said most Illustrious* Thomas *Earl of* Surrey, *Lord High Admiral and Captain-General of the Navy of the aforesaid King, our most serene Uncle, the same Authority, all and plenary Power over Our Royal Navy, the Captains, Soldiers, and Seamen thereof, of what Degree, Title, or Rank soever, which the said Admiral hath in the King his Master's Fleet: Both in promoting the Officers, in conferring the Honour of Knighthood on Persons of Merit, in punishing Malefactors, in giving out fitting Orders, judging and trying all Causes, as also in executing and appointing all and every thing under his Command, according to the Authority by the aforesaid King to him granted, and as the singular Skill and Prudence of him, as Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, shall on all Occasions judge needful and expedient*

1522. *to be done. To this end hereby strictly commanding and enjoyning all our Flags, Captains, Lieutenants, Barons, Noble-Men, Officers, Masters, Pilots, Seamen, and all our Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, that either now are or shall be in our Fleet; that they pay all Obedience, Duty and Respect to the said Earl their Admiral and Captain-General, or to any Person by him lawfully deputed, in all things as is fitting, as they shall at their Peril answer the contrary. In Witness whereof, we have subscribed this our Commission with our own Hand, and thereto affixed our Seal.*

Given in *London*, *June* 8. 1522. in the Third Year of our Reign over the *Romans*, and Seventh over the rest of our Dominions.

By the Emperor CHARLES.

J. ALEMAND.

June 13. The Earl having accepted hereof by our King's consent, did, upon *June* 13. land his Men in *Normandy*, near *Cherbourg*, and after having destroy'd the adjoyning Country, (sparing only Religious Houses) he return'd to *Portland*; whence July 1. setting sail again, he lands *July* 1. at a Place near *Morlais* in *Bretaigne*, and with Seven thousand Men marcheth thither; where our Master-Gunner having discharg'd a Piece so fortunately, that he broke the Wicket, some of our Men enter'd in the Smoak and open'd the Gate; whereupon the rest following, the Town was quickly sack'd and burnt, and a rich Booty carry'd to our Navy. After which the Earl commanded sixteen or seventeen *French* Ships (he found on that Coast) to be burnt: And so, leaving his Vice-Admiral to scower the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Service, and return'd to *Southampton*, whence he conducted the Emperor to *Spain*; who taking Ship *July* 6. arrived *July* 16. at *Saint-Ander*. ¶ The *English* Garison this while, in *Calais* and *Guisnes*, and the *French* in *Ardres* and *Boulogne*, were not idle, but took many occasions of invading each others Frontiers, among which one, related by *Hall* and *Hollinshead*, seems so memorable, that I have thought fit to insert it. Three hundred *French* Horse lying in Ambuscade near *Guisnes*, and sending some Horse before to draw out the *English*, a little Band of eight Archers issued forth, and maintain'd a Skirmish; at last twelve Demy-Lances (which, *Hall* saith, were all Welsh-men) came to their rescue: The *French* perceiving this, issue forth with all their Horse; but our Demy-Lances charg'd them them with that Courage, that killing and hurting divers, they open'd their way to the Town. ¶ These so many occasions of making War, enforc'd the King to make use of his Subjects Affections; whereof, that he might take the better notice, he caus'd a general Muster or Description *to be made* (this Summer) of all his Kingdom, commanding (as *Stow* hath it out of a * Warrant directed to a Constable of a Hundred) that they should certifie the Names of all above Sixteen Years old; and that they should repair to a certain Place assign'd, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as also, who be Parsons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be Owners of every parcel of Land within the said Precincts, and what is the Yearly value of every Man's Land, is also the Stock on the Lands, and who is the Owner thereof; also what Strangers dwell there, and of what Occupation they are; also the Value and Substance of every Person being above Sixteen Years old, as well Spiritual as Temporal; also what Pensions go thence to Religious or Spiritual Men. Which being certified again, the King (as *Polydore* saith) rejoyc'd, as finding his Kingdom so Wealthy: Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he * borrow'd of the Citizens of *London* Twenty thousand Pound, and sent Privy-Seals to divers other rich Persons of the Kingdom; in sequence whereof, he manded a Loan (as I take it) of the Tenth of the *Temporality*, according to the true Value of their Estates, to be employ'd in the *Wars*, and a Fourth of the *Spirituality*. But as this caused much grudging, so the *Londoners* (particularly) * alledg'd so many Reasons why they could not, upon Oath, give account of their Goods, and Wealth, especially as long as so much of their Stock was in other Men's Hands, that the Cardinal at last accepted their valuation of themselves, upon their simple Honesties. All which extraordinary ways of furnishing the present Necessities yet ended in a Parliament the next Year, as shall be told in its Place. The King having thus yet gotten some Money, denounc'd open War to *Francis*, unless he made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In sequence whereof commanding the Earl of *Surrey*, (and not the Duke of *Suffolk*, as the *French* have it) after his attempts by Sea, to go over to *Calais*, and with convenient Forces, to join with *Florence d'Egmund*, Count de *Bure*, General of the Emperor's Troops. These meeting together betwixt *Ardres* (lately demolish'd) and St. *Omar*, spoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their way, till they came to *Hesdin*, in which *Odoart Seigneur de Biez*, with a strong Garrison, commanded. But Autumn being now far come on, and the Weather very unseasonable, they could only take the Town, the Castle being stronger, than that it was thought fit to attempt it. They marched therefore towards *Dourlans*, which they took, and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Season continuing still very foul, and our Men falling generally sick, the Army separated; and the rather, that the two Generals could not agree about their Designs. Before yet the Earl of *Surrey* departed, he burnt *Marquise*, and some other Places near the *English* Pale; which being done, he came home, and gave our King account of his Journey. Whereupon also Sir *Thomas Bolen*, and *Richard Sampson* Doctor of Law, were sent to *Charles* in *Spain*, to advise what further was to be done.

Morlais taken by the English.

The Emperor sails to Spain. July 16.

A Skirmish between the English and French in Picardy.

A general Muster in England.

*Mar. 27.

1522.

* May.

* Hall.

Aug. 20.

Aug.

An Expedition of the English into Picardy.

The Duke of *Albany*, whom we left in *France*, was now recall'd by more than one Voice. For he was not only sent for by the Vote of the Nobility and People of *Scotland*, but Queen *Margaret* her self invited him. Besides, *it is* probable, that *Francis* did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to do at home. The cause why the State desir'd his return was, that their King was so young, and some of their Affairs were discompos'd. But Queen *Margaret* had also her Reason: For being offended with the Earl of *Anguis* for forsaking her at *Harbottle*, 1516, and scandaliz'd much at the Love he now bore to a certain *Scotch* Lady, she had endeavour'd, by the Duke of *Albany*'s means, to procure a Divorce at *Rome*, alledging, among other Causes, that she heard, her Husband *James* the Fourth was living three Years after *Floddenfield*, and therefore not dead when she marry'd him, (so much did that Report prevail.) But because our King again oppos'd this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole Passage) nothing was presently done, though afterwards new Motives appearing, she was divorc'd* from him, as will appear in its place. The Duke, being now generally * welcom'd, banish'd the Earl of *Anguis*, with his Brother *George*, into *France*, and caus'd

The Scots Affairs. 1521.

* 1521. Octob. 19.

his

1522.

January. 1522. The King sends *Clarenceaux* K. at Arms into *Scotland* to defie the Duke of *Albany* in full Parliament.

his Uncle *Gawin* the Learned Bishop of *Dunkelden* to be cited to *Rome*, for the rest summoning a *Parliament* to begin 1522. whether our King sent *Clarenceaux* Herald, to require and command the Duke to avoid the Realm, and if he would not, to defie him. And that he might have just cause to use this Language, he was to alledge unto the Duke, that he had broken an express Article of the Treaty in coming over; neither could he pretend to have any Commission from *Francis*; who, in a Letter to our King, had disavow'd this Action so far, as he profess'd to be neither privy nor consenting to his Journey. Besides, that there was danger of his aspiring to the Crown, and that the Divorce he procur'd for Queen *Margaret*, was not without design to obtain her for himself. And this is the Substance of that wherewith *Clarenceaux* was to charge him (as I gather out of several Collections;) howsoever, our Records tell us, that the Duke of *Albany* reply'd, that, since his Recall came from the Nobility and States of the Land, he would retain it against all Kings. As for his being suspected of Ambition to the Crown, he answer'd, that he had rather enjoy his Means in *France*, than pretend to that Regality. And for Queen *Margaret*, he said he had indeed negotiated a Divorce in *Rome*, but with no Intention to marry her himself, when he could, as having a Wife of his own. Letters also were sent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he perswaded them to reject the Duke. But they answer'd that they would defend him against all. Lastly, I find, by an Original of Queen *Margaret*, that our King writ to her also; for she there expostulates sharply with him, for believing those Reports concerning the Duke of *Albany* and her; defending nevertheless the said Duke's being in *Scotland*; adding, that, if he had not been an unkind Brother, she should not have needed to provide for her self, by the Duke of *Albany*'s Assistance.

Feb.

Our King finding this took no Effect, in *February* sent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West-Marches, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred Men, to Proclaim that the *Scots* should come in to the King's Peace by the first of *March* following, or to stand to their Perils; which the Duke of *Albany* suspecting would prove a *War*, had provided by this time a great Army in the Borders; unwilling yet to do more than to shew his Power to offend. For, besides that many of the better sort judg'd wisely, that if Matters succeeded ill, they might be call'd in question, when their King came to full Age: they were not ignorant, how puissant an Enemy they provok'd; especially, at a time when their Confederates the *French* had so much to do elsewhere. Therefore, although the Lord *Dacres* made some Inroads into *Scotland*, and burnt divers Villages,

* July 30.

joyning himself with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, * constituted Lieutenant General for the North Parts; and that the Duke of *Albany* himself was advanc'd so far as *Carlisle*, yet he retir'd; the Intercession of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a Conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the present was quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as being somewhat surpris'd at that time. This

* Sept. 11.

Conference yet brought forth a * Truce only, for a few Days, upon Condition that the *Scots* should send Ambassadors into *England*, to desire a Peace. But when they requir'd the *French* might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not consent; howbeit, the Truce was prorogu'd: Whereupon the Governor, as finding the *Scotch* Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on those

Octob.

Terms, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave Aid of *Francis*, the Event whereof we shall see the next Year.

1522.

But while these *Christian* Princes were in War thus one against the other, the *Turk* who had now long Experience what harm the Knights of Saint *John* of *Jerusalem* had done him in the *Archipelago*, thought fit to invade the Isle of *Rhodes*, (their chief Strength and Fortress at that time.) Hereunto concurr'd a Request which *Selim* upon his Death-bed made unto his Son *Solyman*, wherein he not only exhorted him to revenge the Affront his Grandfather *Mahomet* suffer'd, when he was repuls'd thence, but even as a pious and devout Act recommended this Enterprise to him. Such Mischiefs hath Religion, (which should be a new Bond of Peace) authoriz'd unto Mankind, in more than one Age or Country.

A bold Reflection.

It was not yet without much Danger that *Solyman* made this Attempt. For as he brought near two hundred thousand Men into a little and barren Island; so, if ever his Shipping had through Firing or ill Weather been cast away or destoy'd, he must have perish'd there before the Town could be forc'd. But such was the disunion of the Christian Princes, that they lost their fair Occasion; thus, upon Saint *John Baptist*'s * Day (the more to despight the Knights) this great Army enter'd the Island, (the *Turk* himself following in Person a Month after) and continuing the Siege till *Christmas*, upon which Day *Solyman* with great Pomp enter'd *Rhodes*, being yielded upon Composition by *Philip de Villiers* a *Frenchman*, Great Master of that Religion. Shortly after which, he, together with those Knights that remain'd, sail'd towards *Rome*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where comfortless and errant they continu'd, till by the Intercession of *Clement* the Seventh (some time Knight of that Order) and the favour of *Charles*, they * obtain'd *Malta*, where they now reside.

* June 24.

Dec. 25. The *Turks* take *Rhodes* from the Knights of St. *John*.

* 1525. *Malta* given them.

Novemb. 1521.

In *November* this Year, a Diet being held at *Noremberg*, *Adrian* sends to the Princes of *Germany*, requiring them passionately to suppress *Luther*, according to the Decree at *Wormes*; confessing nevertheless many Abuses in Ecclesiastical Government, insomuch, that he doubted not to give *Cheregat*, his Nuncio, Instructions to say, *In hac sancta sede aliquot jam Annis multa abominanda fuisse*, *In these later Years many abominable things had crept into the Church*, which he therefore promis'd, by degrees to redress. But the Message pleas'd neither side: The Cardinals at *Rome* disliking *Adrian*'s free Declaration; and the Princes there, as little approving the slow and indirect Courses taken for *reforming* the many Enormities then us'd in the *Roman* Church, as may appear by their *Centum Gravamina*; the Particulars of which Hundred Grievances, I have thought fit to insert, not with desire to affront any, but only that, pursuing my Intentions, the Reader may find briefly a true History of the Times.

A free Confession of Pope *Adrian* VI.

The hundred Grievances offer'd to the Pope by the *German* Princes to be redress'd.

The Substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, offer'd to Pope *Adrian* by the *Germans*, was to this Effect:

I. That the Church hath both commanded and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not: As certain Obstacles of Marriage, Differences of Meat, &c. all yet to be redeem'd for Money.

II. That People, who otherwise might justly Marry, were yet forbidden it at certain Times, when yet both Ecclesiastics and Layics took then their Carnal Liberty. Nevertheless that for Money this Restraint might be dispens'd with.

III. That Indulgences (call'd there *Impostura*) and Pardon for Sins, not only past but future, did cause all Impiety and Wickedness, while Men believ'd, *Modò tinniat dextra*, *while they brought Money*

1522. *Money in their Hands*, they ſhall have perfect Freedom from all.

Abuſes in the *Roman* Church.

IV. That the Money for Indulgences, &c. was not employ'd the way it was promis'd, that is to ſay, againſt the *Turk*, but towards their Friends and Kindreds Expence and Luxury.

V. That yet the Pope, Biſhops, and other principal Perſons of the Clergy reſerv'd ſome Caſes to themſelves, which none other can diſpenſe with, and that this again coſt them much.

VI. That the Pardon of Sins for future Times, brought in all Miſchief, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

VII. That certain Preachers (call'd *Stationarii*) went up and down the Country, preaching the Lives of ſome holy Men or Saints, as *Valentine*, *Hubert*, &c. promiſing the ſimple People, that if they vow'd themſelves to thoſe Saints, and paid ſuch an yearly Tribute, they ſhould be free from ſuch Diſeaſes, as they nam'd.

VIII. That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, call'd *Terminarii*, conſum'd the Alms that the Poor ſhould have.

IX. That, at the inſtance of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, divers Layics were cited to *Rome*, to anſwer concerning Buſineſſes not belonging to that Court, as namely, Matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawns, &c.

X. That even Layics, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Juſtice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their Cauſe to *Rome*, though otherwiſe it were prov'd that Juſtice were done, and the Party perjur'd.

XI. That certain Judges call'd *Conſervatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the Cauſes of certain Eccleſiaſtics, did under colour thereof trouble all other Places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporal Authority, Excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII. That certain Delegates and Commiſſaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the Secular Cauſes of any Perſon whatſoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they diſobey'd.

XIII. That the Pope, by exempting certain Monaſteries from the Juriſdiction of their Biſhops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate Dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the Diminution of the Imperial Power.

XIV. That the Right of Patronage belonging to divers Lay and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons was (under colour of Prevention) uſurp'd by the Pope and his Legats, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did confer them uſually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

XV. That theſe Men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were confer'd uſually by the Pope, to the detriment of the true Patrons.

XVI. That divers undue Means were practis'd to prove Men amply benefic'd to be Courtiers, and Dependants on Cardinals.

XVII. The great Benefices or Eccleſiaſtical Promotions could not be confer'd on able Perſons, unleſs Penſions were firſt given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

XVIII. That, under pretences of making Benefices litigious, the ſaid Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Penſions; and if the ordinary Statutes of *Chancery* ſerv'd not, they form'd and reform'd them as they pleas'd; alſo the Incumbent dying during this pretended Controverſy, the ſaid Pretenders invaded the Benefice, to the wrong of the Patron.

XIX. That the Collation of Deanaries, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, eſpecially if the former Poſſeſſors were Courtiers.

XX. That in granting Benefices, they us'd many Arts to get Money, under the Names of Reſervations, Permutations, Surrogations, &c. to the damage of the Patron. 1522.

XXI. That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on them, farm'd them out to Strangers who cannot ſpeak the Language.

XXII. That Archbiſhops and Biſhops were bound by their Chapters to beſtow the beſt vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themſelves only, to the fruſtrating of many able Perſons.

XXIII. That the Houſes belonging to ſuch Benefices were ſuffer'd to fall, and the People untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not obſerv'd.

XXIV. That divers Abbeys, and Religious Houſes, being deliver'd in *commendam* to Cardinals, and Biſhops, did not feed now above five or ſix Perſons, whereas heretofore they nouriſh'd forty or fifty.

XXV. That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Germany*, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at at leaſt Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferior Perſons, were receiv'd into them for Money.

XXVI. That, whereas in the beſtowing of Benefices divers ancient Privileges and Immunities belong'd both to Eccleſiaſtical and Lay Perſons, they were now by the Policy of the *Roman* See, eluded or infring'd.

XXVII. That, whereas Annats were paid to the Pope by Eccleſiaſtics, and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did alſo pay them for divers Years, upon condition the Money might be imploy'd in War againſt the *Turk*; now becauſe they underſtood the Money was otherwiſe diſpos'd of, they deſir'd henceforth to be eas'd of this great Burden.

XXVIII, XXIX, XXX. That Eccleſiaſtics do not pay their due Parts, either for a War againſt the *Turk*, or other publick Affairs; whereas having ſo great a portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they ſhould furniſh their reaſonable Share; and in this Caſe the Church-Ornaments and Treaſure are not to be ſpar'd, leſt they come all together into the hands of the *Turk*.

XXXI. That, whereas Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, being by taking Orders exempt from ſecular Juſtice; do thereupon take more freedom to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coining Moneys, to the no little Scandal of Religion, and Derogation of the Secular Authority; and that their Superiors likewiſe never puniſh them, but being firſt degraded, (to which yet much Ceremony and Time is requir'd,) and that the ſaid Superiors by their Chapters, are bound not to puniſh them otherwiſe.

XXXII. And whereas the leaving theſe Crimes unpuniſh'd, may cauſe Sedition and Tumult in the Laity, as finding the Eccleſiaſtics have not parity of Puniſhment with them:

XXXIII. Therefore, they deſir'd that Eccleſiaſtics and Layics may equally ſuffer for Crimes of the ſame Nature; and that no Order may privilege them from the Magiſtrate.

XXXIV. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be us'd only when Men are convicted of Hereſy; that yet Layics incurr'd this Puniſhment for ſmall Faults, and ſo were driv'n to Deſperation, and excluded from Divine Service.

XXXV. That divers alſo, who were not properly intereſs'd in the Crime of the Excommunicated Perſon, did yet ſuffer as Complices; and all this only that more Money might be gotten.

XXXVI. That when the Prieſt or Eccleſiaſti-

1522. cal Perſon was kill'd by chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till Compenſation were made, and no Regard taken of the Occaſion given.

Abuſes in the *Roman* Church.

XXXVII. That Holidays were in ſuch Number in Harveſt-time, that People could not get in their Corn in due Seaſon; whereas, yet innumerable Miſchiefs were then done, rather than God's Service frequented, according to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXVIII. That the Revenues of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, deſtin'd for War againſt the *Turk*, were apply'd to Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, which were neither *Germans*, nor of the ſaid Order, contrary to the firſt Inſtitution.

XXXIX. That Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelats obtain'd from *Rome* Conſervators and Delegates, whence ſo many Grievances follow to the Layics.

XL. That Layics Goods and Inheritance might come to Eccleſiaſtical Hands by Purchaſe, or otherwiſe; but that Eccleſiaſtical Goods and Inheritance might never return to the Layics.

XLI. That when Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, having Inheritance deſcended upon them, did die Inteſtate, divers Biſhops did claim that Inheritance themſelves, to the prejudice of the next right Heirs.

XLII. That, whereas the Profits of certain Lands and Poſſeſſions Temporal, were ſometimes caſually transferr'd by Layics to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they labour'd to retain the ſaid Lands as their own for ever, by ſubmitting them to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

XLIII. That Biſhops would not confirm the Foundations of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, unleſs the Founders gave them the firſt beſtowing thereof.

XLIV. That they were forc'd to purchaſe the Confirmation of them for great Sums of Money.

XLV. That, when by a Lay Perſon any Man were preſented to a Benefice, he could not be inveſted therein, till he had paid as much as a Year's Profit, or two, to the Biſhop and his Officers.

XLVI. That Biſhops raiſe extraordinary Subſidies on the Prieſt under them, ſo that they cannot live unleſs they get Money again from the People. Inſomuch that they will adminiſter no Sacrament unleſs ſome Money be given.

XLVII. That many are made Prieſts who have not Means to maintain the Charge, to the Derogation of their Dignity, while they exerciſe ſome ſordid Trades; and that they who can get ſix Voices for a Certificate, obtain Orders, when yet thoſe Atteſtations were corruptly gotten.

XLVIII, XLIX. That more is exacted from the People for the Conſecration of Churches than is needful; and that, though Layics beſtow divers Gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces, *&c.* yet Money is requir'd for their Conſecration.

L. That if two or more fight in the Churchyard with their Fiſts, to the drawing of never ſo little Blood, the Town muſt pay for the new Conſecrating thereof.

LI. That Suffragans us'd to baptize Bells, under pretence of driving away Devils and Tempeſts; and, for this purpoſe, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exorcis'd, and its Name invoked, (unto which all the People muſt anſwer.) And that a Banquet was us'd to be made hereupon, at the coſt of the Layics, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, *&c.* whereas they deſir'd that the ſaid Bells might be baptiz'd, not only by Suffragans, but by any Prieſt, with Holy-water, Salt, and Herbs, without ſuch Coſts. 1522.

LII. That, if in any Dioceſs a Solemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Biſhop us'd to take to himſelf a third or fourth part of the Offering, which yet ought to have been employ'd in War againſt the *Turk*.

LIII. That whereas ſome Nunneries were govern'd by Provoſts, the Biſhops refus'd to accept the ſaid Provoſts till the Nuns had given them Money.

LIV. That when any Abbot or Abbeſs was choſen, they muſt be Conſecrated anew by the Suffragans, (though otherwiſe they were capable of the Charge) and Feaſts made, and great Sums paid. That alſo many Offices were invented in the Court of *Rome*, ſo that Biſhops could not enter their Charge without paying great Fees, which again they were forc'd to get of the People as they could.

LV. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges commonly were Perſons of an idle Life, and intentive wholly to Gain.

LVI. That though the Plaintiff be Eccleſiaſtic, and the Defendant Layic, and that by the Law, *Actor Rei Forum ſequi debet, the Cauſe is to be heard in the Defendant's Court*, yet the Cauſe was revok'd ſtill to the Eccleſiaſtical Court.

LVII. That though Juſtice be neither delay'd nor deny'd in Civil Courts, yet the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons drew Matters of Debt into their Courts, and oppreſs'd Men by their rigid Cenſures.

LVIII. That, whereas Citations and Monitories are granted againſt Layics, in many Caſes, which are known not to belong to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, yet that the Perſons ſo cited, either can get no Remedy herein, or that, before the Civil Magiſtrate can avoke the Cauſe, ſo much Time and Money is ſpent, as is intolerable to the poor Suitor.

LIX. That Eccleſiaſtical Judges drew many Cauſes to their Court, which belong'd not to it, as Raviſhment of Virgins, ſome Caſes concerning Baſtardy, *&c.* which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary Juriſdiction.

LX. That, when a Man were wrongfully call'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and at laſt, after much Charges diſmiſs'd, yet unleſs his Adverſary's Proctor were ſatisfied to the full, he ran the danger of Excommunication.

LXI. That Layics, though by long Preſcription they paid neither great nor ſmall Tenths, out of certain of their Lands, yet receiv'd Citations from Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and were conſtrain'd to pay, under the Penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeal to *Rome*, for fear of more exceſſive Charges.

LXII. That all belonging to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons labour'd alſo to take the Advantage of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, when they had any Suit againſt Layics.

LXIII. That, on occaſion of injurious Words only, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons drew the Suit to their Courts, and ſuffer'd not the lawful Judge to determine it.

LXIV. That in all Cauſes where Oaths are interpos'd, Eccleſiaſtical Judges us'd to avoke them, upon pretence that Matter of Oaths were not otherwiſe to be decided: which at laſt yet would wholly fruſtrate Secular Courts; there being ſo many Caſes wherein Oaths intervene.

LXV. That, when their Judgments concern'd their Eccleſiaſtical Superiors, they dare not exerciſe it, but only let them run againſt the poorer ſort.

LXVI. That they have invented many Reformations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes wholly differing from the uſual and Common Law; which

1522. which yet tend not so much to the good of the People, as their own private Gain.

Abuses in the Roman Church.

LXVII. That it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spiritual Punishments should be inflicted for Spiritual and manifest Sins, Ecclesiastical Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggravate these Punishments so far, that Layics were forc'd to redeem them with Money.

LXVIII. That Men and Women, being falsly accus'd, yet upon their Purgation, they were so far from receiving Satisfaction, that they were forc'd to pay for Letters of Absolution; and Oaths, besides, taken of malicious and wicked Women, upon Words spoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur Perjury, and occasion'd much Offence.

LXIX. That, when Business of Matrimony hath proceeded so far, that one of the Parties pretended a Contract, which the other deny'd, and that some Gifts, as Earnests of Marriage had pass'd betwixt them, the Ecclesiastical Judges yet separating the Parties, keep the Gifts for themselves, as forfeit or escheated.

LXX. That, whereas there are certain Causes so belonging to both Jurisdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which first questions them (as manifest Perjuries, Adulteries, &c.) yet the Ecclesiastical Judges forbad the Civil to meddle herein.

LXXI. That, upon Pretences of Layics, that they cannot obtain of the Secular Magistrate execution of Justice, Citations were usually granted from the Ecclesiastical Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the space of a Month to end the said Cause, or otherwise that they would take Order; when, yet, the Cause being brought before them, depended often the space of three Years, without that they would grant the like Power to Secular Judges.

LXXII. That Ecclesiastical Judges, under colour of Prescription, arrogated much to themselves, when as yet no Prescription can avail against the Pope and Emperor.

LXXIII. That Offenders, after private Confession, being requir'd to do publick Penance before all the People, are compell'd also to pay Money to Ecclesiastical Officers.

LXXIV. That, instead of forbidding Usury, they permit it for Money given them; and that for an Annual Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular Persons, to live publickly with their Harlots and get Children.

LXXV. That, if one of the Marry'd Couple take a Journey either to the Wars or to perform a Vow, to a far Country, they permit the Party remaining at Home, if the other stay long away, upon a Sum of Money paid, to cohabit with another, not examining sufficiently whether the absent Party were dead.

LXXVI, LXXVII. That Synodal Judges, going to poor Towns and Villages every where, draw Annual Tribute thence or Excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw Money weekly in many Places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, &c. under the same Penalty.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. That they send Inhibitory Letters to Layics, forbidding them to proceed in their Suit before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forc'd to submit to the Ecclesiastical Court, or otherwise to appeal to *Rome*.

LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the Charges of the Law in these kinds, are forc'd to make some bad Bargain or Composition, being not able to stand out.

LXXXI. That whereas Ecclesiastical Judges, by giving Oaths to the Advocates and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifest their Clients could have little hope of Assistance, when the Cause any way concern'd the said Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any Remedy for this, but by their Admission of foreign Advocates, to whom yet so short a time was allow'd for bringing them to the Bar as they could not easily come. 1522.

LXXXII. That the poorer sort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parson, were often deny'd the Communion.

LXXXIII. That Labourers in time of Vintage were Excommunicated, unless they took such Seasons as the Ecclesiastics prescrib'd, upon pretence that their Tenths might suffer Damage thereby.

LXXXIV. That Synodal Judges, going Progress yearly under pretext of Visitation, and inflicting Punishment on Offenders, took only occasion to exact Money.

LXXXV. That the Canons of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, who had Power to choose a Prelate or Superior, would not elect him, until he first promis'd and bound himself not to contradict them in any Business, (how foul soever, and dishonest) and that if they offended, he should not punish them.

LXXXVI. That Livings belonging to Bishops, Monasteries, &c. were set forth to Vicars, at so dear Rates, that they were forc'd to get Money again from the Poor for Confessions, Anniversaries, Obits, &c.

LXXXVII. That, though Priests by their Foundation ought to sing such a Mass on such a Day, yet they will have Money therefore. Besides, with one Mass they think to serve divers Benefices.

LXXXVIII. That if any of their Parishioners, for Marriage or other Occasion, quitted his House or Dwelling, he must pay so much to the Priest for Testimonials, or be Excommunicated.

LXXXIX. That whereas, by the Pope's Canons, they only are deny'd Christian Burial, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortal Sin, yet their Ecclesiastics extended the Law further, and deny'd Burial to Men deceas'd by chance, as drown'd or kill'd, until such Money were paid.

XC. That many Priests, and other Ecclesiastical Persons mixt themselves with the Multitude, dancing and disguising themselves, wearing Swords, with which they made Quarrels, and hurt People, and yet constrain'd them to pay.

XCI. That in most Places, Bishops, and their Officials not only tolerated Concubinage, upon paying Money in the more dissolute sort of Monks, but exacted it also in the more continent; saying, it was now at their choice whether they would have Concubines or no.

XCII. That at the Dedications of Churches, Permission was given to the Chaplains and Priests to set up Taverns, Dice, Cards, &c.

XCIII. That, at the point of Death, they perswaded Men by Flattery and Fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them.

XCIV. That Mendicant Fryars, drew many Causes to *Rome* unjustly, to the Grievance of the Layics, getting also so much Money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hats for their Generals at a huge Rate, and that they much molested Nunneries.

XCV. That the Legats and Orators of Popes made Bastards, and others born *ex damnato coitu, from Marriages within the Degrees forbidden*, to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right Heirs.

XCVI. And that they made also certain Viscount Palatines as their Substitutes, having Power also to legitimate and admit Bastards to Succession; and to make Notaries, when yet some of them are so ignorant, as they know not what

1522. what belongs to a Notary's Place. Besides, the said Legats go about to absolve Men from their Oaths, Pacts, and Obligations, with Permission to treat *de novo*; than which nothing yet was more contrary to Equity and Justice.

XCVII. Besides, that they endeavour'd to take Livings from the true Patrons, and bestow them as they pleas'd.

XCVIII. That, because Religious Persons succeeded Secular Men in their Inheritance, and not *vice versa*; there could be no equality, unless that before any enter'd into a Religious Life, they renounc'd their Succession in Temporal Estates.

XCIX. That the chief part of these Grievances having been represented in the late Diet at *Wormes*, to the Emperor by the Lay-States, against Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, that yet no remedy ensu'd. And that therefore all the Secular States of the *Roman* Empire renew'd now their Petition to the Pope, that his Holiness would reform these Abuses.

C. That there are many Grievances more intolerable than these, which the said Secular States of the *Roman* Empire could shew, but (for brevity) did forbear, as hoping, that when those were taken away, the rest would follow.

Wherefore, by way of final Petition, the said Secular States of the *Roman* Empire, both of the higher and lower sort, did beseech his Holiness to take away, amend and abrogate the said Grievances; or otherwise, that themselves would take such course as should be expedient for the remedy thereof.

While, that his Holiness might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digest their Grievances into these Heads, and send them to his Holiness.

These Abuses and Grievances (which, as much as through the obscurity of some Terms us'd there, was possible, I have endeavour'd faithfully to abbreviate) being publish'd; *Luther* became more obstinate, repenting now his Submission at *Wormes*; insomuch that at *Wittenberg*, he doubted not to abolish the old Mass, and to frame a new Liturgy, &c. Of which more hereafter.

1523. April 15. Regn. 14. A Parliament held in the *Black-Fryars.*

Our King finding now his extraordinary ways for levying Money to fail, or at least having resolv'd to determine them in a Parliament, summon'd it to be held in the *Black-Friars* in *London*, upon the fifteenth of *April*, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign. And here the Cardinal took order that the *Spirituality* should lead. The business of *Subsidy*, therefore, being brought into the Convocation-House, found a fair way, for the most part. Yet *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and one *Philips*, oppos'd it. But the Cardinal silencing some, and causing others to absent themselves, prevail'd at last. Insomuch that one half of the Revenues Spiritual for one Year was granted, payable in five Years following. Hence the Cardinal went to the House

April 29. of Commons, where in an elegant Oration, breach of Faith was laid to the charge of *Francis* the First, upon the League sworn for the general Peace of *Christendom*. Besides, default of Payment for *Tournay*, and other things, were objected; so that the King could do no less in this publick Cause, than join in War with *Charles* the Emperor against him. And because the Charge thereof was cast up to Eight hundred thousand Pounds, it was requir'd, that the aforesaid Sum might be rais'd out of the fifth part of every Man's Goods and Lands, to be paid in four Years.

Cardinal *Wolsey* demands 800000 Pounds for the *French* War.

This being said, the Cardinal departed. The next Day Sir *Thomas More*, (Speaker of the House) inforc'd this demand, demonstrating how *it was not much, on this occasion, to pay four Shillings in the Pound.* But the House of Commons answer'd, *That though some were well Money'd, yet in general the fifth part of Mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in Stock or Cattel. And that to pay away all their Coin, would alter the whole frame and intercourse of Things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Landlords in Corn and Cattel only; and the Landlord again, could not put them off for those things he had need of, there would be a stop in all Traffick and Merchandize, and consequently the Shipping of the Kingdom must decay; and the Nation it self, for want of Money, grow in a sort barbarous and ignoble.* To this was answer'd;

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Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker of the House of Commons argues for it. He is answer'd.

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as lost, or taken away, but only to be transferr'd into others Hands of their Kindred or Nation; herein therefore, that no more was done, than what we see ordinarily in Markets; where, tho' the Money change Masters, yet every one is accommodated. Howsoever, that no Man ought to refuse unto him that fighteth for the honour and safety of his Country, so much as will maintain him; since he denies it not even to his Labourer. That those who are employ'd, must have been fed when they staid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give the utmost proof of well-deserving Patriots. *Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhaust the Coin from the poorer sort; but to avoid this Objection, let the richer go themselves. Let them shew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or, when they would desire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving so poor a Stipend, as some of their Servants, at home, would scarcely take to stand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themselves more than others, beceause they have larger Possessions, unless they imploy it to the publick Good; since in ancient times, and even true Reason of State, they deserv'd not so much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defended it. Nor is it well said of you, when you object, that this will carry the Money out of* England, *and leave it in* France; *for doth it not carry the Men too, and so in effect prove but the same Expence? Notwithstanding, if you be so obstinate, as to believe that making War in a Country brings Money to it, do but conceive a while, that, if the* French *had invaded us, would the Money they brought over, think you, enrich our Country? Should any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aside those poor Scruples, and do what may be worthy the Dignity and Honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worst that can fall out, you should yet eat your Beef and Mutton here, and wear your Country Cloth; while others, upon a short allowance, fought only that you might enjoy your Families and Liberty. But I say confidently, you need not fear this penury or scarceness of Money; the intercourse of things being so establish'd throughout the whole World, that there is a perpetual Circulation of all that can be necessary to Mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to go far, I shall produce our own Merchants only, who, (let me assure you,) will be always as glad of your Corn and Cattle, as you can be of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in God's Name) do what becomes us, and for the rest, entertain so good an Opinion of our Soldiers, as to believe, that instead of leaving our Country bare, they will add new Provinces to it, or, at least, bring rich Spoils and Triumphs home.*

Arguments for the Tax.

That Money paid to the K. is not lost.

That such as serve the King ought to be paid.

That Gentlemen ought to serve.

Carrying out of Money in time of War, excus'd.

At last, after some Debate and Contention, it was agreed by the Commons, *that every Man of Estate of twenty Pounds yearly and upwards, should pay two Shillings in the Pound; and from twenty Pound a Year downward to forty Shillings, one Shilling in the Pound; and under forty Shillings, every Head of sixteen Years old or more, should pay four Pence in two Years.*

The Commons resolve to grant a Supply.

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Woolsey not satisfy'd, because he had not what was demanded. He is check'd in the House. Three Shillings in the Pound granted.

Years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, seem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower House of Parliament, he told them, *that he desir'd to reason with those who oppos'd his Demands*; but being answer'd, *that it was the Order of that House to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves*, the Cardinal departed. Yet by the liberal Motion of some of the Lower House, those of fifty Pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one Shilling more, (being three Shillings in the Pound) for three Years to come; which at length being continu'd to the fourth Year, and extended to those who were worth five Pounds in Goods, was all that could be obtain'd.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, fourteen and fifteen *Reg. Henry* the Eighth, were these.

Laws past in this Parliament about Black-well-Hall Market in favour of Denisons.

That our Merchants might have eight Days preference before *Strangers*, for buying of broad white Woollen Cloths, brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*, unless in Fairs, Ports, Creeks, &c. That *Strangers* using a Handicraft, should take no Apprentices, nor above two Journey-Men, unless they were the King's Subjects. That they should be under the search and reformation of the Wardens and Fellowships of Handy-Crafts, and one Substantial *Stranger*, to be chosen by the said Wardens.

Concerning Aliens.

That they should cause a Mark to be put on the Wares, and Workmanship, to be known thereby. That, if they were falsely and deceitfully made, they should be forfeit. That this Provision should extend to *Strangers* living in other Towns than *London*. That, if *Strangers* were wrong'd, they might seek their remedy from the Lord Chancellor and Treasurer of *England*, or the Justices of Assize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentices or Journey-Men might continue as before, and so to endure till the last Day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to *Strangers* of *Oxford, Cambridge*, and the Sanctuary of Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*. That, if the Officers refus'd to put a Mark on the Wares, or Workmanship of Joyners, Black-Smiths, &c. being *Strangers*; that then it was lawful for the *Strangers* to sell them without the said Mark. That Lords, and others the King's Subjects, of an hundred Pounds Yearly, might take and retain *Strangers*, being Joyners and Glasiers, for their private Service, this Act notwithstanding.

English-men living under Foreign Princes, to pay as Aliens.

That *English-Men* living under *Foreign* Princes, and being sworn to them, should pay such Custom to our King, *Subsidy* and Toll, as other *Strangers* of *those* Parts do. And that the Governor of the *Merchant Adventurers*, or the King's Ambassadors in *Foreign* Countries, shall certifie their Names to the *Chancery*, to the intent that Order may be given therein to the King's Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet, if any such *English-Man* did return to inhabit here, that then he should be restor'd to all Liberties of a Subject.

A College of Physicians erected.

A College of Physicians, (among whom was that famous and Learned *Linacer*, chief Physician to the King) was erected, and certain Authorities and Privileges granted to them.

Moreover, the Statute of *6 Hen.* VIII. 13. for shooting in Cross-Bows, or Hand-Guns, was dispenc'd with in Men of one hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

About the Coin.

That Coiners, who make Money in any Mint in *England*, should coin of every hundred Pounds of Gold, twenty Pound in Half-Angels, or Pieces of Forty Pence, and of every hundred Pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certain portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings (the Farthings to have a Mark different from the Half-pence.) That they who bring less than 100 Pounds in Bullion or Plate to the Mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet shall not extend to the Mint-Masters of *York, Durham*, or *Canterbury*.

The Money coin'd in such little pieces, it soon wore out.

Concerning which Law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the Subjects, to have so much of the smallest sort of Coin, yet by reason of their littleness it is all worn out.

Privileges to Soldiers.

That they which be in the King's Service in War, may aliene their Lands, for performance of their Wills, without any Fine for Alienation. And, if if any of them die in the King's Service in War, his Feoffees or Executors shall have the Wardship of his Heir and Lands.

I find also in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*. And an other *M. S.* for the restitution of *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to the said Duke.

The King has Authority, for his Life, to Repeal and annul all Acts of Attainder M. S.

Also an Act pass'd, that the King shall for his Life, have Authority, by his Letters Patents, at his Pleasure, to Reverse, Repeal, and Annul, all Attainders of High-Treason, and to restore their Heirs, &c.

** Mar. 9. Mar. 22. Pol. Virg.*

While these Affairs at Home were in agitation, the Cardinal * sending *Thomas Anniball* (Doctor of Law) to Pope *Adrian* then in *Spain*, obtain'd the continuance of his *Legantine* Power for five Years more, which yet (saith *Polydore*) he made so venal, as if, to recompence the heavy Loans and Payments he had impos'd on the People, he would take order to discharge them of their Sins at an easie rate.

The King having sent divers times into *Scotland*, to require that his Nephew *James* might have exercise of that Regal Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of *Albany* discharg'd from his Place of *Vice-Roy*, receiv'd so uncertain and dilatory Answers, that he thought fit to desist awhile from his Designs in *France*, and to pursue this. Therefore he makes a particular dispatch to Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Treasurer of his Houshold, and Mr. *Richard Sampson*, Dean of his Chappel, resident then in *Spain*, requiring them to excuse him, if he did not proceed so roundly to the execution of the Treaty at *Windsor*, (formerly mention'd) since, for defence of his Nephew, he was constrain'd to take in hand the Business of *Scotland*; yet that he would, in good time, perform all that could be requir'd on his part. Together with which they, were charg'd to intimate some Jealousies he had of a near Alliance propos'd betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*; whereof he would gladly be clear'd.

March.

Presently after which, he sent the Earl of *Surry*, (Lieutenant of the Borders) commanding him to join with Marquiss *Dorset*, (Warden of the East and middle Marches) and Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West Borders of *Scotland*.

April. A War with Scotland.

These Lords having gather'd together convenient Forces, took *Jedworth*; and making frequent Incursions, did great harm to that Country; without other intention yet (as the *Scots* have it) than to reduce that Nation to a better Intelligence with *England*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Albany*, who was in *France*, prepares to return to *Scotland*. Our King advertis'd hereof, sends out his Navy to intercept him. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* with 36 great Ships, cruizing on the Coasts of *France*, and *Anthony Pointz* with a convenient Navy, guarding the Western Seas. While *Fitz-Williams* attended this occasion, he discover'd twelve *French* Ships, in which the Arch-Bishop of *Glascow* and divers others of Quality were, whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into *Scotland*. Giving Chase to these, two of them were cast away near the Havens of *Diepe* and *Boulogne*. After which, *Fitz-Williams* leaving part of his Fleet to shut up the *French* Ships, (which

were

1523. were fled into those Havens) proceeded himself along the *French* Coasts, landing in divers Places and wasting the Country; till at last he came to

Aug. 10. *Treport*, a Town strongly situated, and Garrison'd with three thousand Men; which Fortifications our Men, (though a far less number) gain'd, together with divers pieces of Ordnance, chasing the *French* that remain'd to the Town; yet finding it was not their Business to lay a Siege at this time, they only burnt the Suburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and so return'd. The Duke of *Albany* knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the *English*, had caus'd all provision for his return into *Scotland* to be conceal'd, and made it to be rumour'd abroad, that he had no purpose to stir out of *France* this Year: Which our King understanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no sooner in Harbour, than *Albany* hasting together his Men and Ships, set sail at *Brest*; and, passing along the West Coast

Sept. 24. of *England*, landed in the Island of *Arrain*, *Sept.* 24. to the great Joy of the *Scots*, and with him came *Richard de la Pole*, and three thousand *French*. When *Albany* came, the Minds of the Nobility were divided, some favour'd the *English*, some the *French*: It being disputed much before the coming of the Governor, to whether side it were best to adhere. *Buch.*

The Arguments of the English Party in Scotland, for a League with England.

The favourers of the *English* Party, which were many, alledg'd the conformity in Person, Manners, Language and Laws, betwixt the two Nations; *their Living and Neighbourhood within* the same Island; the Power the *English* had, not only to do more good or hurt, but sooner than the *French* could prevent them: That the *English* were Masters of the Seas, and thereby able to stop and interclude all Succour that could come to them from any other Place. Lastly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of *Scotland*, wherein he did offer *both to maintain Peace there, and to confirm it, by* giving the Princess *Mary* his Daughter, in Marriage unto *James* his Nephew, since he had vehement suspicions that *Charles* intended a Match elsewhere.

Buch. *The French Parties Answer.*

Those who favour'd the *French* (whereof many (saith the same Author) were gain'd with large Gifts and Pensions, or were such, as being of mean Fortune, desir'd to make their Advantage in the publick Troubles) reply'd hereunto, that Credit was not easily to be given to the specious pretext of a new Allyance, the former having succeeded no better; especially when all things in *England*, were order'd chiefly *Ex Arbitrio Thomæ Woolsei Cardinalis pravi & ambitiosi; according to the Will of the ambitious and corrupt* Cardinal Woolsey, (as *Buchanan* hath it.) That, the occasions of falling out betwixt potent Neighbours being frequent, Friends were to be sought out in any other Place. *Howsoever*, their ancient Ally (the *French*) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be lost for preparations to defend themselves. *Buch.*

These, though but Cavils of the more tumultuous sort being join'd to the rancour of others, prevail'd so with the heady Multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor Summon'd as soon as he came to *Scotland*, it was presently resolv'd, that he should raise a puissant Army.

Octob. 21. These being gather'd, march to a Wooden Bridge over *Twede*, near *Mul Rosse*, which leads to *England*; here the Duke pass'd over the greatest part of his Forces, intending the rest should follow; but because divers mutter'd against the causelesness and danger of this Attempt, he thought it his best Course, presently to bring them back again. Passing thence, he commanded Siege to be laid to the Castle of *Werke*, lately fortified by the *Earl* of *Surrey*. Some *French* here, that serv'd on the *Scotch* side, found means to enter the outer Court, in which the Cattel and Corn of the Neighbourhood in dangerous times were usually kept. But the *English*, using no other manner of Repulse, set fire only to the Hay and Straw there, and smoak'd out the *French*: Hereupon a Battery was planted against the Walls, and a sufficient Breach made; wherewith an Assault was given by the *French* and others, but being beaten back with the loss of many, and the Earl of *Surrey*, being with a great Army not far off, the Duke desisted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that Year. Shortly after which, by the mediation of Queen *Margaret*, a Truce was concluded. And thus our King quitted himself of the Troubles which *Francis* stirr'd against him in *Scotland*. Let us now look on *Ireland*, for there also *Francis* had his Projects. And *Tillet* sets down a Treaty between *Francis* and *James* Earl of *Desmond*, in *June* 1523. But, as it took no effect, by reason of *Francis* his Business in other Parts, so it hastned the second Troubles of the Earl of *Kildare*, who though he had freed himself of his Imprisonment in *England*, by the favour he got upon his Match with *Elizabeth Gray*, Sister to the Marquiss *Dorset*, and so was remitted home to his former Charge, (*Pierce Butler* being upon some Accusations put out) yet, being Kinsman to *Desmond*, he could not so behave himself, but that his Enemies found Arguments to traduce him; but of this in its Place.

Nov. 11. *A Truce between the two Nations.* *Tillet.* *June.* *Campion. Hist. Hi.*

While these things were doing, the Kingdom of *Denmark* suffer'd a great Change: For *Christierne* the Second, succeeding his Father *John*, *Anno* 1514. the *Swedes* not long after rebell'd, making *Steno Stura* their Head, who yet being slain in Battel, and the *Swedes* overcome, *Christierne* commands his Body to be taken up and burnt; which, with other Cruelties, made the *Swedes* take Arms again under *Gustavus Erixon*, whom they made their King, and separated themselves wholly from the Crown of *Denmark*: *Christierne* having thus lost *Sweden*, and incurr'd the hate of the *Danes* by his Tyrannical Government, fearing Conspiracy at home, and War from abroad, left his Kingdom to be invaded and taken by his Uncle *Frederick*, Duke of *Holst*; (whom the *Lubeckers* aided in the Enterprize) and, flying together with *Isabell*, Sister to *Charles* the Emperor, and his three Children, (one Son and two Daughters) as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went first to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders*, with a * small Train, came hither. This Misfortune yet did not hinder them from finding a reception worthy their Degree; our Queen being Aunt to his, taking particular compassion on them. After all manner of Royal Entertainment, therefore, for the space of about three Weeks that they stay'd, and divers rich Presents bestow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon some hopes given them of recovering their Kingdom, to depart hence again into *Flanders*.

Sleid. Com. 1514. *The Swedes recover their Liberty.* 1520. *Christierne K. of Denmark driven out of both the Kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark.* * June 15. *Comes into Engl.*

The Duke of *Suffolk*, being attended by the Lord *Montacute*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Ferrers*, Lord *Morney*, Lord *Sands*, Lord *Berkley*, Lord *Powys*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of six hundred Demi-lances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on Foot, and five thousand Bill-Men, besides two thousand and six hundred Prisoners, came to *Calais*. To these again the Duke added one thousand and seven hundred more, taken out of the Garrisons thereabouts. With this little Army he march'd into the Enemies Country, taking all Places that resisted him by the way. At * last *Florence d'Egmond*, *Count de Bure*, General

The Duke of Suffolk passes over to Calais with an Army. Aug. 24. * Sept. 20.

1523. to the Emperor, join'd his Forces; so that in all they made about Twenty thousand Men: Yet, as it was now about the latter end of *September*, and the Weather prov'd very unseasonable, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King *Henry* yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperialists said, it was Impregnable; and that for entring *France*, it were better to coast the River of *Soam*; which they did, their design being to come to a Battel, as being advertis'd, that the *French* had long since attended their coming. But finding no Forces in the Field, Octob. 20. they besieg'd *Bray* on the River *Soam*. In this Town, *Monsieur Antoine de Crequi*, *Seigneur de Pont-Dormy*, Commanded with a strong Garrison; but a Breach being made by our Men, and violently assaulted, *Antoine de Crequi*, having set fire on the Town, fled over the Bridge with the Men that remain'd, drawing some Boards after him; but our Men laying on other Planks, and getting over, chas'd him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little sav'd from the Fire, but some Cellars of Wine, which in that cold and wet Time, was a great Relief. From hence, passing over *Soam*, they march'd towards *Roye*, taking by the way some lesser Places. This Town being summon'd, and promising to yield, Sir *Richard Cornwall* with four hundred Men, was sent to take Possession of it. Thence the Army march'd towards *Montdidier*, where by the way, *Monsieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with some of our Horse scatter'd, put them to the worst. But at last, more of our Men coming, his Horse was kill'd under him, and he, mounting on another, was constrain'd to flie. *Monsieur de Barnieulles* and *de-Canaples*, yet stood the Shock, to favour the retreat of the rest; which Part, while they perform'd bravely, our Men overthrew and took them Prisoners, with some others of Note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monsieur de Rochebaron*, with about 1200 Men, commanded. But, after some four Hours battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yielded. The Duke with his Army had now pass'd the River of *Oyse*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*, without that he met with any notable Encounter. The *Parisians* hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the coming of *Monsieur de Vendosme* with some Forces, exempt them altogether from Fear. But the time of Year being far spent, and the Weather falling out to be so extreme cold, that almost all the Corn in *France* was frozen and spoil'd that Year, (as the *French* confess,) our Men were forc'd to return. Besides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries*, withdrew Pay from her Soldiers, and let all the Charge fall upon our King *Henry*.

Is within eleven Leagues of *Paris*.

Bellay. His Retreat.

It was not therefore misdoubt of any attempt of the *French*, (whatsoever they brag) they having no Army in the Field, but only the Cause formerly alledg'd, that made them retire. They took yet the Castle of *Bouchain*, near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet, together with the other Places, was presently recover'd by the *French*. Our King hearing now the Armies were dissolv'd, seem'd to be much incens'd; his intention being, to keep and fortify the Places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord *Montjoy* with six thousand Men, to reinforce the Troops. But, before the King's Pleasure could be certified to *France*, the Duke (who by reason of the foul Ways, left his great Ordnance in the Town of *Valenciennes*) was come, with the rest of his Army, to *Calais*; where he thought good to stay, till the King's Anger were appeas'd, by the representing of those important and necessary Causes that made him desist from any other Enterprize 1523. this Year, wherewith therefore the King at last being intirely satisfied, he was receiv'd into his former Grace and Favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies dissolv'd and ruin'd, resolves, in Person, to bring a third. For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the *French* Forces could command, and that together they had not their Pay in due time, he intended now to remedy these faults. But this Voyage succeeded worst of all. So little can intervening Accidents, but especially those of War, be prevented by Human Wisdom. Being on his way now as far as *Lyons*, he hears three Armies were preparing against him; one on the part of our King, for *Picardy*; another on the Emperor's part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*; and a third on the *Spanish* side, for *Fuenterabie*. That on the *English* side yet astonish'd him most, as suspecting he had given our King enough to do in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Therefore he stays at *Lyons*, and sends *Bonivet* before with the greatest part of his Forces, consisting of the flower of the Nobility of *France*; in which also *Richard de la Pole* (return'd now from *Scotland*) was; and reserves the rest for the most urgent occasions. Only he wanted *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, whom I find so considerable a Person at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to speak of him with much particularity. The causes of Discontentment (as the *French* Writers have it) were many.

Charles of Bourbon deserts to the Emperor.

That, being of great Blood and excellent Parts, he was excluded from the King's secret Counsel.

Duplein. The Causes of his Defection.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the time of *Louis* XII. *Francis* challeng'd him to a Duel, (which unkindness yet, *Francis* coming to the Crown, effaced, giving him the Place of Constable.)

That he was deny'd to have *Renee*, Sister to Queen *Claude*, when yet she desir'd to marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the King gave the Vantguard from him, being Constable, to the Duke of *Alencon*.

That having lay'd out much Money for the Wars of *Italy* out of his Purse, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd some Pensions and Rents, which were due to him for divers Years.

That a Process or Law-Suit was brought against him about the Dutchy of *Bourbon*, being Inheritance devolv'd to him, in Right of *Susan* his Wife, lately dead.

That *Louise* the King's Mother, persecuted him, because he refus'd to marry her, and was a Suitor to *Renee*.

That the Chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the sake of *Louise*, who was in greatest Authority.

These again being industriously fomented by *Adrian de Croy*, *Seigneur de Beaurain*, on the Emperor's part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of the Law, Resident for our King, with the Lady *Margaret*; and lastly, by Sir *John Russel*, who in disguis'd Habit often treated with him, (as I find by our Records) made him finally Revolt. Neither did our King make difficulty to appear herein. *Francis* having not only supported *Richard de la Pole*, but treated with *Desmond*; so that finally Conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon* to this effect.

Mary.

That he should marry Leonóra, *Sister to the Emperor, and Wife to* Emanuel *King of* Portugal, *lately dead.*

That he should be King of some part of France, *as soon as* Francis *was outed.*

The Articles between the Emperor and him,

That

1523.

That the Emperor should have Burgundy *and* Artois, *and our King* Normandy *and* Guyenne, *and the Title of King of* France; *and that, besides, he should renounce all the Claim the* French *pretend to* Italy.

This yet was not kept so close, but some notice of it came to *Francis*, who thereupon, with a singular Freedom, did visit him at *Molins*, feigning then to be Sick, and discover'd the Intelligence given him; promising yet, that all should be forgotten, upon his Confession, and assurance to serve him faithfully in his Wars; giving furthermore his Royal Word, that the Inheritance now in question should be restor'd, when it were by Law evicted. *Bourbon* thus surpriz'd, and counterfeiting his Weakness still, confess'd he was indeed sought to, but would never condescend to any Disloyalty. The King hereupon departed well satisfy'd in appearance; but as the Process or Law-suit went on, and some secret Guards were put on him; *Bourbon*, offended, escapes in a disguis'd Habit to *Genoua*: Whither the *Seigneur de Beaurain* came from the Emperor to offer him his choice, whether he would command the Imperial Army in *Italy*, or come to *Spain* (where *Charles* had newly extinguish'd a Rebellion in *Majorca*, and given order to besiege *Fuentarabie*.) But *Bourbon* chose to command the Army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply best with both *Princes*; to whom he was obilg'd (as I find by our Records,) to furnish five hundred Men at Arms, and ten thousand Foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But *Francis* had also other strong Oppositions: for though he labour'd to retain the *Venetians*; yet as that State consider'd *Italy* would be quieter when *Francisco Sforza* held *Milan*, than if it came under the Domination of the *French*, they easily abandon'd *Francis*.

Francis visits him.

He makes his Escape. Sept. Decemb.

Whereupon a League was enter'd into, betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, *Francisco Sforza*, *Julio de Medicis*, the *Florentines*, those of *Siena*, *Lucca*, and *Genoua*; and the *Venetians*; Place being left also for our King; by which it was concluded, among other things, that the *Venetians* should furnish six thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse, when *Francisco Sforza* in *Milan*, or the Emperor in *Naples*, were invaded.

Aug. 3. A League against *France*.

That the Emperor should do as much for them, in the like Case.

All Parts thus tending to War, *Bonivet* using much Diligence, march'd strait to *Milan*, where *Colonna* had retir'd himself; the Army of the *League* being not yet joyn'd. But *Galeazzo* Viscount of *Milan*, meeting and desiring him to stay, till he had rais'd a Tumult in the City (whereof he assur'd him in two or three Days) *Bonivet* lost his Opportunity; *Colonna* using that space to put the Town in such defence, as *Bonivet* retir'd. Yet so, as he forgot not to relieve the Castle of *Cremona*, the Garrison whereof was reduc'd only to eight Persons. Neither did he more of Importance (though *Colonna* now dy'd) but attended six thousand *Grisons*, and eight thousand *Swisses*; but as the *Grisons*, finding their Passage seiz'd on, return'd; so the *Swisses*, because they wanted only four hundred Horse to convoy them, (according to the Agreement made) refus'd to come to the *French*, when the Imperial Army, now united, was approaching. This made the *French* wade through the Water, to joyn with them. But *Bourbon*, and the Imperialists passing also, charg'd the *French* so, as *Bonivet* being hurt, 'escap'd; and the *Count de Saint Poll* and *Bayard* sustain'd the Shock. When *Bayard* having receiv'd a mortal Hurt, (whereof he dy'd, leaning on a Tree, with his Face turn'd to the Enemy) all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon also *Alessandria*, *Rhodes*, and other Places were rendred. At *Fuentarabie*, *Francis* had no better Fortune. For *Frauget* Governor thereof, being desirous to save his Goods, yielded the Place without much Constraint, towards the end of *Sept.* 1523. for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at *Lyons* publickly.

Aug. 11.

The French are beaten.

1523.

Notwithstanding all these Oppositions, yet *Francis* lost not his Native Courage, but proceeded in his Design for *Italy*. For as he knew the Army of the *League* had different Designs, he hop'd some Occasion or other would disunite them; neither did it trouble him that *Sforza* was put in the Possession of *Milan*: For he knew the Imperialists would hold a hand high and hard enough to disoblige him. Besides, he found that a Design the Emperor had on *Burgundy*, fail'd, for want of Money to pay certain *Lansquenets*, who thereupon were drawn to his Service.

Adrian's Death this while intervening, through Poyson, (as some have it,) Cardinal *Woolsey* hearing thereof, by a Letter dated 30 *September*, 1523. advertiseth the King hereof; adding further, that his not being at *Rome*, was the only Obstacle that could hinder him from obtaining that Dignity. Yet, that he thought none there present would be Elected, by reason of the Faction among them. Therefore he humbly intreated his Highness, that, since heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, he would now assist him. This Letter also was seconded by an other, dated *October* the first, desiring the King to write with his own Hand to the Emperor, to this purpose. Notwithstanding all which Endeavours, he being, about two Months after, inform'd that *Julio de Mediči* was made Pope, by the Name of *Clement* the Seventh, thought fit, for Justification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the Business was not yet so clearly carry'd, but that many of the Cardinals concurr'd on him; though, by reason of his Absence, and the dangerous State of *Italy*, (which requir'd present Remedies,) they insisted on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal, to send to *John Clerk* now Bishop of *Bath*, Secretary *Pace*, and *Thomas Annibal* Doctor of Law, and Master of the Rolls, then Resident at *Rome*, a Dispatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the Disaffection he had ever shew'd to the *French*, but to give publick Testimonies thereof according to the greatness of that Power which now was in him. The *Cardinal* also, by a particular Dispatch, desir'd *Richard Pace* to procure, that his *Legantine* Power might be amplified; protesting that, by reason of the King's Prerogative, and other Causes, it was not a thousand Ducats yearly to him: Yet, if that his Authority and Faculties might be enlarg'd, that it should be thankfully acknowledg'd. All which *Clement* condescended unto; and the *Legantine* Power, which *Adrian* granted only from five Years to five Years, was now (by a new Example) given him for Term of Life, *Jan.* 9. 1524.

Sept. 14. Pope *Adrian* dies, suppos'd to be poyson'd. Sept. 30.

Octob. 1.

Woolsey disappointed of the Papacy a second time. Nov. 19.

Decemb.

Woolsey made Legate for Life. March 22, 1522.

Thus had *Woolsey* (to comfort him for his Repulse in *Rome*,) a kind of Papal Authority in *England*; whereof, also, he made the uttermost use. Though, while amongst other Visitations, he would needs visit the *Freres Observants*, he found himself resisted; which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having desir'd him parcicularly to spare them.

Aug.

1523. Skirmiſhes in *France* and *Scotland*. *Hall.*

While theſe greater Exploits in *France* and *Scotland* paſs'd thus, many brave Actions with ſmall Numbers were perform'd in the Confines of the *Engliſh* and *French* Pale, inſomuch that a Company of Adventurers there, nick-nam'd the *Crakers*, grew very famous thereby; till, being at laſt oppreſs'd by the Count *Dan-martine*, who with one thouſand

1524. five hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot, aſſail'd them, being only one hundred ſeventy five Foot, and twenty five Horſe, they took their End: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the laſt Man. The like Feats alſo were done, be-

Decemb. 1514. tween the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* on either ſide, ſome of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as theſe Wars in ſeveral Countries, drave the King to an exceſſive Charge, ſo, in *October* this Year, it was requir'd, from all Men worth forty Pound, that the whole Subſidy, granted in Parliament, and payable in four Years, ſhould be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire Payment.

This the Commons imputed to the *Cardinal*, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity would ever prove a ſufficient Protection for him againſt the Hate of the People. Therefore he doubted not to be the Author of many raſh Counſels, upon pretence only of furniſhing the King's Neceſſities; neither did he believe, that when he had precipitated the Royal Authority to violent and dangerous Courſes, himſelf ſhould fall: As thinking his Place in the *Church* ſo high, as would give him leave ever to look ſecurely upon any Ruin, ſome Arguments whereof appear'd in his deſign to build two Colleges, one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich* (where he was born) at the Price of throwing down certain Monaſteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this Uſe. The Deſign for the College of *Ipſwich*, was to erect only a Grammar-School, to train up the Youth till they were ready for the Univerſity; but that in *Oxford* (call'd firſt *Cardinal's*, then *King's* College, now *Chriſt's Church*) was nobler; for the Building was intended moſt ample and magnificent, as the Foundations and firſt Lines demonſtrate, the Number of Students, Profeſſors, &c. great; as appears by a Catalogue found among our Records, and inſerted here.

Woolſey builds a College at Ipſwich, and Chriſt's Church in Oxford.

The Number of Students and Profeſſors.

Decanus.
Subdecanus.
Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis,—} omnes Studiis
Quadraginta Canonici ſecundi Ordinis,} incibitura.
Treſdecim Presbyteri Conductitii,} omnes Divinorum
Duodecim Clerici Conductitii,—} Celebrationi quo-
Sexdecim Choriſtæ,——} tidie inſervituri.

Profeſſores Collegii & Academiæ publici.
Sacræ Theologiæ.——Medicinæ.
Juris Canonici. ——Artium Liberalium.
Juris Civilis.——Humaniorum Literarum.

Profeſſores Privati & Domeſtici
Philoſophiæ.——Sophiſtriæ.
Logices. ——Humaniorum Literarum.
Cenſores Morem & Eruditionis, *Quatuor.*
Præfecti Ærarii, *Tres.*
Vacantes colligendis Redditibus, *Quatuor.*
Miniſtri Communes Collegii, *Viginti, in re.*
Oeconomicâ prædictis ſubſervituri.

Summa totius numeri, Clxxxvi.

Aſſignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summæ, Partim in excipiendis Convivio extraneis inſumendæ; Partim in Eleemoſynas ſingulis anni quartis erogando. Præter ſumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quæ in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, & ſunt neceſſaria.

1523.

The Dean.
Subdean.
Sixty Superior Canons,} all to reſide at their Studies.
Forty Petty Canons,}
Thirteen Chaplains,}
Twelve Singing-Men,} for the Chapel Service.
Sixteen Choriſters,}

Publick Profeſſors of the College and Univerſity.
Of Divinity.——Phyſick.
Canon Law. ——Liberal Arts.
Civil Law. ——Critical Learning.

Private Lecturers and Tutors to read
Philoſophy.——Sophiſtry.
Logick. ——Critical Learning.
Four Cenſors to inquire into the Students Manners and Studies.
Three Burſers.
Four Rent-gatherers.
Twenty Inferior Officers and College Servants.
In all 186.

Beſides whoſe Salaries, a conſiderable Sum of Money was yearly to be allowed, partly for keeping Hoſpitality, and entertaining Strangers; partly for Charity, to be quarterly diſtributed: As alſo for Horſes, Travelling-Charges, and other Neceſſaries, which in ſo large a Family, cannot but be very many every Day.

I find alſo, that about 1524, he ſought in *Italy* and elſewhere, for able Men to be his Readers. Among whom at this time the Excellent *John Ludovicus Vives* (a *Spaniard*) was ſent to him to be Profeſſor of Eloquence in *Oxford*. And, for Books, he ſent to have the rarer ſort copy'd out of the Pope's Library.

He ruins ſeveral Religious Houſes, to anſwer the Expence.

Theſe ſo great Preparations, made the *Cardinal* uſe many rigorous Means of getting *Moneys*, as by Viſitation of Religious Houſes, &c. and at laſt by the Ruin of divers. To perform this yet, he was to obtain the Conſent of the Pope and his King. The Reaſons repreſented to the Pope, were, I ſuppoſe, of this Nature:

The Reaſons he gave the Pope for it; Printing the occaſion of Schiſm.

That his Holineſs could not be ignorant what divers Effects this new Invention of *Printing* had produc'd. For as it had brought in and reſtor'd Books and Learning, ſo together it hath been the occaſion of thoſe *Sects* and *Schiſms* which daily appear'd in the World, but chiefly in *Germany*; where Men began now to call in queſtion the preſent Faith and Tenets of the *Church*, and to examine how far Religion is departed from its *Primitive* Inſtitution. And, that which particularly was moſt to be lamented, they had exhorted Lay and Ordinary Men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were ſuffer'd, beſides all other Dangers, the common People at laſt might come to believe that there was not ſo much uſe of the Clergy. For if Men were perſwaded once they could make their own Way to God, and that Prayers in their Native and Ordinary Language might pierce Heaven, as well as *Latin*; how much would the Authority of the *Maſs* fall? How prejudicial might this prove unto all our Eccleſiaſtical Orders?

He laments that ordinary Men were exhorted to read the Scripture.

That there were many things to be look'd to in theſe *Innovators*, but nothing ſo much as this; ſince it was clear, that the keeping of the Myſteries of Religion in the hands of Prieſts, had been a principal means in all Ages, of making the Prieſthood Sacred and Venerable. That theſe Myſteries and Rites therefore, as the greateſt Secret and *Arcanum* of Church-Government, ſhould be preſerv'd. Nay, that the Clergy ſhould rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to

An Inſtance of Prieſt-Craft.

Religion ſhould be kept a Myſtery.

Cabala

1523. *Cabala it ſelf*, than permit that all the Parts of Religious Worſhip, though ſo obvious, as to fall *eaſily* within common Underſtandings, ſhould be *without* their Explication; ſince it might be well queſtion'd, whether the Eſſence of Religion, (conſiſting in the Doctrine of good Life and Repentance) might be held ſufficient alone to exerciſe even the moſt vulgar Capacities; unleſs frequent Traditions concerning former Times, and ſuch obſcure Paſſages as need Interpretation, did concur. In which State of Things therefore, nothing remain'd ſo much to be done, as to prevent further Apoſtacy. For this purpoſe, ſince *Printing* could not be put down, it were beſt to ſet up Learning againſt Learning; and, by introducing able Perſons to diſpute, to ſuſpend the Layity, betwixt Fear and Controverſies. This, at worſt yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weigh'd by his Holineſs, it was not doubted but he would adviſe, and commend to all *Chriſtian* Princes, the erecting of new *Colleges* and Seminaries for the Advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many Favourers of *Luther's* Sect, but eſpecially of *Zuinglius*, did appear. Yet becauſe his Holineſs, by our Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, had divers times been inform'd of the great Expences of his King in the Wars he had made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the beſt Courſe to deſire any Money out of his Purſe. That therefore he had *thought of another expedient, which he humbly* offer'd to his Holineſs; which was, that in regard the number of Monaſteries was greater in this Kingdom, than that there could be found Learned Men to ſupply them; that it were not amiſs to diminiſh the one a little, to increaſe the other. That as this would take away the Objection of *Ignorance*, wherewith the new *Sectaries* in *Germany* had ſo much branded the *Clergy*, ſo it would furniſh able Perſons to reſiſt their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the *Roman* Church. Therefore he would be an humble Suppliant to his Holineſs, to give him leave to throw down a few ſuperfluous Monaſteries, and to imploy the Revenues of them to the building of two Colleges; one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich*; and to believe, that all things being rightly conſidered, the fall of thoſe few, might be a means to keep up the reſt, eſpecially ſince, in this Kingdom, the number of them was thought exceſſive.

Reaſons for ſuppreſſing them to the King. To the King; as he needed not to uſe thoſe *Motives*, ſo he diſcreetly conceal'd ſuch as might diſcover the Secrets of Eccleſiaſtical Government. For certainly, what Fault ſoever might be objected to the *Cardinal*, he ſeem'd ſtill a devout Servant to his Religion, as aſpiring thereby unto the *Papacy*. Therefore, he ſaid little more unto the King, than that it was fit ſo learned a Prince ſhould advance Learning, and maintain that *Faith*, whereof the Pope had made him the *Defender*. For this purpoſe, he ſhould adviſe him to Found more *Colleges*. Yet becauſe his Wars and other Occaſions had ſo exhauſted his Treaſury, he would ask no more, than that the Care thereof ſhould be committed to him; who, if his *Highneſs* ſo thought fit, would only ſuppreſs ſome little and unneceſſary Monaſteries, and imploy the Revenues to this Uſe. King *Henry* alſo conſidering, that if, for his urgent Occaſions, he were neceſſitated at any time to ſeize on the other Religious Houſes, he might this way diſcover how the People would take it, grants his Requeſt. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the *Cardinal*, gave way to this Suppreſſion, that Overture was firſt made,

K. *Henry* approves of it as a good Example for him.
The Pope conſents to it.

which being purſu'd afterwards by the King's ſole Authority, became the final Ruin of all Monaſteries. 1524.

Clement the Seventh hearing of the Preparations of theſe great Princes, had ſent in the beginning of this Year an Expreſs *Legat*, which was an Archbiſhop of *Capua*, with Inſtructions to procure an *Union* betwixt them againſt the *Turk*. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the ſame Difficulties, he was forc'd to return without other Satisfaction, than a Particular of the Demands by our King made, and the Reaſons of them; which our Cardinal promis'd alſo to certifie unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular Diſpatch to *Rome*, he wiſh'd our Agents there, to ſhew an Inclination to Peace; reſerving, nevertheleſs, one Ear open to the Exploits of *Bourbon*; whoſe proſperous Succeſs in *France* (he ſaid) might be ſuch as to alter the Caſe. Howſoever, that the place of the Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himſelf offered to come in Perſon. March.

This while (in the beginning of this Year) the Princes of *Germany* held a *Diet* at *Noremberg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) ſent a Legate Cardinal *Campegius*; much complaining of their *Poſtulata* or *Gravamina* the laſt Year, ſince many Points in it ſmelt of Hereſy. About *April* alſo the Emperor from *Spain* ſends to the Princes at the *Diet*, deſiring them to ſee the Decree made at *Wormes* againſt *Luther* (1521.) to be obſerv'd. (Thus to comply with the Pope, it ſeems, whom he deſir'd to retain on his ſide againſt *Francis*.) The Princes nevertheleſs at the concluſion of this *Diet*, made a Decree, that as ſoon as might be, the Pope by the conſent of the Emperor ſhould call a Council in *Germany*; and, in the mean time, things to be ripen'd for a Peace in Religion, &c. This ſecond urging of a Council (for it was preſs'd alſo the laſt Year to *Adrian*) provok'd much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our King's Zeal to the *Roman* See, and particular Hate of *Luther*, ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this Behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he ſent him a Roſe of Gold, (conſecrated and curiouſly wrought) by *Thomas Hannibal*, (who now return'd) as alſo a *Bull* ſeal'd with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defenſor Fidei*.

Jan. Pope *Clement* VII. ſays the Articles of Grievances ſent from *Germany* ſmell of Hereſy. April. May 8. 1521. April 18. The *German* Diet decree that a *Council* ſhould be call'd. May 16. May 19.

In the mean time, by frequent Diſpatches, the Cardinal, in our King's Name, urg'd *Bourbon* to undertake his Expedition into *France*; to which purpoſe our King was to allow him an hundred thouſand Crowns a Month. *Bourbon*, on the other ſide, requir'd that our King, or his Lieutenant, ſhould at the ſame time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promis'd. When (having given Oath to acknowledge *Henry* the Eighth King of *France*) he advanceth towards *Provence*, *June* 24. (on the Emperor's part *Monſieur de Beaurain* attending him; and on our King's, *Richard Pace*;) and in the beginning of *July* enters *France*; where, proclaiming Liberty to the Common People who willingly came in, he took divers Towns. Nevertheleſs, his Courſe was ſtaid. For, although he had a Fleet of the Emperor's to ſecond him, coaſting along the Shoar, to bring Victuals to the Army: Yet the *French* Navy being too ſtrong, kept them off, and ſo intercepted their Proviſion. The Supplies alſo of Money to be ſent him by the Emperor and King of *England* were ſlackned; for each of theſe Princes fear'd leſt the other ſhould reap the fruit of this Expedition; and *Charles de la Noy* the Viceroy of *Naples* was thought, beſides, to be willing that *Bourbon* ſhould be repuls'd, as one whom he envy'd, for being made Lieutenant in

Bourbon owns K. *Henry* to be King of *France*. June 24. July 2. He enters that Kingdom.

1524. his place. Yet, for all this, *Bourbon* lays Siege to *Marſeilles*, but in vain; for it being ſtoutly de-
Aug. 19. fended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*, *Francis* alſo with a great Power coming to releive it, at the ſame time *Bourbon's* Soldiers mutiny'd for
He retires. want of Pay, (although Sir *John Ruſſel* had newly brought twenty thouſand Pound Sterling from our
Sept. 27. King;) the Siege broke up, and the Duke embarking his Cannon, retir'd to *Genoua* with ſome Loſs, the Prince of *Aurange* being taken Priſoner there.

Octob. It was now mid-*October*, and a Seaſon, in all probability, not to begin any great Enterprize. Nevertheleſs, *Francis*, who had left *Claude* his Wife
July. in *July* laſt, and left *Louiſe* his Mother Regent of *France* during his Abſence, purſu'd his Deſign to conquer *Milan*; contrary to the Advice of the Pope (who perſwaded Peace) and of his Counſellors; (who at leaſt adviſed him not to go in
Francis I. his Expedition into Italy. Perſon.) *Charlas de la Noy* hearing this, puts *Antonio de Leyva* in *Pavia*, with twelve thouſand *Spaniards*, and ſix thouſand *Lanſquenets*; and with the reſt of his Army haſtens to *Milan*. But as he found the Citizens there not much affection'd to him, and ſome of the *French* Vantguard was approach'd, he left the Town, and together with the Duke of *Bourbon* and *Ferdinand d' Avalos* Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, with their Forces, retir'd to
The French enter Milan. *Lodi*. Whereupon *Michael Antoine* Marquiſs of *Saluces*, and *Louis Seigneur de Trimouille* enter'd *Milan*. *Francis* being preſently inform'd hereof, advances his Army; yet ſo, as according to an
Novemb. Francis beſieges Pavia. ancient Military Rule, he would not leave ſo ſtrong a Place as *Pavia* behind him. But the obſerving hereof coſt him dear. While he laid Siege to *Pavia*, the Imperialiſts were but in an ill
Novemb. Eſtate; the Pope at moſt ſtanding as Neuter; the *Florentines* Friends but in appearance only; the *Venetians* excuſing themſelves, as ſuſpecting the Emperor, in that he would not ſign the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Franciſco Sforza*; and our King, inſtead of giving more Money, requiring that which was due to him, (being 133000 Crowns yearly, in regard of the Penſion withheld by *Francis*,) which yet being refus'd by *Charles*, made him averſe. Beſides, he conſider'd the Deſigns of the Emperor were only on *Italy*. *Francis*, on the other ſide, had a flouriſhing Army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand, whereof yet the moſt part were Mercenaries and Voluntiers; and therefore particularly mention'd by me, as not remembring to have read in any Hiſtory, that ſo many of this kind (being irregular, and properly under no Command) ſhould be admitted to the hazard of diſordering a whole Army. And for the other part, being Mercenaries, he had found them ſlow, wilful, of ſmall truſt, and oftentimes venal; though it cannot be deny'd, that thoſe whom *Francis* in particular now us'd, have been reputed in all Times a valiant conſtant Nation. All which I have the rather obſerv'd, that the Succeſs which *Francis* had not long after, might ſeem leſs ſtrange unto the Reader. The Nobility that came with him were indeed principal Perſons, *Henry d' Albret* (the Titular King of *Navarre*,) the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Longue-ville*, *Alancon*, and *Albany*, (who, the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon promiſe made him by the Nobility, that nothing ſhould be innovated there, till his Return) The Counts of St. *Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *L'Aval*, the Marſhals of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Montmorency*, the Admiral *de Bonivet* (chief Author of this Counſel,) *le Seigneur de Fleuranges*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Buiſſy d'Ambois*, *Richard de la Pole*, and many other brave Gentlemen.

Novemb. The Manner which *Francis* us'd in beſieging *Pavia*, ſeem'd to take up more Time than ſtood with the Seaſon, (being now Winter) and the 1524.
Advantage he had over the Imperialiſts, who were neither in Number nor Vertue ſufficient to repel him. This leiſure the Pope made uſe of to mediate a Peace, by the means of the Biſhop of *Verona*, and (when that could not be done) to keep *Francis* yet in good Terms with him, promiſing him, therefore Indifferency at leaſt, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as he conceiv'd him the ſtronger. But, finding Bellay.
that the Treaty of Accord took no Effect, was The Pope ſides with the French.
perſwaded by the *French* Ambaſſadors (reſident with him) to make a League with *Francis*. The Decemb.
Perſwaſions the *French* us'd, were Promiſes, and certain Propoſitions of Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as ſhould be very advantagious to both. And thus at laſt the Pope, by the ſecret Intervention of *Jo. Matthei* the Biſhop of *Verona*, made Peace with the *French*, encouraging them together (ſaith *Bellay*) to attempt *Naples*; which yet the Pope diſſembled ſtrenuouſly, both with our King's and the Emperor's Agents; though, when he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was forc'd to it by the *French*. Yet, it may be, the Jan. 1525.
Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a Meſſage which came from *England*; for I find in our Records, that not long after the time that *Francis* paſs'd into *Italy*, there came from *France* into *England*, on *Louiſe* the Regent's part, one *John Joachin*, a *Genoueſe*, whoſe coming (as things then ſtood) was much ſuſpected by the Imperialiſts. And the more, that he kept himſelf Hall.
cloſe, and repair'd every Day to the *Cardinal*, and conſulted with him only; but ſo much was diſcover'd, as the Pope's Agent here, by a Letter, adviſ'd his Holineſs to make Peace with *Francis* in time; which the Pope did (although to his Loſs, as will appear in its place.) And now *Francis*, not fearing the Imperialiſts, ſends the Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about twelve thouſand Men, againſt them of *Lucca* and *Siena*, for the Pope's Service; and after, to attempt *Naples*, where all the Places were unprovided of ſufficient Garriſon. Beſides, he had ſent the Marquiſs *de Saluces* with four thouſand Men to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoua*. Again, three thouſand *Italians* (their Commander *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt) diſbanded, and ſix thouſand *Griſons*, hearing of ſome Troubles in their Country, return'd; ſo that his Forces were much weaken'd. Which *Charles de la Noy* underſtanding, took the leſs care to defend *Naples*; as believing the *French* unable to ſecond the Duke of *Albany*. And, therefore, gave order only to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Country the beſt he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany*, and rais'd twelve thouſand Men.

During theſe Paſſages in *Italy*, the Affairs The Affairs of Scotland.
of *Scotland* ſeem'd to change Form; for the Duke of *Albany* being now ſo far diſtant from them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland* (notwithſtanding the Promiſe exacted of them by the ſaid Duke, when he departed, (which was in *May*
1524,) promiſing to return in *September* next) May.
inclin'd to the Queen's ſide. So that preſently after they began to conſult of making Peace with *England*; which becauſe they knew King *Henry* would never grant, as long as they acknowledg'd the Duke of *Albany* Governor, (for ſo he had lately intimated) they agreed to abrogate his Authority, and to inveſt the young King in the exerciſe of his Regal Power. To this purpoſe, the Queen of *Scots* wrote to her Brother King *Henry* to aſſiſt his Nephew herein; who ſent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas* late Earl of *Surrey*, now (ſince his Father's * Death, May.
much lamented for his great Vertue) Duke of Stow.
Norfolk,

1524. *Norfolk*, and the Treasurer of *England*, to procure the Liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, assisted by the Earls of *Arran*, *Lenox*, and divers of the chief Nobility, brought the young King from *Sterling*, (where the Governor had appointed him to reside till his return) to *Edenburgh*, where he undertook the Administration of the Kingdom, *July* 29. Whereupon Allegiance was sworn to him, and the Duke of *Albany* was *Exauctorate*; yet not with so general a Vote, but that the two Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Aberdeen*, dislik'd it; alledging both the Nonage of the King, and the Promise of the Nobility to the Governor, of not Innovating till *September*. Upon this they are both Confin'd, but shortly restor'd to their Liberty. Our King soon after sent Ambassadors, *Thomas Magnus* (a Civil Lawyer and a Priest,) and *Ratcliffe* (a Gentleman) to reside in *Scotland*; commanding from thenceforth all Hostility to cease. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which, the *Scotch* Ambassadors were to be sent into *England*, for the concluding of a firm Peace. Also (for establishing the young King's Power) he offer'd to maintain (a while) a Guard for him of two hundred Persons. But this good Correspondence was a little clouded; for while these things were in hand, the Earl of *Anguis* and his Brother *George Douglass*, formerly Banish'd (as we have shew'd) into *France*, found means to escape into *England*. The Earl desir'd our King's aid for his Restitution; but the Queen of *Scots*, who retain'd her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly cast an Eye on *Henry Stewart*, (whom afterwards she marry'd) labour'd the contrary; remonstrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his coming to *Scotland* at this time, would trouble the State. For the Earl of *Arran*, whose Power and Reputation was great, being Enemy to the said *Anguis*, she said would oppose him. But our King suspecting by some Actions, that *Arran* was *French*, suffer'd, about *October*, the Earl to enter *Scotland*, to counterpoise him; taking of him, at his departure, a Promise or Obligation; 1. To procure and maintain the young King's Authority, to the exclusion of the Duke of *Albany*. 2. To seek to be reconcil'd to the Queen with all Humility. 3. To make friendship with *Arran*, as long as he maintains the young King, and averts him from *France*; whereupon also, our King promis'd, that if he did contrary, he would maintain *Anguis* against the said *Arran*, &c. Thus was *Anguis* restor'd to his Country for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambassadors appointed to be sent to King *Henry* for Peace, were in danger to be staid: Yet I find, that *December* 19 they came, being *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Cassilis*, &c. and intreated Peace, and the Princess *Mary* as Wife for their King. Our King gave hope of both; (for I find, that both the Emperor and *Francis*, made overtures of Matches for King *James* at this time.) Howbeit, when our Commissioners in private Conference treated of Peace, and the Princess, it was upon these Conditions; 1. *That they should renounce the League with* France, *and instead thereof make the like with* England. 2. *That the young King, till he be ripe for Marriage, shall be brought up in* England. It seems yet the *Scotch* Ambassadors Commission was not large enough to treat these Points; so *Decemb.* 30. *Cassilis* (leaving his Fellows here) goes to *Scotland*; and shortly after (*March* 19.) returns to King *Henry* with the Resolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen *Margaret*, shewing, that the Lords of *Scotland* will be content to relinquish the *French*, so that the Match with the Princess *Mary* may be made sure; but they requir'd that

[Left margin notes: *Buch.* — July 29. Aug. 20. — *Buch.* Sept. — July. — Octob. 4. — The *Scots* desire the Princess *Mary* in Marriage, for their King. Dec. 19. — Dec. 23. — On what Conditions to be allow'd. *Hall.* — *Lesle.* — Dec. 30 March 19. 1525.]

the Promise, whereby she was engag'd to the Emperor, be first discharg'd. Our King hearing this, said, *He would confer with the Emperor about it*; and so nothing being concluded but a Truce for three Years and an half, the *Scotch* Ambassadors departed in *April*.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, dispatch'd hither *Adolpho de Borgona*, *Senior de Beures*, Admiral of *Flanders*, with the President of *Malines*, to require, that the Princess *Mary* might be delivered to him, promising hereupon to declare her Empress, and make her Governess of the *Low-Countries*; her Dower also was requir'd to be paid presently, and that our King in Person would the next Year invade *France*. But before our King could give a perfect Answer to these Particulars, News was brought of the Battel of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis* Prisoner; the manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a Place easie enough to take, had either the *French* press'd it roundly, or a less valiant Captain than *Antonio de Leyva* defended it. But while *Francis*, as being confident he was Master of the Field, drew the Siege out in length, he gave not only time to the Imperialists to join an Army, but at last fail'd miserably in his Enterprize. The Advice he approv'd, after a Breach and Assault made in vain, was to open a way to the Town, on the one side of the *Tesin*; for, as that River divided itself into two Channels, whereof one pass'd by the Walls, (which had no defence on that part but the River, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this Current, and so to leave the Walls bare. But one rainy Night alone so swell'd the River, that all the Damms and Works which the *French* had rais'd, were carried away by the violence of the Stream. His ablest Counsellors hereupon wish'd him to raise the Siege, and give place to the Season. Besides, as the *Imperialists* with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he should be enclos'd betwixt the Town, (wherein was a strong Garrison) and the Forces now approaching. It was the Even of St. *Matthias* in *February*, 1525, (being the Day of the Emperor's Nativity, when the *Marquiss de Guasto* leading the Vantguard, the Marquiss of *Pescara* the Battail, and *Charles de la Noy*, accompany'd with *Bourbon*, the Rereward, came in good Order near the *French* Army. Their Resolution was to weary the *French* all Night with Alarms and Skirmishes, and towards Morning to fall on them with the whole Army; so that nothing of Importance was intended till full Day-light; when *Francis* pointing his Ordnance against them, so pierced their Squadrons, that they were forced to retire to a more covert Place. *Francis* thinking this was a Flight, draws his Army out of his strong Intrenchments into an open Place, with intention to pursue them. The Commanders of the Imperialists having thus obtain'd what they desir'd (for they wanted both Money and Victuals to subsist any long time,) encourag'd their Soldiers to fight, telling them, that *though a King was present, there was not therefore more Danger, but more Honours and Riches propos'd to them. That they should but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an assur'd Victory.* The Soldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the necessity they were in,) resolutely promis'd to go on. The Marquiss of *Pescara* having advanc'd a little to discover the Enemy, return'd; and, with a chearful Countenance, turning towards the *Spaniards*, told them, that *be must not conceal from them the cruel command the* French *King had given, that no Spaniard should be receiv'd into Mercy.* This being a meer Invention of the

[Right margin notes: 1524. Truce for three Years. — April. — March. 1525. The Emperor claims the Princess *Mary*. — The Battle of Pavia. Jan. — Feb. 24. — *Bellay.*]

1525. the Marquiss, so kindled their Courage, that they requir'd the Signal, promising for the rest, to sell their Lives as dear as they could. Herewith then a furious Battel began; in which yet, because the Mercenaries, and especially the *Swiss*, did not shew their accustom'd Valour, all the charge fell on the few *French* that were present. None yet fought more bravely among them than the King; insomuch, that with his own Hand (as his Enemies did afterwards confess) he kill'd the Marquiss of *Civita de St. Angelo*; which Example so encourag'd the rest of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in so little number. During this brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down some part of the Walls of *Pavia*, issued forth with the best of his Garrison, and fell on the backs of the *French* then fighting. This wholly routed the Army, insomuch that all now began to fly. The King had his Horse kill'd under him, whose fall so engag'd his Leg, that he could not recover himself. In this posture one *Juan de Urbieta*, a *Guipuscoan*, seiz'd on him. But the King declaring himself, and saying, *he yielded to the Emperor*; *Urbieta*, without offering any Violence, receiv'd him as his Prisoner. The King's Leg yet lay under his Horse; *Urbieta* thinking by this means he was sure from escaping, runs to succour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being kill'd, desiring the King only to take notice, that he wanted two Teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him first. With that one *Diego d' Avila* came, to whom the King also naming himself, and saying, *he was already yielded to the Emperor*, *Diego* demanded, *whether he had given any Gage thereof?* The King saying, *None was requir'd*, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword, (which was bloody) and his *Gauntlet*, and therewithal deliver'd him from his Horse, by the help of one *Pita*, who, for his pains, took his Order of St. *Michael* from him. This so much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himself, he offer'd a great reward to the Soldier to let it alone, which yet the Soldier deny'd, saying, *he would carry it to the Emperor*. The King being now on Foot, divers Soldiers came in, and as they observ'd some Contention among those that took him, would, without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monsieur de la Motte* (or *Pomperante*, as the *French* have it a *French-man*) coming by chance thither, kneel'd to him, and kissing his Hand with all Reverence, made them know how rich a Prize they had got amongst *them*; the King yet caus'd him to rise, saying only, *that he should behave himself like that Man he had ever esteem'd him*. Herewith, a great concourse flocking in, the King was perswaded to take off his Helmet; which was no sooner done, but every one took a part of a great Pennache (or Feather) he wore thereon; others more presumptuously, cut pieces out of a Coat of Arms or *Sobraveste*, he wore over his Harness. At all which this magnanimous King shew'd no other Countenance than that of Scorn, as knowing sufficiently, that in despight of Fortune, his Valour had made him comply with his Dignity. The chance of those who deserted the King was various; many were kill'd, others, thinking to pass the *Tesin*, were drown'd, among whom six thousand Mercinaries (the most part *Swiss*) are accounted. *Henry d' Albret*, thinking to save himself by Flight, was taken. And now the Report being general, that the King was made Prisoner, divers *French*, who might have escap'd, out of a singular piety to their King, returned, and yielded themselves, saying, *they would not return to* France, *and leave their King behind them*. The first of the chief Commanders that came in, was the Marquiss *de Pescara*; after him, *Guasto*, and others; at last *Bourbon*, being Arm'd *Cap-a-pe*, and with his Sword all bloody in his Hand, comes towards the King; who hereupon demanded his Name: Being told, he stept (if one may believe the *Spaniard* my Author) a little behind the Marquiss *de Pescara*. He also perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and (after he had told him that the King was there) demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon* without more ado surrendred, and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, cast himself on his Knees, and humbly demanded his Royal Hand to kiss; which yet the King refus'd. Hereupon *Bourbon* with Tears in his Eyes, said, *Sir, if you you would have follow'd my Council, you should not have needed to be in this Estate, nor so much blood of the* French *Nobility shed as stains the Fields of* Italy. The King hereupon turning his Eyes to Heaven, now reply'd only, *Patience, since Fortune hath fail'd me*. Further Discourse was hindred by the Marquiss of *Pescara*, who desiring the King to mount on Horse-back, conducted him towards *Pavia*. But the King intreating he might not be kept Prisoner in a Town before which he had lately so puissant an Army, they brought him to a Monastery adjoining. *Henry d' Albert*, the Comte of St. *Paul*, and divers other Prisoners, being deliver'd to several Custodies. From hence the King was remov'd to a strong Castle call'd *Piciquiton*, and there kept with a great Guard of *Spaniards*, under *Hernando d'Alancon*, till other Order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this Victory, a Messenger was sent, to acquaint him with the Success. In the mean time *Francis* was us'd with all respect. For more ostentation whereof, *Charles de la Noy* brought (before Supper) the Bason, the Marquiss of *Guasto* the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towel; which Courtesie he requited, by inviting them to sit at the Table with him. After which, requiring some Money might be furnish'd to him for Play, he pass'd away the Time the most chearfully he could.

Francis I. Bravery. — French Routed. — Sandov. — French K. taken Prisoner. — 1525. — Sandov. — Bourbon waits on him.

Charles was at *Madrid* when this great News came to him. The sense he shew'd of it, was such as became a wise Prince, and one that was not himself exempted from a Quartan. He compar'd the afflictions of Fortune with those of Nature, and found the difference so little, that he thought himself to want even the advantages of Liberty as much as a Prisoner. For, if he consider'd *Francis* as in the custody of his *Guards*, he look'd upon himself as in the *custody* of his Physicians, and confin'd to his Chamber by a stronger Hand than *that* which held *Francis*. Moreover, he said, *It was not for Christians to rejoice for their Victories against each other, but only against Infidels*. March 10. Charles's Behaviour on this News.

Our King was not advertis'd hereof sooner than the Ninth of *March*. When a Messenger from the Princess *Margarite*, Governess of the *Low-Countries*, inform'd him of all the Particulars. *Charles de la Noy*, not omitting also to * write to him thereof (as I find by our Records.) This being brought to Council, it was thought fit the King should comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving some publick demonstration of Joy. Therefore the King going to St. *Paul's* and causing a Mass to be sung in a more solemn manner than ordinary, seem'd to celebrate the Victory, though inwardly not so well satisfy'd thereof. For, as he consider'd *Charles* grown now to more Greatness than stood either with reason of State, or due terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to send immediately Ambassadors into *Spain*, with

March 9. How it was receiv'd in England. — * Feb. 24. — Mar. 22. — Ambassadors sent to Spain.

1525.

Record.

His Inheritance in *France* demanded.

with charge to repreſent unto the Emperor, how that this War being made at a common Charge, it was reaſonable the Fruit ſhould redound to both. That the part his Highneſs pretended to, was Inheritance in *France*, which he deſir'd (upon ſome fitting Treaty with *Francis*) might be reſtor'd. To which his Highneſs doubted not but the Emperor would afford his beſt Aſſiſtance; as well becauſe it was juſt in it ſelf, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be obtain'd by fair means, to require the Emperor, by vertue of the ſaid Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make War in *France*, wherein his Highneſs would likewiſe concur. Neither could his Highneſs doubt, that the Emperor would refuſe to embrace this Motion, ſince the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for, as his Highneſs was purpos'd to ratifie and make good the intended Match betwixt the ſaid Emperor and the Princeſs *Mary*, who was Heir not only to the Crown of *England*, but to his Titles in *France*, ſo all at laſt would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought ſo beneficial and advantageous, as he ought not to think it much to deliver up *Francis* to his Highneſs's Hands, upon conſigning of the ſaid Princeſs to his. Eſpecially, ſince by an expreſs Article of the aforeſaid Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all Uſurpers upon each other's Right. All which being founded upon a ſolemn Agreement, confirm'd by Oath, could not ſeem Inſolent, what Indiſpoſition ſoever might be found in the *Emperor to accompliſh it.* Notwithſtanding which, if (as it was moſt likely) this Propoſition ſhould take no effect; and that the Emperor would derive the total benefit of his Prize upon himſelf; that his Highneſs yet might make ſo much uſe thereof, as with more juſtification to take that order which pertain'd to his preſent Occaſions, and the Peace of Chriſtendom. This Advice being approv'd by all, a Diſpatch was made, and given to *Cuthbert Tonſtal* (Biſhop of *London*, and Lord Privy-Seal) and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, ſent then to *Spain*; wherein alſo an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was propos'd. In which, further it was offer'd, that the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould be given into the Emperor's Hands upon fitting Conditions. Many other Particularities conducing to the Ends above-mentioned, were ſpecified therein; though for the reſt it ſeem'd not probable to ſome of our Counſellors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being reſolv'd (what *Promiſe* or Advantages ſoever was preſented to *him) to ſuffer* none elſe to partake of the Profit or *Honour he* had acquir'd in his Victory.

March.

But without effect.

This Propoſition finding no reception in *Spain*, but what was before imagin'd, our King returns to that brave and wiſe Reſolution he had formerly taken, to make himſelf Arbiter of Chriſtendom, and to fall on him who interrupted the publick Peace. Many Reaſons alſo of great moment concurr'd to this Reſolution. For the Lady *Margarite* (Regent of *Flanders*) who ought by the late League to have rais'd Forces againſt the *French*, began already to treat with them concerning an Accommodation. Beſides, the *Flemings* being grown ſtrong by Sea, had not only very inſolently treated with divers of our Merchants, but, contrary to a Remonſtrance made in that behalf, had rais'd the value of our Coin, and thereby ſecretly deriv'd great Sums into their Country. Again, when demand was made only for re-payment of that Money which was lent to the Emperor in his greateſt neceſſity, nothing yet was return'd but a dilatory and frivolous Excuſe. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had already begun for the ranſoming of *Francis*. Nor of a Match purpos'd with *Donna Iſabella* of *Portugal*; which reflected on his Daughter's Reputation. Laſtly, the Pope's Breve, repreſenting the danger of Chriſtendom through the proſperity of the *Turk*, (who had now taken *Belgrade*, and *Rhodes*, and thereby open'd ſeveral ways to *Italy* and *Germany*) and together exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to join againſt the Common Enemy, had ſo prevail'd with our King, that he thought fit to lay aſide all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in *France*, and to endeavour an Univerſal Peace. In the furtherance of which good deſire, as the remembrance of the kind Interview betwixt him and *Francis* did operate not a little, ſo the Reputation that *Francis* had gotten by his Courage ſhew'd in this late Action, had kindled in the mind of our generous King, a compaſſionate zeal for his Delivery. Therefore, at the requeſt of the King's Mother of *France*, (who by the Mediation of *Giovanni Joakim*, had much diſpos'd our King to return to his ancient Friendſhip with *Francis*) he ſent to *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Knight, his Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the delivery of *Francis*; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to *Charles*: Where, after an excuſe of his not ſooner Writing, becauſe they who had charge of him, would not permit it, he ſaid, *That the greateſt Comfort he found in this his miſerable Condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands of ſo generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to any thing which might be unjuſt to require, or impoſſible to perform. That he hop'd therefore, ſufficient Security would be accepted for his Delivery, ſince thereby, inſtead of detaining an unuſeful Priſoner, he ſhould make a King his Slave. However, that it was more profit to have him a faithful Friend, than to ſuffer him to die Deſperate.* None yet was ſo vigilant and intentive, either for his Delivery, or the general good of the Kingdom, as Madam *Louiſe* his Mother (Regent of *France*) who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambaſſies and Treaties, drew moſt of the Chriſtian Potentates and Republicks, to favour the deliverance of her Son. Through her care alſo, *Andrea Doria* (General of the *French* King's Galleys) reconducted the Duke of *Albany*, who, though far ingag'd in the Enemy's Country, did yet, without any conſiderable loſs of his Men, return to *Marſeilles*, April 25.

K. *Henry* endeavours after an univerſal Peace.

Endeavours to procure the delivery of *Francis*.

French King's Letter to *Charles* V.

April 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chief Princes and Eſtates in Chriſtendom, would puiſſantly labour for the delivery of *Francis*, ſent *Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain*, with certain Propoſitions, dated *March* 25, 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the Sum.

Charles's Propoſitions to him. *Sandov.*

That an univerſal Peace and League ſhould be concluded betwixt all Chriſtian Princes, and Security on every ſide be given, for the continuance thereof.

That either of them two, with twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, ſhould invade the Turk.

That for farther Security, the Dauphin *ſhould marry with the Princeſs* Maria *(Daughter to the King of* Portugal *and the Queen* Leonora*) and the Dowry ſhould be a mutual diſclaim in each others Inheritance.*

That the King of France *ſhould reſtore and leave the Dutchy of* Burgundy *in that eſtate and manner as it was in the time of* Charles *the laſt Duke thereof; and* Therouene, Heſdin, *and all that was uſurp'd in* Artois *ſhould be re-deliver'd.*

That Charles *Duke of* Bourbon, *ſhould be reſtor'd to his former Eſtate, and (particularly) have the County of* Provence *conferr'd upon him, which thereupon he ſhould hold under the Title of King thereof.*

1525. That the King of England should have all restor'd that appertain'd to him, or otherwise was agreed upon.

That all followers of the Duke of Bourbon should be reintegrated in their former Possessions.

That the Prince of Aurange, Don Hugo de Moncada, the Seigneur de Bonze, and d'Antroy, should be set at Liberty, and all restor'd to the Prince of Aurange, which was taken from him in the Wars of Bretaigne.

That Madam Margarite, Aunt to the Emperor, and La Reyna Germana, second Wife to Ferdinand of Spain, with divers other Princes and great Persons, (particularly nominated in the said Articles) should be righted in their just demands, for restitution in all things taken since the War.

That all Commerce betwixt the Subjects should be renew'd hereupon.

That the chief Parliaments of Paris and elsewhere in France, should ratifie the Agreement.

That the King himself, being at liberty, should with all due Solemnity, confirm it, as also the Dauphin, as soon as he came to the Age of Fourteen.

Greatly dislik'd by Francis. Sandov.

When these Articles were presented to Francis, some of them so displeas'd him, that he is said in a fury to have drawn his Dagger, and spoken these words, It is better for a King of France to die after this manner. Insomuch that Hernando de Alancon, who was present, hastily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the Emperor, he gave order that the Prince of Aurange, and Don Hugo de Moncada should be set at Liberty. Moncada coming to Court, brought two Letters, one from the King, the other from Madam Louise, his Mother; by which (as also by the intervention of the Arch-Bishop of Embrun, and Philip Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, and others, who were deputed Ambassadors upon this occasion) these Conditions following were offer'd.

Conditions of Peace offer'd by Francis.

That Donna Leonora (Sister to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of Portugal) should not be given in Marriage to Bourbon, (howsoever promis'd him) but to the King of France, and the Infanta Donna Maria, her Daughter, unto the Dauphin.

That the Dukedom of Burgundy should be held by Francis, as the Dowry to the Queen Leonora, and should be left to the Heirs Males betwixt them. If no such Issue yet should happen, that the Dukedom should then descend to the second Son of the said Emperor: If the Emperor should have no Sons, but Daughters, that then the second Son of the King of France should marry one of the said Daughters, and have Burgundy for her Portion.

That Francis would renounce all the Right and Interest he had in Milan, Genoua and Naples, together with all Debts and Pensions that could be demanded on that occasion.

That he would release the Superiority and Dominion that he pretended over Flanders and Artois, and for this purpose would obtain the consent of all the Estates of France.

That he would restore Hesdin and Tournay.

That, for the Lands he held near the River of Soam, he would pay the Emperor a just Price.

That, when the Emperor should go to his Coronation into Italy, or otherwise, that if he or his Brother Ferdinand should make War, he would pay half the Charges of his Army and go along in Person.

That, if the Emperor would pass into Italy by Sea, he would command all his Gallies and other Shipping to attend him at Barcelona.

That, if the Emperor would make War against the Infidels in Africa, or Greece, he would pay half the Charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Person.

That all the Emperor had Capitulated with the King of England, and all that was due by way of borrowing or Pension to the said King, should be paid and accomplish'd, in such manner, that the Emperor might be altogether discharg'd and freed thereof.

That he would restore to the Duke of Bourbon, all his Estate, and pay him his Pensions; and moreover, give his Daughter in Marriage to him, together with such a Portion as was fitting her Degree and Quality; and that when any Army should be rais'd by him for the Emperor's Service, the said Duke shou'd be General, in case the King went not himself in Person; and that all former Disservices and Unkindnesses should be forgotten.

That sufficient Security by the Parliament of Paris should be given of these Particularities.

Upon mature Deliberation taken concerning these Propositions, the Emperor reply'd, That the Dutchy of Burgundy was his Inheritance, and therefore not to be dispos'd of or alienated according to any Man's fancy or arbitrement. Concerning the Marriage propos'd between Francis and Leonora his Sister, that he could resolve nothing without the consent of Bourbon, to whom she was promis'd. That for the Businesses of Italy, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for Naples, since Francis had no Right thereunto, there was no occasion to make use of his Disclaim. That it would content him much to have Burgundy restor'd in the same manner that his great Grand-Father Charles enjoy'd it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would think fit to go and receive his Crown in Italy.

The Emperor's Answer.

The French on the other side instead of Burgundy, offer'd great Sums of Money: But Charles insisting still upon Burgundy, nothing was concluded. So that leaving Madrid, the Emperor went to hold his Cortes (or Parliament) at Toledo; where, among other things, it was Petition'd by the Estates assembled, that the Emperor being now of Age to marry, should take to Wife Donna Isabella Infanta of Portugal, and not the Princess Mary, our King's Daughter.

Infanta of Portugal propos'd by the Cortes of Spain to Charles.

March.

While Affairs pass'd thus betwixt Charles and Francis, our King, who knew he might have use of Money on these occasions, and (howsoever) did well understand, that the maintaing of a sure Peace at home, was almost as costly as the making of a War abroad, advis'd with his Council how to provide himself. Yet, as the Cardinal had undertaken the King should never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs, so they gladly discharg'd themselves on him. But Princes ought to take heed in whose Hands they commit their extraordinary Power, lest it hazzard their ordinary; it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not rashly to be put into another's Hand. Neither should they inforce any thus violently, when Business may be done in a calm and gentle manner: The harmony of Government consisting in such a delicate proportion, that no one Part can safely be strain'd higher, unless the rest may well be tun'd and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this Year, (being the Seventeenth of the Reign of our King,) when Commissions being granted forth into all the Counties of England, for the levying the sixth part of every Lay-man's Goods, and the fourth of the Clergy's: The People in general took it so ill, that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; alledging, First, That these Commissions were against the Law. Secondly, Their own Poverty; and that the King, since the Fourteenth of his Reign, had of them twenty Fifteens. But as this seem'd to be done, without that the King was fully inform'd thereof, so when the sequence appear'd, it was resolv'd to disavow the whole Proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters sent through all the Counties of England, declar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way of benevolence. This got the Cardinal many a Curse,

April. Commissions for levying Money.

Hall.

Pretended to be rais'd only by free Gift.

1525. Curse, and the King as many Blessings. Notwithstanding, under this Title of *Benevolence*, he requir'd great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of *London*. But one of their Lawyers answer'd, that by the Statute, *primo Ric. tertii, Cap. secundo*, such Benevolences were forbidden. But it was reply'd, That *Laws made by Usurpers oblige not Legitimate Princes; that* Richard *the Third, was not only a Tyrant, but a Murtherer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to suffer by the Law, than to make any. Therefore his Intentions were, only by popular and licentious ways, to obtain the favour of the Commonalty, as having no other means to subsist. That our King, being the true and undoubted Heir of the Crown, could be tyed hereby no further than it pleas'd himself; it being absurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious Assembly, and approv'd no otherwise than by a Criminal in the highest degree, should bind an absolute and lawful Monarch; wherefore if they had no better Evasion, it were not fit to mention this.* Thereupon the Cardinal promising to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, he begins with the Lord Mayor: But the Mayor desiring leave not to declare himself fully, till he had spoken with the Common-Council of the City, the Cardinal wisht him and the rest of the Aldermen to come to him privately, and give what they would. In the Country yet, (where they seem'd more obstinate,) some Ring-Leaders of the People (who had taken Arms) upon the Perswasion of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* submitted themselves, and were brought to *London*, and there imprison'd. The King yet, persisting in his Intention not to punish any on this occasion, (as being advertis'd that the common sort of his Subjects excus'd themselves by their want of Means, and not of Affection, to supply his Majesty's Occasions) brought the Matter to the Council-Table, where the Cardinal, by way of Apology, said, that *he had done nothing herein, without advising first with the Judges, who affirm'd positively, the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commission, and that the Council of State confirm'd this Course.* But the King saying, that *he was made believe, his Subjects were richer than indeed he found them by this Commission*, all the Fault was laid on the false Informers, and Pardon given to all those who had deny'd the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where after a sharp Charge laid against them by the King's Council-Learned, the Cardinal said, *That, notwithstanding their grievous Offences, the King, in consideration of their Poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition, that they would give in Sureties for their good Behaviour henceforth.* But they replying, that they had none; the Cardinal first, and after him the Duke of *Norfolk*, said they would stand bound for them, wherewith they were discharg'd.

May 8. An Insurrection. *Hall.* The Cardinal excuses this Practice. *Hall.* And the King. *Hall.* The Rioters pardon'd.

The Cardinal, who by a Concurrence of the Papal and Regal Authority, had suppress'd divers Monasteries, and given that Terror to the rest, that he drew large Sums from them, would not yet desist so, but continued still his Purposes of converting the Profits of all those, which by any colour might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other Uses; among which while he reduc'd the Monastery of *Beggam* in *Essex*, a disguis'd Company, in strange Visors, taking the Canons along with them, reimplac'd them, and so departed; promising at the ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all times to their Succours. But these Apparitions did not long haunt the House; for the King's Council, understanding hereof, so examin'd the Canons, that they at last confess'd the Authors, who therefore were sent for, and grievously punish'd. The Cardinal thus every way establishing his Authority, was thought by this time, between Visitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licenses, Dispensations, and many other ways, besides the great Pensions he had from Foreign Princes, to have made his Treasury equal to the King's (notwithstanding the Sums he often transmitted to *Rome*;) in which way of inriching himself, one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompany'd with a great Train, and riding from one Religious House to another, in a kind of perpetual Progress, or Visitation, did the Cardinal no little Service. But as this at last became a publick Grievance, so the King took notice of it, in so sharp a manner, that the Cardinal was enforc'd, not only to excuse himself with much Submission, but to promise never to do so any more; protesting withal, that he had made a last Will or Testament, wherein he had left a great part of his Estate unto his Highness. Upon which Submission of the Cardinal's (as I take it) the King sent him this Letter, written all with his own Hand, as we find it in our Records.

Hall. 1525. The Cardinal's great Wealth.

As touching the matter of Wilton, *seeing it is in no other strain than you write of, and you being also so suddenly (with the falling sick of your Servants) afraid, and troubled, I marvel not that it overslipp'd you as it did. But it is no great matter, standing the Case that it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not so great, seeing the Election was but Conditional. Wherefore, my Lord, seeing the humbleness of your Submission, and though the Case were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine Intent, my Monitions and Warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promising you, that the very Affection I bear you caus'd me thus to do. As touching the help of Religious Houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, so it be lawfully; for my Intent is none, but that it should so appear to all the World, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for, surely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realm, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill gotten is bestow'd upon the College, but that the College is the Cloak for covering all Mischiefs. This grieveth me, I assure you, to bear it spoken by him, which I so entirely love. Wherefore, me-thought I could do no less, than thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little me thinketh toucheth Conscience, and that is, that you have receiv'd Money of the Exempts for having of their old Visitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conscience. For, and they were good, why should you take Money? And if they were ill, it were a sinful Act. Howbeit your Legacy herein might, peradventure,* apud Homines *be a Cloak, but not* apud Deum. *Wherefore, you, thus monish'd by him who so intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will desist, not only from this, (if Conscience will not bear it) but from all other things which should tangle the same; and, in so doing, we will sing,* Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus. *And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, desiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I ensure you, (and I pray you think it so) that there remaineth, at this Hour, no spark of Displeasure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare-you-well, and be no more perplext. Written with the Hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend,*

The King's Letter to the Cardinal.

HENRY *R.*

One of the Liberties which our King took at his spare time, was to love. For, as all recommendable Parts concurr'd in his Person, and they, again, were exalted in his high Dignity and Valour, so

1525. so it must seem less strange, if amid the fair Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom, because Mistress *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature, and Education, to be the Beauty and *Mistress-piece* of her time, that intire Affection past betwixt them, as at last she bore him a Son. The Child, proving so equally like to both his Parents, that he became the first Emblem of their mutual Affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and so much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the Age of six Years, he was made Knight publickly, and the same Day created Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and Lieutenant General beyond *Trent*, and Warden General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and * shortly after Admiral of *England*. After which he was first bred up together with *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, in the Castle of *Windsor* (which the Earl elegantly describes in a Sonnet extant in his Works) from whence (*November* 1532.) they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which Acquaintance and Friendship was indear'd again by a Match of the said Duke with *Mary* the Earl's Sister; by whom yet he had no Issue. Howbeit, I find, he was very Personable and of great Expectation, insomuch that he was thought, not only for hability of Body but Mind, to be one of the rarest of his time; for which reason also he was much cherish'd by our King, as also because he had no Issue Male by his Queen, nor did, perchance, expect any.

Hall. The King has a Son by Mrs. *Blunt.* 1519.

June 18.

* July 19.

1532. Novemb.

His Character.

The Cardinal builds *Hampton-Court*, and gives it to the King.

The Cardinal had now built his fair Palace at *Hampton-Court*. But as he wisely consider'd, that it would but add unto that Envy for which he had already suffer'd so much, he gave it the King, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond* House.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this time, had gotten among those *Germans*, who were either weary of their Obedience to the stricter Parts of Ecclesiastical Government, or desirous to reform the Errors and Abuses of it, (now so general, as even Pope *Adrian* himself confess'd that many were crept into *Rome*) had prevail'd far. Yet, as others examin'd which way he took to make his Reformation, so they thought Religion yet not so exactly form'd, but that it might be cast in a better Mold. Therefore, not only *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, began a Reformation somewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the Confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, opposite enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things, publish'd it with much Applause of the inferior sort. For, as he sain'd he had Power from God to depose Princes, and substitute others, and that, again, he taught, all Goods should be Common, and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, he was follow'd by huge Multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, he preach'd Austerity of Life; counselling Men to Prayers, Fastings, and all other Devotions, which might argue, his Intention was not so much to invade other Men's Possessions, as to establish a moderate Equality. Thus did he season Falshoods with Truths, and Ill with Good, while the vulgar sort, who could not distinguish betwixt them, admir'd, and follow'd all. To remedy these so dangerous Assemblies and Opinions, the chief Neighbouring Princes rais'd some Forces; and prevail'd so far, that, at last, they dissipated, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their best Defence, singing only a Psalm, (whereby they invok'd the Holy Ghost) while *Munter* (who it seems trusted least to his own Doctrine) fled away; yet being pursu'd and taken, together with his Companion *Phiser*, they shortly after lost their Heads. His Sect yet took not its end so; as being reviv'd again, in part, not many Years after, by *John* of *Leyden* and *Knipperdoling*, who, to his other Impieties added this, that in a Throng of People, being born upon Mens Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghost.

Muncer sets up a new Religion.

And is follow'd.

Ta[illegible] and [illegible] hea[illegible]

John [illegible] *Leyden's* Blasphemy.

Such was the generous Disposition of our King, that not only for *Francis* then a Prisoner, but the expulsed King of *Denmark*, *Christiern*, he interceded with his best Offices. Therefore, this Year, he sent *Henry Standish* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight, to perswade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chased him so much as the Guilt and Horror of shedding so much Blood there (so great a Persecutor is Cruelty of it self:) But the angry *Danes* obstinately deny'd. The next Instance then was, that at least his Son (who was Nephew to *Charles*) might succeed. But this also was refus'd; they alledging they durst not commit the Supream Power over themselves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The *French* King being weary of his Restraint in *Italy*, had desir'd he might be remov'd into *Spain*; both as he hop'd the Emperor might be perswaded to come to Speech with him there, and as he reputed change of Prison to be a second Liberty, *Charles de la Noy* also concurr'd in this Request, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having obtain'd this Favour, he found not yet the Emperor sufficiently dispos'd to see him, though otherwise he could not complain of being either debarr'd the pleasure of Hunting, or any other reasonable Exercise. Finding yet still that the Emperor did estrange himself so much, as not to vouchsafe him one Visit, he fell Sick; for he did not think that his Misfortunes had made him forfeit his Dignity; or that, for being a Prisoner of War, he had extinguish'd his Title to be a King. *Charles* understanding this, whether out of Compassion, or fear of losing *Francis*, resolves to go to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his Chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, who said presently, *Monsieur, veys aqui vuestro esclavo*; the Emperor answer'd again, *No Sino, buen hermano, y amigo libre*. The King reply'd, *No Sino, vuestro esclavo*. The Emperor answer'd again, *No Sino, libre amigo, y buen harmano*; and thereupon wisht him to have a care of his Health, which he much desir'd, and that his Businesses would succeed well. The Emperor not thinking this Courtesie sufficient, returns to see him the next Day again; which so comforted *Francis*, that he amended suddenly. Whereupon the Emperor resolv'd to return to his Businesses at *Toledo*. But Madam *Margarite* Dutchess of *Alancon*, Sister to *Francis*, hearing of his Sickness, made hast to see him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteously entertain'd, and accompany'd to her Brother's Lodging; where, after many affectionate Protestations, he left them together, and so held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whither *Madam de Alancon*, not many Days after, followed him, mediating still the Delivery of her Brother, to whom she desir'd the Emperor to give his Sister *Leonora*, upon the Conditions above-mention'd; and that the King, her Brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a Match equal to this; wherein she was thought to have intimated her self, as being newly made Widow by the Death of her Husband, the Duke of *Alancon*. As for the Right of *Burgundy*, she desir'd it might be determin'd by way

Francis I. desires to be remov'd to *Spain*.

June 7.

His Sickness.

Charles visits him.

Sept.

Dutchess of *Alancon* visits her Brother.

De Sept.

1525. way of Juſtice before the 12 Peers of *France*; but the Emperor diſlik'd this, ſaying, that he was contented that learned Perſons in the Law on both ſides ſhould treat hereof, and that the Pope ſhould be Umpire; but Madame alſo did not approve this. The *French* Writers add, that Promiſe was made by *Francis* at this time alſo, that the King of *England* ſhould receive intire Satisfaction. *Madame de Alancon*, finding at laſt how little her Intreaties prevail'd, deſir'd leave to return, and by the way to ſee her Brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might eſcape; which was at laſt reſolv'd, by changing Cloaths with a *Negro*, who carry'd Wood and Coals to the King's Chamber, and blacking his Face with Cole-duſt. Which Invention as it is like enough to be a Lady's, and ſomewhat better than the lending him her Mask, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This Plot was kept ſecret, only betwixt the King, his Siſter, one *Clement Chappion* his Chamberlain, and another Treaſurer. But *Monſieur de la Roche-pot* ſtriking this *Chappion* on ſome occaſion, he, as being diſcontented and without Remedy, flies to the Emperor, and diſcovers all. The Emperor yet would not ſuddenly believe it, nor without better enquiry into the Buſineſs; as not thinking (if one may believe the *Spaniard* my Author) that the King of *France* would, in ſuch an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his Liberty. Therefore, in favour of this Conceit of the Emperor's, he ſo repreſents the Crime, as if *Francis* ought to believe, *that* it was more Honourable for him to ſtay in Priſon, than eſcape it; howſoever it ſeems his ancient Courage was ſo far from being abated, as it increas'd rather by his cloſe keeping. Therefore he ſent *Monſieur de Montmorency* to tell *Charles*, that *he was reſolv'd to endure any thing ſooner than to reſtore* Burgundy, *or yield through Conſtraint that which did not become him; ſo that he deſir'd only to know the place of his Impriſonment, and number of his Attendants.* The Emperor anſwer'd, that *he was content to appoint him a Place, and to nominate thoſe that ſhould guard him; for the reſt, proteſting that it griev'd him much that* Francis *ſhould refuſe to do that for the Ranſom of his Perſon, which he was bound to do, for the ſake of Juſtice only.* But ample Commiſſion and Conſent being come from Madame the Regent and Parliament of *Paris* to tranſact a further Agreement, *Francis* demanded that he might have *Donna Leonora*, and, for her Portion, the Counties of *Maſcon* and *Auxerre*, promiſing, in conſideration thereof, to reſtore *Burgundy*. But to this demand of *Leonora*, *Charles* anſwer'd again, that being oblig'd to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him firſt: Yet, to ſatisfie the King, he ſent to *Bourbon*, to let him know how much it concern'd him, that *Francis* might have *Leonora*. But *Bourbon* (it is doubtful whether out of his former Contumacy and Stubbornneſs, or out of a violent Affection to the Lady) anſwer'd, that he had loſt great Poſſeſſions in *France*, only to have the Honour to match in that nearneſs of Blood to the Emperor. This ſeem'd much to trouble *Charles*: At laſt, ſending for *Bourbon*, he offer'd him, in recompence of *Leonora*, the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, which *Bourbon* accepted; the Writings or Patent for which my Author ſaith he ſaw in *Simanca*, not expreſſing in the mean while, how this concurr'd with the Inveſtiture, which, a little before, he ſaith, the Emperor gave to *Franciſco Sforza*. To reconcile which Difficulty, I ſhall produce (out of a Diſpatch extant in our Records) the reaſon, as I conceive it; for though *Charles* had (together with the Poſſeſſion) granted *Sforza* the Inveſtiture of *Milan*, yet it was upon Condition, that *Sforza*

And contrives a means for his Eſcape. *Sandov.*

Diſcover'd to the Emperor.

Sandov.

Bourbon made D. of *Milan*.

ſhould pay him twelve hundred thouſand Crowns towards his Charges, and that the ſaid Inveſtiture ſhould remain in the hands of *la Noy*, till the War of *Italy* were ended. But *Sforza* finding this too hard, joyn'd with the adverſe Party, and gave occaſion to the Emperor to beſtow the Inveſtiture on *Bourbon*. And he had reaſon to be content herewith; for *Donna Leonora*, hearing of this Competition about her, decided the Controverſie in favour of *Francis*; ſending word to the Emperor, that ſhe had rather be a Queen of *France* than Wife to *Bourbon*. 1525.

This while, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and Princes of *Italy* on the one ſide, leagu'd together for the Defence of *Italy* againſt the Emperor, inviting alſo our King into the Treaty; our King on the other, mediated for *Francis*; neither did it diminiſh the Suſpicion entertain'd by them, that *Charles* pretended to an univerſal Monarchy in Chriſtendom, becauſe, preſently upon the making of *Francis* Priſoner at *Pavia*, he had written to our King, as well as to all other the ſaid principal Perſons, that he ſhould take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Eſtates of *Francis*, ſince, being his Priſoner, he could do no leſs than protect him againſt all others. While theſe Treaties proceed, *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his Guards. The *Count de Saint Paul* alſo deviſ'd means to eſcape without paying any Ranſom.

League againſt *Charles* in *Italy*.

Charles's Ambition.

Madame *Louiſe*, the *French* Regent, continuing her Meſſages and Ambaſſades, ſollicites our King's Aſſiſtance for the redeeming of her Son. To which purpoſe a Treaty was concluded at *Moore*, *Auguſt* 30, 1525. in this manner, as our Records have it:

Aug. 30.

That all Injuries, done and receiv'd in the late War between England *and* France, *ſhall be forgotten.*

Treaty between *England* and *France*.

That Confederation for mutual Aid and Intercourſe of Merchandiſe ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, together with free Paſſage of Subjects through each other's Dominions, ſo that they exceed not a hundred arm'd Men.

That all Taxes and Impoſitions laid by each of the Kings upon the Subjects or Merchants of the other, within theſe laſt fifty Years, ſhall be extinct, and no new ones impos'd.

That one ſhall not protect the diſobedient Subjects of the other, nor entertain Rebels, Traytors, or Fugitives; but, within twenty Days after due Requiſition made, ſhall deliver them up.

That no Letters of Repriſal (or Merk) ſhall be granted on either ſide, but only againſt the principal Delinquents, and that but in caſe of denial of Juſtice.

That, if the Subjects of the one or the other offend againſt this Treaty, they ſhall be puniſh'd, without that the Treaty ſhall, any way therefore, be infring'd.

That, preſently upon the Ratification of this Treaty, the Priſoners of War on the one and the other ſide ſhall be releas'd, as alſo the French *Hoſtages.*

That in this Treaty ſhall be comprehended the Friends and Allies of each Prince. That is to ſay, on the King of France *his part, the Pope, the Kings of* Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, *and* Portugal; *the State of* Venice; *the Dukes of* Savoy, Lorain, Gueldres, Ferrara; *the* Swiſs, *the Marquiſs of* Montferrat *and* Saluzzo. *On the King of* England's *part, the Pope, the Emperor* Charles, *the King of* Denmark, *of* Hungary, *of* Portugal, *Queen* Mary *Dowager of* France, *Lady* Margaret *Arch-Dutcheſs of* Auſtria; Ferdinand *Brother to the Emperor, Arch-Duke of* Auſtria: *the State of* Venice; *the Biſhop of* Liege; *the Dukes of* Urbin, Cleve, Juilliers, *the Houſe of* Medici, *the* Florentines, *the Duke of* Ferrara, *the* Hanſiatick *Towns; upon Condition, that they accept it within ſix Months next enſuing. Whoſe violating of the League yet ſhould*

not

1525. *not be underſtood as a Breach betwixt the principal Contractors.*

That yet this Treaty ſhall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, ſo, as it ſhould hinder the principal Contractors to recover their Right and Lands whatſoever, with-held by any, ſince the Treaty *of* 1518.

The King of England *ſhall do his beſt Endeavour to procure, as ſoon as may be, the Liberty of* Francis, *and to induce the Emperor to accept reaſonable Conditions.*

That this Treaty ſhall be ſign'd and ſworn to by Francis, *within three Months, if he get his Liberty ſo ſoon; or otherwiſe he ſhall confirm it by his Letters, written with his own hand, and written to King* Henry VIII. *And that Madame* la Regente *ſhall renounce all Exceptions, which in Law (as by* Senatûs-Conſultum Velleianum, &c.) *may be taken againſt this Treaty.*

That the Cardinal of Bourbon, *Duke of* Vendoſme, *Duke of* Longueville, Comte Saint Paul, *Mr.* de Lautrech, *Mr.* de Montmorency, *Mr.* de Preſſi, Comte de Maluefe, *and* Comte de Bryan, *as alſo the principal Cities,* Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toloſa, Amiens, Roüen, &c. *ſhall, under the Obligation and Forfeit of all their Goods, ſwear hereunto, to obſerve this Treaty, within three Months after the Date hereof, (in which alſo their Heirs and Succeſſors ſhall be comprehended) giving, for this purpoſe, a Bond with their Seal annexed, to be ſent to the King of* England, *within three Months. Moreover, certain Bonds were given for the Debts and Moneys hereafter ſpecify'd,* viz. *Two Millions of Crowns, at the payment of* Fifty *thouſand Crowns at a time in* Calais. *The firſt Payment to begin within forty Days after the Treaty. The ſecond the firſt of* November *next enſuing. The next the firſt of* May *following, and ſo from Term to Term, and Year to Year, till the whole be ſatisfy'd to King* Henry *or his Succeſſors. After the payment of which, the ſaid King* Henry *ſhall, during his Life (and no longer) receive yearly the Sum of an Hundred thouſand Crowns.*

Aug. 30. This Treaty was concluded *Aug.* 30. by the Commiſſioners on both ſides, *viz.* For our King, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cardinalis Ebor. Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Henry* Marquiſs of *Exon*, *Charles* Earl of *Worceſter*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Sir *Thomas More*. For the Regent of *France* were *John Brinon Premier Preſident de Rouen*, and *Giovanni Joachim Seigneur de Vaulx*, Mr. *de Hoſtel* to *Louiſe*. And was * proclaim'd in *September*; and, in *October*, *John Taylor* Doctor of Law, and Sir *William Fitz-William* were ſent into *France*, to take the Regent's Oath. By another Treaty this Year at *Lyons*, I find the Regent obliged her ſelf to pay all the Arrears due to *Mary* our King's Siſter out of *France*, by reaſon of her Marriage with *Louis* XII. as alſo to ſuffer her to enjoy the Profits and Rents of all the Lands left her in Jointure, according to the Treaty, *Octob.* 8. 1514.

* Sept. 8.
Octob.
Octob. 8. 1514.

Franciſco Sforza being inform'd now that a ſtrong League was intended by the Pope, *Venetians*, and divers others, againſt the Emperor, was perſwaded to enter into it, upon pretence, that by their Aſſiſtance he might ſufficiently defend his Country. But this was his Ruin; for the Marquiſs of *Peſcara* underſtanding hereof, or (as others ſay) ſuppoſing it only, queſtions him: But *Sforza* denying conſtantly that ever he gave his Conſent thereto, the Marquiſs demanded the Caſtle of *Milan* and *Cremona* for Security. But *Sforza* utterly refuſing this, the Marquiſs of *Peſcara* took *Milan*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle (which only remain'd to *Sforza*,) and after *Peſcara*'s Death (which happen'd by Sickneſs) the Duke of *Bourbon*. The concluſion hereof was, that *Sforza* (by conſtraint) yielded the Caſtle upon Conditions,

July 24. 1526.

and ſo retir'd at length to the Army, rais'd by the League againſt *Charles* the Year following. 1525.

The Emperor, who had now treated of Marriage in many places, * concluded it at laſt with his Niece, *Donna Iſabella* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, and Daughter of *Manuel* and *Maria*, *Infanta* of *Caſtile*, whom yet he married not till *January* 2. 1526. alledging for his Excuſe to our King, that at the Requeſt and Petition of his Cortes or States aſſembled at *Toledo*, he had preferr'd this Lady before our Princeſs *Mary*, which therefore he deſir'd might be underſtood for no Breach of Friendſhip. Our King alſo conſidering the tender Age of his Daughter, not yet fit for Marriage; and that it was an Incongruity to ally himſelf with a Prince againſt whom he might have ſo ſoon occaſion to draw his Sword, (as may appear by the League above-mention'd) ſeem'd very well content to relinquiſh the Match, upon this mutual Conſent. After which time the Friendſhip betwixt them grew ſo remiſs, that at laſt it diſſolv'd wholly; inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors of both ſides were recalled home, and *Charles*, who before was accuſtom'd to ſign his Letters to King *Henry* always *Tuus Filius & Cognatus*, from henceforth ſubſcrib'd only *Carlos*.

* Nov. Charles marries the Infanta of Portugal.
Rupture between Henry and Charles. Sandov.

But I the leſs wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, ſince a richer Booty than that of *Francis* fell into his Hands, that is to ſay *Peru*, where the Mines of *Potoſi* (and many others, which for want of Labourers remain to this Day buried and unuſeful) were firſt diſcovered. Which began in this manner. Sandov.

Vlaſco Nunnez having firſt * diſcover'd from a high Rock near *Darien*, the *Mer del Zur*, † *Hernando de Magellanes* (a *Portugueze*, but ſet forth by *Charles* V.) afterwards found out the Streights that bear his Name, and paſs'd through them with two Ships to the Iſle of *Zebut*, and others in that Sea; but * dying in the Voyage, his Companions went on to *Borneo* and the † *Moluccaes*, and many other Places, whence one of the Ships * return'd to *Spain* by *Capo de Buena Eſperanca*, and ſo firſt compaſſed the Globe; *Juan Sebaſtian de Cano*, a *Biskainer*, being Pilot. The other Ship was taken by the *Portugueze*. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknown ſtill, *Franciſco Picarro*, a *Spaniard* living at *Panama*, (being the furtheſt part of Land, where it is narroweſt, betwixt the North-Ocean and the *Mer del Zur*) firſt attempted the * Diſcovery of that Coaſt, bending at laſt to *Peru*, which afterwards he † ranſack'd; for landing his Men at a time when there was Diſſention betwixt *Guascar* the lawful Heir, and *Atabaliva* his younger Brother, he made his Advantage thereof, to the Overthrow of both, and of *Atabaliva* firſt, in this Pretext. *Picarro* having his Forces in a readineſs, ſent a Dominican Fryer, with a Croſs in one hand, and a Breviary in another, who (as the *Spaniſh* Writers have it) told *Atabaliva* (then in the Head of his Army) That God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of nothing, and that he ſent his Son down to be born of a Virgin, and to die for our Sins upon a Croſs, like that he bore; and that he roſe the Third Day, and left St. *Peter* his Vicar, and the Pope his Succeſſor, who had given the Emperor that Country; if he wou'd not believe this, commanding him alſo to make War, and deſtroy him and his Religion. *Atabaliva*, who though full of ſuperſtitious Worſhip, did yet venerate a Supreme Deity (confeſſed in theſe Parts by the Name of *Viracocha*, or *Baracocha*, as in *Mexico* by that of *Teuth*, and in *Guatimala* by that of *Cabovit*, in *Nueva Eſpanna* by that of *Tocabuvaguamaoyacott*) and together acknowledg'd Vertue and Vice, Reward and Puniſhment after this Life, as believing the Soul immortal, found this

* 1513. † 1520. Peru diſcovered.
* 1521. April. † Nov. 8. * 1522. Sep 6. The Globe firſt ſail'd round.
* 1525. † 1533.
Endeavours to make the Emperor of Peru a Chriſtian. Sandov.

Ambaſſage

1525. Ambassage strange, and said, *He believ'd no Power on Earth was superior to himself, yet, that he would be glad to hold Friendship with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wonder'd at him, because he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not dispute it, since it was so ancient, and receiv'd in his Country. And, for worshipping Christ that died,* he said, *he thought he had done better in worshipping the Sun and Moon, that never died, as believing* (which I find by the History of the *Incas*, written by one of that Blood Royal) *that the Sun did go about the World on God's Errand.* Lastly, He demanded, *Who told him that God had made the World on that fashion?* To whom the Dominican answering, *The Breviary*, and together putting it into his Hands; *Atabaliva* turning over a few Leaves (as if he expected some such Expression from thence) but finding he understood nothing, threw it away, wherewith the Dominican exclaiming, that the Gospel was on the Ground, and demanding Vengeance, *Picarro* discharg'd some great Ordnance, and his Small-shot against him, wherewith the terrified *Indians* fled, and *Atabaliva* was taken Prisoner. *Atabaliva* hereupon offers for his Ransom as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Room where they were, which being accorded and almost perform'd in effect, *Picarro* upon false Pretences, most cruelly put him to death, though Baptized; for which also the Conspirators, and *Picarro* himself at last, came to ill Deaths, as the *Spanish* Writers observe. However, for the present, the *Spaniards* proceeded in their Cruelty to others
1541. of all sorts, especially of the Blood-Royal, and got infinite Treasure, their Temples being planked with Gold, and their Graves full of Treasure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have insisted too long upon these Barbarisms.

[Margin: Emperor of Peru's Answer.] [Margin: Historia de los Incas, by Garcilasso de Vega.] [Margin: Picarro's Cruelty and Treachery.]

1526. The Year of our Lord 1526, was now entred, when *Charles* requir'd his Council to advise him, whether it were best to deliver *Francis*; and if so, upon what Terms? *Charles de la Noy*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, did not think fit the Emperor should lose the benefit of such a Prize; therefore, though he perswaded the delivery of *Francis*, yet he wish'd that the most advantageous Conditions that could be made thereof, should be taken suddenly, and before the League, which was now forming against him, could be concluded. That this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the Business of *Germany*, to resist the *Turk*, and to suppress *Barbarossa*, and other Pyrates that infested the Seas. Others, and among them *Guattinara* the Chancellor, said, *That there was less danger of* Francis's *being in Prison than abroad; especially since it did not appear sufficiently the new League would be broken off, when* Francis *had his Liberty, but rather strengthen'd and confirm'd, as being not directed so much for the delivery of* Francis, *as oppos'd to the Greatness of* Charles. *That many things might be done while* Francis *was unsettled, which would take no effect when he were restor'd to his former Estate. Therefore, his best course were to find some means to have the Children of his Prisoner, and other Affairs in* France, *within his Power, that so nothing might interrupt his Designs elsewhere. And that himself should undertake his Journey to* Italy, *before he let go so dangerous an Enemy, who, if once loose, would rather make War for redeeming his Losses, than improve them by standing to any servile Conditions. Lastly, That his Imperial Majesty ought to believe, that if* Francis *being in Prison, would not make restitution of* Burgundy, *he would much less do it when he were free.* Hornando de Vega said, *that* Francis *was very well in* Madrid. To which *Guattinara* reply'd resolutely, *There might be use both of detaining and letting him go, only, since he saw so little hope of performance (what Security soever were given) he thought* 1526. *it best either to let him go freely, and therein put a perpetual Obligation upon him, or to keep him still where he was.* This was a wise Advice. The Emperor yet chose rather to adhere to them who counselled him to prevail himself of the Occasion. Therefore considering *Francis* offered his two Sons for Hostages, while himself going to *France*, mediated with the Estates for restoring *Burgundy*; and that, without this Personal Intercession, there was little hope of any Satisfaction or Peace; he thought it best to deliver *Francis*, as that which at least would declare to the Christian World, that he desir'd the Quietness thereof. So that upon the Fourteenth of *January* a Treaty (called the Concord of *Madrid*) was concluded; the Tenor whereof, according to the most substantial Articles, is here set down.

[Margin: Consultations about setting Francis at Liberty.] [Margin: Francis delivered; Jan. 14.]

Charles the Emperor, and on his part, *Charles de la Noy*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Hugo de Moncoda*, and *Juan Aleman*: And *Francis le Roy Tres-Christien*, and on his part, *Francis* Archbishop of *Embrun*, and *Jean de Selue*, *Premier President du Parliament de Paris*, and *Philip Chabot*, having Commission from *Madam Louise* Regent of *France*, in Vertue of the Power given her by *Francis*, before his Imprisonment (thought therefore authentick) did upon the Day and Year above-written, Treat, Accord, and Conclude these Articles following:

[Margin: Treaty of Madrid.]

1. That there shall be a good and secure Peace and Confederacy establish'd between the two Princes, so that they shall be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, for the mutual Defence of their Estates and Kingdoms.

2. That Traffick and Commerce shall be renew'd betwixt their Subjects on either side, upon payment only of their ancient Customs; and that the Sea shall be secur'd from Pyrates.

3. That the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, together with all the Rights, Members, and Dependences, shall in the name of him, his Heirs, and Successors, be restor'd within the space of six Weeks after the delivery of *Francis*, notwithstanding any Decrees of Parliaments, pretence of the Salick Law, or other Claim whatsoever.

4. Because yet, for better performance of these things which are requir'd, the *French* King alledgeth it is necessary, that he should presently repair home: It is therefore concluded, that upon the Tenth of *March* next, the said *French* King shall be set free, in that part of *France* which adjoins to *Feuentarabie*; upon Condition nevertheless, that at the same Hour and Instant (the number of Attendants on both sides being equal) the Dauphin his eldest Son, and Duke of *Orleans* his second Son, or (instead of the said Duke) *Monsieur de Vendosme*, *John* Duke of *Albany*, *Monsieur de St. Pol*, *Monsieur de Guise*, *Monsieur de Lautrech*, *Monsieur de la Val*, the *Marquis de Saluzzo*, *Monsieur de Rieux*, the Great *Seneschal* of *Normandy*, the *Mareschal de Montmorency*, *Monsieur de Brion*, and *Monsieur de Aubigny*, should be deliver'd to *Charles* as Hostages, till all Conditions were perform'd; which being done, that within the space of four Weeks a Ratification by the Parliament of *Paris*, and all the other Parliaments of the said Kingdom, shall be deliver'd unto *Charles*; whereupon the said *Charles* doth swear and promise upon the Faith of a Prince, to return the said Hostages, upon Condition yet, that the third Son of *Francis*, being Duke *de Angoulesme*, should at the same time be given to *Charles*, to be kept and brought up in his Court, and with him. And the *French* King doth furthermore promise, in case these things were not perform'd (that is to say, the restitution of *Burgundy*, and the rest in six Weeks, and the Ratification in four more ensuing)

1526. ſuing) to return Priſoner to *Charles*. And, for this purpoſe, as he had ſworn already, ſo when he is at liberty, he ſhall renew and confirm the ſaid Oath, before ſuch Commiſſioners as *Charles* ſhall appoint. And that upon his ſaid return to *Charles*, his Hoſtages ſhould be deliver'd.

5. That *Francis* for himſelf, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, ſhall renounce his whole Right, Claim, and Intereſt, in all the Kingdoms, Eſtates, Lands, and Seigneuries, which are now in the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, and eſpecially in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as well for all Propriety therein, as any Penſion or Payment demanded for the ſame. And that the Inveſtiture thereof, given by the Apoſtolick See to his Anceſtors or him, as alſo all Capitulations made to this effect heretofore, ſhall not be available for the ſaid Kingdom of *Naples*, or for the Eſtates of *Milan*, *Genoüa*, *Aſti*, and their Dependencies. And, that the Grants or Writings to this purpoſe, whether Pontifical or Imperial, or only between him and *Franciſco Sforza*, ſhould be deliver'd to *Charles*. And that *Francis* ſhall, for Him, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, renounce all his Demand or Claim to *Flanders*, and to all other Places thereabouts, now in Poſſeſſion of *Charles*, together with all Superiority over them. In lieu whereof, the ſaid *Charles* promiſeth to relinquiſh his Title to *Perone*, *Montdidier*, the Counties of *Boulogne*, *Guiſnes*, *Ponthieu*; as alſo the Cities, Towns, Seigneuries on both ſides of the River of *Soam*, now in the Poſſeſſion of *Francis*, reſerving only the Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſur la Seine*, which ſhall be diſpos'd of particularly hereafter. And that all other Lands, Towns, and Seigneuries not mention'd in theſe Preſents, ſhall be reſtor'd to the Eſtate in which they were before the Wars.

6. That, in performance of the League defenſive betwixt both Princes, they ſhall ſuffer no hoſtile Forces to paſs through either of their Countries, to the Hurt or Prejudice of the other; and that either Prince being invaded, may have of the other five hundred Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot, with convenient Artillery (or any leſs number) at the Charges of the Demandant; and, for the Offenſive League, that it ſhall extend no further than to their joint Enemies, and by the mutual Advice and Conſent of both.

7. That a Marriage ſhall be had and made betwixt *Francis* and *Leonora*, a Diſpenſation for that purpoſe being firſt obtain'd; and that ſhe ſhall be deliver'd to *Francis* at the ſame time that the Hoſtages ſhall be reſtor'd by *Charles*.

8. That her Dowry ſhall be Two hundred thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, beſides her Arras (i. e. *a Pledge given in* Spain, *where Marriages are recorded*) which did appertain to her upon her firſt Marriage.

9. That, beſides the aforeſaid Sum, the Emperor, out of his abundant Love to his Siſter *Leonora*, ſhall beſtow the Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and the Seigneury of *Bar ſur la Seine*, on her, and her Heirs Male only.

10. That the Queen *Leonora* ſhall renounce all Rights of Goods, or Heritage, that might deſcend to her from the part of her Grandfather *Maximilian*, her Father King *Philip*, or Queen *Joan* her Mother, ſave only the Collateral Succeſſion, in caſe the ſaid *Charles* or his Brother *Ferdinand* ſhould die without Iſſue.

11. That the ſaid Queen *Leonora* ſhall receive from *Francis* Jewels to the value of Fifty thouſand Crowns, to remain to her, her Heirs, and Succeſſors.

12. That if the ſaid *Francis* and *Leonora* ſhall have Iſſue Male betwixt them, the eldeſt Son ſhall be Duke of *Alancon*, and have in poſſeſſion the Dutchy thereof, conferr'd on him by *Francis*, and on his Mother's part, the above-mentioned Counties of *Maſconois*, *Auxerrois*, and *Bar ſul la Seine*, and that his other Sons ſhall be provided for according to their Degree, reſerving ſtill the Right belonging to the Dauphin. And that the Daughters ſhall have ſuch Portions as the Kings of *France* uſually give. 1526.

13. That in caſe *Francis* die before *Leonora*, ſhe ſhall have for Arras ſixty thouſand *Livres Tournois* of Rent, Yearly to continue, during her Life only.

14. That, in caſe *Leonora* ſurvive *Francis*, it may be lawful for her to return to *Spain*, *Flanders*, or *Burgundy*, and carry with her all her Goods and Jewels; and that before the Solemnity of the ſaid Marriage, the Seal of the ſaid King and Dauphin, and of the Eſtates and principal Places of the ſaid Kingdom of *France*, together with due Acknowledgments and Obligations ſhall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the Accompliſhment thereof, both by way of Excommunication, and alſo by Arreſts, and detaining of all Perſons of the ſaid Kingdom, of what Quality ſoever.

15. That a Marriage ſhall be ſolemniz'd between *Francis* the Dauphin, Son and Heir to *Francis*, and *Donna Maria*, Daughter to *Leonora* and her firſt Husband *Manuel*, in Words *de futuro*, when the ſaid Lady ſhall attain to ſeven Years of Age; and by Words *de præſenti*, when ſhe ſhall be twelve. And that her Brother *Don Juan* King of *Portugal*, ſhall give *his conſent thereunto*, with ſufficient proviſion for her Dowry.

16. That the ſaid *Infanta Maria*, ſhall at twelve Years of Age be conducted to *France*, and conſign'd to *Francis*.

17. That *Francis* ſhall uſe his beſt means to diſpoſe *Henry d'Albret*, together with his Brothers and Siſters, to renounce their Title to *Navarre*, or when they could not procure any ſuch Diſclaim, not to aſſiſt him or them in their Pretences. That *Francis* likewiſe ſhall uſe his beſt means to diſpoſe the Duke of *Gueldres* to leave (after his Life) the Dutchy of *Gueldres* and County of *Zutphen*, to *Charles*; or when he could not procure this, to aſſiſt *Charles* with three hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, to recover it.

18. That *Francis* ſhall not give aſſiſtance to Duke *Ulricke* of *Wittenberg*, nor to *Robert de la Mark*, or his Sons, againſt the ſaid *Charles*, but rather help him to repreſs them, nor interpoſe himſelf by way of Treaty in favour of any Potentate of *Italy*.

19. That when *Charles* ſhall paſs *in* Perſon to *Italy*, *Francis* ſhall lend the ſaid *Charles* his Fleet in the *Mediterranean* Sea, being well equipped, for the ſpace of three Months, and no longer. And, whereas *Francis* promiſed to aſſiſt *Charles*, both with Men and Artillery for his Voyage, he ſhould in lieu thereof, pay in Money Two hundred thouſand Crowns, giving him good Security for it; yet, if the Emperor demanded Five hundred great Horſe, together with ſufficient Artillery, *Francis* ſhould furniſh them at his own proper Coſts.

20. That becauſe *Charles*, for the better drawing *Henry* King of *England* to his Party againſt *Francis*, had promis'd to pay unto the ſaid *Henry*, the Sum of One hundred thirty three thouſand three hundred and five Crowns Yearly, in lieu of thoſe Penſions and Rents which the ſaid *Francis* was bound to pay to *Henry*, and during ſuch Terms as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a Treaty concluded at *Windſor*, *June* 19, 1522, more at large appeareth) and becauſe, ſince that time, until a late League betwixt *Francis* and *Henry*, all the ſaid Money remains in Arrear: And

becauſe

1526. because *Francis* saith, he hath taken order with *Henry* for the payment of the said entire Sum; therefore it is agreed, that *Francis* shall save harmless the said *Charles*, from all demands on the part of *Henry*; and furthermore, shall give an Authentick Copy of the said late Agreement betwixt him and *Henry*, sometime before the end of four Months next ensuing the Date hereof; as also of the Acquittances he shall receive from *Henry* upon payment of the said Sums, which shall be such as *Charles*, his Heirs and Successors, may remain indemnify'd and, discharged thereof for ever. So that, if *Charles* should be call'd upon for satisfaction in these Particulars, *Francis* shall take the Business on himself, and defend it as his own, without that *Charles* shall be any way molested therein.

21. That, because this particular Treaty is made in the way of a General League, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks; therefore, that Supplication should be made in both their Names unto his Holiness, that he would write unto all Christian Princes and Estates to join herein; as also to authorize a Cruzada for the said Enterprise; to endure at least for three Years next ensuing, not exempting Ecclesiastical Persons from it. And, if need be, that *Charles* and *Francis* should go in Person to this Holy War by Sea, that then they should join and unite their Forces together with those of the great Master of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Genouese*; or, if the danger appear not so great, as to require their Presence in the said War, that then a General for conducting the said Forces, shall be appointed by *Charles*; or if otherwise it should be thought necessary themselves should go in Person, that then Ambassadors and Commissioners should be appointed to reside in each others Dominions, for the determining of all Differences that should arise in their absence.

22. That, because *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, together with divers of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, did for a while absent themselves from *France*, and the Service of *Francis*, and that for this Cause, the Dutchies of *Bourbon*, *Avergne*, *Chasteleraut*, the Counties of *Clermont*, &c. had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that *Francis* presently, or at farthest in six Weeks after his Delivery, shall restore unto the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as well as to all the rest of his Friends, Allies and Servants, (whether Ecclesiastical or Secular) their former Possessions, together with the just value of all the Goods that have been taken from them, as also the Writings or Deeds by which the said Possessions were formerly held, and also the true Profit of the said Lands and Possessions, during their absence, and to stay all Suits and Proceedings against them on this occaon. Furthermore, That the said Duke shall not be constrain'd Personally to appear in the *French* Court, but that he may administer, and dispose of all his Estate and Possessions, by sufficient Deputies and Officers appointed thereunto, and receive the Revenues thereof, in such Place as himself shall chuse, when it were out of *France*; and that the said Officers shall not be molested in execution of their Charge. And, as for the Right the said Duke of *Bourbon* pretends to the County of *Provence*, and the Dependancies thereof, it is agreed that a just and equal hearing and decision thereof, shall be permitted and given before competent Judges, whensoever the said Duke shall re-commence his former Suit therein; and that the said Duke, his Friends, Allies, and Servants, may, without prejudice to their Rights or Possessions, stay or continue in the Service of the Emperor. And that, for performing of all these Particulars above-mention'd, *Francis* shall give good and sufficient warrant and assurance, according to form of Law, and the terms usual in this case. 1526.

23. That before the fifteenth of *February* next, all Prisoners on both sides, and particularly *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange*, shall (without paying any Ransom) be set free, and return to their several Countries, unless their Sovereigns, by mutual consent, do otherwise determin.

24. That all Rebels and Fugitives on either side shall be remanded, (only those in the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoa*, and County of *Asti* excepted) who shall be freely pardon'd, and within six Months restor'd to their former Estates. As for those who are charg'd with heinous Crimes of that Nature, as they cannot be return'd home, without Scandal and Inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a Month's warning, they shall depart from those Places to which they are retir'd, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and sent to their lawful Sovereign or Superior.

25. That all Prelates and Ecclesiastical Persons, as also all Subjects, of what condition soeve, shall, on either side, return to their former Places, Estates, and Possessions, notwithstanding any Confiscation, Gift, or Alienation thereof whatsoever.

26. That, because in the Cortes of *Castilla*, the Consuls and *University* of *Burgos* had complain'd of divers Losses they had receiv'd, contrary to some ancient Privileges, (both before and since these Wars) which they pretend to hold from the Ancestors of the most Christian King as Duke of *Bretaigne*, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the Particulars, the said Privileges shall be confirm'd, and a friendly end made, or otherwise Justice done on the Offenders.

27. That, because the Cloths made in *Catalonia*, *Rousillon*, *Cerdenna*, and other Places of the Crown of *Arragon*, are not permitted to be carry'd through the Territories of *France* into other Countries without danger of Confiscation, it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient Customs, they shall have a free Way and Passage, both by Sea and Land, along all the *French* Dominions.

28. Because Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to *Charles*, hath much mediated this Peace; and because a certain Neutrality, by the consent of *Charles*, was accorded betwixt her and *Francis*, for the Countries in her possession, during their late Wars, according to which she ought to enjoy the County of *Carlois*, and certain Granaries of Salt, &c. notwithstanding which, they have by force been taken from her; it is agreed therefore, that they, together with the Profits in arrear, shall be restor'd to her, during her Life only. And, that afterwards they shall descend on *Charles* and his Heirs.

29. That, because the Queen *Donna Germana de Foix*, Widow of *Arragon*, saith she had receiv'd a definitive Sentence in the Parliament of *Paris*, by which the Towns and Lands of *Marceni*, *Tarsen*, *Gavierdey*, and *Gavaret*, are adjudg'd to her; it is agreed, that *Francis* shall see the said Sentence executed by strong Hand, if need be.

30. *Item*, Because *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, since his Service of the Emperor, hath had divers Places and Rights in *Dauphine* and *Bretaigne* taken from him by *Francis*, and some Money's detain'd; it is agreed, that he shall be restor'd to his former Possessions, and the said Moneys paid, and good and speedy Justice done him in his other Demands.

1526. 31. *Item*, Becaufe *Philip de Croy* Marquifs of *Arefcon*, pretends to divers Lands, and other Rights in *France*, which fince thefe Wars have been taken from him; it is agreed he fhall be reftor'd to them, and Juftice done him in his other Demands.

32. *Item*, Becaufe the Princefs of *Chimay* pretends to certain Goods and Inheritance defcended to her, as in the Right of the *Seigneur de la Brit* her Father, as alfo to fome Goods of her Mother and Brethren; it is agreed that good and fpeedy Juftice be done her.

33. *Item*, That *Henry* Count of *Naffaw* fhall have right done him by *Francis* for part of the Dowry of his Wife.

34. *Item*, That *Adolpho* of *Burgundy*, *Seigneur de Beures*, Admiral of *Flanders*, fhall be reftor'd to his Right of the Caftle and Lands of *Crevecœur en Cambreis*, in the manner he held it before the War.

35. *Item*, That *Monfieur Charles de Pompet*, Camarero to the Emperor, fhall have the Money reftor'd him, which contrary to the Privileges of the Univerfity of *Paris*, he was conftrain'd to pay for the Ranfom of his Children, Students there, when the late War began.

36. *Item*, That *Guillaume de Vergi* fhall have right done him for the Seigneury of *San-de fier en Perchois*.

37. *Item*, That the *Seigneurs de Frenes*, *Conde de Gaures*, *Monfieur Audriano de Croy*, *de Reulx*, *de Meleny*, *Conte de Spinay*, and *Sieur de Reulx*, fhall have the Goods reftor'd which they enjoy'd before thefe late Wars.

38. *Item*, That the *Marquis Antonio de Saluzzo*, his Mother and Sifters, as alfo *Frederico de Baugy*, fhall have thofe Goods reftor'd, which were taken in thefe late Wars, and Juftice done them.

39. *Item*, That the *Seigneur de Monago*, Bifhop of *Grafo*, fhall be replac'd in his Bifhoprick, and Juftice done to him, and againft thofe who kill'd his Brother.

40. *Item*, That the *Seigneur de Luz* fhall be reftor'd to his Poffeffions which he enjoy'd before he entred the Emperor's Service; and good and fpeedy Juftice done in certain Lands he pretends defcended to him from his Anceftors during thofe Wars.

41. *Item*, That the Pope, the King of *England*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Portugal*, and *Scotland*, *Don Ferdinando* Brother to *Charles*, (and his Lieutenant-General of the Empire) *Madam Margarite* Aunt to the Emperor, the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, (who are obedient to the Emperor) the Seigneurs of the Ancient Leagues and Cantons of *High-Germany*, may upon Notification of their defire to be admitted into this League, (and not otherwife) be receiv'd there-into at any time within the fpace of fix Months next enfuing.

42. *Item*, That *Francis* being fet at liberty, fhall in the firft Town he fhall come to within his Kingdom, give Letters Patents for the Ratification of this Accord, and fend them to *Charles*. And that the Dauphin, when he fhall attain the Age of Fourteen, fhall likewife ratifie them with a folemn Oath, in which he fhall renounce all Advantages, which by Minority of Age he might take hereafter to infringe the faid Oath.

43. *Item*, That both *Charles* and *Francis* fhall ratifie this prefent Capitulation and Agreement, and all that is contain'd therein (each for his part) before Ambaffadors appointed for this purpofe; and efpecially *Francis*, when he is free in his Kingdom, fhall fwear folemnly upon the Evangelifts in the prefence of the true Crofs, to keep and hold all that is contain'd in the faid Capitulation; and that both of them fhall fubmit themfelves herein to the Ecclefiaftical Jurifdiction and Cenfure, even to the Invocation of the Secular Power to conftrain them; and that they fhall appoint their feveral Proctors to appear for them in the Court of *Rome*, and before the Pope, where they fhall voluntarily accept the Condition and Fulmination of the faid Cenfures, in cafe of Contravention; and that neither of them fhall demand or fue for Abfolution of this Oath or Cenfure; or if they do, that it fhall not be available without the confent of the other. 1526.

44. *Item*, Becaufe no Man may pretend Ignorance, it is agreed that this Peace fhall be publifh'd before the fifteenth of *February* next, both in the Dominions of *Charles* and *Francis*, and efpecially in the Frontiers, and fuch other places as have been accuftom'd in the like cafe.

This was Signed: *Francois*, *Charles de la Noy*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, *Francois Archevefque de Ambrun*, *Jean de Selue*, *Chabot*.

The Treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mention'd, the Archbifhop of *Ambrun*, for the laft Seal and Solemnization thereof, faid Mafs. This being done, *Francis* coming to the Altar, and putting his Right-hand upon the Book of the Evangelifts, (which the faid Archbifhop held) did fwear by the Sacrament, and the Holy Evangelifts, not to break this Capitulation all the Days of his Life, nor to give Counfel or Favour that any other *fhould break it*. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, and the Secretary *Aleman* in the Emperor's Name. (For the Emperor in Perfon did not think fit to balance his free Oath with that of *Francis*, then in reftraint.) This being perform'd on both fides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and *Pleyto omenaie* (being a kind of Homage) of *Francis*, who as a Prince and the moft Chriftian King, promis'd and gave his Fidelity and Royal Word to return into *Spain* a Prifoner within the fpace of fix Months, in cafe he did not accomplifh all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his Hands thereupon to be held betwixt thofe of *Charles de la Noy*. This being ended with much feeming Content on all Parts, the Emperor's Commiffioners went to *Toledo*; where, upon relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to fend the *Seigneur de Praet*, Chevalier of the *Taifon d'Or*, who had been in *England*, and was now his Ambaffador in *France*, to meet with the *French* King at *Bayonne*, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample Ratification of his Oath.

Sandov. Jan. 14. Francis fwears to this Treaty.

Some few Days after this Treaty (commonly call'd *Concordia de Madrid*) *Charles de la Noy* having Power and Commiffion from the Queen *Donna Leonora*, privately contracted a Marriage with *Francis* in her Name, and then having Commiffion from him again, went to the Queen *Leonora* and contracted a Marriage with her in the Name of *Francis*. After which time the Emperor treated no more with *Francis* as a Prifoner, but a near Ally; infomuch that at the next Vifit, he offer'd him the Right-hand. I obferve yet the Emperor would not permit *Francis* to enjoy *Leonora* his Sifter, till he had fully accomplifh'd the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his laft Words to *Francis*, (being then licens'd to depart) feem fo fenfible of any thing, as of her Honour. At which time alfo (for further Obligation of *Francis* unto this Agreement) I find by *Sandoval*, he demanded of *Francis*, *whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them?* *Francis* anfwer'd, *Yes*; for further Confirmation repeating the moft particular

Sandov. Emperor vifits him with great Affection.

1526. lar Articles. *Charles* then demanded, *Are you willing to perform them?* *Francis* anſwer'd again, *Yes*; adding, *he knew no Man in his Kingdom would hinder him.* And, *when you find that I do not keep my Word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me for* Laſche & Meſchant, *a Knave and a Villain.* *Charles* reply'd, and *I wiſh you to ſay the like of me, if I do not give you Liberty.* Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long Farewell. This being done, *Charles* return'd. There was much difficulty yet about the Exchange betwixt *Francis* and his two Sons, neither could they (almoſt) deviſe how to ſecure it from Jealouſie

Feb. 26. on either ſide. At laſt theſe Articles were agreed:

The manner how *Francis* was to be deliver'd.

1. *That no Man at Arms, or other Soldier, might within ten Days before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty Leagues of the place; and that thoſe who were come already ſhould retire.*

2. *That no Gentleman of the* French *King's Houſhold ſhould paſs* Bayonne, *till the King were come to St.* Juan de Luz.

3. *That the Number of Foot-Garriſons in either Frontier ſhould not exceed a thouſand. And that when Madam* Loüiſe *the Regent had declar'd whether ſhe would give the two eldeſt Sons of* Francis *in Hoſtage, or the Dauphin only with the twelve others above-mention'd, that then it ſhould be adviſ'd whether the Number were to be increas'd.*

4. *That at the Day of the delivery neither Man nor Woman, Neighbour nor Stranger ſhould be near the place.*

5. *That ſix Days before the delivery,* Charles *ſhould appoint twelve Perſons to viſit the Coaſt, on that ſide where the River of* Fuentarabie *joins with* France: *And that four Perſons appointed by Madam* Loüiſe, *ſhould be ready there to do whatſoever was requir'd for Performance of theſe Articles. And that for this purpoſe Madam* Loüiſe *might alſo appoint twelve on the other ſide of the River, whom four on* Charles *his part ſhould likewiſe attend.*

6. *That neither on one or other ſide of the ſaid River (paſſing near* Fuentarabie*) there ſhould be any Boats or Pinaces, but two (which muſt be of the ſame bigneſs) to paſs* Francis *to the one, and the Hoſtages to the other ſide, and that the twelve Deputies on either part ſhould take order herein.*

7. *That there ſhould be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the place appointed for the Delivery.*

March 15. In ſequence of which Capitulation, it was further agreed, that *Charles de la Noy*, with twenty five arm'd Men, with Swords and Daggers only, for guarding of the *French* King, and as many with *Monſieur de Lautrech*, in like manner weapon'd, for conducting the two Hoſtages, ſhould come to the ſides of the above-mention'd River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Bark faſtned with Anchors, ſhould be built, on which yet no body ſhould ſtand; and that two Boats of equal bigneſs, fitted for twenty Oars apiece, ſhould be ready there, of which *Francis* ſhould chuſe one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all *French* and unarm'd, ſhould enter his Boat, and bring it to the ſide of *Spain* at the ſame time that the other with twenty *Spaniards* unarm'd likewiſe, ſhould be brought to the *French* Coaſt. That thereupon *Charles de la Noy* conducting the King, and taking ten Perſons only with him, ſhould paſs to one ſide of the ſaid Bridge, at the ſame time that *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the Hoſtages, and ten Perſons, ſhould likewiſe come to the other. That none of the ſaid Perſons yet ſhould put themſelves upon the Bridge, but *Charles de la Noy* with the *French* King and one other, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the two Hoſtages, and Madam *de Briſac* and *Chauvigny*. That thereupon the Exchange ſhould be made in one inſtant. Before yet any thing was done the ſame Day, that a Boat with four Rowers *Spaniſh*, and four *French*, and a Gentleman of either Nation, ſhould viſit the Coaſt on both ſides, and take order that every thing ſhould be prepar'd. For fear yet leſt ſome ſuppoſititious Children ſhould be rendred inſtead of the Dauphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the *Seigneur de Praet*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, ſhould come along with them, while another *Frenchman* was allow'd to attend *Francis* in his Paſſage. 1526.

Thus upon the eighteenth of *March* 1526: after one whole Year and ſome Days Impriſonment, was *Francis* deliver'd to his Boat, and by mutual Conſent at the ſame time accompanied with twelve *Spaniards* (whereof *Charles de la Noy* and *Hernando de Alancon* his Guardian were two) to the *French* Shoar, while the Hoſtages, accompany'd with the like Number, came to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the Performance of all this, but that a ſtay was made while the two Children kiſs'd their Father's Hand, and that his laſt Words to *la Noy* confirm'd again his Promiſe to the Emperor. As ſoon as *Francis* came to his own Ground, he got haſtily upon a *Turkiſh* and ſwift Horſe, and ſuddenly putting Spurs to him (if we may believe *Sandoval*) and caſting one of his Arms over his Head, and crying *Je ſuis le Roy, Je ſuis le Roy*, poſted to St. *Juan de Luc*, and the next Day to *Bayonne*, where the Lady his Mother, and many other principal Perſons with much Anxiety attended him.

Francis's Joy on his Arrival in *France*.

I am the more particular in the Relation of theſe Paſſages, both as the Example is rare, and as it leads to the underſtanding of that which followeth in our Hiſtory; and the rather, for that it was the Subject that chiefly took up the time and thoughts of our King, whenſoever his Proſpect was turn'd on Foreign Affairs; inſomuch that he might be truly ſaid a principal Actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve *Francis*. Therefore as he had ſent *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, long ſince into *Spain*, to mediate his Delivery with the Emperor, ſo now hearing he was in his way homewards, he diſpatches Sir *Thomas Cheney* to congratulate his ſafe Return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of *Moore* above-mention'd, which *Francis* accepting, ſent a Meſſenger immediately to advertiſe our King of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge, that he ow'd him chiefly his Liberty, as both *Sandoval* relates it, and our Records, under his own hand, confirm; which fair Terms produc'd, afterwards, a more firm Correſpondency betwixt them.

Owns his Liberty due to *K. Henry*.

Charles de la Noy and *Hernando de Alancon* having in vain ſollicited *Francis*, at *Bayonne*, to accompliſh that part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, ſeem'd yet to receive ſome Satisfaction, that they were referr'd until their coming to *Paris*. (The King pretending he could do nothing, effectually, till he had ſpoken with the principal Perſons of the Eſtate and Parliament.) Here again they preſs'd *Francis* unto the Performance of that he was bound to by ſo many Oaths and Promiſes. But *Francis*, for a Concluſion, poſitively anſwer'd, that it was not in his Power to diſmember any Part from the Kingdom, without conſent both of the ſame Part, and the whole Kingdom; and therefore, with many loving Words, deſir'd that his Ranſom might be chang'd to ſome equivalent Sum of Money. But *Charles* would by no means hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by

May. *Francis* refuſes to confirm the Treaty.

1526. Treaty happily detain'd the Queen *Leonora* from passing into *France*, so he determin'd rather (at what Price soever) to take off the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Francisco Sforza*, and the *Florentines*, from a League they were entring into with *England* and *Francis* against him, than to decline any way the least Article of the late Concord and Agreement.

Tillet. This League (call'd *Clementina & Sanctissima*) was begun (as the *French* have it) by the Instigation of our King, during the Imprisonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded, till about two Months after his Delivery. To give this a more auspicate beginning, the Pope (as the *Spanish* History hath it) sent to the *French* King a Relaxation of the Oath he made to observe the Concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon pretext alledg'd by *Francis*, that those of *Burgundy* would not consent, by any means, to be alienated from the *French* Crown. *Charles de la Noy* and *Hernando de Alancon* finding Matters thus distemper'd, and unlike to sort to any good end, desir'd leave to return, which *Francis* granted, upon condition that they would go to *Spain* immediately, and not to *Italy*, whither (in regard of his Government) *la Noy* desir'd much to pass through the *French* Territories. Though others write, and our Records confirm it, that they departed not till the following Treaty was sworn, at *Cognac*, in their Presence. Which that they might make more specious to the Emperor, they offer'd him place to enter into it, upon certain Conditions. This Treaty, concluded between Pope *Clement* VII. *Francis* the *French* King, the *Venetians*, *Francisco Sforza*, and the *Florentines*, was to this Effect:

The Pope absolves him from his Oath. May 22. Sandov.

And heads a League made against Charles. May 22. The Articles of it.

1. That the Contractors of this League and Concord shall be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies of each other. That this Clause yet shall not extend to the Dominions held by the Pope and *Venetians*, out of *Italy*. And that the said Contractors shall, particularly defend the Person and Dignity of the Pope against all his Adversaries.

2. That place shall be left for the Emperor *Charles* to enter hereunto, if he desire it, and for *Henry* King of *England*, not only as a Contractor, but Protector of this most Holy League and Concord, as also for *Don Hernando*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the rest of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendom, provided yet, that the said *Charles* shall not be admitted hereunto, but upon these ensuing Conditions. That is to say, unless he first restore the two Sons of *Francis*, which he detains as Hostages, and take in lieu of them, some reasonable and fitting Recompence and Satisfaction. As also unless he leave the Dutchy of *Milan* freely unto *Francisco Sforza*, and the rest of the Estates and Dominions in *Italy*, in the form and manner they were before the late War; and unless when he enters *Italy*, to be Crown'd there, he bring with him such Family and Train only, as the Pope and *Venetians* shall think fit; which yet is intended shall be such, as may take away suspicion of violent Attempt, and preserve together the Imperial Dignity; and unless within three Months, after the conclusion of the said Treaty, (the King of *England* entering into it) he pay unto the said King all the Money due to him.

3. That an Army shall be rais'd by the said Confederates, which shall consist of thirty thousand Foot, two thousand five hundred Men of Arms, and three thousand Light Horse, together with the Artillery and Munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the Pope should furnish eight hundred Men at Arms, and seven hundred Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot: The *French* King forty thousand Crowns the Month in Money, and five hundred Men at Arms (call'd *Maistres*) comprehending one thousand Light Horse: The *Venetians* eight hundred Men at Arms, and one thousand Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot; *Francisco Sforza*, the Duke of *Milan*, four hundred Men at Arms, three hundred Light Horse, and four thousand Foot. That certain *Swiss* should be rais'd for the said League, at the Charge of the *French* King; who, besides the above-mention'd, shall have a powerful Army to hinder the Passage of any considerable Forces into *Italy*. All which, are to be imploy'd against the Perturbators of the Peace of *Italy*, until they be reduc'd to the Estate of not being able to keep the Field.

4. That, when this Treaty shall be ratified by all the Confederates, they shall jointly desire *Charles* the Emperor to restore the two Sons of the *French* King, and, in case he refuse, shall denounce War against him, till he restore them. For the execution whereof (the War of *Italy* being ended) the Confederates shall furnish to the said *French* King ten thousand Foot, one thousand Men at Arms, and a thousand Light Horse, or Money for the raising or payment of them.

5. That the Confederates shall defend each others Estate against all Invasion; In which case those of *Italy* shall furnish ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse to the *French* King, and he as many to them again.

6. That the Confederates shall have an Armado of twenty eight Gallies at least, whereof the *French* King shall furnish twelve, the Pope three, and the *Venetians* thirteen, to be imploy'd in this War, unless the *French* King have particular use of his Part.

7. That, for removing all suspicion of Attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *French* King shall not only permit the present Duke to enjoy it, but shall defend him against all Adversaries, with the proportion of Forces above-mention'd, he paying, in consideration of the Claim and Expence of the *French* King, such a Pension (at *Lyons* in *France*) as the Pope and *Venetians* shall ordain; which yet shall not be less than five hundred thousand Ducats yearly.

8. That, because this Peace may be universal over *Italy*, all Goods taken away in these late Occasions, shall be restor'd, and all Men re-inplac'd in their former Possessions.

9. That the *French* King shall give some *Lady* of the Blood-Royal of *France*, (by the Nomination of the Pope) for Wife to the Duke of *Milan*, and shall procure the *Swiss* to defend his State on all Occasions, as they were formerly accustom'd. That the *Concado de Asti*, as being distinct from *Milan*, and anciently pertaining to the House of *Orleans*, shall be restor'd to the *French* King, or at least the Government thereof, to be administred by the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to the *French* King, or his Deputy.

10. That *Antonio Adorno* shall remain Duke of *Genoüa*, if either he enter into this League, or, otherwise, alter the Form of the City Government, in such sort as may be thought most for the Security and Quiet of *Italy*, reserving yet to the *French* King his Title and Right of Superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in Possession of the said City.

11. That, if the Emperor deny or delay to perform what is requir'd in the second Article, that then presently after ending the War for the Pacification of *Italy*, the Confederates shall invade the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, if the Emperor be expuls'd thence, that then it shall remain at the disposition of the Pope, as being held

1526. held in feud of the Church; and that, in recompence of the Pretence which the *French* King hath to it, the Pope, with consent of all the Cardinals, shall bind himself and Successors to pay yearly to the King of *France* a convenient Pension, which shall not be less than sixty five thousand Crowns *de Soleil*.

12. That in case any of the Confederates should die or fail, yet the League should continue firm among the rest, and that the Successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the Confederates shall take upon them the Defence and Protection of the House of *Medicis*, even to the Restitution of them to their former Greatness and Dignity.

Henry VIII. Protector of it, with an Allowance of 20000 Ducats per Annum.

14. And because the most serene and powerful King of *England*, Defender of the Faith, hath always affected Peace, as appears by the good Offices done to the *French* King, and hath always imploy'd his Forces in service of the Catholick Church, as his Father did before him; and because no Authority, superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the Conservation of good Men in Peace, or repressing of those who are ill: Therefore, it is agreed, that his Majesty shall be Protector of the most Holy League and Concord. For which purpose, the said Confederates do offer to him and his Heirs an Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Title of Duke or Prince, not less worth than the yearly Rent of thirty thousand Ducats. And to the Cardinal of *York*, for his great Pains and Service in this Business, they offer another *Estate* in *Italy* worth ten thousand Ducats yearly.

The Cardinal 10000.

15. That the Confederates shall make no Treaty with others than these who are mentioned in this present Concord: And that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the Ratification of this Concord, every one, who is contain'd in it, shall name his Friends, provided, that they be not Subjects, nor Vassals, or Enemies of the greater part. And so the Pope nominated the King of *England*, and the Marquiss of *Mantua*, reserving the naming of the the rest within the time appointed. The King of *France* naming the King of *England*, *Scotland*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, *Polonia*, *Hungaria*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorain*, and *Gueldres*, and the thirteen *Cantons* of the *Swiss*. The *Venetians* nominated the King of *England*, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the *French* King send his Moneys within the space of a Month to *Rome*, or consign them to *Venice* or *Florence*, and give Security for Payment to the Bankers six Days before every Month.

18. That all, who enter the League, shall, in the space of one Month, approve and confirm it. And if the Duke of *Milan*, because he is straitly besieg'd, cannot perform his Part, that then the Pope and *Venetians* shall sign it for him.

And thus far I have follow'd the *Spanish* Relation. By the *French* I find only such a League was sign'd at *Coignac* in *France*, the two and twentieth of *May* 1526.

Our King finding himself thus chosen Protector of the League, advises what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Council, it was resolv'd, most prudently, that he should not be a Party, where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor also, inform'd hereof, protested against *Clement* VII. (as an ungrateful Person; he having been by his Favour first made Cardinal, and after Pope, in despite of Cardinal *Soderino's* Allegation, that he was a Bastard, and, therefore, uncapable of either of the said Dignities: Neither had he other Evasion to clear himself, but that he produc'd Witnesses, how his Father, *Julian de Medicis*, before his Death, (which he receiv'd by a Stab as the Priest lift up the Host) had at length marry'd his Mother. Against the *French* King he exclaim'd, as perjur'd and false, and against the *Venetians*, as unconstant. Howsoever, his greatest care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in *Italy*, upon publishing of the League (*July* 8.) solemnly, by the Pope, they levy'd their appointed Numbers, yet *Francis*, being put in hope of the Restitution of his Children, delay'd so much on his part, that, at last, the Imperial Army constrain'd *Sforza* to yield *Milan*, reserving yet the Revenues thereof to his use, as hoping thereby to content him. But the despited and distrustful Duke, not satisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on Foot, in *Italy*, of which the Duke of *Urbin* was made General. This while the Emperor was advertis'd, how, in sequence of the Pope's Relaxation of *Francis* his Oath, the Parliament of *Paris* and King's Council had disannull'd and annihilated the Concord of *Madrid*, as being concluded by a Person who was constrain'd, and in Prison. To colour yet this Refusal, *Francis* sent Ambassadors to *Granada*, (where the Emperor was) to tell him again, Burgundy *could not be alienated from the* French *Crown*; *and that, if he would return his Sons at a reasonable Ransom*, (which I find by the *French* was two Million of Crowns) *he would take his Sister* Leonora *for his Queen*; *if not, that he would recover them by Force.* The several Ambassadors also of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, (and particularly the *English*) concurr'd herein; requiring further, that he should recall the *Spaniards* out of *Lombardy*, and restore *Francisco Sforza*; leave his pretence to *Naples*, and not go to *Italy* with an Army; and that he should pay the King of *England*, all the Contractors of the League, in case of refusal, denouncing War. The Emperor answer'd, *That the* French *King should do ill, not to keep his Oath and Promise. Neither could he excuse himself sufficiently by laying the fault on his Parliament or Kingdom, they being privy and consenting to it. That he would detain the Hostages; and, for the Queen* Leonora, *she was not demanded in such Terms as it was fit to send her. For* Francisco Sforza, *that he would chastise him as his Vassal. That he would hold his Right in* Naples. *That he would go to* Italy, *when and how he listed. And that, if all made War against him, he would, by the help of his good Subjects, defend himself against them all, and that he would pay the King of* England *with* French *Money.*

July 8.

July 24.

Concord of Madrid declar'd Null.

Francis's Message to Charles.

Charles's Answer.

I must return now a while to speak of home Businesses, that the Reader may see wherefore our active King prevail'd himself no more nor otherwise of these great Occasions. It was only for want of Money; the scarcity whereof also was the excuse his People made, for not furnishing those Contributions he demanded. Hereupon our King inquires into the Causes: Among which because secret Transportation of Money was thought one of the greatest, he advises concerning the Remedy. All his Counsellors yet did not concur in the same Opinion; for some affirm'd, *no Merchant would carry away Coin unless he found Gain by it*; and that *this, returning home again, inrich'd the Country.* Others said, *there were Subtleties yet, which, if Order were not taken, would drain away our Monies insensibly; it being manifest to all, that would take the Pains to consider it, that, unless the Commodities and Coin of our Country kept both Standard and Proportion with those with whom we Traffick, there would be Loss.* That the crafty *Flemings*, therefore, when they desir'd to raise the

Reasons against exporting Coin.

1526. the Price of their Commodities, inhanc'd likewife the Value of our Money, efpecially Gold; left our Merchants fhould be difcouraged to buy, when they find the Price of the Commodity fo much rais'd. The Confequence whereof was, that as our Merchants defir'd, by Stealth, to convey over their Money in *Specie*, as having, thereby, the benefit of the Inhancing; whereas if they receiv'd it in the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Credit or Exchange, they fhould not only lofe this Benefit, but pay fomewhat to thofe who furnifh'd them. Again, that when our Merchants had occafion to Return from the *Low-Countries*, they were not fuffer'd to carry back their Monies in *Specie*, but were forc'd to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they loft again. Thus, notwithftanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great Sums were convey'd over, to the impoverifhing of the Kingdom. The only Remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our Money at home, to the fame Rate that it paffeth at abroad, which will both keep our Money from tranfporting, and make the Exchange without Lofs: Neithere was there other means to prevent thefe Inconveniencies; which had now extended fo far, that our Gold was as frequent and current among our Neighbours, almoft, as at home; whereas, yet, little or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary Payments. Befides, they made another Advantage hereof: For as their Standard was bafer than ours, fo they coin'd our Gold again, and made no little Profit that way. Thus did our Neighbours many ways procure the Wealth of their Country, and Damage of ours; and would do more, when timely Order were not taken. Which our Hiftorians have thought worth the fetting down, and my felf have the more infifted on, both to fhew the Rate of Gold and Silver in thofe Times, and to help the Reader to underftand the fecond enhancing under this King, *Anno* 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angel-Noble of Gold was hitherto in weight ⅛ of an Ounce, in Eftimation fix Shillings eight Pence of Silver, which Silver was two Ounces. Thus the Proportion of Gold to Silver was Twelve to One. Again, an Ounce of Silver (or Half-Angel) pafs'd for three Shillings four Pence; fo twelve Ounces (or a Pound) was juft forty Shillings, which is two Pound, as we commonly count our Money.

Propor-tion of Gold to Silver.

Sept. But *Henry* VIII. now, by Proclamation, advancing the Value of both (one Tenth part) the Angel was rais'd to feven Shillings four Pence (which was the Rate at which it pafs'd in the *Low-Countries*.) And, confequently, an Ounce of Gold eftimated at Forty four Shillings, and an Ounce of Silver three Shillings eight Pence, and a Pound weight at Forty four Shillings, the Proportion being *(ut fupra)* Twelve to One. The fudden Benefit of this appear'd fuch, that, in *November* following, there was another enhancing of one Forty-fourth part. So that the Angel was feven Shillings fix Pence, the Ounce of Gold Forty five Shillings, and the Ounce of Silver three Shillings nine Pence. And, by thefe means, much of our Gold (as our Hiftorians obferve) was brought back again. But *Anno* 1544, thefe Metals were again enhanced one fifteenth part. So Gold came (from Forty five Shillings) to Forty eight Shillings an Ounce; and Silver (from three Shillings nine Pence an Ounce) to four Shillings; and a Pound weight of Silver was Forty eight Shillings.

Value of Coin rais'd.

Novemb.

1544.

The Turks beat the Hungarian. This while *Solyman* brought Two hundred thoufand Men into *Hungary*, with which (near *Buda*) he wholly defeated the Army of *Louis* King thereof, being Forty thoufand, and conftrain'd him to fly away; till, by the Fall of his Horfe, having his Leg engag'd, he was drown'd in lefs than a fpan-deep of Water and Mud, fo that it concern'd all Chriftian Princes to make Peace, but chiefly the Emperor, whofe Sifter King *Louis* had married; and whofe Brother *Ferdinand*, in the Right of his Wife *Anne*, Sifter and Heir to the faid King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, claim'd to fucceed in both Kingdoms. *Francis*, being not ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevail himfelf of the Occafion: Therefore he fent in *September*, 1526, the Archbifhop of *Bourdeaux* (with whom alfo the *Nuncio* and *Venetian* Ambaffadors join'd Offices) to defire the Emperor to fend back his Children, and to accept fome honeft Ranfom in Money; promifing, withal, his Love and Friendfhip. But *Charles*, now incenfed, told the Archbifhop, that, if he would have his Children, he muft according to his Oath and Promife, return Prifoner himfelf; (adding, that his Kingdom could not hinder him herein, however he pretended they would not confent to the Reftitution of *Burgundy*.) Wherein yet, he fhould but imitate the Example of King *John* his Predeceffor; who, being Prifoner in *England*, and permitted to go home upon the like Terms, did (when he was not able to pay his Ranfom) moft faithfully return again, and yield his Body unto Cuftody, where he dy'd. Then, taking the Ambaffador afide, (as *Sandoval* hath it) he bid him tell the *French* King his Mafter, that he had done *Lafchement* and *Mefchamment*, in breaking the Concord of *Madrid*, and that, if he deny'd it, he would make it good in Perfon againft him. But *Francis* wanted not Courage to reply in the fame Language, as will appear afterwards.

1526

Sept.

Francis's fecond Meffage to Charles.

Charles's Anfwer.

Sandov.

In the mean time, as he thought it concern'd him to defend his Reputation in any probable way, rather than to confefs in himfelf fo notable a Falfhood, he caus'd an Apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of *France*) to be publifh'd, and fent to all Chriftian Princes, the Effect whereof was,

That the Emperor had firft broke the Confederation of * Noyon, *in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdom of* Naples, *the Reftitution of* Navarre, *and divers other Rights. Befides, that he had made War in* Milan, *which was his by Inheritance, the Conceffion of Popes, and Donation in Feud by* Maximilian *the Emperor. And, which was worft of all, had enticed his Vaffal the Duke of* Bourbon, *to rebel againft him, and invade* Provence. *That, thereupon, he had indeed, drawn his Sword, and chafed the Imperial Army from before* Marfeilles, *and follow'd it to Italy, where he was unfortunately taken Prifoner; yet that he had protefted to thofe who kept him there, that, if the Emperor requir'd unjuft or impoffible things, he would not perform them, but rather that he would revenge himfelf, when he was free. That, as he doubted left through his abfence, fome Troubles might arife at home, he had procur'd his* Liberty *the beft way he could. In the whole Frame whereof, if any thing were to be diflik'd, it muft be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreafonable Conditions, than to him who found no other means to efcape. Notwithftanding, that, at his return, he had for the Satisfaction of his* Honour, *requir'd of his chief Nobility and Counfellors, what he ought to do, both according to Equity, and the maintenance of his Royal Dignity, who upon mature Deliberation, anfwer'd: That infolent Pactions and Contracts, which comprehend in them notable Damage and Detriment to the Conceffor, as being impos'd on him from one more powerful, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary and therefore in themfelves void. Befides, that, when he was facred at* Rheims, *he was then fworn not to alienate any Patrimony of the Crown, from which Oath therefore, as being formerly made, and more obligatory, he could by no means depart; efpecially, when the Inhabitants of* Burgundy *(which*

* 1516.

Francis's Apology.

1526. *(which was the Country demanded) would not consent thereunto. Wherefore, if the Emperor pressed him to any thing contrary to these Duties and Obligations, he must think it was not without a special Providence from above, that he recover'd his Liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant, that, he was ty'd by the greatest Bond of Religion not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he believe, that the Presidents of the Parliaments of* France *would consent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howsoever, that none could think him false or perjur'd as long as the Hostages (as the Counter-value of all that was capitulated) had been deliver'd to the Emperor. Neither was it enough to say, that, in demanding* Burgundy, *the Emperor did but require his own; since that Dutchy was (long since) annexed to* Normandy, *and incorporated into the Crown of* France *by King* John, *and consequently govern'd by the same Laws; among which the* Salick *being principal, the Emperor's Title, as being claim'd from a Daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this Affair had been communicated to some out of this Kingdom, who understood well what was to be done in such Cases, and that he had receiv'd much Comfort. In conclusion, as there remain'd nothing else for him to do, so he had offer'd a condign Ransom in Money, and other good Conditions, which might both redeem his dear Children, and testify the Desire he had to recover his lately married Wife, who was also detain'd from him; yet that he was still refus'd. All which Premises being duly consider'd, he appeal'd to all Christian Princes and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the Fault was his, and not rather the Emperor's, who, by his injurious and impossible Demands, had frustrated himself.*

Thus (as many thought) did *Francis* strive to elude his Oath with Reason of State; and to cover the Breach of his Faith under a Pretext of Impossibility; without making any good Excuse at all (that is extant) for his not returning, (tho' more easily palliated than the rest;) both as suspicion of ill Usage might be held a kind of natural Defence and Evasion in this kind, and as his Kingdom would less consent hereunto, than to any other Condition. And certainly, had the Emperor sufficiently consider'd all these Circumstances, he would have follow'd their Counsel, who advis'd him, either to detain *Francis* till he had made some Advantage thereof, or else have let him go freely. Neither should the *Clementine* League (begun during the Imprisonment of *Francis*) have deterr'd him; as being not concluded so much in favour of *Francis*, as directed against him, whose Greatness did then many ways appear. So that to let *Francis* go, was but to fortifie his Adversaries against himself. He thought fit yet to command an Answer to this *Apology*; wherein the Title, by which he claim'd all his doubtful Possessions, (especially that of *Naples* and *Provence*) is set down, and the Fault laid on *Francis*, with as much Bitterness as the Cause requir'd; all which is set down by *Sandoval*.

Charles answers it.

Sandov.

Francis, finding now there was no other way to recover his Children, but by Force, makes all the Friends he can: Wherefore, about the end of *July*, sending some Ambassadors to our King, a League was concluded the eighth of *August*, Anno 1526. *By which both Kings did oblige themselves reciprocally, not to Treat or Agree apart, or separately with the said Emperor, concerning the Restitution of the two Children of* Francis *(when yet they were freely offer'd) nor the Money due from the Emperor to our King; but jointly and together. And, as for all other Businesses, they should pass without Derogation or Prejudice to their former Treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And that neither of the said Kings should in any kind, assist the Emperor, when he were invaded by the other.*

Aug. 8. Treaty between K. Henry and Francis.

The Persons who chiefly procur'd this Treaty, were *Giovanni Joachim* (now stil'd *Monsieur de Vaulx*) and *Jean Brinon* the *Premier* President of *Rouen*; who, being (as is before said) dispatch'd by *Francis*, came to King *Henry*, *April* 28, and, being admitted, the President, in an eloquent Oration in *Latin*, before our King, set in his Throne, and attended by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the Emperor, *Venice* and *Florence*, (who at this time labour'd to draw him into the League of *Italy*,) professed publickly, that *it was the King's Goodness meerly that made him abstain from* France *at this season, the occasion of invading it being so fair, during the Imprisonment of the King his Master.* This being ended, Sir *Thomas More*, in the same Language, wittily answer'd him; concluding at last, that *since they acknowledg'd this Goodness in the King, it should be an Obligation on him to continue it*; wherewith the Ambassadors departed, much satisfy'd. Our King also, considering the Difficulties he found to procure Money, divided his time, betwixt Businesses at home and his Pleasures, not neglecting yet the Publick Weal of *Christendom*; for which purpose, he sent Sir *John Wallop*, not only to the Princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to join against the *Turk*, but to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, to comfort her for the loss of her Husband, adding withal such a Supply of Money as might testify his Zeal to that Cause, was greater than theirs, who by Kindred and Neighbourhood to the Danger were more concern'd herein.

April 28.

The Army of the late League having now begun a War, with some doubtful Success, in *Italy*, the Pope, for his Justification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, *June* 23, 1526. a kind of Apology for his taking Arms; alledging, that, *as he was* Pater Communis, *he thought himself bound, by all the ways he could, to procure a General Good before any Particular*, exhorting him for the rest, *to moderate his immense Ambition, to give Peace to* Italy, *Pardon to* Francisco Sforza *Duke of* Milan, *and Contentment to all the Confederates in their just Demands.* To which *Charles* sharply answer'd, (by Letter dated the seventeenth of *September* following) *laying the fault of that Dissention among Christian Princes (which had given occasion to the* Turk *to conquer so much in* Hungary*) from himself, and on the Pope chiefly*; telling him, among other things, that, regularly, *he ought not to draw his Sword, when even it were against the Enemies of our Faith. Then, taxing him, as if he were ungrateful, false, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the Peace of* Italy, *and the Christian World, and among others, for* Francisco Sforza, proceeding thence to a bitter Expostulation with the Pope, as is more at large set down by *Sandoval*; by whom also I find, that *Charles* sollicited all the Cardinals, openly, to call a General Council for the good of *Christendom*, (as of themselves) when, otherwise, the Pope would not consent thereto.

Pope's Letter to the Emperor. June 23.

Emperor's Reply. Sept. 17.

Sandov. & Sleid.

This while *Don Hugo de Moncada* coming into *Italy* to offer some Conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they took no Effect, treated secretly with *Pompeo*, Cardinal *de Colonna*, and others of that Family; who suddenly, with three thousand Men only, or as others say, six thousand, enter'd *Rome*, sacking part of it, and causing that Terror to the Pope, that he fled to the Castle of St. *Angelo*: Neither could he free himself, till he had agreed with *Moncada* for a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of *Lombardy*, and a Pardon to all the *Colonnesi*. Whereupon *Moncada* also withdrew his Forces out of *Rome*.

The Colonnesi take Rome.

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

Our King, being not yet inform'd hereof, had sent to *Charles* to offer his best Endeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, protesting,

1526. ing, that if he accepted his Good-will herein, he would disclaim all Interest in the *Clementine* League, although that Ambassadors from all the Confederates were, at that Instant, in his Court, sufficiently authorised to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon sends Instructions to his Ambassadors resident in *England*, to treat accordingly of an End; to which purpose also he dispatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to
Hollinshead our Court *January* 14, to treat hereof. How-
Jan. 14. 1527. beit, as Matters were likely to be spun out into a greater length than stood with his Master's occasions, he shortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spiceries of the *East-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas, by the decision of
1493. Pope *Alexander* VI. 1493, the *East-Indies* were given to the *Portugals*, and the *Western* to the *Spaniards*; so that the first Bound was a Line drawn from North to South, distant from the Islands of *Capo Verde* the space of four hundred Miles Westward, (all on this side being allotted to the *Portugal*, the other side being permitted to the *Spaniard*) this Line yet in favour of the *Portugals*, (who by their Riches, Power at Sea, and Conquests in *Africa*, had made themselves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty eight Miles Westward, whereby betwixt these two Neighbour Princes alone, a new World, with the immense Wealth belonging to it, was divided; yet with this Honour to the *Portugal*, that his Discoveries and Possessions gave denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occasion'd anciently the calling these Parts after its Name, and the new Conquests on the *Spanish* part, though hugely distant, following the Stile. Notwithstanding which large Empire, able to satisfy any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not Emulation betwixt those Princes, insomuch, that neither Alliance, Neighbourhood, nor the Danger they should incur, if other Princes prevail'd themselves of their Dissentions, could keep them in good Terms. Therefore I find by a Letter from *Edward Lee*, our King's Almoner, and now Ambassador in *Spain*, *dat.* at *Medina del Cam-*
1527. Jan. 21. *po*, the twenty-first of *January*, 1527, the Emperor laid claim to some Spiceries in the Eastern Parts, which I find by *Sandoval*, to have been the *Molucca's*, lately discover'd (as we have shew'd) by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugal*, who, to buy out the King of *Spain*, offer'd two Millions of Ducats; which yet the Emperor accepted not for the present, but chose rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King; and, thereby, either to draw a great Sum of Money from him, and, together, to engage us in a Quarrel against the *Portugals*, while himself continued his Navigation securely to the *West-Indies*; or at least, to detain him a while from a League he was now entring into with *Francis*. I do not find yet what Answer our King return'd thereto: But as no effect follow'd, I believe the Offer, tho' advantageous, was (out of ill Information concerning these Parts) rejected.

Limits of the Portugese and Spanish Dominions in the E. and W. Indies.

And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and understanding besides, what rough Usage the Pope had receiv'd from *Moncada*, resolves, according to his former League, to join against that Prince which appear'd most refractory. Therefore, conceiving the Fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd presently into a strict League with *Francis*, chusing rather to concur with him particularly, than to embrace the *Cle-*
1526. *mentine Accord*, as containing many Articles in it
Dec. 24. that no way concern'd him. Therefore sending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he proposes to *Francis* the Princess *Mary* in Marriage, (since *Charles* had deny'd him *Leonora*;) and, besides, 1527.
offers to enter an offensive League with him (such as his Confederates in *Italy* had made) for the recovery of his Children, and forcing the Emperor to reasonable Conditions. *Francis*, 1527. Jan.
gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princess *Maria*'s Picture, which, together with our King's, is granted, and the Match treated in *France* by our Agents, the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he marry'd her, requir'd she should be presently given up into his Hands: But our King not agreeing thereunto, (by reason his Daughter was yet but Eleven Years old) *March* the second, the Bishop March 2.
of *Tarbe*; the Viscount of *Thurenne*, and *Antoine Vesey*, the President of *Paris*, came into *England*; where, on the last of *April* (as I find by the *French* and our Records) three Treaties were concluded, in which these are the most remarkable Articles. March 30.

Princess Mary proposed to Francis in Marriage.

Treaties between Henry and Francis.

I.

In the first the preceeding Treaty betwixt them Aug. 8.
was confirm'd. Besides, it was agreed, that the said Kings should send their several Ambassadors to the Emperor, with Instructions conformable to each other, (so that their Language might be the same) as well concerning a Ransom of the *Dauphin* and the Duke of *Orleans* (then Hostages with *Charles*) as payment of the Debts due from him unto *Henry*, and other satisfaction for his Rights.

II.

That they should propose also in Name of the said King, such decent Conditions and Offers, which should be by them advis'd, and pursue them instantly with the said *Charles*. And, if either he refus'd, or made no Answer within twenty Days next following, or otherwise detain'd or excluded the said Ambassadors from coming to his Presence; that then, by their Heralds (or Kings of Arms) they should denounce War against him, in such Form, Manner, and Order, as should be declar'd in the second Treaty.

III.

Furthermore, it was concluded, that an Alternative Marriage (for so the *French* and our Records call it) should be made, betwixt *Mary*, Daughter of the said King of *England*, and the said *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Son; and that the determination of the Alternative Marriage should be reserv'd to the Interview of both Kings, in the Town of *Calais*, (at a moderate Expence) which should be declar'd presently after the refusal of *Charles*: In which case *Henry* should send unto *Francis* some faithful Person, to advise concerning the Particularities thereof. Also, the Articles of the said Alternative Marriage, were remitted until the aforesaid time. Howsoever, it was presently agreed, That, if the said Princess *Mary*, or her Issue, did not succeed to the Crown of *England*, and that the said War were not made against *Charles*, that then this Treaty of a more strait Alliance should be void. Notwithstanding which, if the said Alternative Marriage were broken off by the common Consent of both Kings, they should yet be oblig'd reciprocally unto the said War. Upon condition still, that *Francis* should re-imburse (at convenient Days of Payment) unto King *Henry*, the Expences he should be at; and, besides, should furnish unto the said *Henry*, as long as he liv'd, Yearly, of the Salt of *Brouage*, the value of fifteen thousand Crowns. But if the said

1527. said Marriage were hindred on the part of *Henry*, the said *Francis* should not be bound to pay the aforesaid Expences of the War. On the other side, that he should pay them double, if the Impediment proceeded from him.

2. By the second Treaty it was agreed, that presently after the Refusal, Delay, or Non-admittance of their Ambassadors, the Intercourse, Commerce, and Traffick between their Subjects and those of the Emperor should be forbidden. Nevertheless, that, by their Ambassadors, they should offer the respite of forty Days, to the intent that the Goods of their said Subjects, might be reciprocally withdrawn, if the said Emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actual War against him in the *Low-Countries*, an Army should be levy'd of thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand five hundred Men of Arms, *à la Francoise*, a Band of Artillery (so term'd then) and necessary Ammunition: Whereof *Francis* should furnish the aforesaid one thousand five hundred Men at Arms, and twenty thousand Foot; and *Henry* ten thousand Archers or Halberdiers, whom five hundred of the said Men at Arms should accompany and convey, whensoever, by the command of the said King, or their Generals, they should be divided from the Body of the Army. And that Victuals and other Provision should be deliver'd to them, at the same Price that other Foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the Narrow Seas, as well as for hindring all Intercourse and Traffick into the said *Low-Countries*, a Navy should be equipp'd of fifteen thousand Men, besides Mariners and Seamen. Whereof *Francis* should furnish ten thousand, and *Henry* five thousand, each of them at their proper Cost and Charges. That at *Calais*, *Abbeville*, or other the most commodious Towns, under the Obedience of the said Kings, certain Priviledg'd Marts or Fairs should be appointed; and that those Merchants which usually frequented the *Low-Countries*, should be drawn and invited thither, by all means possible. That the Number of their said Armies, both by Sea and Land, should be kept intire; and that the Towns, and strong Places, which were conquer'd, and Prisoners taken, should be equally divided betwixt the said Kings. And that the Spices and other Merchandize of the *Portugal* Ships, passing by the Narrow Seas, should not be permitted to be sold in the *Low-Countries*; but only in *France* and *England*, while the said War continued, according to the Proportion of that Use and Necessity, that either of the said Kingdoms should have thereof; Provided yet, that if the King of *Portugal* did declare himself in favour of *Charles*, that, in this case, he should be held as their common Enemy, and his Goods and Subjects adjudg'd as good Prize. And that the like Course should be held with all others who succour'd the Emperor in his said Wars; which neither of the said Kings should abandon or leave off, or otherwise treat of any Peace, Truce, or other Cessation of Arms, without mutual Consent. That Place should be reserv'd for the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Francisco Sforza*, to be compris'd in the said Confederation; upon condition yet, they should continue the War begun by them in *Italy*, as long as the said Kings proceeded in their Wars in the *Low Countries*. That the said *Francis* should dispose *Henry de Albret*, King of *Navarre*, as also the Duke of *Gueldres*, and *Robert de la March*, *Sieur de Sedan*, to make War, on their part, upon the Countries of *Charles* next adjoining to them. That if *John Sepuse*, *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*, (pretending to the Kingdom of *Hungary* against *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, and Brother of the said *Charles*) have not yet allied himself with the *Turk*, and that the said King of *Bohemia* did any way assist the Emperor against the said Kings; that then, by their joint Letters, they should animate and comfort the said *John Sepuse* to the Defence of his Cause, to the end he might both abstain from any Dependency on the *Turk*, and that he might divert the Succour of the said King of *Bohemia*. That also, by their joint Letters, they should signifie to the Princes of *Germany* this Confederation, together with the Causes thereof, to the end they might forbear giving Assistance to the Emperor, and be excited to bring the said Emperor unto Reason, which whensoever the said Emperor would accept, *Francis* should condescend thereunto, by the Intervention of *Henry*. 1527.

3. By the third Treaty, true, solid, firm, perpetual, and inviolable Peace, Amity, Union, Confederation, League, Intelligence, and Concord between the said Kings, and their Posterity, even to the end of the World, was accorded, by Decree and Law, obliging them, and all Kings their Successors, no less than the Oaths they take at their Sacrings and Coronations. According whereunto, they did respectively promise and agree, that the said Kings and their Successors, should never be inquieted or molested, by them or any of their Successors, being Kings, in the Lands, Countries and Seigneuries, which either of them held for the present; which therefore they and their Heirs should quietly possess for ever. In Consideration whereof, the said *Francis* did bind himself, and his Successors, Kings of *France*, to pay, every Year, at two several Terms, after the Decease of the said King *Henry*, to all the Kings of *England* his Successors, forty six thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, and twenty four *Sols Tournois*, without Deduction or Prejudice of the Sum of 1800736 Crowns *de Soleil*, xxxii. *Sols*, due to the said *Henry*, by Obligation, and Treaty of the xxx. *August*, 1525. or of that which should remain to be paid after his Decease; moreover the said *Francis* bound himself, and his Successors, Kings of *France*, to give of the Salt of *Broüage* yearly, as well to the said *Henry*, as to his Successors, to the Value of 15000 Crowns, as is above-mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any Subject or Ally of the said Kings, contrary to this third Treaty, that their Peace and Amity should not yet be broken, but that the Offenders and Delinquents only should be punish'd. And in every one of the said three Treaties, an express Article was inserted, that the precedent Treaty of *August* 30, 1525. should be by them confirm'd, and no ways infring'd, or diminish'd. Lastly, by Letter or Agreement apart, bearing Date likewise 1527. the said Kings declar'd, that they would have themselves held, understood, and reputed as one and the same, and that either of them should be still concern'd in the other. These Treaties being concluded and sworn, (yet so as the Bishop of *Tarbe* made not a few Doubts concerning the Princess *Mary*'s Legitimation, which we shall find afterward occasion the Divorce,) they were dismist, and honourably rewarded, and afterwards (as I find) sent by *Francis* to *Spain*. May 5. Ambassador of France objects to the Legitimacy of the Princess *Mary*.

While these things pass'd, the Pope, assoon as the Imperialists had quitted *Rome*, and left him at his Liberty, sends to our King a Letter, *September* 24. complaining of the Indignities offer'd to his Person by *Moncada*, and the *Colonnesi*, desiring his Grace to set his Hand to the Revenge of it, and Defence of the Apostolick See. Moreover he told our Ambassadors, (as they write,) that if the King of *England*, by whose Incouragement (he saith,) he enter'd this Labyrinth, will

1527. will yet effectually affift him, and the *French*
King amend his former flacknefs, &c. he will do
as he did before, notwithftanding his late Agree-
ment with *Moncada*, to which he holds himfelf
not bound, becaufe he was forc'd to it. Where-
Novemb. upon our King in *November*, fent him about
thirty thoufand Ducats for a Prefent. The Pope
being thus heartned, cites the Cardinal *Colonna*
to appear at *Rome* upon pain of Deprivation of
Pope threatned to be depos'd for Simony. his Dignity: He, on the other fide, threatning
to call a Council againft him, and depofe him
as a *Simoniac*; the Pope hereupon gathers an
Army, and with about ten thoufand Men, led
by the *Comte de Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke
of *Lorain* (to whom the Pope now pretended to
give *Naples*, as the Right of his Family,) enters
Feb. the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers Places be-
longing to the *Colonnefi*, and approacheth the ve-
ry Gates of *Naples*. But now new Succours com-
ing from *Spain*, the Pope was diftrefs'd and
Mar. 29. glad to treat again with *la Noy* the Vice-Roy, and
to give the Imperialifts fixty thoufand Ducats;
whereupon alfo it was agreed, that the Armies
fhould retire on either fide, and a Ceffation of
War fhould be accorded, for eight Months. But
the Pope finding this Accord alfo too difadvan-
tageous (as having difarm'd himfelf thereby,
and difcontented both the *French* and our King,)
intends to difavow it, and to provide himfelf of
Record. Money by creating 14 Cardinals, for which he
had three hundred thoufand Ducats; but *Bour-*
Bourbon *befieges* *Rome.* *bon* prevented his Attempts. For being actually
General of the Imperialifts (who for want of
Pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage,) he
takes a Pretext to invade *Rome* it felf; for (as
the Intelligence in our Records hath it) coming
May 5. near that City, *May* 5. he fent to the Pope for
Guicciard. *l.* 18. leave to pafs through it, and his Territories in-
to the Realm of *Naples*, and to have Victuals
for his Money; but the Pope denying it, *Bour-*
bon refolves to affault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri*,
an old Commander, defended. But *Bourbon* ha-
ving an Army of thirty thoufand Men, upon
May 6. *May* 6. 1527. marches directly to the Walls;
where carrying a Ladder before the reft of the
Soldiers, with which he meant to Scale the
Is kill'd. Town, a Shot kill'd him: Which kind of Death,
fome Writers fay, he call'd upon himfelf by a
kind of Imprecation, when the laft Year, being
at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their Quiet
at a great Price; wifhing he might be fhot to
death the firft time he went to the Field, if
they fhould be oppref'd any more by fuch Pay-
ments, which yet he forc'd them unto foon af-
Bellay. ter. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaa-*
lon, Prince of *Aurange*, threw a Cloak over his
Body, as fearing it might difcourage his Soldiers.
Prince of *Aurange* takes *Rome.* *Sandov.* But they, whether out of Indignation for this
Lofs, or greedinefs to fack the Town, enter'd
it with fury; killing in the way divers Bifhops,
and furprizing fome Cardinals that were flying
to the Caftle Saint *Angelo*; the Pope and *Renzo*
de Ceri being already retir'd thither with feven-
teen Cardinals, and the Ambaffadors of *England*,
France, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hun-
dred Soldiers. The Prince of *Aurange* (who
now took upon him the Charge of General) did
all that was poffible to reftrain the Soldiers from
And ranfacks it. May 12. their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwith-
ftanding which, their Impetuofity was fuch, that
(without making difference, betwixt Holy Pla-
ces and Prophane) they ranfack'd the City for
the fpace of fix or feven Days, killing above five
thoufand Men. Not content with this yet, they
laid Siege to the Caftle, and brought the
Pope to fuch Neceffity, that to free himfelf from
further Danger, he and thirteen Cardinals, that
now remain'd with him, agreed, that four hun-
dred thoufand Ducats fhould be paid to the Ar- 1527.
my within two Months, and the Caftle of Saint
Angelo, together with thofe of *Oftia*, and *Civita* *Grallier.* *Hift. Rom.*
Vecchia, and other Places, fhould be deliver'd into *Excep.*
the Hands of the Imperialifts. That the Pope *Guiciard.*
with the faid Cardinals fhould remain in the Ca- *l.* 18.
ftle, till part of the Money were paid, and good June 5.
Hoftages given for the reft. Which being done, *Guicciard.*
that he fhould go to *Cajeta*, or fome other Place in *l.* 18.
the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Empe-
ror's Pleafure.

Hereupon the Guard and Service of the Pope's Pope taken Prifoner.
Perfon was committed to *Hernando de Alanzon*,
and Victuals put into the Caftle; (where the Pope
remain'd under fome reftraint, not free from
danger, though otherwife reverenc'd in all ap-
pearance, according to his Dignity.) And now
the Cardinal *Colonna*, and others that fided with *Sandov.*
the Emperor began to treat concerning a Ge-
neral Council, conformable to a late Bull of
Pope *Julius* II. by which it was declar'd, that
a Pope might be depriv'd from his Place, and a-
nother fubftituted, when there were caufe for
it; (and they pretended to prove this Pope a
Simoniac.)

It was now the beginning of *June*, 1527. June.
when the Emperor being at *Valledolid* took no- *Sandoval.*
tice of this Succefs, divulg'd already over all
Chriftendom. Neverthelefs he fhew'd not any
other fenfe thereof, than fuch as might be ex-
pected from one to whofe Ambition and Power
nothing could feem either great or new. Yet
as he knew that all Chriftian Princes muft needs
be highly intereffed in the Imprifonment of the
Head of their Church, fo he thought fit to fa-
tisfie them herein. Among all which, none feem'd
fo confiderable as our King. To whom there- Emperor's
fore in a Letter dated from *Valledolid*, Aug. 2. Apology
1527. he made a kind of Apology for thefe for thus
Proceedings; beginning firft with giving an ac- proceeding.
count thereof, then demanding our King's *Advice*;
thereupon declaring alfo the Caufes why his Ar-
my could not be withheld from invading of
Rome. Yet fo, as he difclaim'd any part, either
the counfelling or authorifing thereof. Notwith-
ftanding which (as God could draw Good out
of Evil) fo he hop'd a Benefit might redound to
Chriftendom thereby. Wherefore, that he fhould
intreat him again, as his good Uncle and Bro-
ther, that he would fend his Opinion what fur-
ther was to be done in this Cafe. And particu-
larly, that he would affift him againft the *Ene-*
mies of our Faith; againft whom, *when their*
inteftine Wars were compos'd, *he refolv'd* to
imploy his Blood and Life. *He forgot* not alfo, July 20.
upon the Inftance of ours and the *French* Am- Aug. 2.
baffadors for the Pope's Liberty, to write gently
unto his Holinefs, offering his Love and Friend-
fhip in cafe he defir'd it. But to the chief Offi- Aug. 2.
cers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, *Sandov.*
and *Francifco de les Angeles*, General of the *Fran-*
cifcans, he fent Inftructions, which for fome fpace
amus'd them. For he commanded to fet the Pope
at Liberty, yet fo, as together they fhould pro-
vide, that from a Friend he fhould not become
an Enemy. The Prince of *Aurange*, *Hernando* Octob.
de Alanzon, and fome other principal Comman-
ders met hereupon; where, after a long Con-
fultation, how to reconcile and interpret this
Riddle, they refolv'd at laft, that to defpoil the
Pope firft of his Money, and then to deliver
him, was the beft way to comply with their In-
ftructions. After therefore having extorted great
Sums, not only for the Emperor's Occafions, but
their own; and forcing him to give Hoftages
for Security, he was difmifs'd out of the Ca-
ftle of St. *Angelo*, as fhall be told in its place.
Yet fo, as they fuffer'd him not to depart out
of

1527. of their reach; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwise: So that although by the former Convention he was to be remov'd to *Cajeta*, ten Miles distant thence; or some other Place belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*, (whether not only the burning of his Palace, Library and Records did seem to compel him, but the Pestilence then raging in that City, whereof also *Charles de la Noy* Viceroy of *Naples* died; into whose Charge therefore *Hugo de Moncada*, much against the Pope's Will, succeeded;) yet, saith *Guiccardine*, with much Diligence, Intreaty, and Art, he procur'd to stay in *Rome*. From whence upon the first Surrender of the Castle he com-

June 6. plain'd (as I find by our Records) to our King and Cardinal; protesting, that all the Help and Succour he could expect in this Extremity, was from hence, and therefore implor'd his Assistance. Which Petition therefore he caus'd to be seconded by the thirteen Cardinals then with him, and to be dispatch'd hither by *Gregory de Casalis*, our King's Agent in *Rome*, and now returning to *England*.

Clement implores the Assistance of K. Henry.

This while the Ambassadors of our King in *Spain*, mediated potently for delivery of the Hostages upon more reasonable Terms than had been hereunto propos'd; and in conclusion so prevail'd, that (as *Sandoval* hath it) *Charles* protested to our Ambassadors, that for his sake only he would relinquish his Demand for the Restitution of *Burgundy*, in which the difficulty of the Peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well as for the Ransom of the two Sons of *Francis*, as for the Recompence of the great Expences he was at for breach of the Concord of *Madrid*, the Sum only which *Francis* had offer'd voluntarily long before to *Charles de la Noy* (which were 2000000 Crowns;) upon Condition yet, that *Francis* should observe the rest of the Articles in the said Concord. But all this again was interrupted by the continual Intelligence of the Pope's Imprisonment, which so incens'd our King, that he would not so much as vouchsafe an Answer to the above-mention'd Letter of *Charles*, but prepar'd to join in a stricter League with *Francis*, as judging that *Charles* would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to Universal Monarchy.

K. Henry refuses to answer the Emperor's Letter.

Mar. 14. This while *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, sent Ambassadors hither to invite our King to join against the *Turk*. Notwithstanding which, as

Sleid. lib. 6. *John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvania*, pretending *he was chosen* King of *Hungary* by the greater part of the *Nobility*, had lately complain'd of *Ferdinand*'s Usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King; so no other Satisfaction was return'd, but a Protestation made by Sir *Thomas More*, that the Fault was not our King's if more were not done therein. All these Miseries

Hall. May 3. which he so much lamented, being occasion'd by the Ambition of *Charles* the Emperor, his Brother, who (notwithstanding his Mediation) could not be induc'd to accept the Overtures generally propos'd him for a Peace. And that till this were done, the *Turk* must needs prevail. Whereupon the Ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismiss'd.

New League between Henry and Francis. May 29. *Tillet.*

Our King at this time intended to proceed according to his Treaty with *Francis*; but as he now heard that *Rome* was sack'd, he made, *May* 29. a new Confederacy with him, by which *they agreed mutually to desist from their War in the* Low-Countries, *and to transport it into* Italy; *according to which*, Francis *oblig'd himself to send an Army of* 30000 Foot, *and* 1500 *great Horse, to join with the* Venetians, *and others of the* Clementine *League. And that* Henry *should contribute thereunto Monthly* 32222 *Crowns* de Soleil, *to be deducted out of the Money which the said* Francis *ow'd him; and that this Contribution should be understood to be in lieu of those Forces which by the late Treaty he should have furnish'd for the Wars in the* Low Countries. *And that therefore all the other Articles of the said Treaty should remain in full effect and virtue. It was agreed also that* Henry *might send a Commissary which should visit the Army in* Italy, *and advertise him of all Passages.* For the better Accomplishment of which Treaties, Sir *Thomas Bolen*, Knight, lately * made Viscount *Rochfort*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, being join'd in Commission with the Bishop of *Bath*, (then Resident at *Paris*,) were commanded to see *Francis* sworn thereunto, which accordingly was perform'd. Sir *Francis Pointz*, Knight also, upon the tenth of *May*, 1527. was sent to *Spain*, where Doctor *Edward Lee*, and *Hierome* Bishop of *Worcester*, (lately come from *Rome*, and dispatch'd to the Emperor,) were Resident on the part of our King. To accompany him in which Journey and Negotiation, *Clarenceaux*, King of Arms, was sent to act his Part, when the gentle Persuasions of our Ambassadors could not prevail. The Proposition on their part to be made, was briefly this. *That in regard our King was at half the Charge of the War*, Charles *should send him half the Prize and Booty taken at* Pavia, *and one of the two Hostages; and that if he deny'd*, Clarenceaux *should denounce him War.* To this rough Message *Charles* answer'd with much Gravity; *That the Proposition made was of great moment on either part. So that whether he accepted or refus'd it, it was fit he took time to advise with himself, both that his good Will to our King might be conserv'd, and* Francis *might be us'd according to his Demerits, who had so perfidiously behav'd himself, that he had broke his Promise almost before he made it. Therefore that he would declare his Resolution by Letters unto* Henry; *and that, till then, he would make them no absolute Answer.* All which was done purposely by *Charles*, that he might gain Time. Our King and *Francis* being advertis'd of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Pope's Distress, would no longer intermit to give order for their own, as well as the general Affairs of *Christendom*. Therefore our Cardinal was commanded to *France*, both for concluding the Marriage of our Princess *Mary*, either with *Francis* or the Duke of *Orleance* his Son, (as is before-mention'd) as also for other Occasions, which shall be hereafter declar'd. Though whatsoever they treated concerning her Marriage in so many places, and with Persons of so different Ages, her Husband *Philip* the Second, was now but newly born at *Valledolid*, *May* 21. 1527.

June 18, 1525. · May 10. *An Embassy from K. Henry to Charles V.* · *Emperor's Answer to Henry's Demands.*

The Cardinal having kist the King's Hand, July 5.
and receiv'd his Instructions, arriv'd at *Calais* with a Noble Equipage, being near a thousand Horse, the eleventh of *July*, 1527. departing July 11.
thence toward *Boulogne*, (leaving yet the Great July 22.
Seal behind him in *Calais* with Doctor *Taylor*, Master of the Rolls;) where he was met by *Monsieur de Byron* with a thousand Horse, and after by *John* Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the Chancellor of *Alanzon*, who accompany'd him in his way to *Monstreuil*, and afterwards to *Abbeville*. July 23.
Francis in the mean time assuring him by Let- July 24.
ter, that Himself and Madame *Louise* his Mother would meet him at *Amiens*, assoon as he had confiscated the Lands of *Bourbon*, and extinguish'd his Title and Dignity. This occasion'd the Cardinal's stay for some Days, yet so as he wanted not a just Exercise for that Power which *Francis* had given him, wheresoever he went to release all those Prisoners he thought capable of Mercy. While he staid thus at *Abbeville*, the

Stow. Woolsey sent Ambassador to France.

1527. Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Edward Lee*, our King's Ambassadors in *Spain*, sent him the Emperor's Demands, in case the Restitution of *Francis* his Children were propos'd; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highness so thought fitting, hereof therefore, by a
July 29. Letter dated the twenty-ninth of *July*, 1527. he advertis'd our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperor were determin'd to train the Pope to *Spain*, (to which also he heard the Pope was inclin'd) yet that the Project was so dangerous, as it was not by any means to be suffer'd; since thereby *Charles* might both establish the Imperial Authority in *Rome*, and seize on the Patrimony of the Church, or at least constrain him to furnish what Money he would, and together compel him to make so many Cardinals of the *Spanish* Faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to elect what Successor he pleas'd. Neither did he see how this could be avoided, unless *Andrea Doria* were commanded to use the Fleet he had then at Sea, for intercepting of the Pope; who, what shew soever he made of willingness to come to the Emperor, com-
June 6. 1527. plain'd yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Pope's own Hand in Ciphers, to his Highness, and convey'd by *Gregory de Casalis*, might appear; which also was confirm'd by divers Cardinals then attending him. Besides, that it were convenient, that the Forces his Highness was bound to furnish for the Wars of *Italy*, should be join'd with *Lautrech*, (who was now design'd by *Francis* to pursue the War there) and imploy'd to hinder the Pope's Passage; in which Affair also, some Princes of *Italy* might be drawn to concur, when his Highness would write to them; all which was the rather to be speeded, for that the Bishop of *Worcester* had written from *Spain*, that the Emperor went to sow Division betwixt him and *Francis*. This Letter was seconded by another of the same Date, which yet contain'd only an Overture for a meeting betwixt Madame *Louise* and himself, on the one part, and the Emperor on the other, at *Perpignan*; wherein all these Difficulties should be resolv'd. Moreover, by a Letter dated from *Abbeville* the
July 31. thirty-first of *July*, he certifies the King, how *Monsieur de Bouclans* had propos'd on the Emperor's part, a Match betwixt the Duke of *Richmond*, Natural Son to our King, and the Daughter of *Portugal*, with *Milan* for Dowry; which yet (as being colourable only) he thought fit should not be much insisted on. Only, because it was necessary to keep good Correspondence with the Emperor, he thought it not amiss to entertain Speech thereof. And together, (by a
Aug. 1. Letter the first of *August*, to desire our Ambassadors in *Spain*, to quench all Rumours concerning a Divorce bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to assure the Emperor, that the first Original thereof arose only from the Objection which the Bishop of *Tarbe* (when he was lately in *England*) made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princess *Mary*. At last, *Francis*, together with Madame *Louise* his Mother, coming to *Amiens*, the Cardinal with all his Train
Aug. 1. sets forth from *Abbeville*; whereof notice being
Aug. 4. given, *Francis* being Royally attended, meets him a Mile and half out of the Town; and after Protestations, that he ow'd his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his Lodging. Shortly after which, the Cardinal obtaining Audience, declar'd his Business, consisting principally in three Points.

First, *To require the Resolution of* Francis *concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before-mentioned.*

Secondly, *To advise concerning the means of making Peace with the Emperor, upon such Terms as the Restitution of* Francis *his Children might be procur'd.* 1527.

Thirdly, *To determine how the Pope might be deliver'd out of Captivity*; (for which purpose our Historians say, that the Cardinal carry'd over with him 240000 *l.* of our King's Treasure. *Hollinshead.*

To the first, it was answer'd, *That the Duke of* Orleans, *(as more suiting in Years) should be recommended to the Princess* Mary.

To the second, *That* Francis *for re-obtaining of his Children, would, among other things, renounce his Claim in* Milan.

To the third, little more was said, than *That the Pope (as soon as possible) should be set free, by Mediation, or Force.*

Besides which Points, an Interview was propos'd on our King's part, betwixt him and *Francis*; but *Francis* excusing himself by reason of the great Charges he must be at till his Children were redeem'd, the Motion was urg'd no farther.

After this, *Francis* brought our Cardinal to *Compeigne*; from whence he wrote to the King, that howsoever *Francis* did promise to renounce *Milan*, yet, that it was best not overstrictly to tie him to it, until his Highness discover'd whether the Emperor would really confer it in Dowry upon the Match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much Satisfaction by the Cardinal's Negotiation, writ a Letter with his own Hand, acknowledging therein the good Service he had done him and the Kingdom divers ways; and particularly in three Treaties, concluded *Aug.* 18. 1527. which, by the *French* and our Records, I find thus related. *Three other Treaties concluded between Engl. and France. Aug. 18.*

1. *The first Treaty was concerning the Princess* Mary; *who (according to the Reference formerly made,) was to marry the Duke of* Orleans, *reserving notwithstanding unto a further time, the Particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Transportation of the said Duke into* England, *the Charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermore it was declared, that if the said Marriage, either by Death, or consent of both Kings, or any other Accident, took no effect, That yet the other Treaties betwixt the said Kings (being of the thirtieth of* August, 1525. *and of the last of* April, 1527.) *should remain in full force. The Interview of the two Kings, which (the last of* April) *was agreed to be at* Calais, *was remitted to a further time. The Contribution, to which the said* Henry *oblig'd himself for the War of* Italy, *was express'd to be twenty thousand* Escus de Soleil *for* June, *and for* July *thirty thousand, and for every of the Months of* August, September, October, *thirty two thousand two hundred twenty two Crowns. Upon Condition yet, that the said Contribution should be abated proportionably, if the Number of Soldiers imploy'd in the said War were diminish'd. That, after the said Month of* October, Henry *should contribute no more; and that, if Peace were made sooner, he should be discharg'd of the said Contributions. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his Money spent in this War, as long as the perpetual Peace was conserv'd.*

2. *By the second Treaty it was agreed, that the said* Henry *should not charge himself with the Protection and Assurance of the Peace, whensoever it should be concluded betwixt* Francis *and* Charles; *but in case only, that the said Peace could not otherwise be made, which therefore so happing, the said* Francis *did agree, that he should take the said Protection and Warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing should be attempted by him by reason thereof, either against him, his Kingdom, or Subjects. Moreover, the said* Henry *consented, that, for the good of the intended Peace,* the

1527. the Marriage betwixt Francis and Leonora, Sister to Charles, should be validated and confirm'd; upon Condition yet, that thereby no Prejudice should follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any Peace were made with Charles, by which Francisco Sforza should enjoy Milan, it was declar'd by the said Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certain Pensions assign'd to either of them, upon the said Dutchy, by the League of Italy, when Francisco should refuse to pay them. That if War were commenc'd by the said Kings against Charles, upon his refusal of the Conditions offer'd to him, then the like Privileges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the English Merchants had (a Year since) in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, they shall now have in other Places under the Obedience of Francis, as long as the said Wars should last; the said Places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter.

3. By the third Treaty it was concluded, betwixt the said Kings, that no Council-General, summon'd by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperor's Authority, should take effect; and, that for this purpose they should cause their Clergy on either side, by publick and solemn Protestations, to renounce and detest all such Convocation. That any Commandment, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the said Pope, being in Captivity, and tending to the Damage of the said Kings or Subjects, and especially to the Prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinal of York, should neither be obey'd by them, nor suffer'd to be obey'd; but that they should be declar'd as of no effect, and the bringers of them punish'd. That during the said Captivity of the Pope, whatsoever by the Cardinal of York, (assisted by the Prelates of England assembled and call'd together by the Authority of the said King) should be determin'd concerning the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the said Kingdom of England, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the said Henry, should (the Consent of the said King being first had,) be decreed and observ'd. (To confirm which Power, the Pope sent him a Bull, to be Vicar-General throughout all the King's Dominions.) It was also agreed, that Francis and his Clergy should have the like Power in France, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the taste that our King took of governing (in chief) the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the Dissolution of Monasteries, it seems the first Arguments and Impressions were deriv'd from the Cardinal; who having now in a Conference with certain Cardinals at Compeigne, resolv'd that the aforesaid Order for the Government of the Church was in these Times requisite, took on him the Charge of our Ecclesiastical Affairs (though Guicciardine writes, that he sent for a Bull to be the Legate in England, France, and Germany, and the Imperialists gave out, that he attempted to make himself Pope of the English and French Church, by a Schism from the See of Rome.) The Passages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to Rome, September 16. Woolsey prepar'd to return. Whereupon Francis not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his way about a Mile, being accompany'd with the Titular King of Navarre, the Pope's Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinal now hasting homeward, came to Calais, where having establish'd a Mart, he arriv'd at Court toward the end of September, where much Demonstration of Affection was given him by our King. To correspond with this Ambassade, Francis sent Anne de Montmorency Grand Maistre, John du Bellay Bishop of Bayonne, John Brinon the Premier President de Rouen, and le Seigneur de Humieres, as his Ambassadors to ratifie the said League here. These,

Tillet.

Hall.

The rise of King Henry's Pretences to the Supremacy.

Sept. 16.

Sept. 30.

Embassy from France.

Bellay.

with divers other Cavaliers, (being in all about six hundred Horse) were conducted to London, October 20. and lodg'd in the Bishop of London's Palace. After which, Audience being given them, they were, November 10. entertain'd by our King at Greenwich with a Feast, (the most sumptuous, saith Bellay, that ever I saw,) and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princess was an Actor. On this Day also the King of England receiv'd at the Hands of Montmorency, the Order of St. Michael; and Francis, with no less Solemnity, that of the Garter, in Paris. For which purpose our King had sent over Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, (Natural Son to King Edward IV.) Sir Nicholas Carew Master of his Horse, Sir Anthony Brown, all Knights of this Order, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley Garter-Herald. Both Princes likewise giving their Oath and Seal (which was in Gold) for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

1527.

Octob. 20.

Nov. 10.

Henry receives the Order of St. Michael, and Francis the Garter.

Charles, being not ignorant of these Treaties, thinks fit to prevent the Execution of them, by a timely consent unto all that could in reason be expected from him. Therefore at Palentia, Sept. 15. he offer'd this Agreement unto the French, English, and other Ambassadors residing in his Court; which also for the present they seem'd to accept. That the Article for the Restitution of Burgundy, should be ras'd out of the Concord of Madrid, reserving still to the Emperor his Right. That Francis should pay for the Ransom of his Sons, the two Millions of Crowns which were offer'd. And that out of them so much should be allow'd as would pay our King. Furthermore, that Francis should take upon him to satisfie Henry, as well as to keep Charles indemnified from the Obligation, by which he ty'd himself in London by particular Treaty; which was, that he should pay unto Henry the ancient Pension which Francis paid him, together with any other Sum that Francis should refuse to pay only because the said Henry had declar'd himself his Enemy. That the French should oblige themselves to restore Genoua, and all the rest that they had taken in Lombardy, before the Hostages were rendred. That in the Particular of the Duke of Milan, Charles should nominate and appoint certain Judges, who should determine the Cause betwixt them. And that if he were not found culpable, then his Estate should be restor'd to him, and the Investiture given him; otherwise, that the Emperor should dispose thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the rest, the Concord of Madrid should be observ'd, saving in some few Points of small Importance.

Charles makes Overtures for a Peace.

Sept. 15.

Sand.

When these Articles were approv'd on both sides, the Ambassadors of France said, that they wanted sufficient Authority from their King to sign them, which yet they promis'd to send for, and procure. And so the Conclusion of Peace at this time was deferr'd on their Part. Charles not much troubled herewith, returns to his former Arts of dividing our King from Francis. Therefore he sends privately to the Cardinal, (now return'd from France,) offering him, besides his ordinary Pension, large Sums for this purpose. Notwithstanding which (saith Polydore) because he had deny'd him the Archbishoprick of Toledo, to which (if we may believe the same Author) he vehemently aspir'd, he was found inexorable.

And applies to the Cardinal.

Polyd.Virg.

Without effect.

This Year our King sent out two fair Ships to discover new Regions, then daily found out by the Portuguese and Spaniard; though, as no Success follow'd thereupon, I do not find the Design pursu'd.

May 20.

Hall.

This while, Monsieur de Lautrech made ready an Army of twenty six thousand Foot, and two thou-

1527. thousand Horse, for the Affairs of *Italy*; and, about *July*, passed the *Alps*. Wherewith the *Clementine* League (whose Forces were eleven thousand Foot, and about one thousand six hundred Horse) being much encourag'd, an Answer was sent to the Propositions made by the Emperor, to the Ambassadors of the League, at *Palentia*. For which purpose a Secretary of *Francis* came the twelfth of *December* 1527, to *Bruges*, (where *Charles* then was) publishing by the way, that he brought a final Resolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order only to defie *Charles*, as will appear afterwards. Yet, to shew some desire of Accommodation, the Ambassadors of *England* and *France* desir'd two Points of the Treaty of *Palentia* should be alter'd in this manner. The first was, *That* Francisco Sforza *should be restor'd to his Estate; and, afterwards, Justice done concerning the Complaints made against him.* The other was, *That the Hostages should be remanded, before* Francis *should deliver up* Genoua *or* Asti, *or withdraw his Army out of* Italy. And to induce *Charles* hereunto, it was offer'd by the *French*, *to put Security into the Hands of our King, for the payment of three hundred thousand Ducats to* Charles, *in case of not rendring the said Towns, and withdrawing his Army.* *Charles* reply'd, *That tho' all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of* Palentia; *yet, to shew his desire of Peace, he would put Security for payment of so much Money into the Hands of our King, in case the* French *would agree to perform that which was concluded on their part.* But the *French* Ambassador saying, *He had no order to make any other End, than what was proposed*, this great Affair remained suspended.

July.

Dec. 12.

Proposals made to the Emperor from *Henry* and *Francis*.

Charles's Reply.

Our Ambassador perceiving this, proceeds upon his Instructions, and makes four Demands.

1. The first was, *That without any delay,* Charles *should pay to the King his Master all that was lent him heretofore.*

English make Demands of him.

2. The next was, *That he should pay him a Penalty of Five hundred thousand Ducats, because he did not marry the Princess* Mary, *as was agreed.*

3. The third was, *That he should satisfie for the Indemnity he undertook to discharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of War against* Francis, (whereof mention is made formerly) *which from the time it was due, was four Years and four Months.*

4. Fourthly, *That he should deliver the Pope; and make him Satisfaction for the Loss and Damage he had sustain'd.*

His Answer.

To which *Charles* answer'd: *That he marvell'd why the King should press him so much, since he never deny'd the Debt; and that, if they requir'd from him the Money, they should give him the Security he enter'd into for the payment thereof.* But our Ambassador saying, *That they were kept among the Archives and Records of* England; *and that, for the rest, they were sufficiently authorized to give him an Acquittance:* *Charles* knew not well how to argue the Matter further. As for the Penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he said *he would send an express Messenger into* England, *to acquaint our King with the Reasons, why he did not hold himself bound to give any such Satisfaction.* And for the delivering of the Pope, he said, *Order was, and should be given.* And indeed, I find that about this very time, the Pope recover'd his Liberty. Which because it was occasion'd by the proceeding of the *French* in *Italy*, let us look back a while on those Affairs.

The Army of the League formerly mention'd, being commanded by *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*, (an able General) great Hope was conceiv'd; both as he was supported by our King, and *Francis*, and the *Venetians*, at a common Charge, (whereof our King's part, according to the *French* History, was 60000 *Angelots* the Month) and as the Imperial Army, which sack'd *Rome*, was much consum'd with the Plague. By Sea also, *Andrea Doria* of *Genoua*, who had the Command of the *French* King's Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed with a strong Fleet to second him; who, accordingly, so scour'd all the Coast of *Genoua*, that no Shipping on those Quarters durst appear. This caused great scarcity of Victuals there; which being advertis'd to *Doria*, and afterwards to *Loutrech*, he sends *Cesar Fregoso* with 2000 Men thither; who, together with *Doria*, so prest that City on both sides, that, at last, it yielded; whereupon *Theodoro de Trivulci* was made Governor of it, on the behalf of the *French* King. After this, *Lautrech* took (in the Name of *Sforza*, and for his use) *Alexandria*, the Country of *Lomeline*, the Cities of *Viguevа*, *Biagras*, and *Novarra*, and besieged *Pavia*, to the great displeasure of *Antonio de Leyva* (then Governor of *Milan*) who wanting Soldiers for himself, would yet spare some for defence of that Town. This did not hinder *Lautrech* yet to make a Breach and enter it, at the second Assault; where, in revenge of the King his Master's Misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exercise all manner of licentious Cruelty: And now *Milan* it self, (which remain'd only to make an entire Conquest of those Parts) began to shake; neither could it have resisted long, but that a Mystery of State preserv'd it. For, as *Lautrech's* chief Design was on *Naples*, to which he knew yet *Sforza* and the *Venetians* would not easily concur) so he thought fit to leave this strong Place entire, as well to keep them in Exercise, as to draw from them a greater Dependance on the King his Master. For he understood well, that when he had put a Garrison in it in the Name of *Sforza*, that he and the *Venetians* would sooner have excluded him from his further Passage to *Naples*, than given him any Assistance; which would have frustrated both his chief Designs, since *Francis* pretended a like Title to *Milan* and *Naples*. Besides, the more moderate sort approv'd this Course; for when the Event of War had been improsperous or doubtful, it left a way open for Peace; while each Party having somewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a general Accommodation. Lastly, these Intentions of *Lautrech* were much facilitated by the Intreaty of the Pope; who solicited him to expel the Remnant of the Imperial Army from the Patrimony of the Church. *Lautrech* hereupon marches forwards; Octob. 18.
whereof *Antonio de Leyva* being inform'd, sallies forth of *Milan*, and with his small Forces takes *Biagras*, and holds it, until *Lautrech* sending Octob. 23.
Pietro de Novarra back with 6000 Men, wan it Bell.
again, and setled *Sforza* in the Possession thereof. *Lautrech* continuing thus his March, finds the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua*, ready to join him. The manner of weaker and inferior sort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puissant and victorious Army. The Sincerity yet of the Duke of *Ferrara* seem'd questionable; both as he had just cause to be offended with the Pope, and as he had, a good while since, rang'd himself with the Imperialists; nevertheless, upon the Treaty of a Match betwixt his eldest Son, and *Renee* Daughter of *Louis* XII. all was compos'd, and he receiv'd into the Confederacy. But among all, none was so much perplex'd as the Pope; who being not yet deliver'd from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him, to trust to the fair Words of *Charles* (whose Agents now treated with him) or to the assistance of the League. Neither could he (when this latter part was resolv'd) determine concerning

1527

Bell.

Successes of the *French* in *Italy*.

1527. concerning the Seat of War. For as, to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at a distance, had been to leave himself in Restraint still; so, to invite him to his Territories, had been to expose his Subjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore he varied strangely in his private Advices, Answers, and Negotiations; insomuch that *Lautrech*, at last, was neither scandaliz'd with his Denials, nor confirm'd with his Promises. Howsoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to pursue his Point; whereof *Charles* being advertis'd, resolv'd, by a timely and voluntary discharge of the Pope out of Prison, to prevent Compulsion. Therefore he sends a particular Dispatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to set him free upon these Conditions:

The Pope set at liberty by *Charles* the Fifth's Order.

Octob. 31. *Guicc. l. 28.* On Conditions.

That the Pope shall not oppose Charles *in the Affairs of* Milan *and* Naples. *That he should grant him a* Croisade *in* Spain, *and a Tenth of all Ecclesiastical Livings in all his Kingdoms. That* Ostia *and* Civita Vecchia *should remain in the hands of* Charles, *for Security hereof. That he should consign to him* la Civita Castellana, *and the Castle of* Furli, *giving Hostages till it were done. That he should pay presently to the* Almains 77000 *Ducats, and to the* Spaniard 35000; *and that fifteen Days after his departure out of* Rome, *he should pay as much again to the* Almains, *and within three Months after give the rest, being in all about* 300000 *Ducats; and to* Octob. 31. *deliver Hostages for performance hereof.* Upon which Conditions he was to be set at Liberty, *December* 10. But the Pope prevented this, by escaping in the Habit of a Merchant to *Monte Fiascone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the Night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hostages yet, the Cardinal of *Cesis* and *Orsino*, remain'd till the Money was paid; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourse to undecent Ways, making (as *Guiccardine* hath it) divers Cardinals for Money, which, otherwise, deserv'd not that Honour. He also gave the *Spaniards* License for the alienating of Ecclesiastical Goods and Possessions, (and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the value of 600000 Crowns, as our Records say;) giving therein a beginning (as some observe) to that Liberty which was afterwards taken in divers Places. But Necessity is a violent Counsellor. Howsoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to find his Person free from Guards, but safe from Attempts. The Cardinal *Colonna* (as a latter Author affirms) having labour'd much with *Hernando de Alanzon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter, by Night, and without other Company but that of *Louis de Gonzaga*, (the Complice of his Escape) to a Town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his Money, he found means, within a few Months, to return to his former Greatness and Authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word thereof to Cardinal *Woolsey*, acknowledging him a great Instrument thereof; and, withal, certifies our King of his Estate, desiring him to continue his Protection of the See of *Rome*. Our Cardinal also (who the last Year had caus'd the Litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre*, &c. as *Charles*, who kept him in Prison, had caus'd to be done in *Spain*, though ironically, as most Men conceiv'd it) now came, in great Triumph, to St. *Paul*'s in *London*, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be publickly made. The *French* Ambassador in *Spain* this while understanding well how Matters were likely to pass, hasten'd the delivery of the *Cartelles*, of which the chief Cause was ill Usage of the Pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more Solemnity and Ostentation, all the Ambassadors of *England, France, Venice, Florence*, and the rest, desir'd leave of the Emperor to depart, saying, their

Makes his Escape. Dec. 10.

Guicc. l. 18.

Tarcagnota

Dec. 14. Dec. 18.

1528. Jan. 10. *Hall.*

Prayers order'd for the Pope's Liberty by *Charles* while he kept him Prisoner.

Commission was expir'd. To which *Charles* briefly answer'd, That he would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their Masters Courts. Hereupon it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defie; which, though the *Spaniards* relate with much Particularity and Circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their History. 1528. *Sandov.*

Upon the 22d of *January*, *Anno Domini* 1528, *Charles* being at *Burgos*, *Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court, and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them; hereupon the said Heralds, holding their Coats of Arms in their Left-hand, after three low Obeysances, presented themselves before *Charles*, who sate in an high Throne, being attended by his chief Nobles and Counsellors. *Clarenceaux* (whom Sir *Francis Pointz*, being now return'd to *England*, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying: Jan. 22.

'*Sire*, According to the Laws and Edicts inviolably guarded by the *Roman* Emperors your Predecessors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, We two, in the Name of our Kings, do present our selves before your Sacred Majesty, to declare some things on their part; beseeching your Majesty, that, having respect to the above-mention'd Laws and Edicts, you would, out of your Benignity and Clemency, vouchsafe to give us Security and good Usage in your Dominions, while we attend your Answer; and that you would grant us a safe Conduct, till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Masters. The Emperor promising to accord this, *Guyenne* reads a *Cartell*, sent from the King his Master, the Substance whereof was, 'That because *Charles* would not condescend to an honest and fitting Conclusion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of *England* that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at Liberty, nor leave *Italy* in Quietness; the King, my Master, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great Grief and Displeasure, as also of his good Brother the King of *England*, that he shall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notifying to you, that, from this Day forwards, he intends not to keep any Contract or Agreement that may be for your Profit and Advantage; but that he will do you, and your Subjects, all the Harm he can, by War or otherwise, until, upon honest and fitting Conditions, you restore his Sons, put the Pope in Liberty, pay the King of *England* that you owe him, and leave in Peace and Repose all his Allies and Confederates. Nevertheless, he offers forty Days respite for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Clarenceaux and Guyenne defie *Charles*.

Dated November 11. 1527. *and signed*,
Guienne, *King of Arms*.

Charles hereunto reply'd presently, 'That he had understood all he had said on the part of the King his Master, and that he did marvel much, that he should defie him, since, being his Prisoner of War, and having his Faith plighted to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seem'd strange to him, that he should defie him now, since he had made War with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himself. As for that ye say of the Pope, none is more sorry than my self for what is pass'd, as being done without my Knowledge or Consent; but, for that, I must advertise you, that I receiv'd assur'd News yesterday, that the Pope is at Liberty. As for the Sons of the King your Master, he knows well I hold them as Hostages, and his Ambassadors know as well, that 'it

The Emperor's Answer.

1528. 'it is not my Fault, if they be not deliver'd. As 'for that you say on the part of the King of *England*, my good Uncle and Brother, I believe that 'he is not well inform'd of all the Passages in 'these Affairs; otherwise, that he would not have 'sent me this Message. But I shall advertise him 'of the whole Truth; and do believe, that, when 'he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never deny'd the Money he 'lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by Right 'I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he 'will needs make War against me, I can do no 'less then defend my self; and pray to God, he 'give me not more Occasion to make War against 'him, than I have given him against me. As for 'the rest, I desire to have your *Cartel* under your 'hand, that I may answer more particularly. Hereupon *Guyenne* took his Coat of Arms and put it on.

Sandov. *Clarenceaux's* Speech to him.

Then *Clarenceaux*, not by Writing, but by Word of Mouth, spake to this Effect. '*Sire*, The 'King my Supreme Lord and Master, considering 'the necessity of Peace in the Christian World, as 'well for resisting the *Turk*, (who having taken 'the Isle of *Rhodes*, and Fortress of *Belgrade*, intends yet further Conquests) as for repressing 'the Heresies and Sects that are newly risen; 'and finding that your Commanders and Army 'have lately sack'd the City of *Rome*, and taken 'our Holy Father Prisoner, together with divers 'Cardinals, who have been also put to Ransom, 'and that the Churches have been sacrilegiously 'profan'd, and all manner of Religious Orders 'put to the Sword; insomuch, that by these Cruelties and Mischiefs, the Air and Earth have 'been infected, and the Anger of God drawn 'down upon us, if we procure no Reparation for 'them: And, because the Root and Beginning 'of these Wars proceeds from the Contention and 'Debates between You and the most Christian 'King: the King my Master, for giving an end to 'these Differences, hath, by his Ambassadors, 'propos'd to you, several times, such honest Conditions, that you ought not to refuse, if you desir'd Peace; and the rather, because your unreasonable Demands would be an ill Precedent for 'other Kings and Princes, that may be subject 'to the like Fortune: And whereas he also, as 'a Prince, being bound many ways to the 'Protection of the Holy See, hath desir'd you to 'give the Pope intire Liberty; and hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the 'time of your Necessity, which yet you have not 'paid him.

'For these Causes, the King my Master hath 'thought fit to take a final Resolution, to desire 'you, without further delay, to condescend to Equity and Reason; and to tell you, that, since 'you have refus'd it hitherto, he could do no less 'than conclude a League with the most Christian 'King, and other Confederates, by Force of Arms 'to constrain you to that, which by Right you 'ought to do. Wherefore, the said King my Master, and the Most Christian King, require you 'this once for all, to accept the Conditions they 'have offer'd you for Peace; declaring, in case of 'Refusal, they must (though not without great 'Grief and Displeasure) hold you for their Enemy, denouncing War unto you thereupon, both 'by Sea and Land, and defying you with all their 'Forces. Yet, if you desire to recal your Subjects 'out of all their Dominions, as they on their part 'likewise require, they offer you forty Days respite for this purpose.

This being said, he put on his Coat of Arms, and afterwards gave his Speech under his hand, figning it,

Clarenceaux, King of Arms.

The Answer *Charles* made to this, little differing from what he made to *Guyenne*, I shall not particularly relate. 1528.

Then *Charles*, calling *Guyenne* aside, desir'd him, among other things, to tell the King his Master, 'That he thought he was not well advertis'd of 'something that he told in *Granada* to his Ambassadors, which did concern him much: And 'that he did hold him to be so gentile a Prince, 'that, had he known it, he would have answer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he 'should do well, to take Information thereof from 'his Ambassadors since thereby he should understand, that I *Charles* have better kept what I promis'd at *Madrid*, than he hath done; and I pray 'you fail not to tell this to the King; which *Guyenne* promis'd; and so, doing his Obeysance, departed. After which, the said Kings of Arms were call'd upon by *Juan Aleman*, Principal Secretary to the Emperor, to receive the Answer he sent to the *Cartels*. That, made to the *French* King, having little in it more than what is formerly set down, I shall mention no otherwise, save only that a Day was requir'd for Treaty of repealing the Merchants on either side.

Sandov. The Emperor's Secretary's Answer to *Clarenceaux*.

To *Clarenceaux* he answer'd, by the Pen of his Secretary: 'That the Progress of the *Turk* in '*Christendom*, and the Captivity of the Pope, were 'not occasion'd by him; and that the King of '*England* ought not to complain, that he ever refus'd to condescend to honest and reasonable 'Terms of Agreement, since for his sake only, 'he had releas'd much of that, which *Francis*, of 'himself, had freely offer'd unto the Viceroy of '*Naples*. And all this before ever *Henry* did intermeddle with the said Peace. Also, that, for the 'the same reason, he had accorded divers other 'Conditions, which no other Persons could have 'persuaded him unto. Whereas, on the other 'side, *Francis* had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the second Point, which is 'concerning the Liberty of the Pope, he was assur'd already from *Italy*, that he was free. So 'that no more needs to be said thereof. And, for 'that which pass'd in *Rome*, as soon as ever he 'was advertis'd thereof, he writ his Justification 'unto our King, desiring (withal) his Counsel 'and Assistance in that which he thought might 'be most for the Service of God, and Good of '*Christendom*, to which yet he never answer'd. 'Which argu'd, he did not so much desire the Liberty of the Pope (which by his loving Advice 'he might have procur'd) as to pick a *Quarrel* against him. And as for the the *Title which* your 'King pretends of being *Protector of the Pope*, and '*Defender of the Faith*, he would not yield to him 'the honour of that Duty; but that he would 'say only, that if both had done what they 'ought, it would have been better for *Christendom*: Neither should those have been born out 'and favour'd, who have so manifestly broken 'their Promise, which yet, according both to 'Divine and Human Right, ought to be conserv'd 'inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. 'As for the third Point, which speaks of the Debts 'demanded, it is answer'd, That the delay of 'Payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt 'your King's Ambassadors and me, according to 'which, the said Debt should be assign'd on *Francis* to pay; and, since that time, the Non-payment was occasion'd by want of sufficient Power in your King's Ambassadors to discharge 'me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnity, there being in Arrear four Years and 'four Months at the Rate of 133305 Crowns by 'the Year; and for the 500000 Crowns to be 'paid as a Penalty for not having match'd with 'the Princess *Mary*, it is answer'd, that the Ambassadors,

1528. 'baſſadors, having not with them the original 'Obligations and Contracts, by which theſe 'things ſhould appear, he thought himſelf ex'cus'd, till convenient Place were appointed, 'where at the ſame inſtant that he paid the Mo'ney he might receive the Securities he entred 'into for the ſaid Payments. As for the Indem'nity, there had ſo many things interven'd ſince, 'that he thought he could produce five ſufficient 'Reaſons to exempt himſelf, when indifferent 'Commiſſioners ſhall hear the Buſineſs on both 'ſides. And as for the Penalty, which the ſaid 'Ambaſſadors demanded, there were three evi'dent and peremptory Reaſons to clear him from 'ſatisfying that Demand. Firſt, becauſe by the 'Law Civil and Canon, all penal Stipulation, by 'which the free Power of Marrying in any fitting 'Place is prohibited, is, *ipſo facto*, void, and of 'no effect. Secondly, That, when the Obligation 'for the ſaid Penalty were valid, yet the ſaid King 'your Maſter cannot prevail himſelf of the Trea'ty of *Windſor*, (where the ſaid Penalty was a'greed) unleſs he prove firſt, that he had intire'ly accompliſh'd all that was to be done on his 'part; which he thought was more than could be 'made appear. Thirdly, That, before he mar'ry'd, he requir'd the King your Maſter to ſend 'his Daughter to this Kingdom, for the better Sa'tisfaction of his Subjects, who deſir'd much to ſee 'him have Children, who might ſucceed him: 'Whereas your King thought fit rather to give 'Commiſſion to his Ambaſſadors to conſent to any 'other Marriage, than to ſend his Daughter hither. 'Beſides which, it appear'd by certain Letters that 'were taken, the King your Maſter treated of a 'Marriage betwixt his Daughter and the King of '*Scotland* his Nephew; which Treaty was begun 'long before he marry'd with the Empreſs. So 'that, when the Stipulation were valid, the King 'your Maſter ſhould pay the Penalty, as being 'reciprocally agreed: On which yet he would not 'inſiſt, as being void in Law. Moreover, that, 'contrary to the ſaid Treaty of *Windſor*, he had 'ſecretly kept in his Court *John Joakim*, and af'terwards publickly receiv'd the Preſident of '*Rouen*, as Ambaſſador, who treated on the part 'of *Francis*; and becauſe the Ambaſſador he had 'in *England*, had writ the Truth of what he ſaw 'and underſtood, he was ill us'd, and threaten'd 'in the ſaid Kingdom, and the Diſpatches he 'wrote, taken and open'd by the Miniſters of 'your King, contrary to all Right, both divine 'and human. And, which was worſt of all, 'ſince the Impriſonment of the ſaid *Francis*, the 'King your Maſter, being requir'd to ſet down 'his Claims and Demands, whereby (according 'to the ſaid Treaty) each of them might have 'recover'd their Right, and a good and dura'ble Peace been eſtabliſh'd in *Chriſtendom*, yet 'the King your Maſter would never accept 'thereof as thinking to make his Advantage 'another way; which hath been the Cauſe of 'all the Breaches that have follow'd ſince. That 'yet he had forborn to take notice, or complain 'of theſe Offences, as being deſirous to keep the 'Friendſhip of the King your Maſter, which he 'eſteem'd ſo much, that he accorded for his ſake 'almoſt all that his Ambaſſadors demanded at *Pa'lentia*, concerning the Peace with *Francis*. As 'for the Defiance you have made on the part of 'the King your Maſter, there is ſufficient An'ſwer thereto given by word of Mouth. It be'ing poſſible (as was then ſaid) that there might 'be more juſt occaſion to make War againſt the 'King your Maſter, than he hath againſt me; 'eſpecially, if it be true (which is ſaid in *Eng'land*, *France*, and other Parts) that your King 'will be divorc'd from the Queen his Wife, and 'marry with another, (notwithſtanding the Di- 1528. 'ſpenſations granted on that behalf.) Since be'ſides all other Injuries done herein, it will be ma'nifeſt, his Intention was to make the Lady '(he pretended to give me in Marriage) a Ba'ſtard; which yet as he could not eaſily believe, 'in a Prince he eſteem'd ſo much, ſo, if any ſuch 'purpoſe were, he muſt lay the Fault thereof up'on the ſiniſter and perverſe Information of his 'Cardinal, whoſe unmeaſurable Ambition and Co'vetouſneſs was ſuch, that becauſe he refus'd to 'employ his Army in *Italy*, for the making him 'Pope by ſtrong hand, (which alſo he had procur'd 'the King his Maſter to write for, and himſelf had 'intreated by ſome Letters written by his own 'Hand;) and becauſe alſo he would not ſatisfy 'him in other his inordinate and unreaſonable 'Deſires, he had many times declared, that he 'would give that Diſturbance and Impediment to 'all his Buſineſſes, that for this hundred Years 'the like had not been ſeen; ſo that he would 'make him repent it, when the Kingdom of *Eng'land* ſhould be hazarded thereby. And certain'ly, if the King your Maſter will believe the evil 'Counſel of the Cardinal, it will be the right way 'to bring that to paſs which he ſaid, and conſe'quently to be the Ruine of your King and Ma'ſter's Dominions. All which being conſider'd, he 'proteſted he was not the Author of the Evils 'might follow hereupon. Finally, for the Buſi'neſs of the Merchants, he referr'd him to a fur'ther Treaty.

These Anſwers were read unto the ſaid Kings of Arms by *Juan Aleman Seigneur de Bouclans*, and then given unto them, to be carried to their ſeveral Kings and Maſters, in *Burgos*, *Jan.* 27. 1528. Jan. 27. Wherewithal they had their ſafe Conducts to depart.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, inſtead of Satisfaction for the Money, and Kindneſſes done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of Offence and Evaſion, unto his King and Maſter. Of which our King yet made no other Account, than ſuch as became one, who holding himſelf free from all Cauſes of Suſpicion and Calumny, deſpiſed whatſoever in either kind was objected againſt him; ſince, having inviolably kept his Intention and Oath of falling on that Prince, which moſt interrupted the Publick Peace, he thought it now his part to join againſt *Charles*. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a Peace betwixt him and *Francis*, (refuſing therefore to be the Chief and Protector of the *Clementine* League) yet finding now that the Generals and Army of *Charles* proceeded to ſuch an enormous Outrage, as to take and hold the Pope Priſoner, he thought he could do no leſs than uſe all means that might conduce to his Delivery, and the repreſſing of the exorbitant Ambition of *Charles*, who was thought not obſcurely to aſpire to an univerſal Monarchy. As for the little Cavils and Punctilio's concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joakim*, or the giving a civil Ear to a Propoſition of Marriage in 1524. *Scotland*, and the like, as they were not, before 1525. ſome Contraventions of the part of *Charles*, ſo no Effect did follow thereof in thoſe Times when *Charles* moſt ſuſpected them. Though when our King was inform'd that *Charles* did, after his Treaty at *Windſor*, give and receive Overtures of Marriage in more than one Place, it could not ſeem ſtrange if he took the ſame Liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinal by particular Diſpatches to Doctor *Sampſon*, Reſident in 1525. *Spain*, had a good while ſince ſo clear'd his King from any ſiniſter Intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though indeed a Stranger paſſing the Watch about *London*,

1528. at an undue time of Night, and in a fuſpected manner, had ſome Letters taken from him; which afterwards were open'd by Sir *Thomas More*, and deliver'd to the Cardinal; yet the ſaid Letters, which (as it appear'd afterwards) came from Monſieur *de Praet*, (who departed ſecretly out of *England*, without taking leave either of our King or his Council,) and were written in Ciphers, and contain'd many dangerous Falſhoods, were, in due time, poſted to the Emperor, (whereby alſo he might perceive what ill Offices his ſaid Ambaſſador did,) and the fault laid on *de Praet*, who choſe rather to uſe his own Authority than to demand a Paſs, in a time when he knew they could not otherwiſe be convey'd; which likewiſe was the excuſe for intercepting another Meſſenger, who carry'd Letters to the Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, of the ſame Tenor; which yet ſhe receiv'd preſently after. And for the excuſes not to pay the Money requir'd of him, or the Penalty above-mention'd, they were but Arts, by which others might learn to deceive him in the ſame kind, and which therefore might inſtruct *Francis* to do the like.

Records.

1525. April 9.

Our Cardinal being thus incens'd againſt *Charles*, thought fit, as well in deſpite of him, as for the Aſſertion of his King's Proceedings, publickly to give account, in the Star-Chamber, of the whole State of this Buſineſs; adding withal, that our King was reſolv'd to make War againſt *Charles*. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the Actions of *Charles*, even to the making him criminal of whatſoever either by the Law of God, or Man he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who thereupon, ſhould neither vent their chief Commodities in the *Low-Countries*, and *Spain*, nor again receive from thence Supplies of ſome Commodities they ſtood in need of, would no way approve this War; as that, from which they ſaw neither Profit or Honour likely to enſue; eſpecially when they heard, the Pope was deliver'd from his Impriſonment. Nevertheleſs, the Cardinal, purſuing his Intentions, (as the Emperor had done firſt in *Spain* to the *Engliſh* and *French*,) ſeiſeth on the Goods of the Subjects of *Charles*, and ſhortly after on the Perſon of his Ambaſſador *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, upon Notice given, that our Ambaſſador was ſtaid in *Spain*. The Conſequence of this, was, that our Merchants preſently found the like meaſure in the *Low-Countries*, to the great prejudice of that Intercourſe and Commerce, which for many Ages had paſs'd betwixt both Nations. Upon news yet, that our Ambaſſadors were well us'd in *Spain*, *Hugo de Mendoza* was not only ſet at Liberty, but perſuaded by ſome, that the Defiance which *Clarenceaux* had made unto *Charles*, was by him haſtened, at the Motion only of the *French* Ambaſſador. For which preſumptuous Act, he ſhould therefore ſuffer Death, aſſoon as he return'd to *Calais*. *Hugo de Mendoza*, glad hereof, ſends a Diſpatch by Poſt into *Spain*, acquainting *Charles* with all theſe Particularities. But as the *Courier* paſt by *Bayonne*, the Governour thereof open'd and copy'd theſe Letters, which afterwards he ſhew'd *Clarenceaux*, as he return'd homewards. *Clarenceaux*, at firſt, ſeem'd much aſtoniſh'd, but, at laſt, conſidering he had good warrant from the Cardinal, for all his Proceedings, he recollects himſelf, and continues his Journey. He did not think fit yet to come to *Calais*, but, taking Ship at *Boulogne*, and landing at *Rye*, he ſecretly poſted to *Hampton-Court*, where the King was; uſing ſuch means there, that he obtain'd ſpeedy Acceſs to him, ſhewing, among other things, three Letters from the Cardinal, authorizing this Defiance to *Charles*. He aſſur'd him alſo of the good Uſage he had receiv'd there; inſomuch, that (notwithſtanding all theſe rough Paſſages,) he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Ducats. Laſtly, he ſhew'd the Copy of thoſe Letters the Governour of *Bayonne* had intercepted; which ſo ſtartled the King, that he proteſted againſt the Cardinal, as one, that not only uſurp'd too much upon the Regal Authority, but repreſented things much otherwiſe than they were, unto him. The King hereupon ſent for the Cardinal, and lays theſe Inſolencies and Preſumptions to his Charge in ſuch a manner, that, howſoever the Cardinal excus'd himſelf, the King was obſerv'd to miſtruſt him ever afterwards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the Council; where, notwithſtanding the Cardinal alledg'd that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the King's Intentions, as he conceiv'd them; yet, becauſe in a Matter of this high Conſequence, he had proceeded too ſingly, without adviſing with the King and Council, he was reprov'd. In ſequence whereof alſo (notwithſtanding this deſign'd War) ſome Overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us, and the *Low-Country-men*, ſtill open, if it could be fairly done. Therefore, the *Dutch-men* were Licens'd to depart home, the *Spaniards* yet being not permitted to go, till it appear'd, how our Merchants were us'd there. 1528.

Octob.

Hall.

Hall.

The Cardinal's Treachery to *Clarenceaux*.

Hall.

The King's firſt miſtruſt of the Cardinal.

Hall.

The Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, being inform'd hereof, doth in exchange of this Courteſie, diſmiſs our *Engliſh* likewiſe, yet retaineth their Goods, until ſhe might hear how the *Spaniards* were us'd in *England*, but together aſſures them, that when ſhe is ſatisfied thereof, all things ſhould be ſafely reſtor'd. And now our Merchants (who us'd not the Trade to the many Northern and remote Countries they now frequent) foreſeeing the Conſequence of theſe Wars, refus'd to buy the Cloths that were brought to *Blackwell-Hall* in *London*, whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of *England* began to mutiny. For appeaſing whereof, the Cardinal commands our Merchants to take off theſe Cloths, at a reaſonable Price, from the poor Men's hands, threatning, otherwiſe, that the King himſelf ſhould buy them, and ſell them to Strangers. But the ſullen Merchants, little mov'd herewith, ſaid, *they had no reaſon to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter*. Therefore, whatſoever was propos'd for Staples at *Calais*, or *Abbeville*, our Merchants did not, or at leaſt would not underſtand it. But this Diſcontentment did equally extend to the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, and eſpecially to *Antwerp*, where the chief Mart was. The Lady *Margaret* conſidering this alſo, and fearing leſt any Inſurrection might follow, ſends over, by the Advice of the Emperor's Council, the Provoſt of *Caſſeller*, and one other, to join with *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, for the obtaining, if nothing elſe, yet of a Truce and Abſtinence from War. Theſe Ambaſſadors having obtain'd Audience of the King, *March* 29. 1528. *Mendoza* ſaid unto him. March 29. Hall.

Sire, *The Emperor's Majeſty doth acknowledge himſelf ſo much bound to your Grace for the many Favours receiv'd from you, ever ſince his Minority, that he will by no means take the Defiance given by your Herald, as a peremptory Denunciation of War, till he hath heard farther of your Pleaſure. Therefore, his Council hath appointed theſe two Noble Perſons and my ſelf, to know your determinate Anſwer, and final Reſolution herein.* The King, pauſing a while, as one that in his Heart lov'd *Charles*, and yet was bound, by his late Treaty, to oppoſe him, anſwer'd; *Of War I am nothing joyful, And of War I am leſs fearful, I thank God, as having both Men and Money*

Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Speech to the King.

His Anſwer.

1528. *ney in readiness, which I know other Princes lack, for all their high Words; and therefore to War I could soon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate Answer herein, I shall declare some part of my Mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your Master be a great Emperor, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not, suffer him to bear down and destroy the Realm of* France, *which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the* French *King, pays us yearly a great Pension and Tribute; wherefore we, of Justice and Equity, must maintain that Land, out of which we have so fair a Rent, and such a Profit.* The Provost of *Casselles* replying hereunto, told the King; *That the ancient Love and Friendship which hath been betwixt your Realm and the House of* Burgundy, Flanders, *and the* Low-Countries, *is now so confirm'd and rooted in their Hearts, that I assure your Grace, that, next their Sovereign Lord, they would soonest live and die with you. In which regard he hop'd, that no new Alliance could corrupt and change this so long settled and inveterate Amity. Which yet we say not out of Fear, as being well furnish'd for War, but out of that true Affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperor intends no more herein, than to leave you the Arbitrement of both. And thus much I will confess out of my Instructions, that if you chuse War, we have yet Commission in fitting Terms to sue for Peace; and if you chuse Peace, we have likewise Commission to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your Command.* *Hugo de Mendoza*, to second this, said, *that, of very Right, the Emperor and his Dominions ought to have your Love and Favour before the* French *King and his Nation: Since the* French *had never apply'd themselves to you, but in the time of their Necessity; whereas the Love on our part hath been ever inviolable.* This was an Age, in which much Honour, and some Good-nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former Affection to *Charles* (and the rather, for that he found so much was deferr'd to his Mediation, in the Affairs of *Francis*, as is above related) and, besides, having an Eye on the Businesses of *Scotland* (as will appear hereafter) and, howsoever, being desirous to conserve his Stile and Dignity of Arbiter, told them, that, as he well perceiv'd the intent of their coming, so he would be well advis'd, how to make them a fitting Answer; saying, that, *in the mean while, he was content there should be a Truce for a time*; wherewith the *Flemish* Ambassadors return'd home, well satisfy'd that they had obtain'd this Respite. The King hereupon adviseth with his Counsellors; among whom, though those who adhered to *Woolsey*, did persuade a War, yet the greater part (who did secretly disaffect the Cardinal) told the King, *That the Resultance of War in the* Low-Countries *could be nothing but a Grievance to his Subjects, a decay of Trade, a diminution of his Customs, and addition to the Greatness of* Francis, *who would have the Advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly consider'd, it was thought fit to make an Abstinence from War for eight Months, and until it appear'd (upon Consultation betwixt the Emperor's Ambassadors and his) how a General Peace might be made.* Hereupon Letters were sent, not only to *Spain* and *Flanders*, but to *France*, manifesting the Reasons, why the King had, for a while, suspended this War. In which Estate also, the Business continued, till answer was brought from foreign Parts.

The Ambassador's Reply.

A Truce made. *Hall.*

The War suspended.

The Bishop of *Bayonne*, Resident here on the part of the *French* King, was no sooner advertis'd hereof, but he demanded Audience; which being obtain'd, he saith, *That though he doubted not but his Highness did well remember the late League, concluded betwixt him and his Brother the* French *King, which also was ratified and confirm'd by the three Estates of the Realm of* France, *by virtue whereof you have an Annual Pension and Tribute to a great Value paid to you, in consideration whereof, you have promis'd to defend the said Realm against all Persons; yet, because it is well known to many, that the Emperor's Ambassadors have labour'd the contrary, disposing your Highness (all they could) to infringe the said League, I thought it my part to put your Highness in mind thereof, assuring your Highness, for the rest, that, whensoever you should begin to make a War upon the Emperor and his Subjects, it would be a perpetual Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole* French *Nation.* The King reply'd hereunto, that, *though it were more easie to enter into Wars, than to end them with Honour and Profit, yet that he would preserve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of* France, *and himself. So that the King, your Master, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the uttermost of my Power; though, I must tell you, that, when I could procure him an Honourable and Advantagious Peace, I should think I had deserv'd as well of him this way, as any other.* Wherewith the Ambassador departed well contented, yet so, as he was in some more Uncertainty concerning the intended War. Therefore he sollicites the Cardinal, as his Master's best Friend, to hasten the Forces, which our King had now in readiness for a War with the *Low-Countries*: But, as the Favour of the Cardinal began now somewhat to decline, so found he not that Expedition which he was wont to receive in his Addresses. Howsoever, the War betwixt the *French* and *Flemings* continu'd. In which this memorable Accident is recorded. That a *French* Ship lying at *Margate*, being set on by a *Fleming*, and finding her self too weak, the Wind being fair for the River of *Thames*, packs on all her Sails, and makes for *London*. The *Fleming*, as eagerly pursuing her, overtakes and boards her near the Tower-Wharf; which Sir *Edmund Walsingham*, Lieutenant of the Tower, perceiving, calls his Men together, and seiz'd on them; where, though the *Fleming* boldly challeng'd his Prize, yet the King's Council, considering, that (in this Place) both of them were under the King's Protection, it was thought fit to dismiss them freely on either side.

The Fr. Ambassador's Speech.

Hall.

The King's Answer.

The Cardinal's Interest declines.

Hall.

It appears before how *Guyenne*, King of Arms, charg'd himself with a Message from *Charles* the Emperor unto the King his Master, containing an Affront and kind of Challenge, which the said *Charles* had formerly declar'd to the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*. *Guyenne* having now perform'd his part, *Francis* could no longer forbear to take notice of it. Yet, because it seems he did not sufficiently apprehend the Relation which the said Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* made thereof, he requires of him more ample and clear Information. The Archbishop hereupon writes to *Charles*, and craves, that, under his Hand, he would set down what he told him by word of Mouth; for the rest making some Excuse, that he did not remember it better. *Charles* answers him, and repeats the Words; shortly after which, *Francis* dispatches *Guyenne* with a Cartel, in the delivery whereof I shall set down the Forms were us'd, the Example being so rare. *Sandov.*

Guyenne having obtain'd a safe Conduct from *Charles*, who also commanded one *Montalvo*, a Gentleman, for his more Security, by the way, to accompany him, comes to *Monzon* in *Arragon*, where *Charles* then was, 7th of *June*, 1528. Having gotten Audience the next Day, *Charles* sitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. *Guyenne* coming hereupon to the lower end of a great Hall, puts on his Coat of Arms, and after June 7. June 8.

1528. five low Obeysances made, casts himself on his Knees before *Charles*, and speaks thus.

K. of Fr. sends the Emperor a Challenge.

Sire, *I beseech your Majesty, that, continuing the good Usage I have receiv'd hitherto, you will give me leave to perform that, that belongs to my Office, and that, this being done, I may have leave safely to return.* *Charles* answer'd, *King of Arms, do thy Duty; and my Will is, that thou be always well Treated.* Then *Guyenne*, rising up, said;

Sire, *The King my Master, being advertis'd of the Words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have spoken against his Honour, desires so much to justifie it, before all the World, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for answer, to present you this Writing, subscrib'd with his own Hand, which when your Majesty shall please to peruse, you will find, how intirely he satisfies all. Moreover, your Majesty will be pleas'd to give me leave to return to the King my Master, for I have no further Commission.* This being said, he seem'd to offer a Paper unto *Charles*. Before yet *Charles* would take it, he said, King of Arms, *hast thou Commission from thy King to read this Writing thou bringest?* *Guyenne* answer'd, that *he had.* Then *Charles* said, *King of Arms, I have heard that which you have said, and will look on the Writing which you have brought, and will do in such sort, that my Honour shall be preserv'd. And, for the King your Master, he will have enough to do to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impossible; as for that which concerns my Justice, my Chancellor here shall deliver it.* Then the Chancellor said, *His Majesty, holding himself to the Protestations made heretofore on his part, protesteth here again, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he shall say, or do, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of* Madrid; *and that, notwithstanding any breach on this particular Occasion, it shall remain in full Force and Effect. And that this Protestation shall be understood, as distributed and reported in all the Proceedings that shall hereafter pass in this matter.*

Emperor's Answer.

When the Chancellor had spoken this, the Emperor said; *King of Arms, although, for many Reasons, the King your Master be not capable of doing any Act in this kind, either against me or any else, yet, for the good of* Christendom, *and avoiding of more Effusion of Blood, and for giving an end to these Wars, and for no other Reason, I do enable him for this purpose;* wherewith he took the Paper that *Guyenne* held in his Hand. Then *Guyenne* said to him; Sire, *If the Answer that your Majesty shall send to the King my Master be the Security of the Field, or Fighting-place, and that you please to give it me, I have Commission to bring it, and nothing else. Therefore your Majesty will be pleas'd not to force me to any thing else, but the said Security of the Field, in which the King my Master will assuredly present himself, with those Arms with which he intends to defend himself. And for me, your Majesty will be pleas'd to let me depart.* *Charles* answer'd, *Your Master ought not to prescribe me what I am to do; I will do what I have said; for which Cause, as well as that something may be in this Paper, to which I may reply by some particular Messenger, I charge you to procure him a safe Conduct, since you would not come without mine;* which *Guyenne* promis'd: Wherewith the Emperor calling *Juan Aleman*, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which *Guyenne* (who seem'd to have taken his Leave) said, Sire, *I have another Paper to present your Majesty by the Hands of Seigneur* Aleman *your Secretary, if your Majesty be pleas'd to command him to receive it;* which *Charles* likewise permitted. Whereupon all the principal Persons present, and lastly *Guyenne* also, subscrib'd their Names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperor commanded his Secretary *Aleman* to read in an high Voice the Cartel deliver'd by *Guyenne*.

1528.

The Cartel of *Francis* the *French* King, to *Charles* the Emperor.

The Challenge.

WE Francis *by the Grace of God King of* France, *Lord of* Genoua, &c. To you Charles, *by the same Grace, chosen Emperor of Romans, King of* Spain. *We let you know that being advertis'd, how, in certain Answers given to our Ambassadors and Kings of Arms, (which for negotiating a Peace we sent unto you) you, desiring without Reason to excuse yourself, have accus'd us, saying, that you have our Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening our Promise, we are departed out of your Hands and Power. For defending of our Honour, which herein is, much against Truth, impeach'd, we have thought fit to send you this Cartel; by which although we say, that no Man under Restraint can plight his Faith, and that, though this Excuse is very sufficient, yet, as we desire to give Satisfaction to every one, and as well to our own Honour, which we have kept, and will keep (God willing) to the death; We let you know, that, if either you have already, or shall hereafter lay to our Charge any thing which may touch our Faith, or Liberty, or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier that loves his Honour ought not do; We say unto you, that you have ly'd in your Throat; and that as many times as you shall say it, you* Lye; *being resolv'd to defend our Honour to the last Period of our Life.*

And since, against Truth, you have laid this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but assure us the Field, and we will bring the Arms; Protesting that, if after this Declaration, you write to any part, or speak any Words against our Honour, the shame of delaying the Combat shall be your's, since, being come to these Terms, all cause of Writing ceaseth.

Dated in our good Town and City of Paris, *Mart.* 28. 1527. *before* Easter. Martii 28. 15 27/28.

Underneath which was plac'd the little Seal of *Francis* in Wax.

This being the Substance of *Francis* his *Cartel*, was communicated beforehand to our King, who advis'd him only (as I find in our Records) not to give the Emperor that harsh Word of the Lye. In the Paper deliver'd to the Secretary *Aleman*, a Relation was made of some Passages between *Francis*, and the *Siegneur de Granvele* Ambassador of *Charles*, residing in the *French* Court, in which *Francis* pretended to excuse his breach of Promise, by the constraint and necessity he was in, saying, among other things, *that he yielded not himself to the Emperor, and therefore that he could not accuse him of breach of Faith.* It was also declar'd there, how *Francis* caus'd the Cartel abovemention'd to be * read publickly before the Emperor's Ambassador. Moreover, *Francis* labour'd to avoid the Imputation laid on him by *Charles* for defying him now, when yet he had made six or seven Years War without sending any such Defiance. To which therefore he answer'd, That *the Ambassadors of* Charles *had defied him first, at* Dijon, *and therefore it would not seem strange if he defended himself.* The rest was little more than some Protestations against the late Imprisonment of the Pope, the detaining of his two Sons for Hostages, some Complement of *Henry* King of *England*, and some Excuses for not having answer'd this Business sooner; among which, the following, being somewhat extravagant, seems worth the relating: For, whereas *Charles* objected against him, that he kept his Promise in *Madrid* better to *Francis*, than *Francis* had done to him; he said, he did not remember to have promis'd any thing there; for, concerning the Concord of *Madrid*, he said, it was set

Henry's Advice to *Francis* herein. Record.

Sandov.

* Mart. 28.

Francis endeavours to excuse his breach of Faith.

1528. ſet down in Writing; howſoever that he held himſelf ſufficiently diſcharg'd from it, in regard he was not at Liberty when he Sign'd it, nor afterwards ſet free upon his Word, (which, in that caſe only, he thought himſelf bound to obſerve:) for the reſt, profeſſing he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he ſaid he would in Perſon aſſiſt *Charles* againſt the *Turk*, which he was ready to do likewiſe with all his Forces; aſſuring farther, that *Charles* ſhould not ſo ſoon have his Foot in the Stirrup for this purpoſe, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the ſaid Ambaſſador reply'd, *he had no Commiſſion to hear, or treat of theſe Buſineſſes, and therefore deſir'd leave to depart, and ſafe Conduct, the Emperor his Maſter having recall'd him.* Whereunto *Francis* anſwer'd, *that the Emperor his Maſter had forc'd him to theſe Courſes, and that he did eſteem him ſo gentile a Prince, that, when he ſhould underſtand this Anſwer I make him, he would anſwer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: Becauſe, if he did otherwiſe, he would ſend a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a Perſon of his Quality, and an honeſter Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I ſhall cauſe you to be accompany'd to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the intent that I may receive my Ambaſſadors at the time that I diſmiſs you. This was Sign'd by* Robertet, *Secretary to* Francis.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Reply to theſe Excuſes.

Hereupon *Charles* reſolves, by *Burgundy* his King of Arms, to ſend his Reply unto *Francis*, bearing

June 28. Date *June* 28, 1528.

The Cartel and Reply of *Charles* the Emperor, to *Francis* the *French* King.

Charles's Anſwer to Francis's Challenge.

CHARLES *by the divine Clemency Emperor of the* Romans, *King of* Germany *and of* Spain, &c. *I do let know to you* Francis, *by the Grace of God King of* France, *that, upon the* 8th *of this Month of* June, *I receiv'd by* Guyenne, *your King of Arms, your Cartel, dated* Mart. 28. *which from a remoter Place than* Paris *might have come hither in a ſhorter time; and conformable to that which on my part was ſaid to your King of Arms, I anſwer to that which you ſay, That in certain Anſwers given by me to the Ambaſſadors and Kings of Arms, whom for negotiating a Peace you ſent unto me, in which you alledge, that, for excuſing my ſelf, without cauſe, I have accus'd you, I reply, that I have not ſeen any King of Arms on your part, but him that came to* Burgos *to denounce War againſt me. And as for my ſelf, having err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuſe my ſelf. But for you, it is your own Faults that accuſe you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you ſay true, when you underſtand thereby the Capitulation of* Madrid; *where it appears, by certain Writings ſubſcrib'd with your own Hand, that you would return to be my true Priſoner, in caſe you did not accompliſh all, which by the ſaid Capitulation was promis'd. But, that I ſhould ſay, as you mention in your Cartel, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did, contrary to your Promiſe, go away, and eſcape my Hands and Power, they are Words which I never ſaid, becauſe I never pretended to hold your Faith, ſo, as not to go away, but to return in the Form that was agreed. And if you make this good, you ſhould neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your Honour. And to that you ſay, that, for defence of your Honour (which in this caſe ſhould, much againſt Truth, be impeach'd) you have thought fit to ſend your Cartel, by which you ſay, that although no Man under ward or reſtraint can plight his Faith, and that this Excuſe is very ſufficient; Notwithſtanding, as you deſire to give Satisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own Honour, which you ſay you have kept, and will keep (God willing) unto the Death, and thereupon do let me know, that, if either I have already, or ſhall hereafter lay to your Charge any thing which may touch your Faith or Liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavalier that loves his Honour ought not to do, you ſay that I have Ly'd in my Throat, and, as many times as I ſhall ſay it, that I Lye. And that you are reſolv'd to defend your Honour to the laſt Period of your Life.* 1528.

To this I anſwer, that, conſidering the Form of the Capitulation, your Excuſe for being under reſtraint can have no place; but, ſince you make ſo ſmall account of your Honour, I do not wonder that you deny yourſelf to be oblig'd to accompliſh your Promiſe; for your Words cannot vindicate your Honour. Therefore I have ſaid, and will ſay (without Lying,) that you have done Laſchement *and* Meſchamment, *in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of* Madrid. *And, in ſaying this, I do not charge you with things ſecret, or impoſſible to prove, ſince they appear by Writings, ſign'd by your Hand, which you can neither excuſe, nor deny: And if you will affirm the contrary, (ſince I have releas'd and enabled you only for this Combat) I ſay, that for the good of Chriſtendom, and for avoiding the effuſion of Blood, and for putting an end to this War, and to defend my juſt Demand, I ſhall, in my Perſon maintain againſt yours, that, that which I ſay, is true. But I will not return to you the Language you give me, ſince both your Actions (without that I or any elſe ſpeak of them) make you a Lyer, and that it is more eaſy afar off to talk in this manner, than near at hand. And, as for that which you ſay, that, ſince, againſt Truth, I have laid this Imputation on you, that from henceforth I ſhould write no more, but that I ſhould aſſure you the Field, and that you will bring the Arms; I ſay, you muſt have patience a while, till I have laid your Actions open to you, and until I have writ you this Anſwer, by which I ſay, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to aſſure it on my part, by all the reaſonable ways that can be deviſ'd; and, for this Effect, and for the better Expedition thereof, I do now name the Place for the ſaid Combat, to be upon the River, which paſſeth between* Fuentarabie *and* Andaja, *in that part, and after that manner, which by Agreement on both ſides, ſhall be thought moſt ſecure and convenient. And, it ſeems that in reaſon you ought not to refuſe this, or ſay it is not ſecure enough, ſince there you were ſet free, upon giving your Sons for Hoſtages, with your Faith and Promiſe to return. And conſidering as well that in the ſame River you did entruſt your Perſon, and your Children; you may be confident now to hazard your own only, ſince I will as well hazard mine. And means ſhall be found out, that notwithſtanding the Situation of the Place, neither of us ſhall have Advantage of the other. And for this purpoſe, as well as for the Election of Arms, (which I pretend of Right to belong to me, and not to you) and becauſe in the concluſion of this Buſineſs no trifling or delay may be admitted, we may ſend Gentlemen on both parts to view the ſaid Place; with ſufficient Power to treat and agree, as well concerning the Security of the Field, as the choice of Arms, the Day of Combat, and the reſt that belongs hereunto. And if, within the ſpace of XL Days after the Delivery hereof, you neither anſwer nor advertiſe me of your Intention herein, it will ſufficiently appear, that the delay is on your part, which therefore ſhall be imputed, and laid to your Charge, together with the default of not having accompliſh'd that which you promis'd in* Madrid. *And whereas you proteſt, that if, after this Declaration, I ſay or write Words contrary to your Honour, that the ſhame of delay of Combat ſhall be mine, ſince when matters are brought to theſe terms, all cauſe of Writing ceaſeth; your Proteſtations might have been well ſpar'd, ſince you cannot forbid me to ſay Truth, though it grieve you. And that as well I am*

aſſur'd

1528. *assur'd, that the shame of delaying the Combat will not rest on me, since all the World may witness the desire I have to see an end thereof.*

At *Monzon* in *Arragon*, *June* 28. 1528.

This also was certified under the Hand and Seal of *Burgundy*, King of Arms, who, together carry'd, in a Paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publick Writing, declar'd, that his Imperial Majesty commanded him, with all speed, to enquire an Answer thereof. And that he should offer his Service for bringing of it, if *Francis* so thought fit. Yet if the said King would not send it but by another, then that he should assure *Francis*, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, that the said Messenger might come securely; and that a safe Conduct should be made him if he desir'd it; although his Imperial Majesty did not think it necessary for a King of Arms, as being a priviledg'd Person. And, besides this, that he the said *Burgundy* should give to *Robertet*, Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the said King should appoint, an Answer, in Writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in presence of his Imperial Majesty, and, by his Consent, to the Secretary *Aleman*. The Tenor of which Writing being long, and containing little in it, but what is formerly set down, I shall pass over. And the rather, for that it took no more effect. Nevertheless, I must not omit to say that the Excuse of *Francis* was not generally approv'd, nor his Cartel thought just. For if a Prisoner of War may avoid his Promise, because he is under constraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kill'd upon the Place; which would make the War not only more bloody and barbarous, but even destroy a principal part of that *Jus Gentium*, which in these Cases hath been inviolably observ'd in all Times. So that if *Francis* had excus'd his not returning, by being a publick Person; and had said, that his Obligation by Oath, when he was Crown'd, unto his People and Kingdom was a greater Tye than that of his particular Honour; and, together, had alledg'd, that he could not obtain their Consent, either to perform his Promise for Restitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwise to go single out of this Kingdom; it was thought, by some, he might have vindicated himself in great part, and, indeed, laid some Imputation on *Charles*, for demanding things impossible to perform. But I come to that which ensu'd; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his Hand and Seal, as Authentick, for the justifying of the Emperor his Master's Reputation.

Sandov.

Francis's Conduct generally condemned; and why.

Sandov.

July 1. *Burgundy* arrives on the Frontiers of *France*.

This *Burgundy*, coming to *Fuentarabie*, sends a Trumpet, 1 *July* 1528. to Monsieur *de St. Bonet* Governor of *Bayonne*, for the safe Conduct which *Guyenne* had promis'd. The Governor excus'd himself, as not having Commission; yet as *Burgundy* persisted in his Demand, the said Governor, about eight Days afterwards, sent him word, that his Safe-conduct was ready, if he brought Security of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further to know if his Commission extended to any thing else. To which *Burgundy* answer'd, about seven Days after, that the Emperor his Master had commanded him not to declare his Message to any, but *Francis*. And that therefore, he had dispatch'd a *Courier* to his Imperial Majesty to know what Answer he should make: who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I do bring the Security of the Field, and other things that concern the Combat, and Answer to the Cartel of the King your Master. To which, the next Day following, the Governor answer'd again, that, if he brought the Security of the Field, and nothing else, he should advertise him, and he would presently send a Gentleman to conduct him to the King his Master. To which, about nine Days after, *Burgundy* answer'd, that he did bring the Security of the Field, and the rest did concern only the Combat, and the hastning thereof; which being so, he said he ought not to be deny'd, or prohibited to do his Office, since it was a thing never known, that any should speak to one, and yet not hear his Answer; as if it were enough for defending of one's Honour, to send a Cartel, without doing or suffering any thing else. For which reason, and because the Emperor is desirous to shew that he is in earnest, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his Safe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like Case; and that, if he were delay'd, he protested that he had done all that was convenient for the discharge of the Dignity of the Emperor his Master; which you know of what Importance it is: and so expected his speedy Answer. No Answer being return'd hereunto in the space of nine Days more, (notwithstanding that the Governor had promis'd to send a Trumpet with an Answer.) *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that Promise, and therefore sends a Trumpet again; to which (as the *Spanish* History hath it) St. *Bonet* made no other Answer, but bid him return no more, and that *Fuesse conel diablo*, yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart, so at last the Governor of *Bayonne* sent him a Letter dated *August* 17. 1528. which declar'd, that the King his Master was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him Safe-conduct so long, which therefore he promis'd to send him when he desir'd it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of hand, the Governor sent him. Whereupon *Burgundy* (who put on his Coat of Arms assoon as he was in the *French* Territories) came to *Bayonne*, where he protested to the Governor, that the demanding Safe-conduct should be no Derogation to his Privilege belonging to him as King of Arms; and so, continuing his Journey, he came to *Estampes*, 2 *September*, where *Guyenne* attended him; staying yet there seven Days, before he was permitted to go to *Paris*, (the King passing all that time in Hunting.) Being at length conducted to *Paris*, he would have worn his Coat of Arms, but was not suffer'd, it being told him, it was *Cosa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, a thing not to be shew'd but upon Holydays, or in a Country-Church. 1528. Aug. 17. Sept. 2.

But *Burgundy* protesting against this Usage, (as being contrary to the Privileges of his Place) those who conducted him went to the King, who, after some space, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to record what pass'd; before whom they said, that, if he desir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Arms, he would be in great danger of the People; and therefore if any Inconvenience follow'd, he must not lay it to their Charge. Notwithstanding which, some Persons being sent to secure him, he put on his Coat of Arms; and, the next Day, obtain'd Audience of the King; who in a great Sale (or Hall) sate on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; our Ambassadors also being present, to whom (as I find in our Records) he then shew'd the Order of the Garter upon his Leg, saying to them, that, *seeing he went about an Act, wherein consisted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not use a better Remembrance, than the said Garter.* *Burgundy* now beginning to make his Obeysance, the King without giving him time to speak, said, *King of Arms, hast thou perform'd thy Office as thou ought'st hitherto? Thou knowest what thou hast written in thy Letters; dost thou bring me the Security of the Field accor-*

Burgundy has Audience of *Francis*.

1528. *according to that which in my Cartel I writ to the Emperor thy Master?* He reply'd, *Senior si*, or *Yes, will you be pleas'd that I perform my Office, and say what the Emperor commandeth me?* The King answered hereunto, *No, unless you give first a Patent sign'd with your Hand, that may contain the Security of the Field, and nothing else. For thou knowest well the Contents of thy Safe-conduct.* The Herald there beginning to speak, and saying, *Sire, The Sacred Majesty of the Emperor* ——— The King interrupted him, and said, *I tell thee, that thou must not speak to me of any thing, because I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Master; yet when thou shalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well assur'd me, then will I give thee Licence to say what thou wilt, and not otherwise.* Then he said, *Sire, It was commanded me that I should read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave so to do; or that having given it you first, I should afterwards do what I am commanded.* Then the King rose suddenly from his Throne, speaking angrily; *What? Does thy Master think to establish new Customs in my Land? I will none of these Hypocrisies.* He answer'd then, *Sire, I am assur'd that the Emperor will do all that a brave and virtuous Prince ought to do.* The King reply'd hereunto, *That he thought so well of him, he did believe he would do so.* Wherewith *Monsieur de Montmorency*, who was the *Grand Maistre*, began to say somewhat to the King, which the said King of Arms understood not; but the King passionately reply'd, *No, no, I will not give him leave, unless I have the Surety of the Field; without which* (he said) *he should return as he came; and so bids the King of Arms speak no more unto him.* Yet he reply'd, *Sire, If you will not suffer me, I cannot do my Office, nor give you the Cartel of the Emperor, without your Leave, which once again I ask; and if you will not give it me, because I may not err in my Relation, I pray you give me by Writing, that you deny it, referring me yet your safe Conduct to return.* Then *Francis* said, *I will that it be given you*; wherewithal the Herald departed. He then solicited *Montmorency*, the *Grand Maistre*, to obtain Leave for him once more to deliver the Emperor's Cartel. Notwithstanding which, he receiv'd no other Answer, but that the King would grant him no Audience, since his Commission was expir'd: Therefore that he might depart when it pleas'd him. Then *Burgundy* protested that the Fault was not in him, and much less in the Emperor his Master, and that the Emperor his Master would publish this in all Places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offer'd him a Relation of the Business, which yet he would not receive, in regard some Passages were omitted, and particularly the harsh Words, which the King gave him. Wherewith *Burgundy* return'd, and, at his coming to Court, deliver'd this Relation to the Emperor under his Hand and Seal. Which also I have follow'd, not that I would shew any Partiality to either side, but that it is the most particular, that I could meet with, among the several Relations that are extant, and for the most part agreeing with them.

Charles now considering what remain'd to be done for discharge of his Honour, brought the Business to his Council of State and War; who all agreed, That the Refusal of *Francis* to hear the Reply to his Cartel had given end to this Business; and, for the rest, that it was sufficient to certifie certain principal Persons, both at home, and abroad, of all these Passages.

And this was the end of the *Cartels* and *Points d'honneur* betwixt these two great Princes; not for want of Courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree sufficiently between themselves concerning the Laws of Duel; of which therefore Men spake, in that Age, diversly, according to their several 1528.
Affections; yet so, as few disinterested Persons denied, but that (notwithstanding the Punctualities of *Francis*) *Charles* had behav'd himself like a gentile Cavalier.

Charles's behaviour more gallant than *Francis's*.

The Affairs of Scotland.

Whilst our King and the *French* were in that good Intelligence which is above-mention'd, it might seem probable that *Scotland* should be quiet: Their best Support ever coming from that Country. Yet such was the Power of the *Douglasses* at that time, that they seem'd to sway all things. For as they held a strict Guard about the King, they made use of his Authority for their own Ends. And particularly the Earl of *Anguis* their Chief. Nevertheless, as Queen *Margaret* had lately obtain'd at *Rome* a Divorce from the said Earl, and thereupon marry'd *Henry Stuart*, 1526.
(shortly after created Lord *Messen*) she drew many of the prime Nobility against him. July 20.
Who yet attempting the King's Delivery by Force, were defeated near *Lithgow*, and the Earl of *Lenox* slain. Howbeit the King by Night slipping away from *Anguis*, to the Castle of *Sterling*, resolves to summon a Parliament, and exauctorate the *Douglasses*; sending a Letter also to our King, to this purpose, as our Records tell us) That the Earl of 1527.
Anguis, being made one of the Chief about his Person, had wrought the Exclusion of the rest, and got the whole guiding of his Person for two Years; in which time many evil Adventures hap- 1527.
pen'd. Moreover, that he conspir'd his Slaughter. This being done, he appoints the Parliament to be held *September* 4. Sept. 4.
Where the *Douglasses* being now depriv'd of their Publick Offices and Places, not only refus'd to come, but endeavour'd by all means to dissolve this Meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of *Edinburgh*, they sent some Troops of Horse to seize on it; which likewise they had perform'd, but that *Ro-* July 25.
bert Maxwel, by the King's Command, prevented them. Hereupon *Anguis* retir'd to his own Castle, being about thirteen Miles distant. The King understanding hereof, comes to *Edinburgh*; Sept. 4.
where, by Vote of the Parliament, the Earl of *Anguis*, *George* his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Dromond* their dear Friend, were Buch.
condemn'd, and their Goods confiscate, and Proclamation sent forth, that whosoever receiv'd them in House, or otherwise reliev'd them, should be subject to the same Punishment. Shortly after which, *William* (another Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of *Holyrood*) languish'd, and at last dy'd of Grief: Into whose Place succeeded a Man, who, to avoid the Crime of being a *Simoniac*, us'd this notable Trick, as *Buchanan* hath it; Buch.
for, hearing that the said *William* was at the point of Death, he lays a great Sum of Money, as a Wager, with the King, that he should not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King (though young) understood his Meaning; and as he wanted Money at that time, was content to win the Wager, and lose the Abby. The *Douglasses* despairing now of Mercy, spoil and forage the Country even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*; nor was all their Prey by Land; for a Ship, laden with precious Merchandise, being driven by a Tempest on that Coast, was rifled by them, and the chief Merchandise taken away; among Buch.
which, some quantity of Cinnamon, which was left in the bottom of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar sort, not knowing the Use thereof, burnt it for Fuel in their Houses, as *Buchanan* hath it. The more discontented sort of the Kingdom hearing that the *Douglasses* were thus in Arms, join with them. The King understanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and Power did daily increase, advis'd to raise Forces for taking a Castle of the *Douglasses*, (for which

purpose

1528. purpose he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar*) in which *John* Duke of *Albany*, late Vice-roy, held Garrison. He could not yet take the Castle.

Octob. Our King hearing of these Stirs, sends some Ambassadors in *October*, 1528, to treat of an Accommodation. Neither was *Francis* averse, as desiring to dispose our King to a War against *Charles*. The Difficulties yet were such, that all that could be obtain'd, was a Truce for five Years more, upon Condition, that the *Douglasses* should deliver their Castles up, the King giving them some other Conditions; which yet being not in all Points observ'd, they were forc'd to forsake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Pension, and, at all Occasions, mediated their Restitution; which at last (but not till the Death of *James* V.) he effected, (as will appear:) Howbeit *Alexander Dromond* was receiv'd into Favour; though, whether for his own Merit, or to divide him from the *Douglasses*, is uncertain; for *James Coluit*, one of their Friends, and the late Abbot of *Holy-rood*, (notwithstanding his bought Title) were banish'd from Court.

The Affairs of *Ireland*. The Businesses of *Ireland* passed thus. The Earl of *Kildare* formerly mention'd, being restor'd to his Place of Deputy, was yet still prosecuted by the Earl of *Ossory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of *Desmond*; who, upon the Treaty he made first with the *French* King, and afterwards with the Emperor, to attempt *Ireland*, was declar'd, Traytor. This prevail'd so far, that *Kildare* was
1527. sent for to the Council-Table, 1527, where the Cardinal, his old Enemy, declaim'd against him. But he wittily and boldly defended himself, as
E. Camp. Hist. *Irel.* our History, and especially *Campion*, hath it at large. Howbeit he was committed, and more Accusations produced against him; and particularly, that the Invasion his Brethren had made upon the Earl of *Ossory*, now the King's Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof also being convict, he was condemn'd, and repriev'd in the Tower. At which, the Cardinal offended, sends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his Execution. But the Lieutenant, favouring *Kildare*, acquainted
The King checks the Cardinal for his Presumption. our King therewith; who thereupon not only respited his Death, but some while after pardon'd and sent him home to his Country; checking the Cardinal in the mean time not a little, for his Presumption.

Luther's Letter of Apology to K. *Hen.* I shall now return to speak of the Affairs of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther* more than any of the other Reformers did govern; which Credit also that he might dilate and conserve, he had a good while since written to our King a kind of Apology
1525. *Sleid.* for the disrespectful Answer made to his Book; *offering, for Satisfaction, in some publick Writing to acknowledge (together with his own Presumption) the King's singular Worth. In this Letter, among other things, he says he understood that the King was not the Author of the Book, which, under his Name, came forth against him; but certain Sophisters, who, to insinuate themselves into his Favour, had put forth the Work under his Name; and then calls the Cardinal,* Angliæ Pestem. He added also, *that he was informed, to his great Contentment*, ipsum & fastidire genus illud perditorum hominum, & ad veri cognitionem animum adjicere: After which, he inserts *a brief Remonstrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Answer.* Our King having receiv'd
The King's Answer. this Letter, answers it sharply, *laying Inconstancy and Levity to the Charge of* Luther, *and defending his own Book, and the Cardinal, whom, he saith, he should love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late* incestum Matrimonium *with a Nun.* This Answer also being sent the Pope, and printed, *Luther*, who took nothing so ill at this time, as that he should be thought to change 1528.
any of his Tenets and Opinions, lays the Fault on *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, who had given 1525.
him hope, that our King, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the *Reformed* Doctrine; but now that he repented himself of this easy Language, though it was not new to him to lose his labour in this kind; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinal *Cajetan*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, he had found no Success thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his Doctrines had made no little Progress in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his Followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his Opinions, *Charles*, for repressing those Tumults, (which Alteration of Religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, to be held at *Spire*. For though the Decree made at
Worms (where *Luther* was condemn'd) did yet 1521.
stand in force, the Determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in *June* 1526, the Diet at *Spire.*
Emperor's Letters (dated from *Sevil*, *March* 23.) 1526. June.
were read to them. Wherein he declared, *That he would shortly go to* Rome *to be crown'd, and talk with the Pope concerning a Council: In the mean time forbidding them to innovate ought in Religion, but conform themselves to the Decree of* Worms. But the Reformed Cities answer'd, *That the Execution of the Decree of* Worms *would hazard a Sedition among the People; and that the Pope now gathering Forces against the Emperor, there was little hope of obtaining from him a General Council.* Therefore, they desir'd the Emperor *to permit a National Council of* Germany, *for the settling of Religion; or, if not, at least to suspend the Decree of* Worms *till a General Council be call'd.* Things thus tending to an open Dissention, the *Turk* invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the *French* and *Italians* confederating against *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand* (the Emperor's Deputy in this Diet) thought fit to condescend to a Decree to this
Effect: That there was great need of a Council, *Sleid.*
either general, or of the *German* Nation; and that it should begin within a Year, which the Emperor was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Worms*, that, till one of those Councils be call'd, every Prince and State so behave themselves, as they may give a probable Account of their Actions to God, *and the*
Emperor. After this, a violent War *betwixt the* 1527.
Emperor and *French*, the sacking *of Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, *the Lutherans* (or as they
still'd themselves the *Evangelicks*) increas'd in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to endeavour their Suppression. Till at length, re- The *Lutherans* increase.
turning to good Terms with the Pope, and an Overture being made for an Accord with the *French*, he returns to the care of Religion, and, by Let-
ters dated at *Valledolid*, *August* 1. 1528. appoints Aug. 1.
a Diet at *Spire*, to commence in *February* 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great Occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his Brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and some others to appear for him. This Diet
yet did not begin till *March* following; to which March 15.
the discreet and peaceable *Melancthon* was, with 1529.
much Honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. The Elector of *Saxony* brings *Melancthon* to *Spire.*
Many other Princes and great Persons also came thither; among which not a few were unresolved enough in either Belief, till Controversies in Religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any Angle of the World there was either a new Opinion to

examine,

1528. examine, or ancient Error to reform, they wanted not a just Exercise for their Curiosity. At last the former Decree of *Spire*, 1526. was examin'd; in which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of *Worms*, and matter of Religion (in the mean time) till one of these Councils were held, every Prince and State should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable Reason of their Actions to God and the Emperor; the Emperor now alledging it was misunderstood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the settling thereof in this manner.

The Emperor grants Liberty of Conscience.

That all, who have obey'd the Emperor's Edict at Worms *hitherunto, should continue to obey it, until a Council were call'd, which was promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so far entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, should yet stay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing new and offensive Books, (according to the Decree at* Noremberg, 1524.) *That the ancient Tenent about the Eucharist and the Mass should be held. That they who would go to the Mass should not be hindred. That Preachers follow that Interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath receiv'd and approv'd; abstaining from controverted Points, which shou'd be determin'd by the Council. In the mean while, that difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion should not be a breach of Peace, or occasion of Wrong on either side. That no Prince should receive the Subjects of the other into his Protection. That they who did otherwise should be under the* Bann, *(or proscrib'd.)* But the Anabaptists were more shrewdly dealt withal, it being agreed, that they, who with Pertinacy did maintain that Doctrine, should be put to death.

April 19. 1529. *German* Princes protest against the Emperor's Order.

Many things yet were dislik'd herein by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landtgrave of *Hessen*, and divers others. Therefore they protested against it; and first they said, *That the former Diet of* Spire *was more favourable, as permitting every one the Exercise of his Religion, till a Council in* Germany, *or, otherwise, a General Council were call'd; and that there was no reason to vary from it, unless another more* 1526. *convenient were accorded. That, in the Assembly of* Noremberg, *they had deliver'd many Grievances to* 152¾. *the Pope's Legat, for which yet no Remedy was given, nor indeed could be expected, until the said Council were call'd. As for the Mass, that it was sufficiently convicted by the Ministers of their Churches, and the Eucharist after the true manner restor'd. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either they or their Subjects should be present at the Mass; since, when the use thereof might be receiv'd in their Churches, yet if two Divine Services, so discrepant, should be celebrated in the same place, much ill Example and Scandal must follow. And for the Point of the Eucharist, that though there were difference among the Reformed, yet that none ought to be condemn'd unheard. As for the Article, which prescribeth the Gospel to be interpreted according to the ordinary and receiv'd Doctrine of the Church, that it was well stated, when the true Church were first defin'd, until which, they would labour to interpret one place of Scripture by the other. That the last Decree of* Spire *was made for the sake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and therefore, that they altogether protested against it. In the mean while (until this General or Provincial Council for* Germany *were call'd) they promis'd to do nothing, that might justly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others, Anabaptists, and printing of Books, they said, they knew very well what was to be done.*

This Protestation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Towns of *Germany*, (among which *Strasburg, Noremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reteling, Winseim, Meningen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbrun, Norlingen, Sangal,* and divers others are number'd) they all join'd so together, that the 1528. Name of Protestants took thence its Original; which Name therefore (properly taken) seems to imply no more, than one resolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenets, till some lawful Council, either General or Provincial, determin'd the contrary. *Ferdinand*, finding Matters thus not to sort to that effect he desir'd, departs out of the Assembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of *Saxony* and the rest to stay, which he refusing, they appeal'd to the Emperor, and future Council.

The Name *Protestant* first us'd.

Let us now see what was done in *Italy* this 1528. Jan. while; the Pope, though escap'd, was not yet suddenly provided with Counsel or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his Defence, as well as desire of Revenge, made him correspond with *Lautrech*, so fear of returning again to Imprisonment, caus'd him to proceed so warily, that one might doubt his Intentions. Therefore he kept *Lautrech* still in much suspence; saying one while he desir'd an Universal Peace, then excusing himself for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Nevertheless, if the Seat of War might be transferr'd out of the Patrimony of the Church, he said he would advise what was to be done. But here also, he knew not how to resolve. For as the War of *Milan* was in a manner ended, so himself had an Eye upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; and for *Florence*, it was his Native Country. Besides, he was sufficiently inform'd, that *Francis*, when he might have hope to recover his Children by fair means, would not assist him. All which Reasons made him to temporize, even to the giving Suspicion of deserting the League, whereof himself was Author. Hereupon *Lautrech* staid at *Bononia* attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further Instructions. But as *Charles* and *Francis* came to no Agreement, so he was commanded to proceed with his Army; in which Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the *Bell.* Bed-Chamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, had the Command of 200 Horse, paid by our King. Whereupon the Imperialists, knowing *Bell.* how much it concern'd them to defend the Feb. Kingdom of *Naples*, retir'd thither with a small Remnant of their Army: Where they had enough to do, both as they were to resist the *French*, and as the People, desirous of Novelty, (after their giddy manner, when either they think themselves opprest, or that otherwise they hope for a milder Government) were ready to revolt, which also appear'd so much, that, long before *Lautrech* came to divers Towns, they yielded themselves, sending their Keys a Day's Journey before them. The first that made head against them was the Prince of *Aurange*. But as his Forces were much inferior to the *French*, he at last retir'd to *Naples*, where yet he was so hated by *Hugo de Moncada*, and the *Spaniards*, that he was in danger of having the Gates shut against him. *Lautrech* now, pursuing his good Fortune, besieges *Melfi*. But as a number of Labourers and Husbandmen, unapt for War, were shut in it, so their Fears and Noises, while the Soldiers defended the Walls, made them retire to the Castle, as thinking they had other Enemies within. Whereof the *French* taking Advantage, enter'd and sack'd the Town, making the Prince of *Melfi*, his Lady, and Children Prisoners. After which, divers other Places yielded to the *French*, till they came to *Naples*, which was *April* 17, or as others say, *May* 1. 1528. April 17. And now their Army seem'd terrible, both as it was reinforc'd by some Regiments of *Swiss*, and as the Inhabitants of *Naples* favour'd them. While that of the *Spaniards* was no greater, than what the Walls of *Naples*, and some little Places in the

Naples besieged by the *French*.

1528. Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* consider'd, that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialists were of this number, he did not think fit to invest the Town by Land, till he had blockt it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Galleys, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the Besieg'd; for all the hope they had either of Victuals or Relief, was on that Part. *Hugo de Moncada*, considering this, puts forth with a few Galleys in that Port against *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the Success whereof was, that he lost, at once, both Victory and Life, and about 700 more with him; *Alfonso de Avalos Marquis del Vasto*, *Ascanio de Colonna*, and some others of Note, being taken Prisoners. This as it added great Courage to the *French*, so it occasion'd some Benefits to the Imperialists, both as it took away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Aurange*, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it open'd a way (as shall appear afterwards) for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperor's Service.

The Siege continu'd yet four Months; *Lautrech*, as being Master of the Field, desiring rather to take the City by Famine, than by the Sword. And now the Victuals were almost all consum'd; when the Prince of *Aurange* thought fit to send *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about 5000 Foot, and 700 Horse, with divers Carts, to forrage and get Provision, but they also were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out still.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Novarra*, and *Baigras*, and divers other Places, taken by *Lautrech*; and so join'd with the Duke of *Brunswick*, who came with 15000 *Germans*, and 500 Horse, to serve the Emperor. These two agreeing together to besiege *Lodi*, found such gallant Resistance, that they were at last constrain'd to desist, and the rather, because they heard, the *Count de St. Paul*, with a strong Army of *Swiss* and *French*, was on his way to relieve it. Besides, the *Germans*, who came with *Brunswick*, having not their Pay at the time appointed, did for the most part return; so that the *French*, by joining with the Duke of *Urbin*, made themselves quickly Masters of the Field, recovering again all the Places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the fatal *Pavia*. But see upon what Engines Fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, victorious and triumphant, being come to *Surrento*, to cure his hurt Soldiers, and repair his Galleys, *Lautrech* sends *Giovanni Joakim* to require the Prisoners, as being taken in the Name, and for the Service of the King his Master. *Philippino*, though receiving this Message with great Indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whose Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time: For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, *Lautrech* should have given, before he demanded them. This Error therefore cost dear. For *Philippino*, who took Pay chiefly to give proof of his Vertue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expir'd) was not to be treated in this fashion: As the *French* found soon after. For, employing his Thoughts at this present more how to gain his own Liberty, than to leave his Prisoners, he found means to retire himself to a place of more Surety; where, upon private Conference with his Prisoners, he found, that he could make more Profit of them from the *Spanish*, than the *French* side. In conclusion, *Andrea Doria* also being solicited by the Prince of *Aurange* to change Master (as soon as his Term was out,) he begins to listen; and the rather, for 1528. that so good Conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and, particularly, an Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*. He would not yet leave the *French* abruptly, nor before he had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the *French* Court, to demand Satisfaction for the Ransom of the Prince of *Aurange*, taken before *Marseilles*, and others during the Siege of *Pavia*. He also requir'd that *Genoua* might be restor'd to its Superiority over *Savona*. Which Demands being brought to the Chancellor *du Praet*, and dislik'd, it was thought fit to send *Antoine de la Roch-Fouchalt*, with Commission to seize on the Person and Galleys of *Andrea*. Notice whereof being secretly given him, *Doria*, leaving the *French* Galleys to their new Commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the Emperor's Service; who, for obliging him the more, promis'd to restore *Genoua*, his Native Country, to its former Liberty, and to make him General of the Imperial Navy. Thus did the *French* lose *Doria*, only because they knew not how to use him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was Generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as Mercenary, more cautiously; especially, when he might make so much Benefit by revolting to the other side.

Doria leaves the *French* Service.

And is made the Emperor's Admiral.

While this Treaty was on foot, *Piedro Lando*, with thirty *Venetian* Galleys, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: So that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out. Yet the hand of God is above all. For a kind of Pestilence (which *Sandoval* calls *Nigra* or Black) so universally seiz'd on the *French*, that they diminish'd daily in great Numbers, and among them * Sir *Robert Jerningham*: whose Company therefore was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet dy'd there of the same Disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, (a brave Commander, but withal noted to be so opinionative, that he would, alone, have the Glory, or Shame of all his Actions) dy'd of the Disease, and huge Numbers of others; which so disheartned the *French*, that the weak Remainders, wanting (besides their Health) Money, Victuals, &c. rais'd the Siege, and retir'd homewards. And thus successively were two great Armies consum'd with the Plague, without other Force; as it usually happens, when People, not acquainted with the Temper, Wines, and Fruits of a Country, live licentiously. They could not yet retire so quietly, but that the Imperialists follow'd them, and took divers Prisoners, and, among others, the old and weak *Piedro Navarra*. The Marquiss *Saluzzo*, who undertook (after *Lautrech*) the Government, yet held *Aversa* for some while; though, at last, he was constrain'd to yield it together with himself. In sequence whereof, all other Places the *French* held in those Parts were surrendred, save a few the *Venetians* fortified. *Genoua* also was constrain'd to yield it self, and shake off the *French* Yoke, by the means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the Plague had chas'd almost all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trivulci* to a Composition, by which he was to forsake the Town. The *Genoueses*, hereupon, were restor'd to their former Liberty, and *Savona*, not long after, taken by them. The Count St. *Paul*, finding Affairs thus to go ill on the *French* side, thought to repair them by surprizing *Milan*, upon Intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing Provision of Victuals only for twenty four Hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his Enterprize, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with intention to pass there the rest of the Winter, 1528.

June 10.

Sandov.

* Apr. 25.

Aug. 15.

Plague in the *French* Army.

Siege of *Naples* rais'd.

French lose their Conquest.

As

1528.

Sweating Sickneſs in England.

As the *Plague* deſtroy'd the *French* in *Italy*, the Sweating Sickneſs conſum'd very many in *England*; it ſeeming to be but the ſame Contagion of the Air, vary'd according to the Clime. It was firſt known in *England*, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it ſo rag'd, as it kill'd ordinarily in five or ſix Hours ſpace; invading even the King's Court, where not only Sir *Francis Pointz*, Sir *William Compton*, and Mr. *William Cary* (two of the King's Bed-Chamber,) dy'd of it; but the King himſelf was not without Danger.

Sleid. l. 6. In *Germany* alſo it did much harm, killing many, and, particularly, interrupting a Conference at *Marpurg*, betwixt *Luthur* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Euchariſt.

Hiſtory of Hen. VIII. Divorce.

I ſhall now come to the Buſineſs of the Divorce; ſo much vexed by our Writers, that, for Satiſfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of thoſe Originals, and Authentick Records, that I ſhall preſume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary Piece of Hiſtory.

Our King had now, for many Years enjoy'd the Vertuous Queen *Katharine*, without that either ſcruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward note of Unkindneſs had paſt betwixt them. ($15\frac{11}{18}$.) Nevertheleſs, as, preſently after the Birth of the Princeſs (who alone of all their Children ſurviv'd) *Luther* and others, controverted the Authority, and Extent of the Papal Juriſdiction, ſo, in this Kingdom, the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. for the aforeſaid Marriage being privately queſtion'd, many of our Learned Men concluded it void, as being granted in a Caſe prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indiſpenſable. This again, whiſper'd in the Ears of many, begot ſuch a muttering, as, being brought to the King, made him think what he was to do. For though he knew that a keeping of the Succeſſion doubtful was one of the ill Arts by which Princes conſerve themſelves, yet, as a deſire to have Poſterity, which might ſucceed him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Conſiderations, he reſolv'd to clear this Point by all fitting Degrees; and the rather, in that he knew the ſame Objections had been made (though wrongfully) to *Edward* IV. and his Children. And certainly (as it appears to me by many Circumſtances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as he could, in favour of the Princeſs his Daughter.

French Ambaſſador firſt excepts againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Match.

So that, although the Biſhop of *Tarbe* (being ſent by *Francis*, 1527. to conclude the Alternative formerly ſet down,) did object openly againſt her *Legitimation*, as being got by the King upon his Brother's Wife, it did not much move him. But, ſeeing it now grown a publick Doubt, he thought it more notorious than could be ſuppreſt. Neither did he believe that *Charles* would be greatly ſcandaliz'd at it; ſince, to avoid the Treaty of *Windſor*, himſelf had alledg'd ſome things to this purpoſe. (1525. *Hall.*) All which again (as *Polydore* relates) was ſecretly fomented by *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln* (his Majeſty's Confeſſor,) at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal; who both hated the Emperor, and was averſe from the Queen, by reaſon of her reproving his looſe, and inordinate Life. Though (whatever *Polydore* ſaith,) it will appear hereafter, that *Woolſey* endeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howſoever, on ſome or all of theſe Cauſes, the King was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this Affair concern'd himſelf, (1527.) his Poſterity, and Kingdom. And becauſe it was eaſie to collect of what Conſequence any Rumor of this kind might be, he not only ſent to our Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, as is ſaid before, to ſilence the Noiſe thereof, but us'd all means poſſible both to appeaſe thoſe violent Jealouſies the Queen had conceiv'd, and to ſatisfie his People, (1528.) at leaſt until himſelf had look'd further into the Buſineſs. In which certainly his Intentions privately were to proceed; for beſides his diſpatching his Secretary *William Knight*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, (whom yet he commanded to adviſe with our Cardinal by the way, being then in *France*,) he took Information ſometimes about his preſent Condition, and ſometimes (it is probable alſo) about ſuch Ladies as might furniſh him a choice for a Genial, and ſecond Bed. In which Number the Dutcheſs of *Alanzon*, Siſter to *Francis*, is the firſt I find mention'd, whoſe Picture (as *Hall* ſaith) was ſent over, about this time.

Woolſey's Advice about it. July 29. 1527.

Neither did the Cardinal, being certified of theſe Paſſages, omit to comply at leaſt in appearance with him, and therefore writ to the King, that the beſt way to obtain his deſire, was, to tell the Emperor plainly, that, *unleſs he ſet the Pope free* (at this time in Priſon, as is formerly mention'd) *he would proceed in the Divorce upon his own, and his Clergy's Authority*. (Aug. 30.) After which, he ſent for *John Clark*, Biſhop of *Bath*, (then reſident Ambaſſador in *France*) and commended him to the King, as a Perſon to whom he might diſcover himſelf; and, together, deliver'd his Opinion:

Biſhop of Bath and Wells's Advice.

Firſt, *That, becauſe the Party would appeal, the Buſineſs could not be determin'd in* England, *unleſs the Pope would give him abſolute Authority* in omnibus Caſibus, (a Minute whereof to be ſent to *Rome*, I have ſeen.) Secondly, *That ſhe ſhould be perſuaded*, ad ingreſſum Religionis. And, laſtly, *if neither of thoſe could be effected, it ſhould be thought of*, Quid poſſet clam fieri quoad forum Conſcientiæ? Concerning which Points, the Biſhop of *Bath* at his Return ſpeaking, (as I find in an Original from the ſaid Biſhop to *Woolſey*) the King reply'd,

King's Reply. Record.

My Lord of Bath, *the Bull is good, or it is naught: If it be naught, let it be ſo declar'd; and if it be good, it ſhall never be broken by no by-ways for me.* Whereupon, the Biſhop repreſented, *that the Pope's Captivity hindred all Suits in that Court, and, howſoever, that the Proceſs would be ſo ſlow, as it could not be determin'd in ſix or ſeven Years. Beſides, that there muſt be three diſtinct Sentences given in it, by three divers Judges, the two laſt to be choſen for the adverſe Party. Laſtly, that after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd*; Quia ſententia contra Matrimonium, nunquam tranſit in rem Judicatam; *Adding, in Concluſion, as the knot of the Buſineſs, that the Party would Appeal.* To which the King anſwer'd, *he thought ſhe would not appeal from the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Biſhops of* Rocheſter, Ely, *and* London: *As for the tedious ſneſs of the Suit, ſince he had patience eighteen Years, that he would ſtay yet four or five more; ſince the Opinion of all the Clerks of his Kingdom, beſides two, were lately declar'd for him; adding, that he had ſtudied the Matter himſelf, and written of it, and that he found it was unlawful,* de Jure Divino, *and undiſpenſable.*

Record.

Buſineſſes ſtanding thus, and no probability of the Queen's Fruitfulneſs ſince the Princeſs *Mary*'s Birth, appearing; and the rather, that *Spaniſh* Women are obſerv'd to be ſeldom Mothers of many Children; he reſolves to have recourſe to the Pope; comforting himſelf, for the reſt, that no other difficulty appear'd in removing all theſe Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Diſpenſation to diſſolve that Marriage, which a Diſpenſation only had at firſt made. He knew the ſame Key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to ſend to *Rome*, both to repreſent the dangerous Condition of himſelf, his Iſſue and Kingdom, and to ſolicite the Pope for a Licenſe to marry another. And the rather, for that ſo many Circumſtances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the firſt Marriage was grounded, to be ſuſpected. The proſecuting

1528. cuting whereof therefore (in a Diſpatch dated 25th of *December*, 1527.) was recommended, by the Cardinal, to Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, an *Italian*; which alſo he was requir'd to urge ſo far, as to ſay, that our King could impute the Puniſhment God had laid on him in taking away his Iſſue Male, upon nothing ſo much, as the unlawfulneſs of this Marriage; which Learned Men did alſo generally ſo deteſt, as they held it to be more than the Pope could diſpence with (as I find they declar'd afterwards in a Book, which was ſent thither.) Wherefore, that he ſhould procure a Commiſſion for hearing and determining this Cauſe, to be directed to the Cardinal; or, if that were refus'd, to Biſhop *Staphylæus*, Dean of the *Ruoota*, who had been lately in *England*. And that he ſhould furthermore ſay, that he doubted not, but the Pope would eaſily grant it, though againſt the Will of *Charles*; ſince he had granted *Charles* a Diſpenſation and Abſolution from the Oath which he had taken to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, without ſo much as demanding the Conſent of our King. For facilitating of which Buſineſs, Letters of Exchange, to the Value of ten thouſand Ducats were ſent him; as alſo certain Inſtruments for the Pope's ſigning, which were, Firſt, a Commiſſion, in ample form, to hear, and determine the Cauſe in *England*. Secondly, a Decretal, wherein the Pope, upon Probation of Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katharine*, ſhould pronounce the Marriage void. Thirdly, a Diſpenſation for the King to marry another. Fourthly, a Pollicitation, that the Pope will not recall any of theſe Acts. But it was an ill time for Sir *Gregory* to negotiate with the Pope; he being (as I find by an Original Diſpatch of Doctor *Knight*, dated from *Rome*, *September* 13. 1527.) ſo aw'd by *Hernando de Alanzon*, that he durſt neither give the ſaid *Knight* a publick Audience, nor ſo much as admit a private Meſſage from him, but by the Intervention of the Cardinal *Piſani*. So that, what Wiſdom or Piety ſoever our King might pretend herein, the *Coijuntura* certainly was no way auſpicious. And the rather, becauſe the Pope, during his Impriſonment in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, had been requir'd in the Emperor's Name (as I find by a Diſpatch of Doctor *Knight*'s from *Orvieto*) not to grant any Act concerning the Divorce, nor ſo much as ſuffer the Cauſe to be heard before any Judge in our King's Dominions. I find alſo in the ſame Letter, that *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being choſen by the Pope for diſpatching our King's Buſineſſes, had told Doctor *Knight*, that the Commiſſion penn'd here in *England*, for the Pope's Signing, might not paſs, but that he had minuted another, which the Pope (though with ſome Reluctation) had granted; earneſtly intreating our King nevertheleſs, not to put it in Execution, till the *Spaniards*, and *Almains* were gone out of *Italy*, and himſelf left in his full Liberty. To confirm which Grant alſo, the ſame Doctor *Knight*, by a Letter (dated *Jan.* 9. 1528.) did certifie, that the King's Diſpenſation was obtain'd under lead, as amply as the Minute ſent from *England* did contain; and the Commiſſion for the Lord Legate likewiſe was granted ſufficiently, though not according to the Form propos'd; and that it was drawn by the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Moreover, he tells (as in the Pope's Name) that if *Monſieur de Lautrech* were come, the Pope thinketh he might, by good Colour, ſay to the Emperor, that he was requir'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* to proceed in the Buſineſs. All which Particularities I have the rather ſet down, that it might appear how the Difficulties that the Pope made in this

The Matter refer'd to the Management of *Caſalis* at *Rome*. Dec. 25. 1527.

Sept. 13. 1527.

Jan. 1. 1528.

Jan. 9.

Buſineſs, ſeem'd to proceed chiefly from Humane Conſiderations. Which alſo is much confirm'd by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, 13 *Jan.* 1528. where (on the Pope's part, and in his Name) he ſaith, that if the King's Conſcience be ſatisfied (which he alone can beſt tell) his Courſe were, *Ut ſtatim Committat cauſam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem ſequatur, mittatur pro Legato*, &c. and, that this was the only way for the King to attain his Deſires: Though yet he intreated this Advice might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Simonetta*, and not from himſelf. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politick Advice, ſo would it have prov'd ſafer and eaſier for both, than a Commiſſion for two Legates; which as it took up more time on the King's part, ſo it caus'd a like Danger and Inconvenience to the Pope. Howſoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the King, either out of tenderneſs of Conſcience, or Conſideration of the hazard he ſhould run, if the Pope would not confirm this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but choſe rather to demand a larger Commiſſion than that which Doctor *Knight* obtain'd; the procuring whereof alſo he committed to *Stephen Gardiner*, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to *Woolſey*, and *Edward Fox*, Provoſt of King's College in *Cambridge*, not neglecting in the mean time, both to inſtruct the Pope in his Cauſe, and do him all the good Offices he could with Chriſtian Princes, and States, and particularly the *Venetians*, concerning the Reſtitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it took not ſuch effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinal *Woolſey*'s to the Protonotary *John Caſalis*, to deſire him to acquaint the Pope with ſome domeſtick and private Paſſages; which (though out of the reſpect I bear to that vertuous Queen's Memory) I cannot but mention ſomewhat unwillingly, yet muſt not omit, both for the ſake of that Truth that ought to be in *Hiſtory*, and as it ſeems to contain ſome Motive of the King's Intentions. I ſhall ſet down the Words in *Latin* as they are extant in our Record. *Sunt nonnulla ſecretò Sanctiſſimo Domino Noſtro exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob Cauſas, morboſq; nonnullus, quibus, abſque remedio, Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum ſcrupulum, Regia Majeſtas nec poteſt nec vult, ullo unquam poſthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem, admittere, quodcunq; evenerit. There are beſides ſome particular Reaſons to be laid before his Holineſs in private, but not proper to commit to Writing, upon which account, as well as by reaſon of ſome Diſtempers which the Queen lies under without hopes of Remedy, as likewiſe thro' ſome Scruples which diſturb the King's Conſcience, inſomuch that his Majeſty neither can nor will for the future look upon her, or live with her as his Wife, be the Conſequence what it will.*

Gardiner and *Fox*, receiving their Inſtructions in *Feb.* 1528. repair'd firſt to *Francis*, from whom they readily obtain'd a Promiſe to co-operate puiſſantly with the Pope, for effectuating the King's Deſire, as alſo a perſuaſory and menacing Letter in caſe of Refuſal to the [illegible] for complying wherewith alſo the Biſho[illegible]*æus* was ſent by him to *Rome* not long [illegible] Our Ambaſſadors having given the King account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to *Italy*, and coming at laſt to *Orvieto*, where the Pope then was, they found him lodg'd in an old and ruinous Monaſtery, his outward Chamber altogether unfurniſh'd, and his Bed-chamber-hangings, together with his Bed, valu'd by them ([illegible] the Original Letter hath it) at no more than [illegible] The Pope yet receiv'd them lovingl[illegible] though not without the Anxiety of one who could neither ſafely grant, nor deny the Requeſt of a King,

1528. Pope's [illegible] here, and from whence. Jan. [illegible]

Gardiner ſent to *Rome* about it.

Jan.

King *Henry*'s private Reaſons for the Divorce.

Feb.

Feb. 28.

Pope's mean Lodging.

to

1528. to whom *he* ſo much ow'd whatſoever Liberty he enjoy'd. Their Inſtructions for the preſent, were only yet, to thank him for the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation granted in this Buſineſs to Doctor *Knight*, and after intruſted to *Gambara* his Agent here (Succeſſor unto *Melchior Langus*, who was firſt authoriz'd by the Pope, to give Queen *Katherine* notice of this Affair, together with the Pope's ſecret Intention therein.) They added further, that by *Gambara*, as alſo by Sir *Gregory Caſalis*, our King had gladly underſtood, how all Defects, upon due Remonſtrance, ſhould be ſupply'd and amended. They were charg'd alſo, from the Cardinal, privately, to proteſt in his Name, that he was no Author of this Counſel. After which they were deſir'd, by him, to proceed to the Merit of the Cauſe, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Miſtriſs *Bolen*.) The perplex'd Pope, who knew well how much the *Spaniard* was intereſſed herein, heard them at this time with more fear, when at another time he would have granted their Requeſt. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Anſwer, which he gave them by Word of Mouth, he ſent in Cipher a Letter to our King, of ſo much Irreſolution, that it needed no other cover. Howſoever, as the Commiſſion of our Ambaſſadors was to ſtay till further Order was given, they ſeem'd to take all in good part. At laſt our able Negotiators, urging the aforeſaid and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the *French* and Confederate Army Puiſſant and Victorious in the Kingdom of *Naples* at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full Commiſſion to two Legates, to hear and determine the Cauſe in *England*, being (according to the King's Deſire) *Woolſey* and *Campejus* (not long ſince made Biſhop of *Salisbury*.) Beſides, it ſeems he granted this following Pollicitation, or Promiſe, dated at *Viterbo*, *July* 23. 1528. which yet, being no Original-piece, but an ancient Copy extant among Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Records, I ſhall mention but according to the Credit it may deſerve from the equal Reader; only I muſt not omit to ſay, that, as divers Original Diſpatches, both before and after, give ſome touches of it, and that the Date for the reſt is added, ſo it may challenge better Credit than to be thought a Minute, and much leſs a Counterfeit and ſuppos'd Piece, which alſo is the more probable, in that the Pope granted ampler Teſtimonies than this, in favour of the Divorce; howſoever they were either controll'd again, or detain'd in the Hands of his Miniſters, after that ſort, that our King might well take notice, but neither copy nor advantage of them.

The Pope's Perplexity herein.

Commiſſion to the Cardinals *Woolſey* and *Campejus* to hear the Cauſe. July 23.

The Pollicitation.

Promiſſio Pontificis in Negotio Regis.

CUM nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa ſeptimus modernus, juſtitiam ejus cauſæ perpendentes, quam chariſſimus in Chriſto filius noſter Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illuſtris, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, & famoſum, apud nos expoſuit, quod cum chariſſima in Chriſto filia noſtra Catharina, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum Regis Catholicæ filia, nulliter & de facto contraxiſſe, & conſummaſſe affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte notorie tranſgrediendo, prout revera ſic tranſgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Chriſto filios, Thomam, & Laurentium miſeratione divina Sanctæ Ceciliæ, & Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim reſpective Titulorum, noſtri & Apoſtolicæ ſedis in Regno Angliæ prædicto Legatos de Latere, Commiſſionem ſub certa tunc expreſſa forma, (quam pro hic inſerta, & expreſſa haberi volumus, & habemus) emiſerimus, ac eoſdem noſtros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout ſic etiam tenore præſentium effectualiter & pleniſſime conjunctim & diviſim committimus, & deputamus, quo animi noſtri eidem Henrico Regi in juſtitia illa quam celerrime adminiſtranda propenſionem certius & clarius atteſtemur, ſecurioremque reddamus de judiciorum Labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in cauſis, (ut nunc ſunt mores) juſtiſſimis, non una fere ætate explicabili; denique ut proceſſus per eoſdem deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictæ commiſſionis habitus & factus, fiendus aut habendus, validus & firmus ac inconcuſſus maneat : Promittimus, *&, in verbo Romani Pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requiſitionem, ſeu inſtantiam, merove motu, aut aliter ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas, aut reſcripta, aliave quæcunque per modum vel juſtitiæ, vel gratiæ, aut aliter quæ materiam emiſſarum antehac in cauſa prædicta commiſſionum commiſſioniſve prædictæ, proceſſuſve per hujuſmodi deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve prædictæ habiti & facti, habendive aut fiendi, inhibitorium, revocatorium, aut quoviſmodo præjudicialem quacunq; ratione contineant, quæve dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve ſeu proceſſus hujuſmodi plenam perfectam, finalem, & effectualem executionem removentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illave aut eorum aliqua revocent, aut eiſdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem præjudicent, concedemus; Sed datus à nobis eiſdem deputatis noſtris commiſſiones & commiſſionem hujuſmodi, proceſſumq; per hujuſmodi deputatos noſtros juxta & ſecundum tenorem dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve prædictæ habitum & factum, habendumq; & fiendum ſua pleniſſima vi, authoritate, robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu conſervabimus, rati habebimus, tuebimur, & defendemus. Deniq; omnes tales literas, brevia, bullas, aut reſcripta, quæ dictarum commiſſionum commiſſioniſve proceſſuſve antedicti executionem, aut ejuſdem virtute decreta, definita, & pronunciata per eoſdem deputatos noſtros confirmare poſſint aut valeant, abſq; mora, recuſatione, aut difficultate quacunq; de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia dabimus & concedemus. Et, inſuper, promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæſito colore vel ingenio, niſi vi vel metu coacti, vel Dolo aut Fraude ad hoc inducti, attentabimus aut faciemus; Sed ea omnia & ſingula firma, valida, inconcuſſa & inviolabilia patiemur, & permittemus. Ac inſuper, ſi (quod abſit) aliquid contra præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua quoviſmodo faciamus aut attentemus, illud pro caſſo, irrito, inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus, ac ex nunc prout ex tunc, & ex tunc prout nunc, caſſamus, annullamus, & reprobamus, nulliuſque roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel eſſe debere pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus. Datum Viterbio, die xiii. Julii Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Viceſimo Octavo : Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Ita eſt Clemens Papa ſeptimus antedictus.

WE *Clement*, by the Providence of God the ſeventh Pope of that Name, having duly weigh'd with how much Juſtice our well beloved Son in *Chriſt*, *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, hath laid before us, as a thing Notorious, publickly known, and of evil Report, his Caſe concerning the Nullity of a Marriage, which he did both contract, and *de facto*, conſummate with our moſt dear Daughter in *Chriſt*, *Katharine*, Daughter to the moſt Catholick King, *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, of Glorious Memory, contrary to the Laws both of God and Man, which he thereby grievouſly tranſ-

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1528. transgreſs'd; and having thereupon iſſu'd out our Commiſſion in Form and Manner there expreſs'd (which Commiſſion we do hereby confirm and ratifie, as much as if here again expreſs'd and inſerted) to our beloved Sons in *Chriſt*, *Thomas* and *Laurence*, by the Divine Grace, Cardinals, *Sanctæ Ceciliæ*, and *Sanctæ Mariæ in Tranſtiberim*, our Legats *de Latere* in the Kingdom of *England*, from the Apoſtolical See; whereby we did conſtitute and appoint them (as we do by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, moſt fully and effectually conſtitute and appoint them either together or aſunder) in our ſtead to examine, and finally to determine as competent Judges in this Cauſe; that we may give the more manifeſt and evident Token of our Tenderneſs and Affection to the aforeſaid King *Henry*, in ſpeedily adminiſtring Juſtice, and freeing him by our immediate Sentence, from that Tedioufneſs and Vexation wherewith the moſt juſt Cauſes (by the Corruption of the preſent Times) are ſo far embaraſs'd, as ſcarce to be finiſh'd, and finally determin'd in an Age: And being deſirous that the Proceſs carry'd on, or to be carry'd on according to the Tenor of the ſaid Commiſſion, may be firm, valid and irreverſible, we do engage, and, upon the Word of a Pope, promiſe, That we will never by the Entreaty, Requeſt or Inſtance of any Perſon, or from our own mere Motion, or otherwiſe, at any time grant any Letters, Breves, Bulls or Writs of any ſort, either under ſhew of Juſtice, as Acts of Grace, or on any other pretence whatever, to inhibit or revoke the matter of the Commiſſions heretofore in the above-mention'd Cauſe iſſued out, of the foreſaid Commiſſion, or of the Proceſs by theſe our Delegates, according to the Tenor of the former Commiſſions, or ſaid Commiſſion, either yet form'd and made, or to be form'd and made hereafter, whereby any Prejudice, Hindrance or Interruption may be given to the full, perfect, final and effectual Execution of the ſaid Commiſſions, Commiſſion or Proceſs, or whereby all, or any of them, may in any wiſe be revok'd, oppos'd or retarded in the whole, or in any part of them; but we will preſerve entire, ratifie, confirm and defend to all Purpoſes with our utmoſt Power and Authority, moſt effectually the Commiſſions and Commiſſion granted by us to our foreſaid Delegates, and the Proceſs which the ſaid Delegates according to the Tenor of the ſaid Commiſſions or Commiſſion, by their plenary Power and Authority have or ſhall form and carry on. Laſtly, We will effectually make valid, and without refuſal, delay, or any difficulty whatever, grant all ſuch Letters, Breves, Bulls or Writs, which may ſerve any ways to ſtrengthen or confirm the Execution of the ſaid Commiſſions, Commiſſion or foremention'd Proceſs, or to ratifie and eſtabliſh any things by virtue thereof, by our foreſaid Delagates decreed, determin'd or adjudg'd. And we do furthermore engage and promiſe, upon the Word of a Pope, that we will in no wiſe (unleſs by Force and Violence compell'd, or by Fraud and Treachery ſurpriz'd) injure all or any of the foreſaid Particulars, or act or attempt any thing contrary to them, or any of them directly or indirectly, tacitly or expreſly, mediately or immediately, upon any Colour or Pretence whatſoever; but will ſupport and preſerve all and every of them firm, valid, fix'd and inviolable. And farther, if (which God forbid) we ſhould act or attempt any thing in any wiſe againſt the Premiſes, or any of them; We do hereby for that time, will and declare as effectually as if this our Declaration were at that time made, that every ſuch Act and Attempt ſhall be null and void; and it is hereby made null and void, and it is declar'd, pronounc'd and adjudg'd to be of no Force and Efficacy.

Given at Viterbo, July 13. 1528. *in the fifth Year of our Pontificat.*

Clement V.

This while, the Queen, who underſtood well what was intended againſt her, labour'd with all thoſe Paſſions which Jealouſie of the King's Affection, Senſe of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Concluſion, the whole Fault on the Cardinal; who yet was leſs guilty than the Queen thought, or *Polydore* would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his Maſter's Intereſts (ſo nearly concern'd in this great Affair,) as well as care of giving Satisfaction to his Conſcience, which ſeem'd much troubled, he might comply with the King's Deſires; but to be the ſingle Author of a Counſel, which might turn ſo much to his Prejudice, when the King ſhould die, is more than may eaſily be believ'd of ſo cautious a Perſon as *Woolſey*. And this Innocence, perchance, was the reaſon that he neither ſuſpected himſelf to be ſo much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to ſtand in that danger of her Practices, which yet procur'd at laſt his Ruine. The firſt who gave the Cardinal notice of the Queen's Diſpleaſure (as I find by a Letter of his dated at *Feverſham*, 5 *July* 1527. then in his Journey towards *France*,) was the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; the Conſequence whereof he ſo much apprehended, that he thought fit to uſe all means for ſatisfying her. Therefore he preſently labour'd with the Arch-Biſhop to perſuade the Queen, that whatſoever ſhe heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the Surmiſes of the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, formerly mention'd. He writ alſo to our Ambaſſadors in *Spain*, to quench all Rumors there, upon the ſame Pretext. But the Queen had ſent thoſe Agents abroad, (and amongſt them, one *Abel*, her Chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that paſs'd, and engag'd the Emperor to aſſiſt her to the uttermoſt of his Power. Therefore the Pope ſtood more and more ſuſpended. The Pace of *Campejus* (the promis'd Legate) alſo appear'd ſtaggering and ſlow; and all that might fruſtrate the King's Intentions, was ſecretly practis'd. This while the Cardinal, (who out of the King's Deſigns would ever produce and ſubrogate *ſome* particular End of his own, *whereof, either in* point of Glory or Profit, *he might make* Advantage) had ſo diſpos'd *this of the* Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Pope's entire Delivery, not only from the Guards, but even fear of the Emperor. Again, as, during the Pope's Reſtraint, he had, (under pretence that it was the beſt Expedient for the King's propos'd Divorce) projected a meeting of Cardinals at *Avignon*, for ſettling the Government of the Church, where he himſelf intended to be preſent; ſo, now, ſince the King lik'd not that Courſe, and that the Pope was free, he perſuaded him to erect ſome Cathedral Churches in *England*, but the Price of throwing down more Monaſteries. Whereby it appears, both how buſie this Cardinal was, and how much he ſtudied his own Ends. For as he knew this would pleaſe the King (*who began to think that Religious Perſons might ſerve God as well in defending the Kingdom, as praying for it,*) ſo he aſſur'd himſelf the Authority thereof would be deriv'd on him chiefly; and the Pope, in the mean time, obnoxious, while he could not but fear how far thoſe Innovations might extend. When this Project therefore was mov'd to the Pope,

Queen ſurpriz'd at theſe Proceedings.

Hates the Cardinal for it.

July 5. 1527.

Engages the Emperor in her Intereſts.

The Cardinal adviſes to erect Cathedrals by diſſolving ſome Monaſteries.

1528. Oclob. 30. The Pope likes the Design.

Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Casalis*, *Octob.* 30. 1528. that he answer'd, gravely, he lik'd the Design well; but that he would proceed deliberately, because it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* Therefore he desir'd the two Legates (for *Campejus* was by this time come) might be join'd in determining this Business, and that all the Revenues of the Monasteries, might be conferr'd on the new Bishops; and that the two Legates, having advis'd with the Pope hereof, should afterwards nominate them. So that it seem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this time, since *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Instructions these Words to tell him, *Necesse est supprimi pro serenissimi Regis Collegio Monasteria cujuscunque ordinis:*

Nov. 2.

In conclusion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of some small Monasteries for Maintenance of the King's Colleges in *Cambridge* and *Windsor* Castle; the Copy whereof is extant in Sir *Robert Cotton's* Library. It may be doubted yet, whether these Apprehensions, that were now, in more than one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the absolute Authority of the Church of *Rome*, did dispose the Pope more to oblige or disoblige him. For, though the Pope had reason to fear, lest he should lose his ancient Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, if he deny'd; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that side, he might offend the Emperor so far, as to hazard the loss of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the Emperor of a perfect Peace and Amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other Designs which he had in *Florence*; and grants (as is abovesaid) in appearance a large Commission to *Woolsey* and *Campejus*; yet, in effect, so restrain'd, as the Emperor might see it was not out of his Power to check or revoke it. And this was all that Sir *Gregory Casalis* and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much Importunity, could obtain. They mov'd the Pope also to canonize *Henry* VI. (which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander* VI. by *Henry* VII.) to which the Pope answer'd, *That if the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and Bishop of* Winchester (*who had examin'd the Matter* in partibus) *did send the Process thither, as their Commission requir'd, the Canonization should follow shortly after.*

1494. *Ann. Brit.* *Hen.* VIth's Canonization mov'd for. Novemb. Ambassador sent to the Pope.

Businesses standing thus, our King thought fit to send Sir *Francis Bryan* Knight, and *Peter Vannes* (an *Italian*, and his Secretary, for the *Latin* Tongue) to *Rome*; their Instructions in general, being sign'd with the King's own Hand) were to dissuade the Pope from entring into any League with the Emperor, whose design was (he said) to divest the Pope of his Means and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo*, a *Cordelier*, to be Pope, who should not intermeddle with Secular Jurisdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperor would take to himself and usurp. For preventing whereof, the King wish'd him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis*'s Name, to contribute thereunto.

His Instructions.

They were commanded also, to search privately for a certain pretended *Breve*, in *Rome*, (said to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius* II. and authorising the Marriage with Queen *Katharine*) since it was not to be found in the King's Records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to discover (in the Name of a third Person) whether, if the Queen enter'd a Religious Life, the King might have the Pope's Dispensation to marry again, and the Children be Legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promise to enter himself into a Religious Life, the Pope might not dispense with his Vow, and leave her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, Whether he can dispense with the King to have two Wives, and the Children of both Legitimate? Since great Reasons and Precedents, especially in the Old Testament, appear for it. All which they were to do with that Secresy and Circumspection, that the Cause might not be publish'd, propounding the King's Case always therefore as another Man's. Lastly (as in all other Instructions) some kind of Menaces were to be added. But Persuasions and Terrors wanted not on the other side; which did so much more prevail with the Pope, as the Danger was more immediate and pressing on the Emperor's part, than on our King's.

1528.

Without Success.

Therefore our Ambassadors were so far from obtaining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commission to Cardinal *Woolsey* and *Campejus*, that they found the Pope now more than ever dispos'd to favour the Emperor: Insomuch that they observ'd daily new Delays and Restrictions in him. Some whereof (besides the Evidence in our Records) *Sanders* doth confess, while he saith, that the Pope, by four several Messengers to *Campejus* (now on his way) gave him in charge: First, that he should make easie Journies. Secondly, that when he came to *England*, he should labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen. Thirdly, that if this could not be effected, he should persuade her to enter a Monastery, and take on her a Religious Life. Lastly, that when this could be obtain'd, he should give no definitive Sentence for the Divorce, without express Commandment from him, *& hoc* (saith he) *summum & maximum sit tibi mandatum.* Campejus thus instructed, protracts all things; whereat tho' our King seem'd scandaliz'd, as suspecting it came from Unwillingness, yet, being an active Prince, he made use of that time to negotiate in *Spain* for recovering the *Breve*, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Edward Lee*, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of *October*, 1528.) *Campejus* coming thro' *France*, and being conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, our King's Ambassador there, came to *London*: Where being by our Cardinal presented to the King, he publickly acknowledg'd in the Name of the Pope, Cardinal, Clergy, and People of *Rome*, that our King was *Liberator Urbis.* Shortly after, obtaining Audience of the Queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her Danger, and to persuade her thereupon to renounce the World, and enter into some Religious Life. For which many Pretexts wanted not, (as I find in our Records) she having been observ'd, since the Commission obtain'd, to allow Dancing and Pastimes more than before. And that her Countenance not only in Court, but to the People, was more chearful than ordinary; whereas (it was alledg'd) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the King's Conscience was unsatisfy'd, and that he had refrain'd her Bed, and was not willing the Lady Princess, her Daughter, should come in her Company. But the offended Queen replying peremptorily, *That she was resolved both to stand to that Marriage the* Roman *Church had once allow'd; and, howsoever, not to admit such partial Judges as they were, to give Sentence in her Cause.* Campejus writes to *Rome*, both to inform the Pope hereof, and to desire farther Instructions: The Answer whereunto the Pope yet so long deferr'd, that very near six Months pass'd before the two Cardinals sat in their Commission.

Sand. Schis. Angl.

Campejus sent to England.

Octob.

Has Audience of the King.

Queen's Answer to Campejus.

This while the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Lee*, having given the Emperor an Overture of the Divorce, did (by a Letter dated at *Saragosa*, *April* 5. 1529.) return our King this Answer, on the

April 5. 1529.

1528. the Emperors's part. *That he was sorry to understand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King (for the rest) by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the Business yet might be referr'd to* Rome, *or a General Council, and not be decided in* England. Adding further, *That he would defend the Queen's just Cause.* Wherewith, the pretended Original *Breve* was produc'd, and a Transumpt or Copy thereof (sign'd by three Bishops) offer'd them, to send to *England*; but the *Breve* it self was deny'd, for fear (as he said) of miscarrying. To which our Ambassadors answer'd, That our King was a Prince of that Piety, that he ought not to be adjur'd; and for the *Breve*, that it was a Jewel belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be detain'd by any other from them. And for appealing to *Rome*, it needed not; since Authority of determining that Business was already given from thence to Cardinal *Woolsey* and *Campejus*. Besides that, in Causes Matrimonial, the presence of the Parties to be examin'd, being requir'd for the most part, the Emperor might easily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen personally to go to *Rome*, especially at that time. After this, the Emperor commanding the *Breve* to be read, the Ambassadors requir'd a Notary to be allow'd them, for setting down the whole Passage of this Business, together with their Protestations. But no Notary but the Emperor's being permitted, the Ambassadors were forc'd to accept him, desiring notwithstanding their Allegations might be set down apart. Hereupon the Emperor told the Ambassadors, that he would send an express Messenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and, in case of refusal, to protest against the Divorce. Our Ambassadors yet persisted still in urging the Emperor, for his own sake, to send the *Breve* for *England*; lest the Judges, wanting sight thereof, should proceed against the Queen, or otherwise, that he would send the said *Breve* to the Pope. The Emperor reply'd, that therefore he would not send it. For if it miscarry'd, the Judges might then proceed as they would; but for sending it to the Pope he would advise. And that, if Matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to send it to *England*. By a Letter also, the twentieth of *April* 1529, they certifie the King, *That the Emperor intended to send both to* England *and* Rome, *to make his Protestations against this Divorce; and that he would not send the Original* Breve. *Furthermore, that he requir'd our King, according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon* Francis, *as a Perturber of the Publick Peace. Lastly, because the said Ambassadors had hear'd, and consider'd, at large, the* Breve, *they sent their Objections against it.* Which, being one of the Grounds of the King's proceeding in this great Affair, I have thought fit punctually to set down, as they are extant in the Original Letter, written in Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it decipher'd in our Records.

[Margin: Emperor sends to King *Hen.* about the Divorce. — April 20. Ambassador's Letter to the King. Octob. 2. 1528.]

That where it is pretended the *Bull* and *Breve* to be impetrate in one Day, either they were impetrate in one Suit, and by one Man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this Suit, being of so great Importance, was committed to such a one, as could perceive, that the *Bull*, not containing so large Dispensation as the *Breve*, is superfluous, (supposing the *Breve* to be necessary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the Suits made by one Man, it is hard to think that one Man, being instructed in the Suit for both, would put the Dispensation of less moment in a *Bull*, and of greater moment in a *Breve*, seeing the one might be as facilly impetrate as the other, and that the Dispensation in Lead is more durable to remain; and, that the two Kings were bound to impetrate *Bulls*, and not *Breves*, whereof he or they that had such Commission (as it seemeth) could not be ignorant. And if these Suits were made by divers Persons, and by several Commissions, there is no Reason can be alledg'd, (the Impetration being in one Day) why to two several Persons several Commissions should be given herein, the thing requiring no haste, the Marriage following five or six Years after; but more likely it is, if the *Breve* were then obtain'd indeed, that it was procur'd by secret Practices not known to all Parties *quorum intererat scire & consentire*; for, both the Parties consenting, I think there can be no sufficient Cause alledg'd, why, the thing being done by common Consent, the *Breve* rather than the *Bull* should have larger Dispensation; for what needed two divers Suits, with divers Commissions, if both the Parties were agreed upon the Suits? Especially the Impetration of both being in one Day.

[Margin: Bishop of *Worcester's* and Dr. *Lee's* Objections to the Pope's Bull for the Marriage.]

Secondly, Supposing it to be true, that Master *Abel* saith, the Queen to have sworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita à Principe Arthuro*, the Cause of the Impetration for so much is vain, *(viz. quod Regina cum Arthuro principe matrimonium carnali copula consummaverit.)* If this be true, it appeareth that he that su'd the *Breve* had no Commission of the Parties, for they would not give him Commission to impetrate Dispensation for Cause not true.

Thirdly, Supposing it to be true, that Master *Abel* saith to me, that the Queen never heard of such *Breve*, before the Emperor's Orators there presented it to her; how can it stand, that is reported in the Breve, *quod impetratum est Breve ad Reginæ instantiam?*

Fourthly, If your Highness had made Instance and Supplication for the same *Breve*, it is not to be thought that it should be so far out of your Remembrance; the Causes of Impetration being such, as your Highness might and could, anon, reduce it to the same.

Fifthly, If it were impetrate at the instance of your Highness, and of the Queen's Grace, no Cause is why it should be sent into *Spain* to King *Ferdinando* (as the Emperor's Folks first said, but now swerve) and not to your Highness, and the Queen's Grace. If any will suppose that it was done by your Consent, no Reason agreeth why you should consent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own Hands, than send it to the Custody of another. And yet, if you did consent, *it cannot be thought*, but that it should *remain in your* Remembrance, as the firmity of your Marriage, and discharge of your Conscience, with other things, touching highly your Succession, standing therein: And it may be supposed moreover, that some writing of the Deposite thereof should remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, Considering that the King of most Noble Memory, your Father then alive, your Highness not being at the Date of the *Breve* past xv. or xvi Years of Age, [*for so the Cipher is, though as* King Henry *was then but* xii, *and something more, I conceive these Figures were Ciphers only, signifying his true Age: Unless perchance the Cipherer or Decipher did otherwise mistake it*;] it may be well supposed that your Highness was not then much to solicite the Impetration of such things. And that, if any such *Breve* should have been impetrate that time, that rather it should have been done at the instance of the King your Father, than of your Highness. And although then it might have been impetrate in your Highness's Name, yet it could not have been done there without Knowledge and Consent of the King your Father, and also

at

1528. at his setting forth. And, if any his Intervention and Consent had been in this Matter, he would not have bound King *Fernando*, and likewise have been bound himself, to get *Bulls* of Dispensation. And surely it may be thought, that, if the King your Father consented, *Don Fernando* of *Spain* did the same; so that it cannot be doubted, but that as they say here, they have two *Bulls* reserv'd in their Archives, so should also this *Breve* have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter shall be shew'd, nor any such is found in your Highness's Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckon'd, that there was no such obtain'd by the Consent of the King your Father.

And so, Seventhly, maketh the *Breve* suspect, that the Emperor's Folks first said, that it was found in *Archivis Regum Hispaniarum*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinals Graces Letters; and now, forgetting themselves, the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perinot* have confessed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor *de Puebla*, which was Orator of *Spain*, in *England*, in the King's Days of most noble Memory your Father. Which Contrariety maketh to appear, that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Doctor *Puebla's* being there, I have written in our common Letters the fifth of *April*, and now do again; by whom peradventure some Light might be had.

Eighthly, Whoso considereth the high renown'd Wisdom of the King your said Father, and his great sage Council, Men of singular Wisdom and Learning for all purposes, may well conceive that, or ever any Dispensation for Marriage to be had between your Highness and the Queen were sent for, that her Grace was examin'd *an esset cognita à principe Arthuro an non?* And that, *si fassa est*, that the two Kings would have provided therefore *Dispensationem in Bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other side, *si negavit se fuisse cognitam, nihil erat opus Brevi quoad*, &c. And for the second part of the *Breve*, I cannot suppose that your Highness, in that time which the Date of the *Breve* pretendeth (your Highness being then not much more than xii or xv Years of Age, and the King your Father living) need any Dispensation in that Party. And if none needed then, why should your Highness then make instance for any, which is suppos'd in the *Breve?*

Ninthly, If this *Breve* were impetrate in the Days of Doctor *de Puebla*; the being thereof so long in his Hands, and the manner of keeping of the same, giveth new Conjecture that it is a thing *cassat*; for the thing being of so much Importance, touching so nigh your Highness and the Queen, why should he keep it; specially so long? for he liv'd in *England* after the Date of the *Breve* five or six Years, and dy'd there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that such a King, and such a Council, would have suffer'd the *Breve* to be out of their Hands, in his Hands, all that time, if the *Breve* had been known to them necessary for this Matrimony, and of any value. And, as I said, the manner of keeping thereof seemeth to confirm the same; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things: One, that it was not kept in a Case of Tin, after the manner of *Breves*; for only in a Paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that in the Superscription it appear'd slubber'd, by reason of often handling, peradventure lying among so many his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it seemeth that he took it as cassat, and void, peradventure as surreptitiously obtained of his own head, without any Commission or Consent of the Parties.

Tenthly, Another Suspicion is, that, although 1528. the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perenot* say, they have divers Letters and Writings of the said *Puebla's*, concerning both the first Marriage, and second of the Queen's; yet, because they utter'd not that they have any thing specially concerning this *Breve*, (which they would not have forgotten to say, for so much as it maketh for their purpose, if there had been any such) moved upon that Suspicion, I demanded of them, and divers times to the same, whether they had any special Letters concerning the *Breve?* They could not, ne did say that they had; but the Emperor's Chancellor answer'd, That the *Breve* was enough. Whereupon may be gather'd, that his Answer imply'd, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, If any such *Breve* were impetrate at that time, by the Knowledge and Consent of both the Kings, likely is, that either of them should have one. Let them then here bring forth the *Breve ex Archivis suis*. If they will say, this is it; What likelihood is it, that it should be sent into *England*, to come into *Spain?* For this *Breve*, if it were in Doctor *de Puebla's* Custody, came out of *England* after his Death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there (if he confess that it was found amongst other his Uncle's Writings) will also confess. I say, why was it sent into *England?* It is not to be doubted, but *Don Fernando* had an Ambassador in the Court of *Rome*, which might easilier and nearer way have sent it into *Spain*. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any such *Breve*, their Diligence in custody of such things suppos'd, and well deprehended in the custody of two *Bulls*, (for some of the Secretaries said to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themselves) that there is no such, ne any otherwhere, of any effect and value.

The Twelfth Suspicion against the *Breve* is in it self; that, whensoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gather'd of divers things in the same, and about the same; the hand of some Learner, and not of one exercis'd in writing of such things; and some Defaults in the writing; such, as my Lord of *Worcester* saith, he hath not seen committed in any *Breve*. And, as he trusteth to prove, the Date shall utterly condemn the *Breve*. And these Exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the same Ambassadors to the Cardinal: First, that there were Rasures in it. Secondly, divers Hands. Thirdly, Names false written; as *Artherus pro Arthurus*. Fourthly, the Date false; as being *Decemb.* 26. 1503. which, according to the Date of *Breves*, beginning *Decem.* 25. was almost a Year before *Julius* II. was Pope. It was observ'd likewise, that the Seal swell'd in the middle, and appear'd like some old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of these Dispatches of those able Negotiators, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Edward Lee* the King's Almoner; who, sending the Transumpt of the *Breve* to the King, *April* 23. by a Letter the twelfth of *June* following, also certify'd our King of the sending of *Gonzales Fernando*, the Emperor's Chaplain, to the Earl of *Desmond* in *Ireland*, (which hath relation to that I have formerly said of him) together with the return of a Chaplain of the said Earl's in his Company; the Emperor seeming to take this intended Divorce so much to heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealousy. Shortly after which, I find also the Bishop of *Worcester* repeal'd.

April 20. April 23. June 12. Aug. 19.

This while, the common People, who with much Anxiety attended the Success of this great Affair, seem'd, betwixt Pity to Queen *Katharine*,

1528. and envy to *Anne Bolen*, (now appearing to be in the King's Favour) to caſt out ſome murmuring and ſeditious Words; which being brought to the King's Ears, he thought fit to proteſt publickly

Nov. 8. 1528. The K's Motives to the Divorce.

in an Aſſembly of Lords, Judges, &c. call'd to his Palace of *Bridewell*, *That nothing but deſire of giving Satisfaction to his Conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion to the Crown in a right and undoubted Line, had firſt procur'd him to controvert this Marriage; being (for the reſt) as happy in the Affection and Vertues of his Queen, as any Prince living.*

Ann Bolen baniſh'd the Court.

To confirm which alſo, he caus'd *Anne Bolen* to depart the Court, in ſuch an abrupt and diſcontented faſhion, that ſhe determin'd to abſent her ſelf altogether. Neither could ſhe be induc'd (as *Sanders* hath it) to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded (not without Threats) to bring her thither. Who by repreſenting the common Danger to them both, obtain'd at length (though not without much difficulty) the conſent of his unwilling Daughter to return; where yet ſhe kept that diſtance, that the King might eaſily perceive how ſenſible ſhe was of her late Diſmiſſion.

But is re-call'd.

May.

It was now mid-*May* 1529. when our King, underſtanding how the Pope intended a ſtrict League with the Emperor, and judging wiſely alſo, that *Francis*, upon the reſtoring of his Children, might eaſily be drawn from him, did reſolve, without relying any longer on either of their Promiſes, to take the beſt Courſe he could, for giving a concluſion to this Buſineſs. And the rather, in that Matters ſeem'd daily more and more indiſpos'd for that Concluſion he deſir'd. For though *Campejus*, according to the Order he had from the Pope (as I find by a Diſpatch of

Dec. 17. 1528.

John Caſalis, *Dat. Dec.* 17. 1528.) did both perſuade the Queen to a Divorce, and diſſuade the King from it, as having either way the end he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would he (as I find in the ſame Diſpatch) let go out of his hand the Decretal *Bull* mention'd before, being the abſolute deciſion of the Cauſe, (the Diſpenſation being relative to the Queen's entring into Religion, or other diſſolution of the Marriage;) in regard (as the Pope pretended) it was got by the Importunity of Cardinal *Woolſey*, with intention that it ſhould be ſhew'd to the King and Cardinal only, as an *arrha* or token of his Good Will, and afterwards burnt; proteſting nevertheleſs to the ſaid *Caſalis*, that he deſir'd the Cardinals ſhould proceed according to their Commiſſion, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* ſhould by no means be ſhew'd to any of the King's Counſellors, or other Perſon whatſoever, though upon Oath of Secreſie; it being ſufficient that the King and Cardinal had ſeen it already, in *Campejus*'s Hand.

Campejus has a Bull for the Divorce.

The King ſees it.

How our King yet was ſatisfied with this Evaſion of the Pope's, appears not to me by any Record, more, than that he ſtill ſolicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publickly. Howbeit the Pope, who had far other Thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* ſecretly, as well from all his Cardinals; as fearing leſt the Emperor ſhould call him to a Council for it. For the more caution, taking Order that the Memory of it ſhould be raz'd out of all his Archives. And, not ſtaying here, (as I find by our Records) he commanded one *Franciſco Campana* (his Servant) into *England*, on pretence to confer with the King and Cardinal, but indeed to charge *Campejus* to burn the Decretal. For colouring of all which, he finally objected to our King, that he had not kept promiſe with him, about the Reſtitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all theſe Difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the fear which he had of the Emperor, ſends to

Dec. 15. 1528. *Conc. Trid.*

Pope orders the Bull to be burnt.

Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a Thouſand or two Thouſand Men, to be kept at the coſt of the *French* King and his, whereof the *Comte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Caſalis* ſhould be Captains; and, in the mean while, that a General Peace ſhould be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperor put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince; or that he thought them too ſlender to defend him; or that it would argue Partiality to do any thing on theſe Terms; or that otherwiſe he had made his private Peace with the Emperor, (which certainly was the Truth;) I do not find the Pope accepted this Offer. Howſoever, he ſeem'd ſtill to fear the Emperor; Inſomuch, that by a Diſpatch from *Gregory Caſalis*, dated *January* the third, 1529. I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a General Peace, eſpecially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, (*which alſo* Jan. 3.
follow'd at *Cambray* this Year,) declar'd to Cardinal *Woolſey*, he thought it neceſſary to go himſelf in Perſon into *Spain*, and that Cardinal *Woolſey* ſhould go along with him: not yet as Pope and Cardinal, but as two Legates, or Ambaſſadors, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey (if at leaſt it were really intended) was interrupted by the Sickneſs of the Pope, which was thought ſo deſperate, that our Cardinal, *Feb.* 7. wrote to *Stephen Gardiner* (then at *Rome*) that, by all means, he ſhould procure the Papacy for him, being (as Affairs then ſtood) the moſt indifferent and equal that could be found in Chriſtendom. To which purpoſe alſo, beſides our King's Recommendations, the Cardinal had obtain'd the *French* King's Letters, written with ſo much Earneſtneſs for him, that though the Convaleſcence of the Pope did fruſtrate this Deſign, *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wiſh'd to keep the Letter *in omnem eventum*. I find alſo, Order was given, that if *Woolſey* could not be choſen, the Cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole Number) ſhould put in a Proteſtation, and departing the Conclave, ſhould in ſome ſecure Place proceed to an Election, notwithſtanding any to be made at *Rome*. But, whether the Pope having notice of this untimely Ambition of our Cardinal, were now offended with him, or that otherwiſe his Ingagement to the *Spaniard* (whereof, in a Diſpatch from the Pope to the Emperor, *July* 21. 1528. that *came* *July* 21. 1528.
to our King's Hands, there is mention) *did hold* him off; I find after this *time the Pope more* averſe than ever. Therefore, notwithſtanding a deſign of his, that Cardinal *Woolſey* and *Campejus*, having finiſh'd the Buſineſs of the Divorce, ſhould afterwards go to conclude an Univerſal Peace, yet all that paſt in this Affair afterwards (on his part) was little more than Illuſion. Which May 5.
Sir *Francis Bryan* diſcovering, in a Diſpatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to be done; which our King alſo believing, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his April 21.
Sollicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George* Duke of *Saxony* (the *Lutherans* in vain oppoſing it) to have perſuaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, uſeth more than one Menace; though ſo much in vain, that, for a Concluſion, he adviſ'd our King to proceed upon the Commiſſion given to the Legates, the Pope being (as he alledg'd, *April* 21. April 21.
1529.) ſo aw'd by the *Ceſareans*, as he had rather ſuffer much in another's Name, than do any thing in his own. To incourage him the more alſo, *Gardiner* calls the *Breve* falſe and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Regiſters at *Rome*. Moreover, for ſeconding this Advice,

Pope falls ſick.

Feb. 7.

Woolſey's Intrigues for the Papacy.

Record. *Fox. Harpsfield.*

Gardiner threatens the Pope.

1529.

May 4.

vice, *Gardiner*, by another Letter, *May* 4. says there was danger of recalling the Commission given to *Woolsey* and *Campejus*; which was confirm'd by divers other Letters from our Agents.

June 13.

Whereof *Gregory Casalis*, in a Dispatch of 13 *June* following, gives a reason, in these Words of the Pope; who, being at that time more slackly reliev'd from the Confederates than he expected, and divers of his Subjects (for the rest) in Arms against him, said, *Malle sese in praceps dari, & Cæsari a Stabulo, nedum à Sacris inservire, quam inferiorum hominum, subditorum, Vassalorumq; rebellium injurias sustinere.* The Remedy whereof he expected only from the Emperor. So that not only fear, but even hope making him obnoxious, he did, for more than one Reason, encline to the Emperor.

The Pope inclines to the Emperor.

Our King also, being well inform'd hereof by certain excusatory Letters from *Rome*, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and Emperor (whereof there shall be mention) was already upon term of Conclusion, and an Interview appointed; gave order first to recal *Gardiner* and *Bryan*;

May 20.

yet so as he neglected not, at the same time, to send *William Bennet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, to hinder the Advocation of the Cause; whereof he was so jealous, that he intercepted not only those Dispatches which were sent to *Rome* from *Campejus*, or any else, but even those Intelligences which Queen *Katharine* should give to her Aunt the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the *Low-Countries*. So that now our King, finding his Conscience unsatisfied, his Nobility in suspence, and the People murmuring at these Procrastinations in an Affair that so much concern'd the Succession, charg'd the two Cardinals to proceed; as being satisfied by a particular Discussion of this Business before Archbishop *Warham*, and divers the learnedst Men of both Universities, at *Lambeth*, that his Cause was fair.

The King satisfy'd by the Determination of the two Universities.

Jan. Feb. March.

And now, publick notice of a solemn Hearing being given, the Court was appointed to sit; the Queen chusing Archbishop *Warham*, and *Nicholas West* Bishop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Henry Standish* Bishop of St. *Asaph*, Doctors of Divinity, her Council, &c. according to the Permission the King gave her in that behalf. The Passages whereof, out of an Ancient and Authentick Record in Parchment, subscrib'd by the three Notaries (us'd in this Business, and remaining in the Custody of that great Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Knight,) I shall set down, with as much particularity, as the Context of my History will suffer.

The Place appointed for hearing and determining the Cause, was a great Hall in *Black-Fryers* in *London*, (commonly call'd the *Parliament-Chamber*.)

May 31.

The time, the thirty-first of *May*, 1529. The Judges, the two Cardinals above-mention'd, whose Commissions I have thought fit to set down at large.

Commission to Delegates to hear the Cause.

Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cæciliæ Eboracen. & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim de Campejo nuncupatis presbyteris Cardinalibus, in Regno Angliæ nostris & Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de latere, Salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Sane ad aures nostras ex plurimorum fide-dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum est, de validitate illius matrimonii quod charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Angliæ Rex illustris, Fidei defensor & Dominus Hiberniæ, cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina Regina, sedis Apostolicæ dispensatione prehensa, contraxisse & consummasse dignoscitur, subortam nuper in partibus illis quæstionem, quæ licèt in publicum Ecclesiæ judicium deducta hactenus non fuerit, causa tamen tam magni gravisque momenti exitus, viz. quem justitia & æquitas dederit, animos istic omnium sic habet suspensos, ut celerem ac maturam definitionem requirat, non sine maximo discrimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad justitiam in judicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo subministrandum Servum Servorum Deus constituit, facti veritatem per nos ipsos inquirere ac Causam hanc examinare non valemus, Considerantes præterea quod factum, ex quo jus oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius expeditiusq; cognosci poterit, Cupientesq; præsertim in Regno illo sedi Apostolicæ semper devotissimo, omnem dissentionem materiam extingui, & dulcissimum illum pacis amorisq; intestinum concentum felicissimamq; charitatis Harmoniam multos jam annos constantem retineri, ac in posterum conservari, dictamq; proinde super præfato matrimonio causam in judicio, justitia, & veritate decidi, certumq; firmum, validum, & maturum, quod maxime expedit, finem sortiri; Circumspectioni vestræ ad audiendum ea omnia & singula quæ dicti matrimonii vires, dispensationisve Apostolicæ cujuscunq; coram vobis producendæ aut exhibendæ validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deq; & super omnibus illis ac aliis quibuscunque materiis, allegationibus & causis dictum matrimonium aut dispensationem concernent, seu tangentibus cognoscend. necnon in causa dicti matrimonii & validitatis dispensationis, vocatis partibus, summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii procedendum, dispensationes quoscunq; Apostolicas, prout illas validas, efficaces, & sufficientes, invalidasve, inefficaces, minus sufficientes, surreptitias, aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunque modo enervat. inveneritis, tales illas esse, & haberi debere pronunciandum & declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium similiter, si ab alterutra parte petatur, prout animo conscientiaque vestræ juris ratio persuaserit, validum, justum, & legitimum, ac firmum esse, aut è contra invalidum, injustum, & illegitimum, nullumque fuisse & esse; pro valido justo, legitimo & firmo, aut è contra, invalido injusto & illegitimo, nulloque, haberi debere, definiendum, sententiand. & decernendum; ac in eventum improbatæ dispensationis & declarationis nullitatis matrimonii, summarie & de plano sine strepitu & figura judicii, ut præfertur, sententiam divortii judicialiter proferend. demq; tam Henrico Regi, quam Catharinæ Reginæ præfatis, ad alia vota commigrand. Licentiam in domino & facultatem tribuendum. Vobis conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, divisim, citra omnem personæ aut Jurisdictionis gradum, omni recusatione & appellatione remotis, vices & omnem authoritatem nostram committimus & demandamus. Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente, aut impedito, divisim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ in hac commissione continentur duntaxat exequenda, expedienda, ac plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vices-gerentes nostros etiam ex certa nostra scientia creamus, & deputamus, ita, ut in præmissis, quod nos authoritate, & potestate nostra facere possemus, id etiam vos facere possitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo matrimonio susceptam, si id ita expedire Visum fuerit, quam ex secundo matrimonio suscipiendam, legitimam decernend. pronunciand. & promulgand. legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut sanctionis perpetuæ, muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterint, ex certa nostra scientia, authoritate Apostolica, tenore præsentium, potestatem pariter & authoritatem concedimus, Non-obstantibus Conciliis generalibus, Apostolicis constitutionibus, & ordinationibus editis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunq; Dat. Viterbii, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Octavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Clement Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Sons *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, Cardinal *Sanctæ Ceciliæ*, and *Laurence Campejus* Cardinal *Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim*, our Legats *de latere* from the Apostolical See to the

1529. Kingdom of *England*, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Relation of very many Persons of undoubted Credit hath reach'd our Ears, concerning the Validity of that Marriage which our belov'd Son in Christ *Henry* King of *England*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, (a Dispensation of the Apostolical See being first had) was known to have contracted and consummated with our dearly belov'd Daughter in Christ Queen *Katharine*, from whence in those Parts a Controversie hath arisen which hath so perplex'd the Minds of Men, and held them in Suspense and Expectation, what Justice and Equity will determine in a Case of so peculiar a Nature, and of so great Moment, not yet try'd in any publick Court of Ecclesiastical Judicature, that it is but necessary to proceed to some quick and speedy Determination herein, to avoid that Danger which must unavoidably ensue upon deferring it. But since we, whom God has appointed Servant of his Servants, to administer to all Men impartial Justice in Judgment and Truth, are not able in our Person to inquire into the truth of the Fact, and examine this Cause our selves: Considering likewise that the Fact, concerning the Right of which the present Debate is, may with more certainty, speed and expedition be inquir'd into and examin'd, there than here; farthermore, being desirous, that in that Kingdom, which has always shewn the greatest Affection and Obedience to the Apostolical See, all matter of Dissention may be taken away, the Bond of Peace and Love be strengthned, and the blessed Harmony of mutual Charity, which has so many Years continu'd, may still flourish, and be convey'd down to Posterity; and a Decision may be made of the above-mention'd Cause, concerning the foresaid Marriage, according to the Rules of Justice, Judgment and Truth, whereby this Dispute may, as 'tis most expedient it should, obtain a firm, valid, certain and speedy Conclusion and End. For these purposes, we do hereby give and grant a plenary Authority, and most ample Power and Commission to your Eminences in our own stead, either both jointly, or in case of unwillingness, or any other Impediment, to either of you singly; that, being subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of no Court or Person whatever, nor liable to any Appeal or Question concerning your Jurisdiction; you do hear and examine all and every thing which may relate to the Validity or Invalidity of the said Marriage, or of any Apostolical Dispensation whatever, to be exhibited and produc'd before you, and all other Things, Matters, Circumstances, Allegations and Causes, which may any ways relate to, and concern the said Marriage, and the said Dispensation: And that you do proceed judicially, without Tumult or Disturbance, summarily and plainly to examine all Parties concern'd and knowing in the case of the said Marriage, and of the Validity of the said Dispensation; and if it shall to you appear, that any such Apostolical Dispensations shall be sufficient, effectual and valid, or invalid, ineffectual, unsufficient, surreptitious or arreptitious, or on any Account null and void, such you shall pronounce and declare finally that they are, and ought to be held; and in like manner concerning the said Marriage, you shall, if by either Party requir'd, define, determine, and finally sentence the same to be valid, just, lawful and firm, or on the other side unjust, invalid, and unlawful, and thereupon that it is and ought to be void and null, and is therefore by you there declar'd invalid, unjust, unlawful, void and null, on either side pronouncing Sentence, as shall appear most just according to the Laws of Reason, and the Dictates of you own Consciences; and if it shall thus appear that the Dispensation is invalid, and the Marriage null, that you do judicially, deliberately, summarily and clearly, as aforesaid, pronounce a Sentence of Divorce, and grant a Faculty and License in the Lord to the foresaid King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine* to marry again. And we do hereby create and depute you jointly, or (if as abovesaid any w ys hindred) separately in our stead to execute, finish, fully and finally to determine all or any of the things contain'd in this Commission in so ample a manner, that whatsoever we by our Power and Authority could have done in the Premises, all that you are hereby enabled to do as fully and effectually. We do likewise of our own certain Knowledge, by our Apostolical Authority, and by the Tenor of these Presents, grant you Power and Authority to pronounce, sentence and publish, if it shall to you seem convenient, that the Children by the first Marriage as well as by the second are Legitimate; and that you do confirm and establish the Legitimacy of both sorts, either by Censures and Ecclesiastical Punishments to be inflicted on the Gainsayers, or by way of Decree and perpetual Sanction, or by any other more valid and effectual Method or Form that can be thought of, or contriv'd to strengthen, and effectually support the same: Any General Councils, Apostolical Canons, publick Ordinances or Decrees whatsover to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Viterbo *in the Year of our Lord* 1528.
6th of the Ides of June, *in the fifth Year of our Pontificat.*

After the Commission was read, our Chronicles say, the King was call'd, and appear'd personally in Court, at whose Feet the Queen prostrated her self, demanding Justice, Right, and Pity, &c. But now to come to the Authentick Record. I find the King and Queen were by Bishop *Longland*, the King's Confessor, cited to appear upon 18 *June* next ensuing. The King (for observing his time,) gave *Richard Sampson*, Dean of his Chapel, and *John Bell*, Doctor of the Decrees, a Commission seal'd in green Wax, and dated at *Greenwich*, 15 *June*; by which he constituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuse or accept the Court and Judgment of the two Cardinals, and, if need were, *to Appeal*; allowing them also to substitute *other* Proctors; binding himself finally *sub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum*, to ratifie what they should do.

May 31. Hall. Hollinf. Godwin. Stow. The King appears before them. June 15.

But the Queen using a shorter way, appear'd in Person, protesting yet against the Cardinals, as incompetent Judges; requiring further, that this her Protestation might be Recorded, and so departed presently out of the Court. This while the Cardinals, who took into their Commission *John Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *John Islip*, Abbot of *Westminster*; and Doctor *John Taylor*, Master of the Rolls; sent unto the Queen Letters Monitory; declaring, if she appear'd not, they would notwithstanding proceed to execute their Commission; for which Purpose the above-mention'd Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was employ'd; but she, refusing, is pronounc'd Contumacious.

June 18. The Q. protests against their Jurisdiction. And is pronounced Contumacious. June. 25.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legates, against our King and Queen *Katharine*, the principal Substance whereof was, that Prince *Arthur* did marry, and carnally know Queen *Katharine*, confirming also this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his Death. After which, King *Henry* being his Brother, did marry the said

Lady

1529. Lady *Katharine, An. Dom.* 1509. *in facie Ecclesia*, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet being as well *Divino* as *Ecclesiastico jure* prohibited, and (unless it may be otherwise made good) to be reputed in its self *nullum omnino & invalidum*, had caused huge Scandal both in the Clergy and People of *England*, and of many other Places, insomuch that it hath come to the Pope's Ears, who taking notice hereof, gave Commission to those Cardinals to hear and proceed in this Business, according to the Importance of it.

June 28. This being done, the Queen is cited a second time to appear; which she refusing, is pronounc'd again Contumacious. This hinder'd not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor *Taylor*, Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, to examine the Witnesses;
July 5. while themselves calling for the Dispensations that were alledg'd in favour of this Marriage, a certain *Bull* and *Breve* were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same Record.

The *Bull* being *sub plumbo, more Romanæ Curiæ*, was an Original; but the *Breve* was only a Copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the Hand of *Juan Vergara*, a Canon of *Toledo*, and Publick Notary, *Authoritate Apostolica*; and with the Seals of *Balthazar de Castiglione* the Pope's Nuncio, and of the Reverend Father in God *Alfonsus de Fonseca*, Archbishop of *Toledo*.

The BULL.

JUlius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico charissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris nato, & dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ charissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Eliz. Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ Regem & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxissetis illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta decessit, cum autem sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum pacis & amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecestis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportunæ dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum à quibuscunque excommunicationis, suspensionis, & interdict. 1529.
aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris & pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa, latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, & absolutos fore censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, etiamsi jam forsan hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, authoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono gratiæ dispensamus, ac vos & quemlibet vestrum, si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem authoritate absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nihil ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis dispensationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire, si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

JUlius *Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Son* Henry, *Son of our most dearly beloved in Christ* Henry *King of* England, *and to our beloved Daughter* Katharine, *Daughter of our most dearly beloved in Christ* Ferdinand *and* Elizabeth, *most Catholick King and Queen of* Spain *and* Sicily, *Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Supreme Authority of the Pope exercises its Power granted from above, as it shall seem most wholsom and expedient in Christ, according to the difference of Persons, Things and Times. Your Petition lately exhibited to us did set forth that You, Daughter* Katharine, *and* Arthur *(eldest Son of the most Illustrious and our most beloved Son in Christ* Henry *King of* England*) since deceas'd, for the better preserving and continuing the Leagues and Treaties of Peace and Friendship between our most dear Son in Christ* Ferdinand, *our most dear Daughter in Christ* Elizabeth, *most Catholick King and Queen of* Spain *and* Sicily, *and the foresaid King and Queen of* England, *did lawfully contract a Marriage in Words* de præsenti, *and did perhaps*

1529. *consummate it by Carnal Knowledge, which* Prince Arthur *dy'd, leaving no Issue by the said Marriage: Now whereas your Petition did further set forth, that to the end that the said Amity and good Friendship may be still strengthen'd and continu'd between the foresaid Kings and Queen, you did desire that a Marriage might be contracted between you, in order to which you did supplicate that we wou'd of our Apostolical Grace and Favour grant you a sufficient Dispensation on account of the premises; We therefore out of our hearty Inclination and earnest Desire that Peace and Concord should ever flourish and remain among all the Faithful in Christ, but more especially among all Catholick Kings and Princes, hereby absolving you and either of you from all Sentences of Prohibition, Suspension, Excommunication, and all other Ecclesiastical Censures and Penalties on any Occasion or Pretence whatever, either by any Person or Law inflicted upon you, or that in the Case forementiond may be, by Suit yet depending; and as we do hereby judge you absolved, so in Compliance with your so reasonable Request, by our Apostolical Authority, out of our meer and special Grace and Favour, by the Tenor of these Presents, we do dispence with you, so that any Impediment thro' the foresaid Affinity between you, any Apostolical Constitution, Ordinance or Pretence whatsoever notwithstanding, you may lawfully contract Marriage together* per verba de præsenti, *and when it is so contracted, altho' it should already have been either publickly and openly, or privately and clandestinely contracted, and perhaps by Carnal Knowledge consummated, that you therein may lawfully continue and remain, and we do by the same Authority absolve and free you and either of you from all Censure and Sentence of Excommunication, which you may have incurr'd by having* de facto *enter'd into this Contract of Marriage before this Dispensation; and we do further pronounce all the Children legitimate, either already or yet to be born from the said Marriage, either now or to be hereafter contracted. Provided that you (Daughter* Katharine*) have not by Force and Violence been hereto compell'd; provided also, that if you have already actually contracted the said Marriage, your Confessor, to be by you both or either of you appointed, do therefore lay upon you some wholesom Penance, which you are hereby oblig'd to do. Let therefore no mortal Man presume to infringe this our Sentence of Absolution and Dispensation, or with rash Boldness to contradict our Will herein; and if any one shall be so presumptuous as to attempt any thing contradictory hereunto, let him take notice that he shall therefore incur the Vengeance of the Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles St.* Peter *and St.* Paul.

Given at St. *Peter's* in *Rome* in the Year of our Lord 1503. Seventh of the Calends of *January*, in the first Year of our Pontificat.

The BREVE, *together with the Asseverations of those who subscrib'd it.*

NOS Balthazar de Castiglione Mantuan, Apostolicæ sedis Notarius, in Hispaniarum Regnis, terrisque & locis temporali dominio Serenissimorum Principum Caroli in Imperatorem electi & Johannæ Regis & Reginæ Catholicorum Subjectis ejusdem sedis Nuncius, & Alfonsus de Fonseca miseratione dominica Archiepiscopus Toletan. Hispaniarum Primas, ac Regnorum Castell. Archicancellarius, Universis & singulis ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, & quos nosse fuerit opportunum, Salutem in Domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam Sanctissimi in Christo patris fe. re. Julii Papæ secundi in forma Brevis sub annulo Piscatoris, sanas & integras, non vitiatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte sui suspectas, sed omni prorsus vitio & suspicione carentes, pro parte Sa. Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, & in ejus præsentia nobis præsentatas cum ea qua decuit reverentia recipimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori suprascriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illust. nat. Illust. & dilect. in Christo fil. Cathar. charissimi etiam in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi & char. in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ Illust. interius vero talis.

Julius Papa secundus: dilecte fili & dilecta in Christo filia, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem; Romani Pontificis præcellens auctoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris. primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ & charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliæ, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxeritis, illudque carnali copula consummaveritis, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & connexitatis inter præfatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur: ex his, & certis aliis causis, desideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere: Sed quia desiderium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecestis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de dispensationis gratia & benignitate Aposto-

1529. Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes; pacis & concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licete valeatis, authoritate Apostolica per præsentes dispensamus: Et, quatenus forsan jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos & quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem authoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere & licete valeatis, similiter dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo
Dec. 26. 1503. Piscatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. Millesimo Quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Castiglione tanquam nuncium Apostolicum, & Alfonsum de Fonseca tanquam loci ordinarium, inspectis, & perlectis, Quia eas sanas & integras, ac omni prorsus vitio & suspitione, (ut præmittitur carentes invenimus, ideo, ad requisitionem expressam præfat. Cæsar. & Catholicæ Majestatis, tam suo quam conjunctorio nomine Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ Reginæ Angliæ suæ charissimæ materteræ & consanguineæ, asserent. ipsius requirent. & prædict. Reginæ interesse, ob æternitatis memoriam, & ne vetustate prædictum originale depereat, utque de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri possit, & in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumque discrimina, non liceat tuto ipsum originale dispensationis transmittere aut committere, ejusdem Majestatis requisitioni, tanquam justæ & rationabili, annuentes, easdem literas exemplari & transumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes & volentes ut huic præsenti transumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit opertunum, perinde ac si originales ipsæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterque nostrum authoritatem nostram interposuimus, & decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam præmissorum, præsens instrumentum manu nostra uterque signavimus, Idemque Sigillorum nostrorum jussimus appensione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno à Nativitate Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo xxviii. Presentibus ibidem illustribus & generosis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Nassau, Marchione de Zenete camerario supremo, Don Johanne Manuele, 1529. Don Laurentio de Gorreudo comite Pontis vallium Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino de la Chaulx. Lodovico à Flandria Domino de Prato, & Nicolao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus consiliariis prædictæ sacræ Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis. Balthazar de Castiglione Nuncius & Collector Apostolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego Johannes Vergara Canonicus Tolotan. in sacra Theologia magister, publicus Apostolica authoritate notarius, qui præmissis omnibus, una cum prænominatis testibus interfui; hoc publicum instrumentum signavi, & subscripsi, in testimonium veritatis, per eandem Cæs. Catholicam Majestatem rogatus & requisitus.

WE Balthazar de Castiglione *of* Mantua, *Notary of the Apostolical See, and* Nuncio *of the said See, in the Kingdom of* Spain, *and all other Territories and Places subject to the Temporal Dominion of their most Serene Majesties* Charles *elected Emperor and* Joan, *most Catholick King and Queen, and* Alfonsus de Fonseca, *by the Grace of God, Archbishop of* Toledo, *Primate of* Spain, *and High Chancellor of the Kingdoms of* Castile, *to all and every one to whom these Presents may come, and whom the Knowledge thereof may any ways concern, Health in the Lord. Know ye that we formerly received with all due Reverence the Letter of our most holy Father in Christ, Pope* Julius II. *of happy Memory, in form of a Breve, under the Seal of the Fisher; which Letter was shewn us in the presence of his most Sacred, most Imperial, and most Catholick Majesty* Charles, *by the Grace of God, elected Emperor of the* Romans, *being whole and entire, no ways vitiated nor cancell'd, nor on any account or in part of it to be suspected, but free from all manner of Suspicion or Colour of Deceit. The outward Superscription of which Letter was in this manner: To our beloved Son* Henry, *Son of our most dearly beloved in Christ* Henry *King of* England, *and to our beloved Daughter* Katharine, *Daughter of our most dearly beloved in Christ* Ferdinand *and* Elizabeth, *most Catholick King and Queen of* Spain *and* Sicily. *And the Contents of the Letter within was to this effect:* Julius II. *Pope, sends you, Dear Son and dear Daughter in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Supreme Authority of the Pope exercises its Power granted from above, as it shall seem most wholsom and expedient in Christ, according to the difference of Persons, Things and Times. Your Petition lately exhibited to us, did set forth that you, Daughter* Katharine, *and* Arthur *(eldest Son of the most Illustrious and our most beloved Son in Christ* Henry *King of* England) *since deceas'd, for the better preserving and continuing the Leagues and Treaties of Peace and Friendship between our most dear Son in Christ* Ferdinand, *our most dear Daughter in Christ* Elizabeth, *most Catholick King and Queen of* Spain *and* Sicily, *and the foresaid King of* England; *did lawfully contract a Marriage in Words* de præ-

1529. præsenti, *and did perhaps consummate it by carnal Knowledge; Now because Prince* Arthur *dying without Issue by this Marriage, in all likelihood this bond of Peace and Amity between the said Kings and Queen would not last so firm, as if strengthen'd and supported by a new tye of Affinity: You therefore, for these and certain other Causes, desire lawfully in Words* de præsenti *to contract Marriage; which Desire as you may not in the Premises fulfil without our Apostolical Dispensation therein first had, You therefore have made it your humble Request, that we would of our Apostolical Grace and Favour vouchsafe you our Dispensation in the Premises. We therefore, out of our hearty Inclination and earnest Desire, that Peace and Concord should ever flourish and remain among all the Faithful in Christ, but more especially among all Catholick Kings and Princes; these and other Reasons us thereunto moving, in Compliance with your Request herein, do by these Presents of our Apostolical Authority dispence with you, so that it may be and is lawful for you, any Impediment arising from your Affinity by reason of the Premises notwithstanding, to contract Marriage together, and in it so contracted lawfully and freely to live and continue: And, inasmuch as perhaps you may have already publickly or clandestinely* de facto *contracted Marriage, and consummated it by Carnal Knowledge, we do in such Case by the same Authority free and absolve you or either of you from Censure and the Sentence of Excommunication, which you may thereby have incurred, and we in like manner dispence with you herein, that you may be impower'd freely and lawfully to live and continue in the Marriage* de facto *thus contracted, or to contract it anew; and we do declare and pronounce that all the Children born or to be born from this Marriage contracted or to be contracted, be, and be accounted legitimate. But our Will is, that if this Marriage was contracted* de facto *before this Dispensation, that a Confessor, to be appointed by both or either of you, do therefore injoin you some Penance, which you are hereby bound to do. Given at* Rome *at* St. Peter's *under the Seal of the Fisherman,* December 26. 1503. *in the first Year of our Pontificat.*

Sigismundus.

Which Letter being by us Balthazar de Castiglione *as Apostolical Nuncio, and* Alfonsus de Fonseca, *as Ordinary of the Place, diligently read over and carefully examin'd, and because we found it as is aforesaid perfect and intire, without any Colour or Suspicion of Deceit, therefore by the express Desire of his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty, both in his own, and in the Name of the most Serene* Katharine *Queen of* England *his most dear Aunt and Cousin, in as much as it greatly concerned both himself and the said Queen, for the perpetual remembrance thereof, that the foresaid Original may not be consumed by time, and that certain Knowledge may be had of the Tenor and Contents of it as often as it shall be necessary, and in such Places as by reason of Wars or the hazard of Carriage it may not be safe to transmit or trust the Original Dispensation, in Compliance with the so reasonable and just Request of his said most sacred Majesty, we caused the said Letter to be copied, transcribed and publickly attested; willing and decreeing that to this Copy thus faithfully transcribed and publickly notify'd, as unquestionable Credit shall, in all Places where it is thought fitting to produce it, be given, as to the Original Letter it self. To all which both of us do give our Authoritative Decree and Sanction. And for the fuller and more certain Confirmation of the Truth of these Premises, we have both to this present Instrument set our Hands and Seals.* 1529.

Given at *Toledo* this Twelfth of *December*, in the Year of our Lord, 1528.

In the presence of these most Noble and most Illustrious Lords, Henry *Count* de Nassau. *The Marquis* de Zenete, *Lord High-Chamberlain. Don* Juan Manuel, *Don* Laurence de Gorreudo, *Knights of the Golden Fleece.* Charles de Popeto, *Lord of* Chaulx. Ludovicus à Flandria, *Lord of* Prato. Nicholaus Perrenot, *Lord of* Grandville. *All of the Privy-Council to his said most Sacred, most Imperial and most Catholick Majesty, who were specially called and appointed Witnesses hereto.* Balthazar de Castiglione, *Nuncio and Apostolical Collector*; Alphonsus, *Archbishop of* Toledo. *I* Johannes Vergara, *Canon of* Toledo, *Professor in Divinity, and by the Apostolical Authority appointed Publick Notary, who was present at the signing and sealing of all the Premises, and saw the said Witnesses subscribe their Hands, have signed this Publick Instrument, and set my Name to it, in Testimony of the Truth, being thereunto called and requir'd by his said Imperial Catholick Majesty.*

Against these Dispensations the following Objections were us'd. July 9.

I. THAT the Peace and Unity betwixt *England* and *Spain* was firm before the granting of the Dispensation, which yet was alledged as a Cause. Objections against the Bull and Breve.

II. That the said Dispensation, as being grounded on this Pretext, must be held surreptitious, *Henry* VIII. being then not above *thirteen*, and consequently unable for Marriage, which also if the Pope had known beforehand, or that otherwise it had been represented to him, he would not have easily granted any such Dispensation.

III. Because it was pretended that *Henry* VIII. had desir'd the Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms; whereas, (being then not above thirteen) he must be thought uncapable of such Thoughts.

IV. That though this Dispensation might once be thought to have his Force and Vertue, yet seeing the Motive of granting it was grounded upon the above-mention'd Peace, and that one of the said Princes dy'd before the solemnizing of the said Marriage, the Cause of the Dispensation must be held void.

V. That, supposing the Objection of Affinity were taken away by vertue of the said Dispensation, yet the Objection *de publica honestate* was not clear'd.

VI. That the *Breve* above-mention'd appears by the Tenor of it to contain many Falshoods and Suspicions, and particularly that the Stile, Inditing,

1529. Inditing, as also many Clauses and Circumstances differ from the *Bull*, so that it may be thought forged since the time of the Questions moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them together may be manifestly gather'd.

This also was urged by these Reasons:

Reasons against them. 1. That in the Register-Book of the Breves at *Rome*, no such Breve is found, or any Argument that such a Breve was made.

2. That likewise neither in the *Chartophylacio*, or Paper-Chamber of the King, no such Breve is extant, nor otherways, in the private Treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made thereof.

3. That in the Date of the said Breve, as it is exemplify'd, the Year of our Lord is discrepant from the vulgar Account; for whereas the Stile of the Court of *Rome* begins always from the Nativity of our Lord, this seems to be a Year before *Julius* was made Pope.

July 22. All which Objections were deliver'd to the King's Proctor, that he might answer to them.

Whereupon Witnesses being summon'd to appear *July* 12.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolk*,
Charles Duke of *Suffolk*,
Thomas Marquis *Dorset*,
George Earl of *Shrewsbury*,
Thomas Viscount *Rochfort*,
Robert Viscount *Fitz-water*,
John Bishop of *Carlisle*,
Sir *David Owen*,
Sir *John Hussey*,
Sir *Richard Weston*, Knights.

with divers others, presented themselves to be examin'd, by the Archdeacon of *Buckingham*, above mention'd.

July 14. In the mean while, these two Articles were added to the former, as serving to strengthen the Objections above-mention'd.

1. That the Year for Pope's Breves begins *December* 26. and the Year for Bulls the 25th of *March*.

2. That in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdom of *England*, the Form hath been in Words, *De præsenti, ego accipio te*, &c.

Businesses being thus ripe for Examination of Witnesses, the Depositions of two ancient Ladies, who excus'd themselves by their Infirmity from appearing in Person, were publickly read.

July 19. Depositions taken concerning Prince *Arthur's* bedding the Lady *Katharine*. 1. The first, being *Mary* Countess of *Essex*, said little, but in general Terms.

2. But *Agnes*, the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, who was present at the Marriage at St. *Paul's* in *London*, declar'd the Age of Prince *Arthur* at the time of his said Marriage to be about fifteen; and moreover, did positively affirm, that she saw Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine*, alone, in bed together, the next Night after their Marriage. Which therefore, as also a following Deposition of the Viscountess *Fitz-water*, may serve to answer *Sanders's* Tale, where he saith, a grave Matron was put into the same Bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her carnally. (*Sand. de Schis. Ang.*)

3. *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury* deposed, the Marriage was celebrated at St. *Paul's*, *Decimo septimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, *secundo Henrici Septimi*; and that he believ'd the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able so to do, as also because himself knew his Wife being not sixteen.

4. *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being examin'd, protests not to reveal any Secrets of the Queen, as being her sworn Counsellor. For the rest, as he answer'd warily to the Questions propounded him concerning the Validity of the Match, insomuch that he referr'd himself therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; so yet he made no difficulty to confess that he approv'd it not at first; which also he declar'd, not only in a Contestation which he had with *Richard* Fox Bishop of *Winchester*, who persuaded it, but in certain Words to King *Henry* VII. himself, whom he told plainly, that the Marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King *Henry* VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage, that he the said Deponent intreated him to persuade his Son Prince *Henry* to protest that he would not take the Lady *Katharine* to Wife, and that he should renew this Protestation when he came to the Crown; which also he the said Deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding, that when the Bull of Dispensation was granted, that he the said Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the murmuring of the People on that occasion was quieted, till the King's Conscience being troubled, reviv'd it again. 1529.

5. Sir *William Thomas*, Knight, deposed, Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine* liv'd five Months, partly about *London*, and partly at *Ludlow*, in houshold together as Man and Wife; and that he heard Sir *William Wodal*, who was at the Prince's Christning, say, that he was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady *Katharine* elder.

6. Sir *Anthony Poynes*, Knight, deposed, that Prince *Arthur* was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage.

7. *Thomas* Marquis *Dorset* deposed, he saw a Register of the Nativity of the King's Children; by which he found the Prince *Arthur* born *September* 20. 1486, and that at the time of his Marriage (which was upon a *Sunday*, in *November*, *decimo septimo Henrici septimi*) he was of a good 1501. and sanguine Complexion, and able as he suppos'd for that purpose.

8. *Robert* Viscount *Fitzwater* depos'd, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen *Katharine* elder; and that, the next Day after being in bed together, (which he remember'd after they enter'd to have been solemnly bless'd) he waited at Breakfast on Prince *Arthur*, where *Maurice St. John's* did carve, and he the Lord *Fitzwater* gave Drink: At which time the said *Maurice* demanding of the Prince how he had done that Night? The Prince answer'd, I have been in *Spain* this Night.

9, 10, 11. *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, *William* Lord *Montejoy*, and *Henry Guldeford*, Knight of the Garter, said little, but by way of publick Report.

12. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* deposed, that he was in the Bishop of *London's* Palace the Morrow next following the Day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfast, confirming moreover in effect the Words of *Maurice St. John*, before set down. Furthermore, he added, that the *Shrovetide* following the Marriage, (which was in *November* preceding) the said Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the said *St. John* related, by reason the said Prince lay with the Lady *Katharine*.

13. *David Owen* deposed, that Prince *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, *secundo Henrici septimi*; which he knew, because he was at the Christening.

14. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, deposed, that he being the Day of the Marriage in the Bishop of *London's* Palace, and the Morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfast,

1529. heard the Prince's Words to *Maurice St. John*, when he said, he had been that Night in the midst of *Spain*; by which Words, as also because Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion and Nature, and above fifteen, he believes that he carnally knew his Lady; because himself also at the same Age did carnally know and use: And he believes this the rather, that he heard from credible Persons, that the said Prince *Arthur* did lie with the said Lady *Katharine* five or six Nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knight, deposed, that being the Morrow after the Marriage in the Prince's Privy-Chamber, the said Prince spake afore divers Witnesses these Words, *Willoughby*, give me a Cup of Ale, for I have been this Night in the midst of *Spain*: After which he said, Masters, it is a good Pastime to have a Wife; which Words he repeated also divers other times. Moreover, he heard say they lay at *Ludlow* together the *Shrovetide* next following.

16. *Nicholas* Bishop of *Ely* said, he could depose nothing concerning the *carnalis copula*, but that he doubted of it, because the Queen often *sub testimonio conscientiæ suæ* said to this Deponent, that she was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, though otherwise he must confess them both to be *legitimæ ætatis* at the time of their Marriage. He doubted further, whether the Cardinals were competent Judges, an Appeal being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverel*, Knight, deposed, the People said commonly, that it was unfit one Brother should marry the other Brother's Wife.

18. *Thomas* Viscount *Rochefort*, deposed, that he heard divers of Prince *Arthur's* Followers confirm the Words he used, of his having been in *Spain* the Night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard say, that King *Henry* VIII. was persuaded by his Confessor, about two Years since, to abstain from the Bed of the Lady *Katharine*, lest he should offend his Conscience.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Sir *Richard Weston*, and Sir *John Hussey*, Knights, deposed, the Age of King *Henry* VIII. was thirty eight upon the Eve of the Feast of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* last; which Viscount *Rochefort* also confirm'd, saying the place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the Year was 1491. and Day the twenty-eighth of *June*; which *Robert* Viscount *Fitzwater* confirmed also, adding that King *Henry* VII. died two Days before the Feast of St. *George*, twenty Years since; with whom *David Owen*, Servant and Counsellor to King *Henry* VII. agreed, save only, that he said it was three Days before the Feast.

24. *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* deposed, that *Pedro de Ayala* or *Allea*, and Doctor *de Puebla*, Ambassadors from *Spain*, were much in favour heretofore with *Henry* VII. and that *Henry* VII. died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Henry* and the Princess *Katharine*; and Queen *Isabel* or *Elizabeth* her Mother died also before that time.

25. *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Counsellor to *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII. for thirty six Years last past, deposed, that he conceived *Henry* VIII. to be under thirteen, at the time of Dispensation granted; because King *Henry* his Father told him that he was *impubes*, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent reply'd to the King, that any Protestation he should then make, would be of no force, and therefore he should make it again one or two Days after his coming to *annos pubertatis*.

26, 27. *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Thomas* Marquis *Dorset*, examin'd again, said little but what was formerly set down.

28. *Pedro Mates*, *Utriusque Juris Doctor*, Native of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, who had lived in the Court 1529. of *Rome* thirty Years, *in exercitio causarum*, deposed, that the Date of Years there is computed after three divers manners, so that Judgments, Contracts, and last Wills, bear date from the Nativity 25 *Decembris*; *Literæ Apostolicæ sub plumbo* xxv of March; *Literæ Apostolicæ per Breve sub annulo piscatoris, ceræ rubeæ impresso scribuntur simpliciter & absolutæ absque expressione ipsius Domini aut Nativitatis, aut Incarnationis, sed solum Anno M. D.* &c. Yet so that he conceived it began always *à Nativitate, scilicet* xxv *Decembris*; neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Pope's Secretary alter the Stile.

29. *Nicolaus Rusticus* of *Lucca* in *Italy*, saith, that *Annus Domini in Brevibus Apostolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. *Thomas* Viscount *Rochefort*, *Henry Guilford*, Knight, *Thomas* Marquis *Dorset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *William Falke Notarius Publicus*, *John Taverner*, and *John Clamport*, being examined, deposed, that the Forms of Marriages are always *in verbis de præsenti*, in *England*.

37. The Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife to Viscount *Fitzwater*, deposed, that she saw the Lady *Katharine* and Prince *Arthur* in bed together, which was blest, and that she left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depositions were published, and July 17. the King's Proctor summon'd to receive those Acts and Writings he deliver'd into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounced Contumacious. Queen again pronounced Contumacious.

The Commissioners yet proceeded to require the sight of the *Archiva*, and Record concerning this Business; for which purpose *Thomas Wriothesly*, and *Thomas Tong* King of Arms, had been employ'd: These Men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Castle of *Ludlow* the second of *April*, 1502. and that his Brother *Henry* was born the twenty-eighth of *June*, 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine* was the fourteenth of *November*, 1501.

This being done, a Deposition of *Richard Fox*, 1527. Bishop of *Winchester*, taken by Doctor *Woolman*, Apr. 5. & 6. *April* 5 and 6. 1527. was read. The most substantial part whereof was, that he conceived Doctor *Puebla* did first motion this Match, and that Bishop of Winchester examin'd. more than one Bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remained in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the same Tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of *Henry* VIII. Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry* VIII. when he came to Age, did expresly consent to, or dissent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Protestation was made in the Name of *Henry* VIII. to this effect: That notwithstanding any Contract or Tokens mutually sent, or Cohabitation in the House of King *Henry* VII. he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this Act done in his Non-age; and that this Protestation is to be found *inter protocolla Magistri Ryden*, then Clerk to the Council, before whom it was made. As for the Person by whom this Protestation was made, *Coram Magistro Ryden Notario publico; credit quod vel ipsemet, vel Magister Thomas Rutha tunc Secretarius Domini Regis, & postea Episcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem domini Regis & nunc Episcopus Elienf. fecit eandem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; præsentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Thesaurario Angliæ & postea Duce Norfolciæ ac domino Doctore Peobebla, & coram sæpe-dicta clarissima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra Ædes Episcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat.* Duresme-place. Adding further, that our King was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon Con-

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1529. ference had betwixt *Henry* VII. and himſelf, he found it was the Intention of that King, that his Son *Henry* ſhould marry the ſaid Lady *Katharine*, although he deferr'd the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by reaſon of ſome Diſcord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, for the calling back of the Dowry. He added moreover, that King *Henry* intended not (that he knew) to marry the Mother of *Charles* V. but his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

This Examination being compleat, and ſet down by *Andrew Smith* Notary, the ſaid Doctor *Woolman* requir'd him to ſubſcribe his Hand; which was refus'd by the ſaid Biſhop, both becauſe he was blind of both Eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counſel or Advice about it. But Doctor *Woolman* preſſing him on the King's part, that he ſhould ſubſcribe his Name, he at laſt aſſented, out of the Reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contravened him in any thing. Whereupon he ſubſcrib'd his Name, *April* 8. the Year above-mention'd, being 1527. After which alſo another Inſtrument of this Tenor was produc'd.

Auguſtinus Spinola tt' Sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter Cardinalis, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Camerarius, Univerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas Inſpecturis Salutem in domino. Rationi convenit & congruit honeſtati, ut de his quæ à Romanis Pontificibus proceſſerunt, & quæ in eorum archivis & regiſtris ſcripta, & regiſtrata ſunt, cum ob aliquibus petitur, teſtimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc eſt, quod nos Univerſitati veſtræ tenore præſentium fidem facimus & atteſtamur, in libris & Regiſtris cameræ Apoſtolicæ, viz. in libro Regiſtri Brevium Anni primi, ſecundi, & tertii felicis recordationis Julii Papæ ſecundi, vidimus & legimus quaſdam literas Apoſtolicas, in forma Brevis ejuſdem Julii Papæ ſecundi (ut moris eſt) Regiſtratas, quarum tenor ſucceſſive ſequitur, & eſt talis. Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro, Angliæ Regi illuſtri. Chariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Accepimus literas tuæ ſerenitatis, in quibus nobis gratias agis, quod Oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum ſit, quod nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali reſponſo opportuniſque gratiis & ſavoribus proſecuti fuerimus: facis (fili Chariſſime) pro ſolita pietate, ut ea etiam tibi ſint grata, quæ à nobis præteriri non ſolent. Declaravimus noſtris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis & rebus quibus potuimus, Declarabimus & quotidie magis, ita exigente tuæ ſerenitatis in nos & ſanctam Apoſtolicam ſedem devotione & obſervantia ſingulari. De diſpenſatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimus, nec ullam ſuſpitionem præbuimus, quo minos eam facere vellemus, ut aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed reſpondimus, nos expectare in illa concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut conſultius & maturius fieret, cum hujus ſanctæ ſedis & utriuſque partis honore. Eam itaque cum expediverimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam ſerenitatem (magni enim momenti eſt) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnen. Decanum Sancti Pauli Londonienſ. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima doctrina modeſtiam, fidem, diligentiamque præ ſe tulit, mittere cogitamus; duplici ratione; Cum quod per eum ſecrete & tutiſſime perferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaque virtute & probitate præditum Serenitati tuæ diutius præſervemus, ut ejus fide & opera diutius frui poſſit. Romæ enim ſine vitæ periculo diutius eſſe non poteſt, propter aeris intemperiem & æſtus Intolerabiles, &c. Dat. Romæ July 6. 1504. *apud ſanctum Petrum, VI. Julii, Milleſimo Quingenteſimo Quarto, Pontiſ. noſtri primo.*

Auguſtinus Spinola Prieſt, Cardinal St. *Syriaci in Thermis*, and High Chamberlain of the Holy Church in *Rome*, to all and ſingular to whom theſe Preſents may pertain, Health in the Lord. It is not only agreeable to Reaſon, but a point 1529. of Honeſty, that when enquiry is by any Perſons made into the Proceſſes of the Popes which have been written, regiſter'd, and enter'd into their Books, and preſerv'd in their Archives, that a true and juſt Account of them ſhould be given: For which reaſon we do make known and teſtifie to every of you, by the Tenor of theſe Preſents, that in the Books and Regiſters of the Apoſtolical Chamber, to wit, in the Book of the Regiſter of the Breves of the firſt, ſecond and third Years of Pope *Julius* II. of happy Memory; we have ſeen, and read a certain Apoſtolical Letter in form of a Breve of the ſaid Pope *Julius* II. Regiſter'd according to Cuſtom, the Tenor of which is to this effect. To our moſt dear Son in Chriſt, the moſt Illuſtrious King of *England*, Health and Apoſtolical Benediction. Moſt Dear Son in Chriſt, we have receiv'd your Highneſs's Letters, in which you give us Thanks for ſo graciouſly receiving your Ambaſſadors, for granting them ſuch ready Audience, giving them ſuch kind Anſwers, and beſtowing upon them other marks of our Grace and Favour. To eſteem ſo highly, moſt dear Son, which light Favours, is the effect of that Piety and Gratitude you have never fail'd to ſhew. We have indeed already made manifeſt both in our Words and Actions, as far as we were able, our good Affection to you, nor ſhall we ever be backward to manifeſt the ſame in more Inſtances, it being but reaſonable and juſt ſo to do, on account of your Highneſs's great Zeal for, and particular Devotion towards us, and the Apoſtolical See. As for the Diſpenſation in the point of your Marriage, it has never been by us deny'd, nor have we ever given any juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect that we would deny it, as ſome have baſely ſuggeſted: On the contrary our Anſwer has been, that we wait only till a more ſeaſonable and proper time ſhall offer it ſelf, that it may be done more to the Reputation of both Parties, and to the Honour of the Holy See than now. When we ſhall find this more proper Seaſon to grant the Diſpenſation, as we have determin'd to grant it, We do purpoſe to ſend it (as a thing of great Truſt and Moment) by our Beloved Son Dr. *Robert Sherbon* Dean of St. *Paul's London*, one of your Ambaſſadors, who together with his extraordinary Learning, has given evident Proofs of his Modeſty, Fidelity and Diligence; and this we chooſe to do on two Accounts, both that it may by him be convey'd with Secrecy and Privacy; and beſides that, we may farther recommend one of his great Capacity and Integrity, as a Perſon whoſe Fidelity and Services may be of further uſe to your Highneſs at home, ſince the diſagreeableneſs of this Air to him, and the exceſſiveneſs of the Heat make it impoſſible for him to continue longer at *Rome* without hazard of his Life.

Given at Rome *at St.* Peter's, July 6. 1504. *in the firſt Year of our Pontificat.*

The reſt, having little material, ſave that mention is made how the Cardinal *Sancti Petri ad vincula*, the Pope's Nephew, was made Protector of the *Engliſh*, I have purpoſely omitted, that I may inſert another Letter of the Pope's of 22d of *February* 1505. the Tenor whereof is this:

Letter from the Pope to K. *Henry*. *Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Henrico Angliæ Regi illuſtriſ. Chariſſime in Chriſto fili noſter, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedict. Intelleximus à dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad vincula tui Regnique tui protectore, noſtro ſecundum carnem nepote, & à venerabili fratre noſtro Silveſtro Epiſcopo Wigorn. tuæ ſerenitatis apud nos oratore, literas diſpenſationis matrimonialis tantopere ab eis, nomine tuæ ſerenitatis, petitas, ex hiſpaniis ad te miſſas fuiſſe. Fili Chariſſime, nos diſpen-*

1529. *dispensationem illam Instantibus Cardinali & Episcopo prædictis, tua potissimum contemplatione, concessimus, ac super ea, sub Bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuum serenitatem per Cardinalem & Episcopum antedictos statuto tempore mitterentur. Sed cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regina Catholica finem hujus mortalis vitæ sibi instare cerneret, impensa & maxima cum instantia per oratorem suum nobis humiliter supplicasset, ut pro consolatione sua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur, quod hanc consolationem sibi dare vellemus ut de hujusmodi dispensatione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipsa vita migraret: Nosque pietatis Christianæ & nostræ in illam charitatis paternæ esse putavimus non defraudare ipsam Reginam jam-jam morituram desiderio hujus rei, in qua etiam subditis & Regnicolis illis bonam spem conjunctionis tuæ serenitatis posset afferre, presertim quod idem orator rem hanc secretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non servatum molestissime ferimus) Bullam igitur Originalem apud nos servatam serenitati tuæ, una cum Ense, quo te pro tua singulari virtute, & in sanctam sedem Apostolicam pietate donand. merito duximus, per eundem Episcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum & charum decrevimus mittere, à quo serenitas ipsa tua uberius intelliget causas ejusdem Bullæ hactenus apud nos retentæ, & nonnulla alia sibi per nos commissa negotia. Nec miretur majestas tua, si de hac re nihil cum ipsis Cardinali & oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ Reginæ deciperemur, & literæ dispensationis prædict. ad te ex Hispaniis mitterentur, quas ut solum Reginæ tam periculose ægrotanti pro solamine suo ostenderentur duplicari concesseramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ serenitati de nobis & sancta Romana Ecclesia benemeritæ gratificari cupimus, ipsis Cardinali & Episcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei & diligentiæ laudem in tuis negotiis pro-*
1505. *movendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum*
Feb. 22. *Petrum die vigesima secunda Februarii, Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo quinto, Pont. nostri Anno secundo.*

To our most beloved Son in Christ, the most Illustrious *Henry* King of *England*, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We have been inform'd by our beloved Son in Christ, the Cardinal St. *Petri ad Vincula*, the Protector of you and your Kingdoms, and our Nephew according to the Flesh; and by our venerable Brother *Sylvester* Bishop of *Worcester*, your Highness's Ambassador here, that the Letters of Dispensation in the point of your Marriage, which they have so long solicited in your Highness's Name to procure, have already been sent to you from *Spain*. Know therefore, most dear Son, that at the Instance of the foresaid Cardinal and Bishop, but in respect wholly to your self, we did grant the said Dispensation, and in consequence appointed our Bull under the Seal of Lead to be got ready to be sent your Highness in due time by the foresaid Cardinal and Bishop. But whereas *Elizabeth*, of Glorious Memory, most Catholick Queen of *Spain*, perceiving her self to be now finishing the Course of her mortal Life, did with great Earnestness, and most pressing Instances by her Ambassador, most humbly entreat us, that we would vouchsafe for her Consolation, to grant her a Copy of the said Letter, that being by us fully satisfied of this Dispensation, she might to her great Comfort depart this Life in Peace; We thought it a piece of Christianity, and an indispensable part of our paternal Love and Affection toward her, to comply with the Queen's earnest Request at a time she was expiring, in communicating to her the Knowledge of a thing, which even to the commonest and meanest of her Subjects, would give comfortable and chearful Hopes from the prospect of so near an Alliance with your Highness; especially when her Ambassador promis'd the greatest Faithfulness and Secrecy herein (which promise we are greatly griev'd and troubl'd that he hath broken.) The Original Bull we judg'd meet and convenient, to keep by us till we have an opportunity to send it you, by the same our most dear and most faithful Bishop of *Worcester*, together with the Sword which we thought fit to present your Highness for your singular Piety, and filial Obedience to the Holy Apostolical See, at which time your Highness will receive more perfect Information, as well of the reason of our delaying hitherto to send the Bull, as also in some other Affairs with which we have intrusted him. Nor ought your Majesty to wonder, that we have not communicated before any thing hereof to our Cardinals, or your Majesty's Ambassador, since we could never have thought it possible, that the Ambassador of her said Majesty should have herein thus deceiv'd us, and that the said Letters of Dispensation should be transmitted to you from *Spain*, the Copy of which we granted only for the Consolation of the said Queen, who thus lay at the point of Death: And not denying them to your Highness for want of Inclination, which we with great Reason have, to gratifie your Desires herein, who have so well deserv'd of us, and of the Holy Catholick Church, not out of distrust or disrespect to the said Cardinal or Bishop your Ambassador, of whose Fidelity and Diligence in promoting your Affairs, we are abundantly satisfy'd.

Given at Rome *at St.* Peter'*s*, February 22. 1505. *in the second Year of our Pontificat*,

And that these are true Copies, *Augustinus Spinola*, at the instance of King *Henry* VIII. and by the Commandment of the Pope, did certifie under the Hand and Seal of his Office the twenty-seventh of *January*, 1529.

In sequence whereof, the Commissioners took Oath of the Kings of Arms, that the Copies they deliver'd were true, appointing further the next Wednesday, *ad concludendum*. Upon which Day (being 21 *July*) the Commissioners being July 21.
sate, *John Hughes*, Promoter, appear'd before them, and signified that there is found a certain Protestation made by our King, when he came to ripe Years, in the presence of Notaries and Witnesses, and subscrib'd with the Hand of the said King (at that time Prince of *Wales*) and *some* Counsellors of King *Henry* VII. which *he said* were much to the purpose of the Business *then* in question. Whereupon the Commissioners receiv'd the said Protestation *in præsentia dicti Magistri Ricardi Sampson Procuratoris Regis, & in contumaciam Reginæ*; Commanding further, that it should remain *penes acta sua*. The Tenor of which Protestation is thus:

K. Henry's Protestation against the Match before its Consummation.

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre & domino domino Richardo Dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego & in his scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima domina Catharina Hispaniarum Regis filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam Invalidus, Imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; Quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam supervenient. contractus ipse per tacitum consensum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcunque modum Jure declaratum forsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ

Princeps

1529. *Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætensum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratam habere; sed nunc in præsenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi contractum reclamo, & eidem dissentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimoniali prætenso meliaribus modo & forma quibus de jure melius validius aut efficacius potero vel possim penitus resilire, & eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem dissentio. Protestorque quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque quandocumque aut qualitercumque imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, Volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimonialem, aut in dictam dominam Catharinam tanquam sponsam, aut uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.*

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

Lecta fuit & facta suprascripta protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo patre & domino domino Ricardo permissione divina Winton. Episcopo, judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. & me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus actorum scribam in hac parte assumente, & testium infrascriptorum
June 27. 1505. *præsentiis; Anno Domini 1505. Indictione Octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris & Domini nostri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die xxvii. quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem asserebat, In quadam bassa camera infra palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejusdem palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus & singulis præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium prænominatum Instrumentum conficere, & testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit Instanter, & Rogavit. In quorum omnium & singulorem fidem & testimonium, præfatus serenissimus Princeps supra, & testes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Johannes Read manu & signo meo manuali attestor.*

Giles Daubney, C. Somerset,

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,

Henry Marny.

In the Name of God, *Amen.* In the presence of you the Reverend Father in Christ, by the Grace of God, and Favour of the Apostolical See, *Richard* Lord Bishop of *Winchester*; I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, do say, alledge, and by this Writing set forth; that although in my Minority and being not as yet arriv'd to ripeness of Age for giving my Consent, I have *de-facto* contracted a Marriage with the most serene Lady *Catherine*, Daughter of the King of *Spain*; which Contract, although it be of it self invalid, imperfect, and of no Effect and Force, by reason of my said Minority; yet because this Contract when I shall come to Age and Years of Consent, may appear and seem valid, and confirm'd by tacit Consent, mutual Cohabitation, giving and receiving Tokens and Gifts, or any other determinate way; for these Causes, I the foresaid *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, now nearly arriv'd to maturity of Age, and being, just at Years of Consent, do hereby Protest, that by any thing said or to be said, done, or to be done, I do not intend to ratifie, confirm, or make valid the said pretended Contract of Marriage; but by these Presents, being thereunto mov'd neither by Force, Craft, nor Intreaty, but voluntarily, freely, and without any Compulsion whatever, I do renounce and disclaim the said Contract; and do resolve and intend by the most powerful Means, in the most significant Terms, and most effectual manner I can to renounce, disclaim, and dissent from the said pretended Marriage Contract, as the same is hereby renounc'd, disclaim'd, and dissented from. And I farther protest, that by any Word, Deed, Action or Behaviour, said or done by my self, or by any other in my Name, or to be said, acted, done or perform'd by any Person at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, I do not consent to the said Marriage Contract, or receive the said Lady *Catherine* as my lawful Spouse and Wife; To all which Premises, this my Testimony is given, set forth and publish'd by me,

Henry *Prince of* Wales.

The above-written Protestation was made and read by the most Serene Prince the Lord *Henry*, before the Reverend Father in Christ, *Richard* Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, who then sat Judge, and before me the under-written Notary Publick, who took it in Writing, in the presence of the under-written Witnesses, in the Year of our Lord 1505. in the eighth Indiction, in the second Year of the Pontificat of our most Holy Father in Christ, by the Divine Providence *Julius* II. Pope, on the 27th Day of *June*, on which Day his most Serene Highness the Prince, was entring upon Years of Maturity and Age of Consent, as he there asserted, in a certain ground Room, under the Royal Palace of *Richmond*, situate in the Western part of the said Palace. Concerning all which, and singular the Premises, his said most Serene Highness the Prince, instantly order'd and demanded of me the said Notary, to draw up this publick Instrument, and the under-written Witnesses thereto to bear Testimony. In Proof and Evidence of all which things, and every of them, his said most Serene Highness the Prince, and the Witnesses, as is aforesaid, being thereunto call'd and requir'd, set their Names subscrib'd with their own Hands. The Truth of all which, I *John Read* testifie, by setting thereto my Hand and Seal Manual.

G. Daubney, C. Somerset,

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,

Henry Marny.

Among whom *Nicholas West*, above-nam'd, now Bishop of *Ely*, in presence of the Commissioners, acknowledg'd and confess'd, that this Protestation was subscrib'd with his own Hand. Whereupon the Commissioners, in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did, in the presence of the above-mention'd Proctor, continue and prorogue the Court, till *Friday* next following, warning the said Proctor also to be there. Upon which Day, being the twenty-third of *July*, the Court being set, the July 23.
Promoter above-mention'd signify'd unto the Commissioners, that all that was requisite for the Instruction and Information of their Understanding and Consciences, had been judicially propos'd and exhibited to them, and remain'd in their Custody, and that therefore this Day was assign'd and appointed for concluding the Business. Notwithstanding because Cardinal *Campejus* alledg'd and protested in *verbo veri Prelati*, that a certain general Vacation, which he term'd *Ferias generales messium & vindemiarum*, was observ'd in the Court of *Rome* every Year, before the said *Friday*;

1529. *day*; and becauſe he and his Colleague were bound to follow the ſtile of the ſaid Court in the Proceſs of the above-mention'd Cauſe; therefore the ſaid Judges, in the preſence of the King's Proctor, and in *contumaciam Reginæ*, did prorogue the Concluſion of this Buſineſs, until the firſt of *October* next following, warning the King's Proctor then to appear, and receive a Concluſion of this Buſineſs as ſhould be according to Juſtice. All which paſs'd in the preſence of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and divers other Perſons.

Campejus prorogues the Court.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mention'd; which I have with more particularity ſet down, in that it is ſo rare and unuſual a Caſe to find a Prince ſubmit himſelf, in his own Kingdom, to the Judgment of two Perſons, whereof one was a ſuſpected Stranger, the other, in Birth, but of the meaneſt of his Subjects; and after all this, to receive no other Fruit hereof, but Delay and Inſatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Diſmiſſion, but by a certain Advocation of the Cauſe, to the Pope, inhibiting further Proceedings here (as will appear ſhortly after;) the Conſequences whereof extended further yet than our King then thought, or the Pope could eaſily have imagin'd.

Theſe Proceedings were ſubſcrib'd by the Notaries *William Clayburgh*, Doctor of both Laws, *Protonotarius Apoſtolicus*, *Florianus Montinus*, and *Richard Watkins*, who acknowledg'd the Raſures, Interlineations and Lines in the Margin, together with the number of the Leaves in the Parchment Book (being 69.) To which alſo Letters Teſtimonial from *Nicholas Wotton*, Doctor of the Laws, and the Biſhop of *London*'s Official, having the Seal of the Office, were annex'd. After all which, a Diſpenſation, written by a later hand, and in looſe Paper, was found in the ſaid Book. Though that alone ſhould not have induc'd me to publiſh it, had I not ſeen it already printed in a Book call'd *Anti-Sanderus*, and met in our Archives ſome Diſpatches that make it probable.

The Tenor of the Bull is this.

Bull for a new Diſpenſation

Clemens Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illuſtri, Fidei defenſori, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper feceſti, quod alias tu & dilecta in Chriſto filia Catharina, relicta quondam *** fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præſenti, nulla ſaltem canonica ſeu valida diſpenſatione deſuper obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxiſtis, illudq; Carnali copula conſummaſtis, ac prolem ex hujuſmodi matrimonio ſuſcepiſtis, excommunicationis ſententiam incurrendo: Et cum Majeſtas tua in hujuſmodi matrimonio abſq; peccato remanere requeat, & ne diutius in hujuſmodi peccato & excommunicationis ſententia remaneat, deſideret ab hujuſmodi excommunicationis ſententia à judice Eccleſiaſtico competente abſolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipſum nullum & invalidum fuiſſe, Tibiq; licere cum quacunq; alia muliere, alio non obſiſtente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, & in eventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujuſmodi tecum diſpenſari, ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam ſi illa talis ſit, quæ alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non conſummaverit, etiam ſi tibi alias ſecundo vel remotiori conſanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunque licito ſeu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam ſi cognatione ſpirituali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, & impedimentum publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ ſubſiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, & in eo libere remanere, & ex eo prolem legitimam ſuſcipere poſſis. Quare pro parte tui, aſſerentis ex antiquis Chronicis Regni conſtare, in ipſo Regno quamplura graviſſima bella ſæpe exorta, & Chriſtianam pacem & concordiam violatam fuiſſe, propter impios homines ſua deteſtanda regnandi & dominandi libidine excitatos, confingentes ex juſtis & legitimis quorundam progenitorum & anteceſſorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore propter aliquod conſanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, & propterea inhabiles eſſe ad Regni ſucceſſionem, inde miſerandam Principum ac Procerum & populorum ſubditorum ſtragem ſecutam fuiſſe; Nobis fuit humiliter ſupplicatum, ut Regni tui tuorumque Subditorum tranquillitati & paci inprimis conſulere & tantis malis obviare, ac alias in præmiſſis, opportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium Regum, præſertim majeſtatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immenſa in nos & hanc ſanctam ſedem, in qua permiſſione divina ſedemus, collata beneficia, dum ad iniquiſſimis peſtilentiſſimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam, partim viribus & ſcelerata audacia, partim perverſa doctrina labefactare moliebantur, ſtrenuiſſime cum viribus & gladio tum calamo & eruditione tua vindicare indies non ceſſat, petitiones, præſertim ſalutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumq; honeſtis votis favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmiſſis & nonnullis aliis cauſis nobis notis, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut ſi contingat matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum *nullum* fuiſſe & eſſe declarari, teq; ab *illius vinculo* legitime abſolvi, cum *quacunque* muliere, ipſaque mulier tecum, *dummodo* à te propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiamſi mulier ipſa talis ſit, quæ prius cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, *dummodo* illud carnali copula non fuerit conſummatum, etiamſi illa tibi alias ſecundo aut remotiori Conſanguinitatis, aut primo Affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunque licito vel illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta *dicti* fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, *etiamſi* cognationis ſpiritualis aut legalis & publicæ honeſtatis juſtitiæ impedimentum ſubſiſtat & tibi conjuncta exiſtat, matrimonium licite contrahere, Et poſtquam contractum fuerit, in eo ſic contracto, etiamſi illud inter te & ipſam mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandeſtine contractum & carnali copula conſummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis, authoritate Apoſtolica & ex certa noſtra ſcientia & de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, tenore præſentium diſpenſamus, prolem inde

forſan

1529. forsan susceptam & suspiciendam legitimam fore decernentes. Non obstantibus prohibitionibus Juris Divini, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus aliis quibuscunque in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum Apostolica authoritas se extendit, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, quoad hoc specialiter & expresse derogamus. Districtius inhibentes & in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expresse mandantes, sub interminatione divini judicii, ac sub pœna anathematis, aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, & pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc & è converso ferimus & promulgamus, in his scriptis, ne quisquam imposterum ullum impedimentum pro contractus Matrimonialis non consummati, Consanguinitatis in secundo aut ulteriori gradu, Affinitatis primo ut præfertur, cognationis spiritualis aut legalis seu justitiæ publicæ honestatis impedimentis prædictis adversum liberos tuos quos ex quocunque Matrimonio vigore præsentium contrahendo Dei benignitate susceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare, proponere, aut objicere, seu verbo vel facto diffamare præsumat, aut quocunque modo attentet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Dispensationis, Decreti, Derogationis, Inhibitionis, & Mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. in Civitate nostra Urbevetan. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo. Decimo sexto Cal. Januarii. Pont. nostri Anño quinto.

CLement *Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our most dear Son in Christ, the most Illustrious* Henry *King of* England, *Defender of the Faith, Health and Apostolical Benediction. You have caus'd to be laid before us, that heretofore you, and our beloved Daughter in Christ* Katharine *Widow of *** your own Brother, knowing the Relation that was between you, of the first degree of Affinity, did* de facto *contract Marriage in Words* de præsenti, *and did consummate the said Marriage by carnal Knowledge, and from thence had Children born, having no sufficient Canonical Dispensation granted you to that effect, incurring therefore the Sentence of Excommunication: And whereas your Majesty, who cannot without Sin live in the said Marriage, does desire to continue no longer in the said Sin, nor lie under the sentence of Excommunication; but by some competent Ecclesiastical Judge, to receive the benefit of Absolution from the said sentence of Excommunication, and that the Marriage it self should be declar'd to have been, and still to be null and invalid, and that it is, and may be lawful for you to marry any other Woman, any Canon to the contrary notwithstanding, and that in consequence of such Declaration of the nullity of the said Marriage, you may be dispens'd with, lawfully to marry any other Woman, and with her in Marriage freely to live, and lawful Issue by her to have, although she may be one who has already contracted Marriage with some other Person, provided she hath not consummated it by Carnal Knowledge; and although she may be related to you in the second or more remote degree of Consanguinity, or first degree of Affinity, either from lawful or forbidden Wedlock, provided she be not the Widow of your said Brother, and although she may be related to you by any other legal or spiritual Affinity, whereby an impediment may otherwise lie against you therein, in the common course of Law and publick Justice. And whereas your Majesty has farther laid before us, that it is evident from the Chronicles of your Kingdom, that many grievous Wars have often arisen in your Kingdom, that all Christian Peace and Concord hath been violated and disturb'd by traiterous and malicious Men, out of their detestable Ambition, and wicked desire of Power, but under pretence that some of the Children, born in just and lawful Marriage of some of your Predecessors and Forefathers, were illegitimate, on account of some Impediment in the said Marriages, by reason of Consanguinity or Affinity, whom under pretence of the said Illegitimacy, they have gone about to exclude from the Succession, from whence has follow'd most miserable Destruction and Bloodshed, both of Princes and Nobility, as well as of the common People; on which account your Majesty has supplicated us, that of our Apostolical Grace and Favour, we would vouchsafe herein to consult the Peace and Quiet of your Kingdom and Subjects, to obviate these great Miseries, and apply fitting Remedies to the aforesaid Grievances. We who favourably listen to, and as far as with a safe Conscience we may, chearfully comply with all Petitions, especially those which concern the safety of their Souls, which we at any time receive from Christian Princes, especially from your Majesty, by reason of the manifold marks of Affection and Kindness you have always shewn both to us and the Apostolical See, over which by the Divine Permission we preside, which you have not ceas'd most courageously to maintain and support, as well with your Power and Sword, as with your Learning and Pen, from the most wicked Attempts of nefarious Men, who partly by Force and open Violence, partly by Craft and subtle Doctrines, endeavour'd to undermine and overthrow it; for the foresaid, as well as some other Reasons us thereunto moving in compliance with your Petition, we from our Apostolical Authority, by our certain Knowledge, and out of the plenitude of our Apostolical Power, by the tenor of these Presents do dispence with you, that if your Contract of Marriage with the said* Katharine, *shall be declar'd to have been, and still to be null and invalid, and you to be lawfully freed from the bond thereof, that then it may, and is lawful for you to marry any other Woman, and any other Woman to marry you, provided she be not thereto by you compell'd, although she should be one who has already contracted Marriage with some other Person, provided she hath not consummated it by Carnal Knowledge, and although she may be related to you in the second or more remote degree of Consanguinity, or first degree of Affinity, either from lawful or forbidden Wedlock, provided she be, not the Widow of your said Brother; and although she may be related to you*

1529. *you by any other legal or spiritual Affinity, whereby an Impediment may otherwise lie against you therein, in the common course of Law and publick Justice: And if such Marriage is contracted, that you may lawfully continue and remain therein, although it should be so, that this Marriage was contracted* de facto, *by you either openly or clandestinely, and by Carnal Knowledge consummated before this Dispensation was granted, determining farther, that all the Children born, or to be born, from this Marriage, be, and be accounted Legitimate; any Prohibitions of the Divine Law, Constitutions or Ordinances whatsoever declaring the contrary notwithstanding, which we do, as far as by our Apostolical Power we may, disannul and rescind so far as they may affect this special particular Matter now before us only, leaving them in all other Regards, and to all other manner of Purposes in their full Force and Power. Strictly enjoyning, and in virtue of their Canonical Obedience commanding, under the Threat of Divine Vengeance, and under penalty of Anathema, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures and Punishments, which we do now for that time pronounce and publish, by the Tenor of these Presents, that no Person whatever shall presume or attempt to alledge, propose or object either in open Court or in private Discourse, any Impediment in the Marriage which by the Tenor of these Presents you shall contract, or to speak or act, or attempt any thing in Word or Deed against the Legitimacy of the said Marriage, or the Children which shall be born of it on any Insinuation or pretence of Marriage præcontracted, Consanguinity in the second, and more remote Degree or Affinity as aforesaid in the first, or any other spiritual or legal Affinity in the common course of Law and publick Justice judg'd an Impediment. Let no mortal Man therefore presume to contradict this our Writ of Dispensation, Decree, Ordinance, Inhibition and Command, or with presumptuous boldness in any wise to gainsay it. And if any one shall presume herein, let him know that he shall incur the Vengeance of the Eternal God, and of his Holy Apostles St.* Peter *and St.* Paul.

Given in our City of *Orvietan*, in the Year of our Lord 1527. 16 Calends of *January*, and in the fifth Year of our Pontificat.

While these things pass'd thus in *England*, the Queen found means to inform the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, of the whole Process, who thereupon sends word of it to *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, intreating them to assist their Aunt; which they accorded, dispatching their Orators to the Pope, whom also the Queen constituted her Proctors in the Court of *Rome*; giving them Commission to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that she was never carnally known by Prince *Arthur*. Shortly after which, the said Orators in the Queen's Name, made a Protestation against the two Legates now in *England* (every Page subscrib'd with Queen *Catherine*'s own Hand) intreating the Pope to advoke the Cause, to annul the Proceedings in *England*, to warn the King to desist his Suit, or at least to try it at *Rome*, &c.

The Q. denies her having consummated the Marriage with Pr. *Arthur*. July.

or, otherwise that they would seek their Remedies elsewhere. The Pope being thus press'd at *Rome*, and having now concluded the Treaty with the Emperor at *Barcellona*, *July* the third, 1529. about three Weeks before the Cause was prorogu'd by *Campejus*, could no longer, either with the Safety of his Person or Dignity, favour our King; so that what Excuses soever (in the frequent Dispatches he made about this time) were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and Evasion, till, finally, declaring himself more openly for the Emperor, he sign'd an Advocation of the Cause to himself, inhibiting further Proceedings under great Penalties. And herein (as our Agents did observe) the Pope's principal Ministers did not a little concur; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents (being Sir *Gregory Casalis* and Doctor *Bennet*) both by representing the Defection of our King from the *Roman* See, and the Ruine of the Cardinal of *York*, labour to stay these Proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into *England*, about the beginning of *September*, the King then being in his Progress; and because it was sent to the Queen to make her Benefit of it, the King (by *Stephen Gardiner*, now his Secretary) sends to *Woolsey*, to persuade the Queen to let this Inhibition (or as he calls it, a Citatory Letter) sleep, it containing matter prejudicial to his Person, and not to be publish'd to his Subjects: And that it will be sufficient for the Cessation of the Process that the Pope by *Letter to Woolsey (July 19.)* hath signified his Advocation of the Cause. Nevertheless, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it should be privily executed upon the two Legates, (rather than be divulg'd in *Flanders*;) which it seems was done accordingly. Howbeit, shortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the Censures and Penalties mention'd in the Inhibition would not be well taken by our King, dispatch'd a Breve to him of *August* 29. which for the better Satisfaction of the Reader, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Original and insert here.

1529. July 3. July 15. Pope desires to hear the Cause himself. Sept. July 19. Aug. 29.

Angliæ Regi.

CHarissime in Christo Fili noster, salutem, &c. Dudum vertente Causa inter Serenitatem Tuam & Charissimam *in Christo* Filiam nostram Catharinam *Angliæ* Reginam Illustrissimam, de & super fœdere Matrimonii; nos, instantibus apud nos Oratoribus tuis, causam ipsam, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ, & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim tt' Presbyteris Cardinalibus nostris & Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de latere commisimus, in qua ad nonnullos forsan actus processum est; Postmodum, Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Hispaniarum Rege Catholico in Imperatorem electo, & Regina ipsa ad nos reclamantibus, & aliis etiam legitimis causis animum nostrum moventibus, causam ipsam ad nos advocavimus, & eam audiendam, ac nobis & sacro venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Collegio referendam, atque decidendam commisimus; In qua ad Inhibitionem fortasse processum est. Cum autem nuper acceperimus Inhibitionem ipsam sub censuris & pœnis fuisse factam; Nos, quorum intentionis nunquam fuit neq; est personam

The Pope's Breve to the King.

1529. perſonam tuam de nobis ac de Apoſtolica ſede ſemper optime meritam aliquibus cenſuris & pœnis quomodolibet innodari; Celſitudini tuæ ſignificamus, cenſuras ipſas præter mentem & intentionem noſtram à Judice ſive Commiſſario emanâſſe: Et propterea cenſuras & pœnas prædictas, quoad perſonam tuam, nullas nulliuſque roboris vel momenti fuiſſe & eſſe decernentes. Cauſam verò ipſam uſque ad feſtum nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proxime futurum jam ſuſpendimus, prout per præſentes ſuſpenſam eſſe volumus. Fecimuſque in illa, quantum pro noſtra in te charitate, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum pro ſtimulo conſcientiæ cauſam te moviſſe cognoſcimus, illam, quæ tanti eſt, eadem quoque ratione altius cogitando, poſthabitis moleſtiis atq; odiis quæ naſcuntur ex litibus, cum animi tui pace componere poſſis. In quo nos adjutores ſemper habiturus es. Majeſtatem T. hortantes in Domino ut interim Reginam ipſam pro ipſius Conſcientiæ tuæ Securitate maritali affectione tractare non deſinas, quemadmodum Celſitudinem Tuam pro virtute ſua facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ die 29. Auguſti, 1529. Anno 6.

To the King of *England*.

MOſt *dearly beloved Son in Chriſt, Health,* &c. *A Cauſe heretofore depending between your Highneſs and our dearly beloved Daughter in Chriſt,* Catherine *Queen of* England, *of and concerning your Marriage Contract; We at the earneſt Requeſt of your Ambaſſadors committed the ſaid Cauſe to be determin'd by our beloved Sons,* Thomas *Lord Biſhop, and Cardinal* Sanctæ Ceciliæ, *and* Laurence *Cardinal* Sanctæ Mariæ *in* Tranſtiberim *our Legats* de latere *from the Apoſtolical See, in which Cauſe perhaps ſome Proceſs has been made; ſince which at the Inſtance of our moſt dear Son in Chriſt,* Charles *moſt Catholick King of* Spain, *and elected Emperor, and his moſt Catholick Queen, as well as for ſome other Reaſons us thereunto moving, we order'd the ſaid Cauſe to be brought before our own ſelves, and reſerv'd the Determination and Deciſion thereof to our ſelves, and the ſacred College of our moſt venerable Brethren, their Eminences the Cardinals; on which Account perhaps an Inhibition has been given. Now whereas we have heard that this Inhibition has been executed, and that therein are mention'd ſeveral Cenſures and Penalties; we whoſe Intention it never was, nor is to ſubject your Highneſs's Perſon, who have ſo well deſerv'd of us, and of the Apoſtolical See, to any Cenſures or Penalties whatſoever; do hereby ſignifie to your Highneſs, that thoſe Cenſures were inſerted into the ſaid Inhibition by our Judge or Commiſſary without our Knowledge, and contrary to our Inclination: Which Cenſures therefore, and Penalties ſo far as they may concern your own Perſon, we do hereby reſcind, declaring them to be null, of no Power, Efficacy or Validity. As for the Cauſe it ſelf, we will that it be ſuſpended till* Chriſtmas-day *next enſuing, and it is by theſe Preſents till then ſuſpended. And herein we have done all that we could with a ſafe Conſcience, in Favour and Affection to your Highneſs, that as we are aſſur'd that you have for Conſcience-ſake propounded your Caſe, you may have time duly and carefully to conſider an Affair of ſo great Moment and Importance as this is, and thereby ſettle it, without the Vexation and Trouble which Suits of Law ingender and produce, to the great Comfort and Quiet of your Mind; wherein you ſhall never fail of our Aid and Aſſiſtance: In the mean time, we do exhort your Majeſty in the Lord, that for the ſake of Conſcience, you would not leave the Queen, but till theſe things ſhall be determin'd, comfort and cheriſh her with the Love and Affection of an Husband, as we truſt your Highneſs of your great Piety and Goodneſs will do.* 1529.

Given at *Rome*, *Auguſt* 29. A. D. 1529. in the ſixth Year of our Pontificat.

Before yet theſe Breves were ſent, the Pope wiſely conſidering that by the Diligence of our Agents not only the firſt Minutes of them were ſent to *England*, but alſo that his Treaty with the Emperor was more notorious than that it could be hidden, thought fit to advertiſe our Cardinal, That the League betwixt him and the Emperor was made *pro temporum ratione & rerum Chriſtianarum utilitate*; exhorting him therefore to do him good Offices with the King, which alſo he explicated in another Diſpatch, *September* 23, wiſhing that Aid might be ſent againſt the *Turk*. All which being contrary to the King's preſent Deſigns, could not upon what Terms ſoever be repreſented without much Offence, and ill conceit of Cardinal *Woolſey*. The King believing, that underhand he held Intelligence with the Pope, to the prejudice of his Affairs. Which *Polydore* alſo affirmeth; ſaying, that he writ privately to the Pope to ſuſpend the Cauſe, till they could bring the King to ſome better Temper. This alſo I believe was confirmed in the King's Mind, by ſome Notice he might have of a joint Diſpatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our Records) from *Woolſey* and *Campejus*, during their Seſſions, whereby they deſir'd the Pope to avoke the Cauſe, in caſe it grew ſo doubtful that they could not determine it; both as they would be free from the Trouble and Danger, and as they conceiv'd, he might better help the King *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*; who perchance (as they ſaid) would be content therewith, if the Pope would promiſe to end the matter, ſhortly afterwards to his Satisfaction. But as this was, in part, done without our King's Knowledge, and that, for the reſt, it left the Buſineſs in more Perplexity and Irreſolution than ever; ſo the King, who (I find by *Cavendiſh*) had recover'd ſomething under the Cardinal's Hand, which he urged againſt him, began to frown; whereof alſo the Courtiers took that notice, as now his Fall was voiced every where. Though yet it was not in that Precipice, but that the King admitted him ſtill to no ſmall degrees of his wonted Acceſs and Favour. Howbeit, as the Cardinal was now in his Decadence, all theſe ſteps did but lead unto his Ruine. To which alſo the ſecret ill Offices of the angry Queen, and deſpighted *Anne Bolen* did contribute; who, though hating one another, did conſpire to his Deſtruction. The Cauſes on the Queen's part are touch'd before, which alſo were

July 18. The Pope owns his League with the Emperor.

Sept. 23.

Pol. d. Virg. The Cardinal's underhand dealing with the King.

Cavendiſh. Life of Cardinal *Woolſey*.

Greatly reſented by the King.

Gets the hatred of the Q. and *Mrs. Bolen.*

1529. not a little set forwards by the Industry of the Emperor. And for those of Mrs. *Anne Bolen*, besides her unkind Dismission from the Court, (which she conceiv'd to have been the Cardinal's Advice) another inveterate Grudge made her irreconcileable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuscript of one Master *George Cavendish*, Gentleman-Usher to the Cardinal, I have thought fit to insert.

Cavendish, Life of Cardinal *Woolsey*.

Mrs. Bolen's Descent.

This Gentlewoman being descended on the Father's side from one of the Heirs of the Earls of *Ormond*, and on the Mother's from a Daughter of the House of *Norfolk*, was from her Childhood of that singular Beauty and Towardness, that her Parents took all care possible for her good Education. Therefore, besides the ordinary Parts of virtuous Instructions, wherewith she was liberally brought up, they gave her Teachers in playing on Musical Instruments, Singing and Dancing; insomuch, that when she compos'd her Hands to play, and Voice to sing, it was join'd with that Sweetness of Countenance, that three Harmonies concurr'd; likewise, when she danc'd, her rare Proportions varied themselves into all the Graces that belong either to Rest or Motion. Briefly, it seems the most attractive Perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at first, nor before she had liv'd some time in *France*, whither, in the Train of the *French* Queen, and Company of a Sister of the Marquis *Dorset*, she went *Anno Dom.*
1514. 1514. After the Death of *Louis* XII. she did not yet return with the Dowager, but was receiv'd into a Place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutchess of *Alanson*, Sister to *Francis*, where she staid, till some Difference grew betwixt our King and *Francis*; therefore, as saith *du Tillet*, and our Re-
1521. cords, about the time when our Students at *Paris* were remanded, she likewise left *France*, as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to suffer her to stay there any longer. All this while therefore no Argument of extraordinary Affection towards her was discover'd in our King.
1520. So that though it be probable, that she were at the Interview betwixt the Kings and Queens (near *Guisnes*) above-mention'd, yet she left not the *French* Court. But, at last, being come hither, and, about the twentieth Year of her Age, receiv'd into our Queen's Service, however the King might take notice of her, the Lord *Henry Percy* yet (the Earl of *Northumberland*'s eldest Son) appear'd first enamour'd of her; insomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the Train of our Cardinal, (whom he attended in ordinary) his Addresses were continually to her; whereof he made that use, as at length he obtain'd her good will to Marriage. So that in what kind soever the King's Affection might manifest it self, neither was she so satisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous Offer, nor the Lord *Percy* aware that he was oppos'd by so puissant a Rival. But this Treaty (which proceeded to little less than a Contract) coming at last to our King's Ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a Beauty he had contemplated so long, that it was become his dearest Object, made him resolve to acquaint the Cardinal with his Love to her; wishing him also to dissuade the Lord *Percy* from it. The forward Cardinal hereupon both violently dehorts the Lord *Percy* from the Gentlewoman, and useth all Arts to insinuate himself into her good Opinion and Favour. But Mistress *Bolen*, whether she were ignorant, as yet, how much the King lov'd her, or howsoever had rather be that Lord's Wife than a King's Mistress, took very ill of the Cardinal this his unseasonable Interruption of her Marriage. The Cardinal also fearing the Revenges of that Sex, and, for the rest, being unwilling to come to sharper Terms with the Lord *Percy* than he had already used, desires the King to write to the Earl of *Northumberland* to come up; alledging there was no such way to preserve the Gentlewoman for himself, and together to conceal his Love, as to use a cunning dissuasion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby also he might be induced to interpose his fatherly Authority for dissolving of the Match. Herenpon the Earl repairing to Court, the Cardinal first, and afterwards the King discover'd the Cause of his sending for, in very kind, but withal in such covert and ambiguous terms, that betwixt unwillingness to disparage the Gentlewoman, and the inforcing divers Reasons why the Lord *Percy* should not marry her, the Earl was not without some hazard of misapplying the King's Affection to himself. Howsoever, he so check'd his Son, that fear of displeasing his Father became at length the predominant Passion. So that it neither serv'd him to declare the Merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his Promise, before Witnesses, had engag'd him further than that he knew well how to come off: The apprehension of the King's Displeasure having wrought that impression in the Earl, that he would take no Denial or Excuse on his Son's part, till he had made him renounce all his Pretences to her; which also he urged so far, as at length his Son consented to marry the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughter. But the Hatred which Mistress *Anne Bolen* conceiv'd against the Cardinal concluded not so; nor indeed could ever end till she had procur'd his final Ruine. And this is the truest Relation of Mistress *Anne Bolen*, that I have been able to gather out of those Records and Manuscripts that have come to my Hands. So that now I should have proceeded with my History, were I not constrain'd (in a sort) to vindicate both her Honour and her Progenitors from those foul Calumnies which in a Book of *Nicolas Sanders*, an *Englishman*, *de Schismate Anglicano*, are cast upon them.

Esteem in the French Court.

Cavend. Ed. Lord *Percy* courts her.

She promises him Marriage.

The Cardinal from the King dissuades the Lord *Percy*.

His Father the Earl of *Northumberland* makes him renounce all Pretensions to her.

Sanders de Schismate Anglicano.

This Author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a Man of exact Judgment, reports out of one *William Rastal*, a Judge, (in his Life of Sir *Thomas More*) that Mistress *Anne Bolen* was the King's Daughter, by the Wife of Sir *Thomas Bolen*, while, *sub specie honoris*, he was employ'd by the King, Ambassador in *France*; and that this Gentlewoman coming to the Age of Fifteen, was deflour'd by some *Domesticks* of her Father's, and then sent to *France*; where also she behav'd herself so licentiously, that she was vulgarly call'd the Hackney of *England*, till being adopted to that King's Familiarity, she was termed his Mule. Many other Passages of this kind are also inserted by *Sanders*, which I forbear, as being sorry to have occasion for publishing thus much. But how impossible these things are, the ingenious Reader may easily find out, when he compares the Times: For if Mistress *Anne Bolen* went to *France* with *Mary* the *French* Queen, 1514. (as is proved by divers principal Authors, both *English* and *French*, besides the Manuscripts I have seen) and was here vitiated at fifteen Years of Age, it must follow that she was born about or before 1498. at which Time our King was neither above seven or eight Years old at most, and therefore unable to get a Child (especially nine Months before) nor had that Regal Power in his hands for employment of Ambassadors, till ten or eleven Years afterwards. So that Mr. *Sanders* or *Rastal*'s Affirmation herein is but Fiction, as the rest certainly is, she having always lived in good Reputation. As for the Beauty and Handsomness

Sanders's Calumnies concerning her refuted.

1529. ness of Mistress *Anne Bolen*, which the same Author doth traduce, besides that it contradicts common Sense, (she having been, by their Allegation, a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant still with the Dutchess of *Richmond*, doth sufficiently convince. And for her Religion, there is no probability that it should (at first) be other than what was commonly profest: Since it appears by original Letters of hers, that she was a special Favourer of the Clergy of that Time, and a Preferrer of the worthiest sort of them to Ecclesiastical Livings, during her chief times of Favour with the King, though I will not deny, but upon his defection from some Articles of the *Roman* Church, she might also comply. But I should be glad that Mr. *Sanders* had not divers other things which might require a serious Review; though I must not deny, but as he hath in some things follow'd Cardinal *Pool*, (a Person of great Learning, and much reverenc'd in his time) so he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinal was so near in Blood to divers whom the King put to Death, he may be thought perchance more partial than to be believ'd every where: Neither will it satisfie all Men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even so much as the King's Thoughts (by Revelation;) so that I shall leave these things to the liberty of the indifferent Reader, and turn to my History.

Lib. de Uni. Eccles.

Our King, who at the first Prorogation of the Sentence, by reason of the *Feriæ Vindemiarum*, hoped yet, that at least, *Octob.* 1. (when the Court was appointed to sit again, he might have the Cause determin'd, seeing now all Proceeding in *England* inhibited, the Cause avocated to *Rome*, *Campejus* recall'd; and finally finding, by many Dispatches, that the Pope and Emperor had appointed shortly to meet at *Bononia*, was much troubled; and the rather, for that the two Cardinals proceeding hitherunto had been little more than Illusion; whereupon also he became much incens'd against them. Yet containing a while his Anger, he neither alter'd his fashion to *Woolsey*, nor declar'd any dislike of *Campejus*: Insomuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no Argument of Suspicion or Dislike appear'd hitherunto on either side. *Campejus* thus dismist and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the Sea-side, where he expected only a fair Wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon pretence he carry'd either Money or Letters from *England* to *Rome*, ransack'd all his Coffers, Bags and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that Decretal Bull our King so much long'd for. I find also (by some Relation) that divers Love-Letters betwixt our King and Mistress *Bolen*, being convey'd out of the King's Cabinet, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to *Rome*. Which Usage so offended *Campejus*, that he complain'd immediately to our King; protesting *he wou'd not proceed in his Journey till he had Reparation for the Wrongs done to his Person and* Dignity; *and that the People were satisfy'd concerning certain scandalous* Rumours, *which he heard were scatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinal* Woolsey *and himself*. But our King by his Letter of *October* 22. answer'd, That it must not be expected from him, *præstare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortasse scrupulosa & anxia sedulitas designare soleat*. As for the *Jus Legati* pretended to be violated, our King answer'd, That *he conceiv'd it was expir'd, not only as it was revok'd by the Pope's late Inhibition, but particularly by the Interposition of his own Regal Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge*. Adding moreover, *That he wonder'd somewhat that* Campejus *understood our Law so little, as not to fear how he usurped after that time the Name of a Legat in this Kingdom; since he, having been made Bishop here of* Salisbury, *was bound by Oath to the Conservation of the Royal Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a Mistake; the Commandment having been given long since, when there was just occasion for it, and not in relation to his Particular, who therefore he was sorry to have been so roughly us'd; desiring the Cardinal, for the rest, to excuse the said Searchers, since they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as a cause of his stay*. As for the other part, which was the Rumour, our King said, *It was uncertain from whence it came; notwithstanding that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breast, yet) so generally receiv'd and believ'd in his Kingdom, that it would be hard to remove that Opinion: In which regard also, it was in vain for him to stay here so much as one hour. Howsoever, that he might make this use of it, as to know how ill his Subjects took this frustration of the Business. But as his Royal Care should be to prevent the Inconveniences might follow hereof, so that it belong'd to* Campejus's *Wisdom to continue those good Intentions he had made shew of*. For *we* (saith the King) *tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipse factis palam diversum ostenderis*.

Campejus's Coffers search'd at the Custom-house.

Complains of it to the King.

Octob. 22.

The K's Answer.

Campejus being now more than once licens'd, thought it time to be gone; so that, coming at last to the Pope, he acquainted him with all the Proceedings, not forgetting the Dangers in which Cardinal *Woolsey* was, for his too much Obsequiousness to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperor, or that otherwise he secretly hated the Cardinal for his late unseasonable Ambition to succeed in the Papacy, seem'd to care for nothing so much as the conserving of his late League, though yet he was not so secure of our King, but that he feared not a little his often threaten'd Defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might stand with his other Interests) for the containing of him in his wonted Devotion: Insomuch that he offer'd new Projects daily for his Satisfaction. Among which *Gregory Casalis* relates one, which shall be set down in his Place.

The King threatens to renounce the Pope.

Cardinal *Woolsey* being now divested of his late Power (wherein he had the Glory, in some sort, to have been superior to his King) and for the rest being left alone, and expos'd not only to a general Hatred, but to the private Machinations of the present and future Queen, became sensible of his ill Estate; though yet he did not believe himself so near his Overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what cou'd he hope for, when such puissant Enemies did procure his Destruction? Therefore, though he receiv'd some Advices from *Rome*, which might argue a Care rather than a Power for his Conservation, yet in Effect what secret Intelligence soever pass'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperor first, and after to Queen *Katherine*, who cunningly caus'd it to be whisper'd into the King's Ears, by some more indirect ways, than it could possibly be imagin'd to proceed from her. Likewise Mistress *Anne Bolen*, having learn'd from some of the King's wisest and gravest Counsellors divers Malversations of the Cardinal, was so far from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better Actions. *Edmund Campion* adds to these Reasons, that Sir *Francis Bryan* being in *Rome*, did by the means of a Familiar of one who kept the Pope's Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinal's, which wrought his Ruine, in this manner: Having first shew'd her the Cardinal's Hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan so dexterously perform'd the rest, as upon pretence of visiting her Servant in his Study,

Woolsey in Disgrace.

Camp. de Divortio.

1529. dy, ſhe convey'd away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediately to ſend it to our King. Which relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I ſuppoſe to be the more improbable, that I find by Original Diſpatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the King's Disfavour to the Cardinal appear'd. Howſoever, the way the King took to overthrow him was meerly legal, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after moſt Mens Opinion. In the carriage whereof yet that Secreſy was us'd, that the Cardinal did not, or perchance out of Greatneſs of Mind wou'd not take notice of what was intended againſt him. So that, though the Bill or Indictment was put in (at the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term) yet did he ride that Day to the Chancery with his accuſtom'd Pomp. Of which our King being advertis'd, thought fit to forbid him the Place; as thinking it undecent, that a Man, who was upon terms of Conviction, ſhould adminiſter that high Charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ſent, the eighteenth of *October*, to require the Great Seal of him. But the Cardinal, inſtead of rendring it, diſputed their Authority, alledging the Place of Lord Chancellor was by the King's Letters Patents given him during Life. The two Dukes hereupon returned to Court, bringing the next Day the King's Letters to the Cardinal, who having read them, deliver'd immediately the Great Seal; in ſequence thereof, alſo ſubmitting himſelf to the King, who commanded him to leave *York-Place*, and ſimply to depart to *Aſher*, a Country-Houſe near *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He charged his Officers alſo to inventory and bring forth his Goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into Hangings, beſides whole Pieces of rich Stuffs were ſet upon divers Tables in his Houſe; the variety and number whereof may be imagin'd, when (as *Cavendiſh* hath it) of fine Holland Cloth alone there were a thouſand Pieces. Beſides, the Walls of his Gallery on the one ſide were hang'd with rich Suits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, Cloth of Tiſſue, and Cloth of Bodkin; on the other ſide was placed the moſt glorious Suit of Copes that had been ſeen in *England*. In a Chamber near to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of maſſy Gold; and in a Chamber adjoining, vaſt quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinal commanded Sir *William Gaſcogne* (his Treaſurer) to deliver to the King, when he was requir'd.

An Indictment preferr'd againſt him.
Octob. 9.
Octob. 18. The Seals taken from him.
An Inventory taken of his rich Goods.

In the mean while the Bill againſt the Cardinal proceeded, the moſt ſubſtantial Parts whereof being extracted out of the Original Record, I have thought fit to preſent to the Reader. The Ground upon which *Chriſtopher Hales*, the King's Attorney, proſecuted the Cardinal, was a Statute of 16 *Richard* II. in which is enacted, That, *whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of Right, and were wont of old time to ſue in the King's Court to recover their Preſentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to preſent, and when Judgment ſhall be given in the ſaid Court upon ſuch a Plea and Preſentment, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Spiritual Perſons, which have Inſtitutions of ſuch Beneſices within their Juriſdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of ſuch Judgments by the King's Commandments, of all the time aforeſaid, without Interruption, and alſo be bound of Right to make Execution of many other the King's Commandments: Of which Right the Crown of* England *hath been peaceably ſeized, as well now, as in the time of all his Progenitors. And whereas the Biſhop of* Rome (for ſo he is termed in the Act) *had made divers Proceſſes and Cenſures of Excommunication upon certain Biſhops in* England, *becauſe they have made Execution of ſuch Commandments, and alſo becauſe he hath ordain'd and purpos'd to tranſlate ſome Prelates of the Realm, ſome out of the Realm, and ſome from one Biſhoprick to another within the ſaid Realm, without the King's Aſſent and Knowledge, and without the Aſſent of the Prelates, which ſo ſhall be tranſlated; which Prelates be much profitable and neceſſary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm; which Tranſlations if they ſhould be ſuffer'd, the Statutes of the Realm ſhould be defeated and made void, and his ſaid Liege Sages of his Council, without his Aſſent, and againſt his Will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the Subſtance and Treaſure of the Realm ſhall be carried away, and ſo the Realm deſtitute as well of Counſel as of Subſtance, to the final Deſtruction of the ſame Realm; and ſo the Crown of* England, *which hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately ſubject to God in all things touching the Legality of the ſame Crown, and to none other, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Pope; and the Laws and Statutes of the ſaid Realm, by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual Deſtruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm,* &c. *Therefore the King, by the Aſſent of his Lords, and at the Requeſt of the Commons, hath ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd, that, if any purchaſe or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſu'd in the Court of* Rome, *or elſewhere, any Tranſlations, Proceſſes, and Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Inſtruments, or any other things whatſoever, which touch the King, againſt him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other Execution whatſoever within the ſame Realm or without; that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors and Counſellors, ſhall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attach'd by their Bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to anſwer to the Caſes aforeſaid, or that Proceſs be made againſt them by a Writ of* Premunire facias, *in manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Proviſors, and other, which do ſue in any other Court, in derogation of the Regality of our Lord the King.*

16 *Ric.* II. The Bill againſt him.

Upon which Statute it was alledg'd, That *Thomas*, Legatus de Latere, *Cardinal, Archbiſhop of* York, *and Primate of* England, *being not ignorant of the Premiſes, had obtain'd certain Bulls from* Clement VII. *by which he exerciſed Juriſdiction and Authority Legatine, to the deprivation of the King's Power eſtabliſhed in his Courts of Juſtice; which ſaid Bulls he cauſed to be publickly read in* Weſtminſter, (Aug. 28. Anno Reg. 15.) *aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of* Legatus de Latere, *which he hath exercis'd from the ſaid twenty-eighth of* Auguſt *to this Day, to the prejudice of the Right of both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and that by colour thereof, he had given away the Church of* Stoke-Guilford *in the County of* Surrey *(being of Right in the Donation of the Prior of* St. Pancrace) *to one* James Gorton, *who alſo enjoy'd it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the aforeſaid Statutes of* 16 Richard II. *Moreover that, by colour of the ſaid Authority, he had cauſed the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of many (out of his Dioceſs) to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their Goods and Chattels to be adminiſtred by ſuch as be appointed. Alſo that, under colour of the ſaid Authority, he had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſs, and drawn divers Penſions from Abbeys, to the contempt of the King and his Laws.*

1523. Aug. 28. Reg. 15.

The proof of which Particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his Conviction, till, through the King's ſpecial Permiſſion (by Writ of *October* 28.) *John Scuſe* and *Chriſtopher* Oct. 28.

Genney

1529. *Gynney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; where, for all other Answers, they protested in the said Cardinal's Name, that the said Cardinal did not know the Impetration of the said Bulls to have been to the Contempt and Prejudice of the King, or that it was against any Statute of Provisors heretofore made. As for the Particulars wherewith he was charged by Master Attorney, he confest them all true in the Manner and Form alledg'd: And so submitted himself to the King. Whereupon the Court gave Sentence, that *he was out of the Protection, and his Lands, Goods, and Chattels forfeit, and that his Person might be seized on.*

Condemn'd to Imprisonment and Forfeiture of Goods.

Not contented herewith yet, another Proof of the same kind was by the King's Attorney produced against the Cardinal, namely, that contrary to the Right of the true Patron (being the Master and Fellows of the Hospital of St. *Lazarus* in *Burton-Lazar*) he had, by the same Authority, given away the Parish-Church of *Galby* in *Leicestershire*, and Diocess of *Lincoln* (then vacant by the Death of one *Woodroff*) to one *John Allen*, Doctor of both Laws, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinal, together with all his vast Possessions, into the King's Hands. Concerning which the Criticks of the Time gave sundry Opinions, the most part yet supposing him capable of the King's Mercy, had he been either less rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by Law, but by the Rigor of it. All which they considered the more, that the Cardinal had so long exercis'd his Legatine Power, without that the King either seem'd to dislike it, or any other had question'd him for it. Therefore, howsoever he was convicted by Form of Justice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the King. Insomuch, that the Impression taken of his ancient Services, was not defac'd wholly. So that notwithstanding his best Goods were seiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other Possessions, and (with them) his intire Liberty, yet he both sent him a Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, which he had lately given him after the Death of *Richard Fox*, only he confin'd him for the present to his House at *Asher*, till his farther Pleasure was signify'd. Being upon his way, the King (touch'd with some Compassion) sent him by one Master *Norreys*, not only a gracious Message, but a Ring, which was a Token betwixt them, when any special Business was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the overjoy'd Cardinal alighted from his Mule, and in the Dirt upon his bare Knees acknowledg'd the Comfort he receiv'd. To shew his Thankfulness also to Master *Norreys*, he presented him with a Chain of Gold, at which a piece of the Cross did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the King; till at last having espy'd in his Train a facetious Natural, in whom he took much delight, he desir'd Master *Norreys* to present him to the King. Which Promotion yet this Fellow (for the approving himself no Counterfeit) did so slight, as the Cardinal was forc'd to send six of his tallest Yeomen to bring him to Court. The Cardinal coming at last to *Asher*, found himself so destitute of all Necessaries, as, till one Master *Arundel* first, and after the Bishop of *Carlisle* provided him, he wanted even the most ordinary parts of Houshold-stuff. And thus the ill-accommodated Cardinal passed some Weeks in expectation of the King's further Pleasure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to use those Friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former Favour; or when that could not be done, for the making his Fall more easy. For which purpose one Master *Thomas Cromwel*, his Servant, (who came afterwards to great Preferment) was employ'd, but Mistress *Bolen* secretly oppos'd all. So that the Cardinal, being now in a manner hopeless of regaining the King's good Opinion, dismissed (not without Tears on both sides) the greatest part of his numerous Family, without other Reward than what Master *Cromwel* and some of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King hearing the Cardinal to be somewhat humbled, sent Sir *John Russel* with a Turquoise Ring to him as a Token of his Care and Affection. But it was not Gifts that the Cardinal expected from the King, but Liberty and Restitution to his former Greatness; which yet was so much in vain, as his Offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that he had particularly advantag'd himself of the Cardinal's Punishment, unless he made some use thereof to the general, so he call'd a Council of the Nobles, to sit in the Star-Chamber, who having sufficiently condemn'd him, he afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began *November* 3. 1529. Wherein the King also did wisely, since by interessing the Publick in his Condemnation, he both declin'd the Censure of those who thought the late Proceedings to have been of the severest, and indear'd his People by putting the Power of punishing him into their Hands. Therefore they took it as an intire Satisfaction for all they had hitherto suffer'd; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this Favour. And thus did the King return to that former good Opinion he had of his Subjects.

His Goods accordingly seiz'd.

Sends his Fool a Present to the King.

Dismisses his Servants.

Nov. 1.

Octob. 1.

Nov. 3.

Reg. tr. Is condemn'd in the Star-Chamber.

Hereupon certain Articles against the Cardinal were preferr'd in Parliament. The Original whereof, found among our Records, I have thought fit to transcribe; and the rather for that our vulgar Chronicles misreport them.

Articles against him in Parliament.

Constrain'd by Necessity of our Fidelity and Conscience, complain and shew to your Royal Majesty, We your Grace's humble, true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Grace's Chancellor, presuming to take upon him the Authority of the Pope's Legat *de Latere*, hath by divers and many sundry ways and fashions committed notable, high, and grievous Offences, misusing, altering, and subverting the Order of your Grace's Laws, and otherwise contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal, to the inestimable Damage of your Grace's Subjects of every degree, and consequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay of the universal Wealth of this your Grace's Realm, as it is touched summarily and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in comparison of all his Enormities, Excesses, and Transgressions committed against your Grace's Laws.

That is to say,

I. First, where your Grace, and your Noble Progenitors within this your Realm of *England*, being Kings of *England*, have been so free, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediate subject to Almighty God, in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of *England*, and the same Preheminence, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, lawful and peaceable Possession, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed without Interruption, or Business therefore, by the space of two hundred Years and more; whereby your Grace may prescribe against the Pope's Holiness, that he should not, nor ought to find, or make any Legat to execute

1529. cute any Authority Legatine, contrary to your Grace's Prerogative within this your Realm:

Now the Lord Cardinal of *York* being your Subject, and natural Liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and insatiable Mind, for his own singular Advancement and Profit, in derogation, and to the great Imblemishment and Hurt of your said Royal Jurisdiction, and Prerogative, and the large continuance of the Possession of the same, obtain'd Authority Legatine, by reason whereof he hath not only hurt your said Prescription, but also by the said Authority Legatine hath spoil'd and taken away from many Houses of Religion in this your Realm, much Substance of their Goods; and also hath usurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much part of their Jurisdiction, in derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said Ordinaries, Prelates, and Religious.

II. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, being your Ambassador in *France*, made a Treaty with the *French* King for the Pope, your Majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor nam'd in the same; and binding the said *French* King to abide his Order and Award, if any Controversy or Doubt should arise upon the same betwixt the said Pope and the *French* King.

III. Also, the said Lord Cardinal being your Ambassador in *France*, sent a Commission to Sir *Gregory de Casalis*, under your Great Seal, in your Grace's Name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Command or Warrant of your Highness, nor your said Highness advertis'd or made privy to the same.

IV. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, of his presumptuous Mind in divers and many of his Letters and Instructions sent out of this Realm to outward Parties, had join'd himself with your Grace, as in saying and writing in his said Letters and Instructions; *The King and I.* And, *I would ye should do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty Thanks.* Whereby it is apparent, that he used himself more like a Fellow to your Highness, than like a Subject.

V. Also, where it hath ever been accustom'd within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do swear their Houshold Servants, the first part of their Oath hath been, That they should be true Liegemen to the King and his Heirs Kings of *England*; the same Lord Cardinal caused his Servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereign above him.

VI. And also, whereas your Grace is our Sovereign Lord and Head, in whom standeth all the Surety and Wealth of this Realm, the same Lord Cardinal knowing himself to have the foul and contagious Disease of the great Pox, broken out upon him in divers places of his Body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your Ear, and blowing upon your most Noble Grace with his perillous and infective Breath, to the marvellous danger of your Highness, if God of his infinite Goodness had not better provided for your Highness. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his Disease was an Impostume in his Head, and of none other thing.

VII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath given, by prevention, the Benefices of divers Persons, as well Spiritual as Temporal, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Laws and Estatutes therefore provided; by reason whereof he is in danger to your Grace of Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods, and his Body at your pleasure.

VIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, taking upon him otherwise than a true Counsellor ought to do, hath used to have all Ambassadors to come first to him alone, and so hearing their Charges and Intents, it is to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure and purpose, before that they came to your Presence; contrary to your high Commandment by your Grace's Mouth to him given, and also to other Persons sent to him by your Grace.

IX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath practised so, that all manner of Letters sent from beyond the Sea to your Highness have come first to his Hands, contrary to your high Commandment by your own Mouth, and also by others sent to him by your Grace; by reason whereof your Highness, nor any of your Council, had knowledge of no Matters, but such as it pleas'd him to shew them; whereby your Highness, and your Council have been compell'd of very Force to follow his Devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty and covert means, that your Highness and your Council hath oftentimes been abus'd. Insomuch, that when your Council have found, and put divers Doubts, and things which have afterwards ensu'd, he to abuse them us'd these Words; *I will lay my Head that no such thing shall happen.*

X. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath practised that no manner of Person, having charge to make espial of things done beyond the Sea, should at their return come first to your Grace, nor to any other of your Council, but only to himself; and in case they did the contrary, he punished them for so doing.

XI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath granted License under your great Seal for carrying out of Grain and other Victual, after the Restraint hath been made thereof, for his own Lucre, and singular Advantage of him and his Servants, for to send thither as he bare secret Favour, without your Grace's Warrant or Knowledge thereof.

XII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal used, many Years together, not only to write unto all your Ambassadors resident with other Princes in his own Name all Advertisements concerning your Grace's Affairs, being in their Charge; and in the same his Letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your Grace's Pleasure being known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know: But also caused them to write their Advertisements unto him; and of the same Letters he used to conceal for the compassing of his Purposes, many things both from all your other Counsellors, and from your self also.

XIII. Also, where good Hospitality hath been used to be kept in Houses and Places of Religion of this Realm, and many poor People thereby releived, the said Hospitality and Relief is now decay'd, and not us'd; and it is commonly reported, that the occasion thereof is, because the said Lord Cardinal hath taken such Impositions of the Rulers of the said Houses, as well for his favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Visitation, by his Authority Legatine: And yet, neverthelefs, taketh yearly of such Religious Houses, such yearly and continual Charges, as they be not able to keep Hospitality as they us'd to do; which is a great cause that there be so many Vagabonds, Beggars, and Thieves.

XIV. Also, where the said Lord Cardinal said, before the suppression of such Houses as he hath suppress'd, that the Possessions of them should be set to farm among your Lay-Subjects, after such reasonable yearly Rent, as they should well thereupon live, and keep good Hospitality; and now the demain Possessions of the said Houses, since the suppression of them, hath been survey'd, mete, and measur'd by the Acre, and be now

set

1529. set above the value of the old Rent; and also such as were Farmers by Covent-Seal, and Copy-holders be put out, and mov'd of their Farms, or else compell'd to pay new Fines, contrary to all Equity and Conscience.

XV. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, sitting among the Lords, and other of your most Honourable Council, us'd himself that if any Man would shew his Mind according to his Duty, contrary to the Opinion of the said Cardinal, he would so take him up with his accustomable Words, that they were better to hold their Peace than to speak, so that he would hear no Man speak, but one or two great Personages, so that he would have all the Words himself, and consum'd much Time with a fair Tale.

XVI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, by his Ambition and Pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poor Subjects for want of dispatchment of Matters; for he would no Man should meddle but himself. Insomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wise Men, that ten of the most wise, and most expert Men in *England*, were not sufficient in convenient time to order the Matters that he would retain to himself: And many times he deferr'd the ending of Matters, because that Sutors should attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no small Pleasure that his House might be replenish'd with Sutors.

XVII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath us'd, if any Spiritual Man having any Riches or Substance, deceas'd, he hath taken their Goods as his own; by reason whereof their Wills be not perform'd: And one mean he had, to put them in fear that were made Executors, to refuse to meddle.

XVIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal constrain'd all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp half or the whole of their Jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the Diocess, but to extort Treasure: For there is never a poor Arch-Deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a Portion of his Living.

XIX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath not only by his untrue Suggestion to the Pope, shamefully slandered many good Religious Houses, and good virtuous Men dwelling in them, but also suppress'd by reason thereof above thirty Houses of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he should not suppress any House that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of six or seven, he hath suppress'd divers Houses that had above the number; and thereupon hath caus'd divers Offices to be found by Verdict, untruly, that the Religious Persons, so suppress'd, had voluntarily forsaken their said Houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God.

XX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath examin'd divers and many Matters in the *Chancery*, after Judgment thereof given at the Common Law, in subversion of your Laws; and made some Persons restore again to the other Party condemn'd, that they had in Execution by virtue of the Judgment in the Common Law.

XXI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath granted many Injunctions by Writ, and the Parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in against them. And, by reason thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawful Possession of their Lands and Tenements. And, by such means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himself, whereby he and divers of his Servants have gotten much Riches, and your Subjects suffer'd great Wrongs.

XXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, to augment 1529. his great Riches, hath caus'd divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be suspended, which could not be reviv'd till that the said Lord Cardinal were rewarded, and also have a yearly Pension of the said Pardon.

XXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, not regarding your Laws nor Justice, of his extort Power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and also Patents of the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*, and Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and of the Abby of St. *Albans*, which had good and sufficient grant thereof by your Laws.

XXIV. Also, the same Lord Cardinal at many times when any Houses of Religion have been void, he hath sent his Officers thither, and with crafty Perswasions hath induc'd them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before e're he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he and his Servants receiv'd so much great Goods of them, that in manner it hath been to the undoing of the House.

XXV. Also, by his Authority Legatine, the same Lord Cardinal hath visited the most part of the Religious Houses and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty-fifth part of their Livelihood, to the great Extortion of your Subjects, and Derogation of your Laws and Prerogative; and no Law to bear him so to do.

XXVI. Also, when Matters have been near at Judgment by Process at your Common Law, the same Lord Cardinal hath not only given and sent Injunctions to the Parties, but also sent for your Judges, and expresly by Threats commanding them to defer the Judgment, to the evident Subversion of your Laws, if the Judges would so have ceas'd.

XXVII. Also, whereas neither the Bishoprick of *York*, nor *Winchester*, nor the Abby of St. *Alban's*, nor the Profit of his Legation, nor the Benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Pension out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate taking could not suffice him, he hath made his Son *Winter* to spend twenty seven hundred Pounds by the Year, which he taketh to his own Use, and giveth him not past two hundred Pounds yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Also, where the said Lord Cardinal did first sue unto your Grace to have your Assent to be Legate *de Latere*, he promis'd and solemnly protested before your Majesty, and before the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, that he would nothing do or attempt by virtue of his Legacy, that should be contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the Damage or Prejudice of the Jurisdiction of any Ordinary, and that by his Legacy no Man should be hurt or offended; and upon that Condition, and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm, which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this Promise, he was busie in his Suit at *Rome*, to visit all the Clergy of *England*, both exempt and not exempt.

XXIX. Also, upon the Suit of the said Lord Cardinal at *Rome*, to have his Authority Legatine, he made untrue surmise to the Pope's Holiness against the Clergy of your Realm, which was, that the Regular Persons of the said Clergy had given themselves *in reprobum sensum*; which Words Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans* apply'd to abominable Sin; which Slander to your Church of *England*, shall for ever remain in the Register at *Rome* against the Clergy of this your Realm.

XXX.

1529. XXX. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal had the more part of the Goods of Dr. *Smith*, late Biſhop of *London*, Biſhop *Savage* of *York*, Mr. *Dalby* Archdeacon of *Richmond*, Mr. *Tornyers*, Dr. *Rothal* late Biſhop of *Durham*, and of Dr. *Fox* late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, contrary to their Wills and your Laws and Juſtice.

XXXI. Alſo, at the *Oyer* and *Terminer* at *York*, Proclamation was made, that every Man ſhould put in their Bills for Extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in againſt the Officers of the ſaid Lord Cardinal of Extortion, for taking twelve Pence of the Pound for Probation of Teſtaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Juſtice *Fitz-Herbert*, and other Commiſſioners, the ſame Lord Cardinal remov'd the ſame Indictments into the Chancery by *Certiorari*, and rebuked the ſame *Fitz-Herbert* for the ſame Cauſe.

XXXII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath buſied and endeavour'd himſelf by crafty and untrue Tales to make Diſſention and Debate amongſt your Nobles of your Realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

XXXIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal's Officers have divers times compell'd your Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for Carriages. And alſo his Servants have taken both Corn and Cattle, Fiſh, and all other Victuals at your Grace's Price or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Laws.

XXXIV. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal hath miſus'd himſelf in your moſt Honourable Court, in keeping of as great Eſtate there in your Abſence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there preſent in your own Perſon.

XXXV. Alſo, his Servants, by virtue of your Commiſſion under your broad Seal by him to them given, hath taken Cattle, and all other Victual, at as low Price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your Prerogative, againſt the Laws of your Realm.

XXXVI. Alſo, where it hath been accuſtom'd that your Purveyors for your Honourable Houſhold have had yearly out of your Town and Liberty of St. *Albans* three hundred or four hundred Quarters of Wheat, truth it is, that ſince the Lord Cardinal had the room of Abbot there, your ſaid Purveyors could not be ſuffer'd by him and his Officers, to take any Wheat within the ſaid Town or Liberties.

XXXVII. Alſo he hath divers times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for Cauſes before him in the Star-Chamber, that they nor other for them ſhould make labour, by any manner of way directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your gracious Favour or Pardon, which was a preſumptuous intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir *John Stanley* Knight, which had taken a Farm by Covent-Seal of the Abbot and Covent of *Cheſter*, and afterwards by his Power and Might, contrary to Right, committed the ſaid Sir *John Stanley* to the Priſon of *Fleet* by the ſpace of one Year, until ſuch time as he compell'd the ſaid Sir *John* to releaſe his Covent-Seal to one *Leghe* of *Adlington*, which marry'd one *Lark's* Daughter, which Woman the ſaid Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her two Children. Whereupon the ſaid Sir *John Stanley*, upon diſpleaſure taken in his Heart, made himſelf Monk in *Weſtminſter*, and there died.

XXXIX. Alſo, on a Time your Grace being at St. *Alban's*, according to the ancient Cuſtom us'd within your Verge, your Clerk of the Market doing his Office, did preſent unto your Officers of your moſt Honourable Houſhold the Prices of all manner of Victuals within the Precinct of the Verge; and it was commanded by your ſaid Officers to ſet up the ſaid Prices both on the Gates of your Honourable Houſhold, and alſo in the Market-place within the Town of St. *Alban's*, as of ancient Cuſtom it hath been us'd; and the Lord Cardinal, hearing the ſame, preſumptuouſly, and not like a Subject, caus'd the aforeſaid Prices which were ſeal'd with your Grace's Seal, accuſtomably us'd for the ſame, to be taken off, and pull'd down in the ſaid Market-place where they were ſet up, and in the ſame place ſet up his own Prices ſeal'd with his Seal, and would, if it had not been letted, in ſemblable manner us'd your Seal ſtanding upon your Grace's Gates; and alſo would of his preſumptuous Mind, have openly ſet in the Stocks within your ſaid Town your Clerk of your Market. By which Preſumption and Uſurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himſelf to be equal with your Royal Majeſty.

XL. Alſo, the ſaid Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and preſumptuous Mind, hath enterpris'd to joyn and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under your Arms in your Coin of Groats, made at your City of *York*, which like Deed hath not been ſeen to have been done by any Subject within your Realm before this time.

XLI. Alſo, where one Sir *Edward Jones*, Clerk, Parſon of *Crowley* in the County of *Buckingham*, in the 18th Year of your moſt Noble Reign, let his ſaid Parſonage with all Tythes, and other Profits of the ſame to one *William Johnſon* by Indentures for certain Years, within which Years the Dean of the ſaid Cardinal's College in *Oxford*, pretended Title to a certain Portion of Tythes within the ſaid Parſonage, ſuppoſing the ſaid Portion to belong to the Parſonage of *Chichley*, which was appropriated to the Priory of *Tykeford*, lately ſuppreſs'd, where of truth, the Parſons of *Crowley* have been peaceably poſſeſs'd of the ſaid Portion, time out of mind: Whereupon a *Subpœna* was directed to the ſaid *Johnſon* to appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal at *Hampton-Court*; where, without any Bill, the ſaid Lord Cardinal committed him to the *Fleet*, where he remain'd by the ſpace of twelve Weeks, becauſe he would not depart with the ſaid Portion; and at the laſt, upon a Recognizance made, that he ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Cardinal whereſoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the *Fleet*. Howbeit, as yet the ſaid Portion is ſo kept from him, that he dare not deal with it.

XLII. Alſo, where one *Martin Docowra* had a Leaſe of the Mannor of *Balſal* in the County of *Warwick*, for term of certain Years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by Writ, upon pain of a thouſand Pounds, that he ſhould avoid the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Mannor, and ſuffer Sir *Geor. Throgmorton* Knight, to take the Profits of the ſame Mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of St. *John's*, and the ſaid *Docowra* were diſcuſt; and yet the ſaid *Docowra* never made Anſwer in the Chancery, never was call'd into the Chancery for that Matter. And now of late he hath receiv'd the like Injunction, upon pain of two thouſand Pounds, contrary to the courſe of the Common Law.

XLIII. Alſo, whereas in the Parliament-Chamber, and in the open Parliament, Communication and Devices were had and mov'd, wherein mention was, by an Incident, made of Matters touching Hereſies, and erroneous Sects. It was ſpoken and reported by one Biſhop there being preſent, and confirm'd by a good Number of the ſame Biſhops in preſence of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then aſſembled, that two

of

1529. of the said Bishops were minded and desir'd to repair unto the University of *Cambridge*, for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of such Errors as then seem'd, and were reported to reign amongst the Students and Scholars of the same, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect and Opinions, as otherwise; the Lord Cardinal inform'd of the good Minds and Intents of the said two Bishops in that behalf, expresly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do. By means whereof the same Errors (as they affirm'd) crept more abroad, and took greater place: Saying furthermore, that it was not in their Defaults that the said Heresies were not punish'd, but in the said Lord Cardinal, and that it was no reason any blame or lack should be arrected unto them for his Offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said Lord Cardinal, besides all other his heinous Offences, hath been the Impeacher and Disturber of due and direct Correction of Heresies; being highly to the Danger and Peril of the whole body and good Christian People of this your Realm.

XLIV. Finally, Forasmuch as by the aforesaid Articles is evidently declar'd to your most Royal Majesty, that the Lord Cardinal by his outragious Pride hath greatly shadow'd a long Season your Grace's Honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and by his insatiable Avarice and ravenous Appetite, to have Riches and Treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppress'd your poor Subjects, with so manifold Crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Commonwealth of this your Grace's Realm is thereby greatly decay'd and impoverish'd: And also by his Cruelty, Iniquity, Affection and Partiality, hath subverted the due Course and Order of your Grace's Laws, to the undoing of a great Number of your loving People;

Please it your most Royal Majesty therefore of your excellent Goodness towards the Weal of this your Realm, and Subjects of the same, to set such Order and Direction upon the said Lord Cardinal, as may be to the terrible Example of others to beware so to offend your Grace and your Laws hereafter: And that he be so provided for, that he never have any Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the Commonwealth of this your Realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every Man almost, high and low. Which for your Grace so doing, will daily pray, as their Duty is, to Almighty God, for the prosperous Estate of your most Royal Majesty long to endure in Honour and good Health, to the pleasure of God, and your Heart's most desire.

Subscrib'd the first Day of *December*, the twenty-first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth.

T. More.	*T. Darcy.*
T. Norfolk.	*T. Rochford.*
Char. Suffolk.	*W. Mountjoy.*
Tho. Dorset.	*Will. Sandys.*
H. Exeter.	*William* Fitz-*William.*
G. Shrewsbury.	*Henry Guldeford.*
R. *Fitzwater.*	*Anthony Fitz-Herbert.*
Jo. Oxenford.	*John* Fitz-*James.*
H. Northumberland.	

Cromwel's Defence of the Cardinal his Master. These Articles were presented to the King by the Lords, and then sent down to the lower House: Where *Tho. Cromwel* (obtaining the Place of a Burgess) so wittily defended the Cardinal his Master, that no Treason could be laid to his Charge. And upon this honest beginning, *Cromwel* obtain'd his first Reputation. Yet could not the resisting of this Brunt, nor even the gracious 1529. Messages receiv'd frequently from the King chear up our Cardinal. For as he found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any Satisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the Cardinal's Restitution) and that (for the rest) no evident sign of the King's relenting appear'd, so being not able to support any longer his many Afflictions, he fell dangerously sick. Who falls sick thro' despair of recovering the King's Favour. The News whereof being brought to the King's Ears, mov'd so much Compassion, as not only he, but, by his Intreaty, Mistress *Anne Bolen* (whom the Cardinal had in vain importun'd to intercede for him) also sent him several Tokens; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the King's Image was curiously engraven, a Gift heretofore of the Cardinals, together with a gracious Message deliver'd by Doctor *Butts* his Physician; *That his Highness was not angry with him in his Heart, which he should know shortly.* Obtains the K's Pardon. Whereupon as the Cardinal recover'd his Health, so the King, for confirming his Promises, seal'd his Pardon, *February* 12. and three Days after, by Feb. 12. 1529. Letters Patents, restor'd him to the Archbishoprick of *York*. Moreover, he sent him Money, Plate, rich Hangings, and Furniture for his House and Chapel, in that quantity, as the Cardinal was for the present much recover'd: Hoping also, that since he had resign'd his House call'd *York-House* (but afterward by the King styl'd the Manor of *Westminster*, now *White-Hall*) that his *Holinshed.* Punishment ended there, and himself now upon Terms of regaining the King's Favour. The Confidence whereof also made him to be an humble Suppliant to the King, that, for his Health's sake, he might have leave to remove to *Richmond-House*, the use of which he had receiv'd in Feb. 1530. exchange from the King, for that his sumptuous Palace which he built, and call'd by the name of 1525. *Hampton-Court*.

It is now time to look a while on foreign History. War in Italy. 1528. Our last Narration left the Count *de St. Pol* in *Italy*, where he had quarter'd that part of the Soldiers which remain'd of that Year's Wars, in their Winter Garrisons; but the Spring being come, he took divers Places on this side the *Tesino*, and at last join'd his Forces with the Duke of *Urbin*, General of the *Venetians*, and *Francisco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durst not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* strongly defended, or that the Count *de St. Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoua*, their Army march'd to *Landriano*, *June* 21. 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being advertis'd, us'd that Diligence, that he surpris'd the Count *de St. Pol* when part of his Army was march'd before, and wholly defeated the rest, taking him Prisoner. French defeated. 1529. June.

This while the Emperor equipp'd a great Fleet for *Italy*, with intention to be Crown'd there, having first (for the more ample furnishing of himself with Money) pawn'd the *Molucca's* to the King of *Portugal* for 350000 Ducats.

The Pope hearing of these great Preparatives at the same Season that the Defeat of St. *Pol* (succeeding that of *Lautrech* in *Naples*) had wholly disabled the Army of the Confederates, resolv'd to comply with the Times. So that, before the News thereof could easily be convey'd to the Emperor, he endeavour'd his own Peace, for this purpose employing one *Antonio Musetolo* a *Neapolitan*; who prevail'd so far, as he concluded a League at *Barcelona*, *June* 29. to this effect. June 29.

The Pope's League with the Emperor.

1. *That the Peace betwixt them should be perpetual.*

2. *That the Imperial Army which was in* Naples *should have secure Passage through the Pope's Territories.*

1529. 3. *That the Emperor should give* Donna Margarita *(his Natural Daughter) in Marriage to* Alessandro de Medicis *Son of* Lorenzo, *and that he should invest him in the State of* Florence, *with the Title of Duke.*

4. *That* Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, *should be restor'd to the Apostolick See by the Emperor's Power.*

5. *That the Pope should give unto the Emperor a Bull, with the Title of the Kingdom of* Naples, *to be held in Fee from the Pope, upon payment every Year of a Horse or a Hackney white.*

6. *That the Pope should in all Ecclesiastical Affairs, enjoy his accustom'd Right.*

7. *That the Pope and Emperor should see one another in* Italy.

8. *That the Emperor should assist the Pope against the Duke of* Ferrara.

9. *That Justice should be done to* Francisco Sforza *Duke of* Milan, *and that the Emperor commit his Cause to indifferent Judges.*

10. *That the Emperor and his Brother* Don Fernando *and the Pope join together to reduce the* Lutherans, *either by fair or foul means to the* Roman *Catholick Faith.*

July 3. All which Articles (and perhaps some private ones concerning the Affairs of *England* now in Agitation) were sworn to on both sides upon the Great Altar of the Cathedral Church of *Barcelona*.

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Designs, and betake himself intirely to the Emperor, at the same time when the two Cardinals sat on their Commission in *England*. So easie was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialists, and the good Turns from all his Confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himself on the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Florentines*, who, during his late Captivity, had expuls'd the Family of *Medicis* out of the City.

Bellay. Guicciard.

Francis also understanding that, upon this second Overthrow of his Forces in *Italy*, his Reputation was lost, and his Confederates discourag'd, and hearing besides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperor, thought it better to reserve his Money for Ransoming his Children, than to cast it away in the Wars. So that, notwithstanding, his reiterated Protestations of Affection to our King, he underhand labour'd a Peace with the Emperor. The Overtures whereof also were willingly accepted, both as *Charles* doubted a change of Religion in *Germany*, and as the *Turk* had made no little Progress in *Hungary*. For which Causes also he chose rather to hearken to those Motions were made for delivering of the Children of *Francis* upon reasonable Terms, than to detain them any longer unusefully. Thus both their Minds secretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam *Louise* Mother of *Francis*, and Regent of *France*, and Madam *Anna-Margarita* Aunt to *Charles*, and Regent of the *Low-Countries*. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as Affairs then stood, they were thought no ill Mediatresses. Both as the suppleness of their Sex could better decline that rough Dispute, which (considering the late Cartels) could scarce be eschew'd betwixt the Servants of either Prince, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to essay, if after so many broken or avoided Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by Women would hold; howsoever for Women to treat of Marriage or Childrens Business, was no strange thing. But the Event shew'd they were able Negotiatresses. For though their first Meeting (being at *Cambray*) was not without some of that Emulation and Puntillio which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at last they fell to treat in good earnest. The Proposition which before all other Madam *Louise* made, was, that a Messenger might be sent to see the Estate of the Children of *Francis*, it being in vain (she said) to treat of their Delivery, when (for any thing she knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more substantial Articles of a Treaty.

Treaty between *Charles* and *Francis* manag'd by Ladies.

July 5.

Sanders.

Madam *Margarita* said, indeed she had no other Instruction, but to demand the Execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*; but Madam *Louise*, representing sometimes the Unreasonableness, and sometimes the Impossibility of performing those Articles, reduc'd her to more moderate Terms. Whereunto also our King's Ambassadors, *Cuthbert Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did not little conduce. For as our King knew the weight he could add on either side, would sway the Balance, so he interpos'd Offices; hoping to get either *Francis* to procure his Divorce, or *Charles* to suffer it. But as those Princes Affairs requir'd a more quick and serious Dispatch, than to attend the Decision of so great and doubtful a Business, they car'd little to satisfie our King, or to comply with Mistress *Bolen*. Therefore, setting apart those Considerations, they attended only their own Interests; and Madam *Louise* very particularly the News of her Grand-Childrens Safety. For which purpose having employ'd one *Verdin*, he gave this Account as it is extant in the *Spanish* History.

Sir *Thomas More* the K's Ambassador at the Treaty at *Cambray*.

Sanders.

That he found the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* in the Castle of *Pedrazu*, under the Guard of the Marquis *de Verlanga*, in a dark Chamber, ill furnish'd, having forgotten all their *French*, so that when *Verdin* spake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter, that their best Entertainment was playing with little Dogs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he presented them new Cloaths, the Marquis would not suffer them to be put on, whereof *Verdin* gives this ridiculous Reason, that the *Spaniards* believ'd there were Witches in *France*, that could transport any one in the Air when their Charms might but touch the Body. But *Verdin* was deceiv'd; the true reason being, that out of a certain Curiosity for preservation of those Princes, as well as discharge of his own Trust, *Verlanga* would neither suffer those, nor any other Cloaths to be worn by the Princes, till others had put them on first. But Madam *Louise* was so ill satisfi'd with this Relation, that she hastned the Peace. To which purpose, as the Cardinal *de Salviati* (the Pope's Legate) did contribute his Endeavours, (but with Favour certainly to the Emperor) so our Ambassadors likewise did co-operate, but so, as they had principal regard of *Francis*: Our King believing that he might be the sooner induc'd openly to assist him, when his Children were free. Thus these pompous Ladies (who met at *Cambray*, *July* 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without some difficulty, Madam *Louise* once breaking off the Treaty, so that, had not the Emperor, by an express Courier, enlarg'd the Instructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had follow'd. At last they concluded this Treaty, in which also our King was comprehended.

The *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans*'s coarse treatment in *Spain*.

July 5.

The Treaty of Cambray, Aug. 5. 1529.

I. THAT there shall be a good, sure, and perpetual Peace betwixt the Emperor and King, and that they shall be for ever Friends of

the

1529. the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies of each other.

II. That the Treaty of *Madrid* ſhall remain in its full Force and Vigour, and ſhall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their Heirs and Succeſſors, without Innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth Articles, where mention is made of the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Maſconnois*, *Bar ſur Seine*, the Vicounty of *Auxone*, and the Superiority or Government of St. *Laurence*. And whereas it was agreed by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the aforeſaid Places ſhould be reſtor'd to the Emperor, yet, in conſideration of the Peace, he is content to remain only in the Action and Right, in an amiable Courſe, or by way of Juſtice to be executed; which he intends alſo ſhall be reſerv'd to him and his Heirs, notwithſtanding any Preſcription of time that can be alledg'd to the contrary, it being permitted alſo to the ſaid King, and his Succeſſors to defend themſelves. Notwithſtanding all which, that a certain Rent, which the ſaid King pretends to have for Salt out of certain Salines in thoſe Parts, ſhall be extinct for ever.

III. That the ſaid King for the Ranſom of his two Sons, ſhall pay two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; the Gold to be of twenty two Carats and three quarters, whereof one Million and two hundred thouſand Crowns, ſhall be paid in *Specie*, as much as can be gotten, and the reſt in one intire Maſs of Gold, if the Emperor ſhall ſo think good, or if otherwiſe, it ſhall be coin'd, and Aſſay thereof taken. And at the ſame inſtant the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* ſhall be deliver'd to the Deputies of the ſaid King. All which is to be done at or before the firſt Day of *March* next enſuing, in the manner and form as ſhall be agreed betwixt the ſaid Emperor and King. And as for the other eight hundred thouſand Crowns, the ſaid King ſhall diſcharge the Emperor of a certain Debt he oweth to the King of *England* for Moneys lent him upon Pawns, as may appear by certain Schedules and Obligations of his Majeſty, which Debt is ſaid to amount to two hundred and ninety thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, or thereabouts. And concerning the Remainder of the ſaid two Millions, amounting unto five hundred and ten thouſand Crowns *de Soleil*, the ſaid King ſhall give unto the Emperor, the ſaid Sum, in Rent, for a certain time, upon certain Lands and Signiories in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, or elſewhere in the *Low-Countries*, where the Emperor or his Commiſſioners ſhall chuſe or appoint, of the yearly Value of twenty five thouſand and five hundred Crowns, till the ſaid Sum of five hundred and ten thouſand Crowns be made up. All this to commence as ſoon as the Children be deliver'd. At which time alſo the ſaid King ſhall procure, that King *Henry* deliver unto the Emperor the Writings, Schedules, and Obligations, together with the Acquittances for the Payments of the ſaid Debts. As alſo the ſaid Pawns and Obligations of Indemnity promis'd by the ſaid Emperor to the King of *England*; and that the ſaid two Millions being thus paid, the Emperor ſhall not demand any thing for cauſe of his Impriſonment.

IV. That *Francis*, in the ſpace of ſix Weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall revoke and call back all the Forces he hath in *Italy*, whether *French* or Mercenaries, ſo that the Emperor may be aſſur'd thereof fifteen Days before the Reſtitution of the ſaid Hoſtages.

V. That the ſaid King within fifteen Days after the Receipt of the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall reſtore unto the Emperor the Caſtle and Bayliage of *Heſdin*, as a Member of his County of *Artois*, together with the Cannon and Munition, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except thoſe Moveables that have been reſtor'd to the Lady *Reux*. 1529.

VI. That, becauſe in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the ſaid King hath agreed to leave and quit unto the Emperor all his Rights of Juriſdiction and Superiority, that he and his Predeceſſors Kings of *France* have held, or may claim in the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, as alſo in the City of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Tournayſis*, St. *Amand*, and *Mortaign*, and as alſo in *Liſle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*; and, becauſe upon theſe general Terms, ſome Difficulties might ariſe; therefore it is declar'd by this preſent Article, that the ſaid King in Confirmation of the Treaty of *Madrid*, hath left, given, and tranſported, as alſo the ſaid Lady his Mother, in his Name, and by virtue of the Authority given her, doth leave, give, and tranſport unto the ſaid Emperor, his Heirs and Succeſſors, being Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, the Fee, Homage, Oath of Fidelity, and all other marks of Subjection which either he or his Anceſtors have had, or pretended to have, over the ſaid Counts and Counteſſes of *Flanders*, or any others inhabiting in the ſaid Counties.

VII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that by the Authority given her, the Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right and Claim to *Liſle*, *Douay* and *Orchies*, conſenting further, that they ſhall be united unto the County of *Flanders*, in manner as they were before they were tranſported to the King of *France*, by a Treaty at *Paris*, *Aug*. 2. 1498.

VIII. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and that, by the Authority given her, the Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right and Claim which he or his Anceſtors Kings of *France* have had, or may pretend to have in the City of *Tournay*, the Bayliage of *Tournayſis*, the Towns of *Mortaign* and St. *Amand*, with all the Rights. Furthermore, conſenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the ſaid County of *Flanders*.

IX. That the ſaid King hath renounc'd, and, by the Authority given her, the ſaid Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right or Claim they pretend to have in the City of *Arras*, or upon the Biſhoprick and Cathedral Church thereof, except ſo much of the Revenues of the ſaid Biſhoprick and Church, as is in the Kingdom of *France*.

X. That the ſaid King hath conſented, granted, and, by the Authority given her, the ſaid Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth conſent and grant to the Emperor, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, that they ſhall remain for ever henceforth quit and diſcharg'd from the Fee and Homage, Oath of Fidelity, or any other mark of Subjection which he or his Anceſtors, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*, have been bound to do or acknowledge to the Kings of *France*; excepting only *Therouene*, and the Poſſeſſion belonging to the Churches of *Artois*, being in *France*, and ſome ſmall Towns in the *Bolognois*.

XI. That the ſaid King hath given and tranſported, and, by the Authority given her, the ſaid Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, his Mother, doth give and tranſport a Service or Tenure of *Artois*, commonly call'd the ancient Compoſition of *Artois*, amounting yearly to fourteen thouſand Livers *Tournois*, unto the Emperor, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Counts and Counteſſes of *Artois*.

XII. That the Inhabitants of *Artois* be free from all manner of Impoſition or Tribute heretofore claim'd by the Kings of *France*.

1529. XIII. That the Emperor reciprocally ſhall renounce and tranſport, as alſo, by the Authority given her, the ſaid Lady the Arch-Dutcheſs, doth renounce and tranſport, for ever, unto the ſaid King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all the Right and Title that the ſaid Emperor or his Predeceſſors hold or claim in any of the States, Lands and Signiories of the moſt Chriſtian King; and eſpecially all he may pretend to in *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, and in the Counties of *Bolognois*, *Guiſnes*, and *Ponthieu*, and in the Towns and Signiories ſituated upon the *Soam*, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the Juriſdictions belonging unto them; notwithſtanding any Treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIV. That, notwithſtanding the Tranſportation, the Emperor hath made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the County of *Humen Artois* unto the *French* King, it is declar'd by theſe Preſents, that the Places thereof which are, at this preſent, in the Emperor's Poſſeſſion, ſhall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the *French*, as thoſe above-mention'd.

XV. That all the aforeſaid Renouncings and Tranſportations made by the King unto the Emperor, ſhall be underſtood as valid; notwithſtanding any Derogation which may riſe from any Union or Incorporation of them unto the Crown of *France*, or any Bar of the Law Salick. And that the ſaid King and his Succeſſors ſhall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by Right.

XVI. That all Suits and Proceſſes undecided in the Parliament of *Paris*, or any other Court of Juſtice of the ſaid King, which may have relation to the Inhabitants of *Flanders* or *Artois* by reaſon of Fees, Lands or Poſſeſſions ſituate in the aforeſaid Counties, ſhall be remitted to the Great Council of the ſaid Emperor, or to other his Courts of Juſtice in the ſaid Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive Sentence have been given, before this laſt War, againſt the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, that the Power of executing them ſhall be committed to the Officers of the Emperor.

XVIII. That the Parliament of *Paris* ſhall remit unto the Preſident, and others of the Emperor's Great Council in *Malines*, the Proceſs or Suit concerning the Right which the Count *de Nevers*, or his Wife or Children pretend to the Inheritance of *John* of *Burgundy*, &c.

XIX. That, notwithſtanding the *Droict d' Aubene*, the Subjects of either Prince may enjoy their Right in as ample form as the Natural Inhabitants of the Country uſe to do. And as for the County of *Carolois*, that the Lady Arch-Dutcheſs may enjoy it during her Life, and after her Deceaſe, the Emperor, and then that it ſhall return to the Crown of *France*. And it is further agreed, that ſhe may enjoy certain Rights in *Noyers*, and other Places, in the ſame manner as ſhe enjoyed them in the Life of King *Philip* of *Caſtile* her Brother.

XX. That if the King, or any in his Name, do hold any Town, Caſtle, or Fort in the State and Dutchy of *Milan*; it ſhall be reſtor'd to the Emperor and his Commiſſaries, within ſix Weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty.

XXI. That the ſaid King ſhall deliver unto the Emperor or his Commiſſaries, within the ſpace of ſix Weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, the *Contado de Aſti*, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoy'd by the ſaid Emperor, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever.

XXII. That the ſaid King likewiſe ſhall reſtore unto the Emperor or his Commiſſaries, *Barleta* and all other Places that he or any for him holdeth in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as ſoon as is poſſible, and before the Reſtitution of *Francis* his Children. And it is further agreed, that the ſaid King, within fifteen Days after the Publication of this Treaty, ſhall require the *Venetians* and all other his Confederates to reſtore all the Towns, Caſtles, and Fortreſſes that they hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, within the ſpace of ſix Weeks. And that, in caſe of Contravention (when the Term is expir'd) the ſaid King ſhall declare himſelf expreſly their Enemy, and from that Day forwards, ſhall give the Emperor thirty thouſand *Crowns de Soleil* Monthly, until the ſaid Places be recover'd, and brought to Obedience to the Emperor. And, in caſe they be not ſo recover'd before the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* be deliver'd, the ſaid King ſhall give good Security to the Emperor for continuing the ſaid Pay Monthly, until they be reduc'd to the Emperor's Obedience. Upon Condition yet, that, if the Emperor employ not the Money to the purpoſe aforeſaid, it ſhall be paid back again, and that therefore the King may appoint ſome Perſon who may inform him of the time, when the ſaid Places ſhall be taken in. And that the ſaid King neither directly nor indirectly ſhall favour any in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that have rebelled againſt the Emperor ſince the Treaty of *Madrid*. 1529.

XXIII. That the King ſhall reſtore alſo unto the Emperor or his Commiſſaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the Galleys in *Portofino*.

XXIV. That, for the Particular in the Treaty of *Madrid*, concerning the Reſidence of *Mounſieur de Angouleſme* ſhould make with the Emperor, it is remitted to the King's Diſcretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the League Defenſive agreed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, it ſhall be underſtood only in relation to the Patrimonial Poſſeſſions on either ſide, and that the Charges incident thereunto ſhall be at the Coſts of the Demander, and, for the reſt, that the ſaid King ſhall not meddle in any Practices either in *Italy* or *Germany*, to the prejudice of the Emperor.

XXVI. That the Marriage concluded by the Treaty of *Madrid*, between the ſaid King, and the Lady *Leonora*, Queen Dowager of *Portugal*, and eldeſt Siſter of the Emperor, ſhall be accompliſh'd. And that the ſaid King as ſoon as can be, after the Ratification of this Treaty, ſhall ſend Ambaſſadors with ſufficient and eſpecial Power and Authority to ratifie and approve all that ſhall be needful concerning the ſaid Marriage. For the Accompliſhment and Conſummation whereof, the ſaid Queen ſhall be conducted into *France*, at the ſame inſtant that the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* ſhall be deliver'd. And that the ſaid Matrimony ſhall hold in all things according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſaving in that only which concerns the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Maſconnois*, and the Signiery of *Bar ſur Seine*; with reſervation yet of thoſe Rights which ſhould (as is ſaid before) appertain to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. And becauſe the term of Payment of the two hundred thouſand Crowns in lieu of Dowry of the ſaid Queen, and ſpecified in the Treaty of *Madrid*, is expir'd; it is agreed again, that the ſaid Dowry ſhould be paid, the half within ſix Months next enſuing, and the other half within ſix Weeks following, and that upon Receipt of the whole Sum or part thereof the ſaid King ſhall be bound to give Aſſurance in the manner as is ſpecified in the Treaty of *Madrid*.

1529. XXVII. That, forasmuch as concerns the Help and Assistance by Land and by Sea promis'd by the said King for the Passage of the Emperor into *Italy*, the said Emperor releaseth it, upon Condition only, that, within two Months after he be requir'd thereunto (whether it be for his Passage into *Italy*, or for his Return, or for his Service while he is there) he give twelve Galleys, four Ships, and four Galleons sufficiently provided with Artillery, and Seamen, without any Soldiers yet to be put in them, but such as the Emperor shall appoint, and at the Cost of the said King (except the *Souldatesque*) for the space of five Months, after the time that they shall come into the Haven, which his Majesty shall nominate. The said Emperor delivering unto the Captain or General (that should bring the said Armado) Letters Patents sign'd with his Hand, and seal'd with his Seal, by which he shall promise and swear, after the said five Months to restore immediately to the said King or his Deputies, the said Armado, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the said King shall pay really to the said Emperor the two hundred thousand Crowns, that, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, he promis'd to pay his Majesty, for the aforesaid Voyage; that is to say, one hundred thousand Crowns within six Months next ensuing, and the other hundred thousand Crowns within six Months after. And, as for the Pay of six thousand Foot for six Months, which the said King promis'd to furnish, giving therefore the Caution and Security of sufficient Merchants, the Emperor by this Treaty acquits him of it, upon Condition, that he pay one hundred thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, the which Sum shall remain, and be for the increasing of the Dowry of the Queen Dowager *Leonora*.

XXVIII. That, because in the said Treaty of *Madrid*, there is no mention of the Profits and Rents of the Inheritances given by the said Emperor and King during the War, whereupon many Questions and Differences may arise: It is determined and concluded by this Treaty, that all such Profits and Rents, Ecclesiastical or Secular, as also all Debts, Moveables, which have or might have been given expresly by Letters Patents of the said Emperor and King, or their Lieutenants in any manner, with Title of Confiscation, and which have been deliver'd, taken, or paid during the War betwixt the two Princes before the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall remain for ever given and acquitted to the Profit of the said Lords, Vassals, Lands, Towns, and Persons subject to the said Emperor and King, and of their Allies which in the said Wars shall have taken the part of the one or the other.

XXIX. That all the Priviledges of the Towns, Neighbours, and Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and other Places of the *Low-Countries*, which appertain to the Emperor, shall, by this present Capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the Priviledges also that the *French* were wont to enjoy in the said Emperor's Dominions shall remain in their full force, according as hath been accustom'd on both sides.

XXX. That all Prisoners of War taken by Sea or Land, as well before as after the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the one part or of the other, Subjects of the said Emperor and most Christian King (excepting the *Neopolitan* Subjects of the Emperor that have serv'd against him in the same Kingdom) and any other that have serv'd, follow'd, and held the contrary part, of what Nation or Condition soever, shall be set free, and put at Liberty, without paying Ransom, within two Months after the Ratification of the Treaty, reserving only those Prisoners, which before the said Treaty should have been put to Ransom, who shall pay their Ransom notwithstanding this Article. 1529.

XXXI. That if *Robert de la March* or his Children shall presume to make any Enterprise upon the Castle and Dutchy of *Bouillon*, (conquered by the Emperor, and left by his Majesty to the Church of *Liege*, to which it anciently appertain'd) in such case the King may give no Hope, Favour or Assistance, neither directly or indirectly against the said Church.

XXXII. That the Heirs of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall enjoy all those Goods and Possessions that pertain to the said Duke, so that, notwithstanding all Judgments and Sentences given and pronounced against the said Duke, during his Life, or after his Death, the Heirs of the said Duke shall enjoy their ancient Right.

XXXIII. That *Jean* Count of *Pontieure* shall be restor'd unto all the Goods which his Father enjoy'd at that time that he went out of *France* to serve the Emperor, and that also the other Friends, Allies and Servants of the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as also their Heirs and Successors, shall enjoy the benefit of the Treaty of *Madrid* in all that may concern them; notwithstanding any Judgments or Sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIV. That *Don Lorenzo de Gorreuod* Count *de Pondevaux*, *Mayordomo* of the Emperor, shall be put in the real Possession of the Towns, Castles, Lands and Signiories of *Chalamont* and *Montmarles*, bought heretofore of the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon Condition yet, that if the Sum of twenty thousand Crowns (being the Price for which they were sold) be paid back again, that they return to the first Owners.

XXXV. That the said King, by this present Treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove the Sequestration, and all other Impediments on his part concerning the Principality of *Aurange*, and the Superiority of it, to the intent that *Don Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, may enjoy it, together with his Preheminence and Superiority, as he enjoy'd it before the said Sequestration.

XXXVI. That the Dutchess of *Vendosme*, Widow, shall be restor'd into all the Possessions that she had in the Emperor's Dominions, before, or during the Wars; and *Louis Seigneur de Hanis* shall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the *Conte of Gaure* shall be restor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the Business of *Philip de Croy*, Marquis of *Areschot*, and the difference betwixt him and the *Seigneurs* of *Chasteau Bryon*, and others, Tutors of the Children of *Monsieur de Lautrech*, that it should be referr'd to a particular Treaty and Agreement before the Governors of the City and Dutchy of *Cambray*, which said Agreement shall stand.

XXXIX. That, the Suit depending in the Parliament of *Paris*, between *Adolphus* of *Burgundy Seigneur de Beures* on the one part, for the Seigneuries of *Creue-cœur* in *Cambresis*, &c. and the King's Attorney on the other part, shall be referr'd, in the State it now is, to four Judges, whereof two be nam'd by the Emperor, and two by the King: And that the said Judges shall be bound to return and determine the Cause in the City of *Cambray*, twenty Days after the Ratification of this Treaty. And that, if two of the four Judges absent themselves, the other two, that is to say, one of either part, may proceed to give Sentence.

XL. That

1529. XL. That in this Peace and Treaty is comprehended, as a principal Contractor, the Pope and the Apostolick See, which the said Emperor and King shall maintain in his Authority and Preheminence: And that they shall procure that the Towns and Places, being of the Patrimony of the Church, shall be restor'd. Also there are comprehended herein as principal Contractors, the Kings of *Hungary*, *England*, and *Poland*, *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, the Kings of *Portugal* and *Scotland*, and the Lady Arch-Dutchess, Aunt to the Emperor. Also there are comprehended herein as Confederates, the Electors, the Cardinal of *Liege*, &c. Also it is agreed, that all the said principal Contractors and Confederates shall be advertis'd hereof by the said King and Emperor.

XLI. That the said King shall procure the Community or Republick of *Florence*, within four Months after the Ratification of this Treaty, to agree with the Emperor, which being done, they also shall be comprehended herein, and not otherwise. And because, since the Treaty of *Madrid*, *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres Comte de Zutphen*, hath taken part with the Emperor, and agreed with him, his Majesty declares him for his Confederate, and all others nominated here: And that those who are not nominated shall be excluded out of the said Treaty, unless they be comprehended under the general Terms of Vassals or Subjects of the said Kings.

XLII. That the said Emperor and King (assoon as they well can) for Ratification and Confirmation of this present Treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum*, there must be inserted and join'd together the Treaty of *Madrid*) shall swear solemnly upon the Evangelists, and the Wood of the true Cross, in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, and these Ambassadors that shall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the Points and Articles of this Treaty, as also all those contain'd in the Treaty of *Madrid*, which are not alter'd, chang'd, and innovated by these Presents; submitting themselves, for performance hereof, to the Jurisdictions and Ecclesiastical Censures, even to the Invocation of the Secular Power *inclusive*; Constituting their Proctors *in forma cameræ Apostolicæ*, to appear in their Names, or in either of them, in the Court of *Rome* before the Pope, and the *Auditori della Ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the Condemnation and Fulmination of the said Censures in case of Contravention; and, for this purpose, to submit themselves and prorogue their Jurisdiction before some Prelate or Ecclesiastical Judge. And that neither the said Emperor and King, nor any of them may (without mutual Consent) demand a Relaxation of the said Oath, nor an Absolution of the said Censures. And that, if any did demand and obtain it, it shall not avail him, without the Consent of the other.

XLIII. That the said King shall ratifie and approve both this Treaty, and that of *Madrid* in the Form there mention'd, save where it hath been chang'd, alter'd, and innovated by these Presents, forasmuch as concerns the Seignieur *Dauphin*, according to the manner declar'd in the said Treaty of *Madrid*. And that he also shall cause this Treaty to be ratifi'd and approv'd by all the particular Estates of the Provinces and Governments of his Kingdoms: And that he shall make them swear and promise, that the said Treaty shall be perpetually kept, and shall cause them to be register'd and verifi'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, and all other Parliaments of the Kingdom of *France*, in the presence of the Attorneys General of the said Parliaments, to whom the said King shall give especial and irrevocable Power, to appear in his Name, in all the said Parliaments, and there consent to the aforesaid Inregistring, and submit himself voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contain'd in the said Treaty. And that, by virtue of the said voluntary Submission, he may be enjoyn'd or condemn'd thereunto, by the definitive Sentence of the said Parliaments, in good and convenient Form. And that this Treaty shall be also verified and Inregist'red in the *Chambre des Comptes* of *Paris*, in the Presence, and with the Consent of the King's Attorney, for the more effectual Execution, and Accomplishment of them, and the Validations of the Acquittances, Renunciations, Submissions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the said Treaty. Which Ratifications, Inregistrings, Verifications, and all other things above-mention'd shall be done and perfected by the said King, and the dispatches of them, in due Form deliver'd into the Hands of the said Emperor, before his Children be deliver'd, and within the space of four Months at furthest. And if, for the Inregistring and Verifications above-mention'd, it should be necessary that the said King should release, and discharge unto his Officers those Oaths that they have taken, not to consent or suffer any Alienations of the Crown, the said King shall do it; and that also the said Emperor shall, in his great Council, and his other Councils, and *Chambres des Comptes* in his Dominions of the *Low-Countries*, cause to be made such other Inregistring, and Verifications, releasing also the Oath of his Officers, and causing the particular States of his said Dominions to ratifie and approve this Treaty, within the time above-mention'd.

XLIV. That this Peace shall be publish'd through all the Kingdoms and Seigneuries and Dominions of the Emperor and the King, and especially the Frontiers, before the 15th of *September* next, to the intent that no Man may pretend Ignorance; and the said Arch-Dutchess on the part of the Emperor, and the Dutchess of *Angoulesme* on the part of the *French* King, and the said Arch-Dutchess particularly for the Queen *Leonora*, forasmuch as may duly concern her, and by those Oaths that every one of them hath made, do promise that they shall duly ratifie all that is contain'd in this Treaty of Peace. And that they shall give Letters Patents thereof, in due and sufficient Form, on either part, within two Months and a half after the concluding this present Treaty.

In Testimony whereof the said Ladies Arch-Dutchess and Dutchess, and each of them, have sign'd and seal'd these Presents. Dated in the City of *Cambray*, the 5th of *August*, 1529.

Margarite.
Louise.

And this is the most substantial part of the Treaty of *Cambray*, as it is set down by *Sandoval*; but *Bellay*, *l.* 3. adds, that, besides the above-mention'd two Millions of Crowns, *Francis* paid, for the Emperor, to our King, 500000 Crowns as a Penalty the Emperor had incurr'd for not marrying the Princess *Mary*. Moreover, that he was bound to dis-ingage, from our King, a rich Jewel in the form of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the Wood of the true Cross, being pawn'd heretofore by *Philip*, Father of the Emperor, to *Henry* VII. for fifty thousand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which Payments, together with the Jewel, as the same Author confesseth to have been sent to the Emperor, so he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great Libe- *Bell. l. 3.*

1529. K. *Henry's* Generosity.

Liberality of our King; who, besides giving *Francis* four Years Term for Payment of 400000 Crowns (which, as he saith, was the Money lent by our King to *Charles*) did remit and forgive him absolutely the 500000 Crowns abovemention'd; and, for the Jewel, presented it to his Godson *Henry*, second Son of *Francis* by the conveyance of *Guillaume Seigneur de Langey*, whom the *French* King sent for that purpose into *England*.

Mart. du Bell. l. 3.

Besides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the same time and place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady *Margarite*, in the Name of the Emperor. Our King's Commissioners being *Cuthbert Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and Mr. *John Hacket*, our King's Resident there. Which yet, because it contains nothing of extraordinary, but only the Continuation of Traffick for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or sell any *Lutheran* Books on either side, I purposely omit.

Sandov.

Francis understanding this conclusion of Peace at *Cambray*, hasteth thither, that he might both render the Lady *Margaret* a Visit, and promise not to fail in the performance of those Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the *Spanish* Writers say he held no longer than until the Ambassadors of his Confederates in *Italy* came to him; so that, when, together with his breach of League with them, they represented their own miserable Estate at that present, he excus'd himself, through the necessity of his Condition at that time; assuring them nevertheless, that notwithstanding any Treaty, he would continue his love to and care of them, only when first he might have his Children. So that in effect he secretly assisted them still; as hoping thereby to defend himself against the Emperor, when occasion were. Which also he extended so far, as, upon Presumption thereof, he broke some Articles lately concluded with the *Spaniard*. The News of this Treaty was no sooner brought to Queen *Leonora*, but she, for the better complying with her Husband, interceded with the Empress, upon pretence that *Charles* attempted to draw some of the *Swiss* (heretofore ally'd with *Francis*) unto his Service, and that the Children of *Francis* might have some more Liberty, and the *French* detain'd in *Villalpando* a less straight Prison; which also was granted her by the Empress.

Francis's Inconstancy.

July 28. *Aug.* 12. *Sandov.* Emperor arrives at *Genoua.*

For the Emperor taking his opportunity (while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in agitation) departed from *Barcelona* the 28th of *July*, 1529. and arriv'd at *Genoua* the 12th of *August* after, with a Royal Train, and about eight thousand Soldiers. And here (as *Sandoval* observes) began the wearing of short Hair, (the Emperor cutting off his as a Vow for his Passage, or, as others have it, for a Pain in his Head) long Hair having been accustom'd for many Ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this Voyage of the Emperor's, sends some Cardinals to meet him at *Genoua*, himself in the mean while preparing to attend him at *Bononia*. While the Emperor having found a Reception from the *Genovesi*, temper'd betwixt Love and Fear, did so civilly interpret all to be Respect, that he bid them a kind Farewel, and so held on his way till he came near the Confines of the Pope's Possessions; where three Cardinals (carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies) met him, and, after due Congratulations, made it appear that the ancient Custom of all those who entred upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to swear first not to offer any Violence to it. The Emperor accepts the Oath, yet so as he said he would not prejudice his own Imperial Right. And because this was near to *Piacenza*, divers understood his Words to have relation to that place; which, as also *Parma*, is said to have belong'd anciently to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Emperor had now a great Army in *Italy* under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*, which was employ'd chiefly against the *Venetians*, to which it is probable also he would have join'd his own Forces, had not News come to him of the great Mischiefs which *Barbarossa*, that famous Pyrate, did on the Seas; and of the *Turks* entry into *Hungary* with two hundred and fifty thousand Men. For as this startled the Emperor from his Designs in *Italy*, so he consider'd as well how useful the Pope would be in disposing other Princes to join against this formidable Army. For which Reasons, as also for making his Coronation more glorious, he resolved to protest against all other Enterprizes, and apply himself wholly to that War. And the rather, because the *Turk* had lately undertaken the Protection of *John Sepuse*, Pretender to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and now laid Siege to *Vienna*, and endanger'd therein the ancient Patrimony of the House of *Austria*: Besides, the Protestants in *Germany* having about this time made some high Demands, he thought it his part to correct or suppress them. Only he judg'd it necessary not to give any publick Demonstration thereof, until the Affairs of *Italy* were compos'd. Therefore, he first makes a Peace with the *Venetians*, upon condition they should restore the Places with-held in *Naples* from him, and give back to the Pope likewise the Possessions of the Church. Moreover, that they should pay him a great Sum of Money towards his Charges. Which Articles the *Venetians* (as being in effect abandon'd of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of *Urbin* (their General) might be comprehended therein. Which also was accorded. They, together with the Pope interceded likewise for *Francisco Sforza*, desiring he might be restor'd to his former Estate. The Emperor also, considering that he could make no secure Peace in *Italy*, unless he remov'd all just Causes of Jealousy, begins to think how he might gratify *Sforza* herein, upon a proposition of a Marriage to be made between him, and *Christierna*, younger Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, and *Isabel*, Sister to the Emperor; which yet because of her Unripeness for Marriage (being then but ten Years old) took no effect till 1534. So that when the Business of *Florence* might have been ended, all *Italy* now seem'd compos'd to Quietness. These things thus settled, the Emperor enter'd *Bononia* about the beginning of *November*, with more Glory, doubtless, in that he was inform'd how the *Turk* had rais'd his Siege from *Vienna* about twenty Days before: From whence after a Month's Siege, he was forc'd to retire by the Valour of an old *German* Garrison, commanded by *Philip* Count *Palatine*, having done nothing notable, but crown'd with his own Hand, at *Buda*, *John Sepuse* King of *Hungary*. His Reception also was magnificent, while the Youth of that City having apparell'd themselves in a Livery, attended his Horse like Lacquais, that they might have the better pretence to be near him. After whom follow'd his Army, some choice Persons whereof carried *Antonio de Leyva* on their Shoulders; (though whether in regard of his ancient Infirmity of the Gout, or otherwise, for more Ostentation, is not certain.) In which Equipage he went to the Church of St. *Petronio*, at the Gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a Scaffold, and placed himself on the Top, with his *Tiara* or Triple-Crown on his Head, and, for the rest, attended with a great Train of Cardinals, did in that Posture expect him. The Empe-

[Right margin notes: 1529. — Sept. — *Turks* besiege *Vienna*. — 1534. — Nov. 5. — Seige rais'd. — *Charles* V's Magnificent Entry into *Bologna*.]

1529. Emperor alighting here from his Horse, ascended the Steps, and humbled himself to a Kiss of the Pope's Foot, which the Pope presently diverted to a Pax or Kiss on the Cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all Mens Eyes, so was it the more considerable unto the Spectators, for that the Conjunction of those two great Lights (as they termed it) could not but portend some strange Effect to *Christendom*. *Charles* was then about twenty nine, that is to say, in the prime Age to temper his Countenance betwixt Loveliness and Majesty; though nothing yet in his Face was so remarkable as his great nether-Lip: Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that Family (even to this Day) from the House of *Burgundy*. The Pope, though gray, retain'd yet much Vigour in his Eyes, though observed for nothing so much as his Beard, which not only he, but also all the Cardinals, as our Agent *Ric. Crook* hath it, wore at a great length; besides, he said, many of them had their Robes or Vestures of a Violet Colour, instead of Scarlet, appearing, for the rest, (as the same *Crook* relates) in their Fashions somewhat Soldier-like. This Interview being past, not without a serious Protestation of the Emperor's, that he would strive to reduce the Affairs of Religion into better Terms, they both lodg'd in the same House, for the more Conveniency of that private Conference, which often past betwixt them: Which also continued for some Months before they departed. Wherefore though it were thought that the Emperor would make his Advantage, as having the Pope in his Power and Custody; yet the Pope and *Venetians* so manag'd the Business, as, joyning Offices together (as is abovesaid) they obtain'd that *Francisco Sforza* should be admitted to the Emperor's Presence, and in sequence thereof not only pardon'd, but restor'd to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which Act of the Emperor's, as it was magnanimous beyond Expectation, so was it no less opportune; both as it quieted not the *Estates* alone, but even Minds of the *Italians*; and, as he dispos'd them thereby to give them their best Assistance towards his great Affairs in *Germany*. Besides, he excludes *Francis* from hope of attempting that Dutchy, unless he would declare himself an open Disturber of the Peace of *Italy*. He did not omit yet, to Capitulate with *Sforza*, that the Marquis *de Guasto*, and *Antonio de Leyva* should have certain Lands assign'd them out of the Dutchy, and that he might put Garrisons into some of the most important Places thereof, till Conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of universal League, under pretence of the Good of Christendom, was by the Pope's Means concluded, (Place being left for those that would enter into it) which also was publish'd the first of *Jan.* 1530. in the Church of St. *Petronio*. And thus the Emperor proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron (which should be receiv'd at *Milan*) being brought, and after put on in the Pope's Chapel; the other, of Gold, was set on his Head, *Feb.* 24. (which was his Birth-day) by the Pope, in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more notable, than that the Emperor, by ancient Custom, must first put on the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly invested in this Imperial Dignity, the Pope the mean while saying Mass, both in *Latin* and in *Greek*. The Rites whereof appear'd so much more new and strange, that since the time of *Frederick* 1442. no Emperor had been publickly Crown'd. This being done, *Francisco Sforza* was restor'd to an actual Possession of his Estate.

The Pope's Reception of him.

He pardons *Sforza*, and restores to him the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Jan. 1. 1530.

Feb. 22.

Feb. 24. Is crown'd by the Pope.

1442.

The Emperor placing only a Commander in the Fortress or Citadel of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, and causing the City of *Monzo* with vast Possessions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus settled *Lombardy*, he commandeth his Army to march against the *Florentines*, whom the Pope passionately desir'd to chastise for the many Injuries his Name and Family had lately receiv'd from them. 1529.

All which Signs of Amity and Correspondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crook*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was easie to imagine what hope of Favour he might expect from the Pope in his important Business; yet, lest he should omit any thing which might serve for Justification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawful way, he sent to the most famous Universities of *Italy*, and else-where, to have their Opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any way to prevail himself either of his own Power among his Clergy, or of the Counsel the Pope had formerly given him, till he had first discover'd what the Learned'st Men in Christendom held in that Point. He also writ Letters with his own Hand to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Gregory Casalis*, (then with the Pope) to tell them, that he had sent Sir *Thomas Bolen*, (newly created) Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokesley*, elect Bishop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambassadors to the Emperor, and that they should advise together what was to be done. These coming to *Bononia*, after some Passages with the Emperor, *who told them he could not desert his Aunt's Cause*, repair'd to the Pope; to whom, having propos'd the King's Affair, they receiv'd this Answer from him; That, *though he was urg'd by the Queen's Sollicitor to proceed against the King, yet he desir'd rather that all Proceeding should be suspended in the* Roman *Court, upon Condition yet that King* Henry,*on the other side, would promise, not to innovate any thing in the mean while in England.* Whereof Information being given our King, he answer'd, *That his Holiness hath fed him hitherto with fair Words only, without intent to aid him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambassadors Audience to justifie his Cause.*

K. *Henry* sends for the Opinions of foreign Universities about the Divorce.

Dec. 8. 1529.

Ambassadors to the Emperor and Pope.

Mar. 26. 1530.

In the mean while our King attends his Parliament Business, where Sir *Thomas More*, who was now return'd from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being (in Reward of his Service) made Lord Chancellor, gave in an eloquent Oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in *Black-Friars*, the first Overtures of the King's Intentions in that Parliament. To which our King, attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoyning Palace of *Bridewell*, *Thomas Audley* being chosen Speaker for the Lower House. And as now *Luther's* Doctrine was secretly admitted into many Places of this Kingdom, with much Approbation, so it gave those Impressions, as even the most ignorant began to examine whether the Errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the Doctrine or to the Government of the Church. And this alone as it was the first Step, so was it a great and bold Sally towards that Reformation which follow'd afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among those, who in their Studies had no other Design but Truth, and satisfying their Conscience; so few understood the state of the Questions propos'd, save only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private Interest would not retract, or for fear of unsettling the receiv'd Grounds of Religion in Mens Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatal Solecism. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the Rigour of some of the late Doctrines of the *Roman* Church, and

Octob. 26. 1529. The Parliament meets.

Nov. 3. Reg. 21.

The beginning of the Reformation.

1529. and a benign Interpretation of the reſt, might have conſerv'd an univerſal Peace among Chriſtians, they now, by an obſtinate and wilful impugning of all thoſe who ſaid it was poſſible for them to err, did leave the undertaking of this great Work either to diſcontented Clergymen, or to the more Laick and improvident ſort; which therefore as it prov'd in ſome kind, tumultuous and refractory, ſo certainly the Authors on either ſide were much to be blam'd; when in handling of Controverſies, they either out of Affectation of Glory, or hope of gaining large Stipends from their Followers (upon pretence of revealing ſome new or readier way for obtaining Heaven and everlaſting Salvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the Rules both of Piety and Wiſdom, they ſhould have proceeded more moderately; conſerving, in the midſt of their Differences, a Brotherly Love, and pronouncing the Errors, on what part ſoever, more worthy Pity than Hate. Which Rule yet was ſo little obſerv'd in *England*, that many Reformers Books, and Perſons were publickly burnt, while their Diſciples (for Revenge) fell foul upon the Perſons of their Adverſaries, ſetting forth Books to the prejudice of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order. Which coming at laſt to the King's Knowledge, made him enquire further into the Abuſes of the Clergy, permitting the Redreſs thereof to the Lower Houſe of Parliament; where complaint for Exactions for Probats of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Nonreſidence, and Prieſts that were Farmers of Lands, *&c.* being made, the Spirituality was much offended, and eſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who (as our Hiſtory hath it) in a paſſionate Speech told the Lords, *That the Commons would do nothing now but down with the Church.* Saying further, *that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the danger the Kingdom was in, by the Example of* Bohemia. The Lower Houſe being inform'd thereof, ſent the King a Complaint by their Speaker; deſiring Reparation. But *Fiſher* excuſing himſelf as he could, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* on the part of the King, mediated the reſt. Notwithſtanding which, the Injury which the Commons thought they had receiv'd herein was not ſo digeſted, but that one who had made uſe of the Evangelicks Doctrine ſo far, as to take a reaſonable liberty to judge of the preſent Times, and howſoever was offended that the Biſhop rejected all on want of Faith, ſpoke to this effect.

Abuſes among the Clergy to be redreſs'd by the Commons.

Biſhop of *Rocheſter* inveighs againſt the Proceeding of the Commons.

How reſented by them.

If none elſe but the Biſhop of Rocheſter *or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would leſs trouble me. But ſince ſo many Religious and different Sects (now conſpicuous in the whole World) do not only vindicate unto themſelves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us reſign our Faith to a ſimple Obedience; I ſhall crave leave to propoſe, what I think fit (in this Caſe) for us Laicks and Secular Perſons to do. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better Expedient ſhall be offer'd; but that I would be glad we conſidered hereof, as the greateſt Affair that now or hereafter may concern us.*

For if in all human Actions it be hard to find that medium *or even temper which may keep us from declining into Extreams, it will be much more difficult in* Religious *Worſhip; both as the Path is ſuppos'd narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every ſide. And becauſe each Man is created by God a free Citizen of the World, and oblig'd to nothing ſo much as the inquiry of thoſe means by which he may attain his everlaſting Happineſs, it will be fit to examine to whoſe Tuition and Conduct he commit himſelf. For, as ſeveral Teachers, not only differing in Language, Habit and Ceremony, (or at leaſt in ſome of theſe) but peremptory and oppoſite in their Doctrines, preſent themſelves, much Circumſpection muſt be us'd. Here then taking his Proſpect, he ſhall find theſe Guides directing him to ſeveral ways; whereof the firſt yet extends no further than to the Laws and Religions of each Man's native Soil or Dioceſs, without paſſing thoſe Bounds. The ſecond, reaching much further, Branches it ſelf into that diverſity of Religions and Philoſophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, until he be able to determine which is beſt. But in either of theſe, no little Difficulties will occur. For, if each Man ought to be ſecure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, how can he anſwer his Conſcience? When looking abroad, the Terrors of everlaſting Damnation ſhall be denounc'd on him, by the ſeveral Hierarchies and viſible Churches of the World, if he believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongſt theſe again, ſuch able and underſtanding Perſons may be found, as, in all other Affairs, will equal his Teachers. Will it be fit that he believe, God hath inſpir'd his Church and Religion only, and deſerted the reſt; when yet Mankind is ſo much of one Off-ſpring, that it hath not only the ſame* Pater Communis *in God, but is come all from the ſame carnal Anceſtors? Shall each Man, without more Examination, believe his Prieſts in what Religion ſoever, and, when he hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other ſide, if he muſt argue Controverſies before he can be ſatisfied, how much Leiſure muſt he obtain? How much Wealth and Subſtance muſt he conſume? How many Languages muſt he learn? And how many Authors muſt he read? How many Ages muſt he look into? How many Faiths muſt he examine? How many Expoſitions muſt he confer? And how many Contradictions reconcile? How many Countries muſt he wander into? And how many Dangers muſt he run? Briefly, would not our Life on theſe terms be a perpetual Peregrination? While each Man poſted into the other's Country, to learn the way to Heaven, without yet that he could ſay at laſt, he had known or tried all. What remains then to be done? Muſt he take all that each Prieſt upon pretence of Inſpiration would teach him, becauſe it might be ſo? Or may he leave all, becauſe it might be otherwiſe? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impoſſible, when yet in one Age it were poſſible (after incredible Pains and Expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other ſide, to reject all Religions indifferently is as impious; there being no Nation, that in ſome kind or other doth not worſhip God. So that there will be a neceſſity to diſtinguiſh. Not yet that any Man will be able, upon Compariſon, to diſcern which is the perfecteſt, among the many profeſs'd in the whole World; (each of them being of that large extent, that no Man's Underſtanding will ſerve to comprehend it in its uttermoſt Latitude and Signification,) but (at leaſt) that every Man might vindicate and ſever, in his particular* Religion, *the more eſſential and demonſtrative Parts, from the reſt, without being mov'd ſo much at the Threats and Promiſes of any other Religion, that would make him obnoxious, as to depart from this way: There being no ordinary Method ſo intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each Man to his deſir'd End. Having thus therefore recollected himſelf, and together implor'd the Aſſiſtance of that Supreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; He muſt labour, in the next place, to find out, what inward Means his Providence hath deliver'd, to diſcern the True, not only from the Falſe, but even from the Likely, and Poſſible; each of them requiring a peculiar Scrutiny and Conſideration. Neither ſhall he fly thus to particular Reaſon, which may ſoon lead him to Hereſie, but, after a due ſeparation of the more doubtful and controverted Parts, ſhould hold himſelf to Common, Authentick, and univerſal Truths, and conſequently inform himſelf,* 1529.

1529. *what, in the several Articles propos'd to him, is so taught, as it is first written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Laws and Religions he can hear of in the whole World; for this certainly can never deceive him; since therein he shall find out how far the Impressions of God's Wisdom and Goodness are extant in all Mankind, and to what Degrees his universal Providence hath dilated it self*; While thus ascending to God by the same steps he descends to us, he cannot fail to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble him, if he find these Truths variously complicated with Difficulties or Errors; since, without insisting on more Points than what are clearly agreed on every side, it will be his Part to reduce them into Method and Order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for Connexion; so that it will concern our several Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular Direction; lest, otherwise, they do like those who would persuade us to renounce Day-light, to study only by their Candle. It will be worth the Labour, assuredly, to inquire how far these Universal Notions will guide us, before we commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastick Mysteries, or supernatural and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they also may challenge a just Place in our Belief, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Testimony; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible Principles for the Instruction of all Mankind. *Thus, among many suppos'd inferior and questionable Deities, worshipped in the four quarters of the World, we shall find one Chief so taught us, as above others to be highly Reverenced.*

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, &c. *deliver'd us as Instruments or Parts of his Worship, he shall find Vertue so eminent, as it alone concludes and sums up the rest. Insomuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it; good Life, Charity, Faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essential Parts of Religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.*

Among the many Expiations, Lustrations, and Propitiations for our Sins, taught in the several Quarters of the World, in sundry Times, we shall find that none doth avail without hearty Sorrow for our Sins, and a true Repentance towards God, whom we have offended.

And lastly amidst the divers places and manners of Reward and Punishment, which former Ages have deliver'd, we shall find God's Justice and Mercy not so limited, but that he can extend either of them even beyond Death, and consequently Recompense or Chastise Eternally. These therefore, as universal and undoubted Truths, should in my Opinion be first receiv'd. They will at least keep us from Impiety and Atheism, and together lay a Foundation for God's Service, and the hope of a better Life. Besides, it will reduce Mens Minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a solid Practice of Vertue, or when we fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpose through God's Grace to amend our sinful Life, without making Pardon so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them do. Lastly, it will dispose us to a general Concord and Peace: For when we are agreed concerning these eternal causes and means of our Salvation, why should we so much differ for the rest? Since as these Principles excluded nothing of Faith, or Tradition that tends to God's Glory, in what Age or manner soever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the belief of any pious Miracle that conduceth to God's Glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other, The common Truths in Religion, formerly mention'd, being firmer Bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us therefore establish and fix these Catholick or Universal Notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever else is faithfully taught upon the Authority of the Church. So that whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. *and particularly whether my Lord of* Rochester, Luther, Eccius, Zuinglius, Erasmus, Melancthon, *&c. be in the Right, we Laicks may so build upon those Catholick and infallible Grounds of Religion, as whatsoever Superstructures of Faith be rais'd, those Foundations yet may support them.* 1529.

But as few Men are of the same mind in all Points of Religion, so it is probable this Overture was entertain'd diversly: Some wishing a Reformation upon what Terms soever; others, if it could be safely done, as thinking there may be Diseases in Religion, like that of the *Cancer Occultus*, which Physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to Cure. Yet as it was manifest that in Probats of Testaments, Plurality of Benefices, and divers other ways above-mention'd, the Clergy had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a Redress to these grosser Faults. Therefore about last Wills and Testaments, which Cardinal *Woolsey*'s Legantine Power had so disordred (as Sir *Henry Guilford* protested openly, that himself being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir *William Compton* (who died 1528. of the Sweating Sickness) could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, before he had paid a 1000 Marks) some profitable Orders were made. And the Business of Mortuaries (exacted with much Extremity even on the poorest) was settled. Moreover Spiritual Persons were abridg'd from taking of Farms, and from Plurality of Livings, unless they were qualified either by certain University Degrees, or by the Nobility, to whom a competent Number of Chaplains were assign'd. Non-residence also (then very usual) was forbidden, but in some Cases, and for the rest explain'd, and interpreted. An Act also pass'd for a General Pardon of all Offences, Forfeitures, Punishments, *&c.* except Murders, and Treasons; which the King granted by way of gratifying his Subjects, for a Release of a great Loan of Money from them, *Anno* 15. *Hen.* VIII. which motioned and assented to by the Lords, was, with much ado, confirm'd by the Lower House. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Assize, which being Complicate before, were reduc'd to a more single Method. And this was much to the ease of the Subjects. It was also declar'd Felony for Servants to imbezel their Masters Goods to the value of forty Shillings and upwards. And order taken, that after a Felon was attainted (but not before) the stolen Goods might be restor'd. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Brass should be carried beyond Sea. Which seems to regard principally making great Ordnance; (about this Time appearing of great use.) Artificers Strangers also were restrain'd to certain Rules; As that they might not keep above two Strangers Servants in their House. That they should bear such Charges as Natural Subjects did, paying all Subsidies, *&c.* and take an Oath to be true and obedient to the King and his Laws. That they should have no Conventicles, but meet in the Common Halls of their Craft. That they should not have Journey-men or Prentices Strangers above ten at a time. Moreover, Authority was given to the President of the King's Council to associate with the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* both for the Punishment of Riots, and unlawful Assemblies, *&c.* and setting of Prices of Wines, as also all other Acts, limited and appointed by any Statute to be done by the

Other Abuses regulated.

Acts of Indemnity.

Exportation of Brass forbidden, and why.

Chan-

1529. Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, *&c.* Other Laws alſo were enacted, which for being meerly Legal, and therefore relative chiefly to the Maſters of the Law, or otherwiſe Mechanical, or at leaſt ſo particular, that they belong not properly to Hiſtory, I purpoſely o- Dec. 17. mit. And ſo, a Week before *Chriſtmaſs*, the Parliament was prorogu'd to the Year following.

Barbaroſſa a Pyrate. *Sandov.* Before yet I come to the Year 1530. I muſt not omit to mention *Haradin Barbaroſſa* that famous Pirate, who from a low and obſcure beginning, had, by his Valour and Conduct (as we have before touch'd) obtain'd the Kingdom 1518. of *Argier*. For being not fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his Men, he did, with no leſs Succeſs, attempt divers ſtrong Places; ſo that he was generally fear'd; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinan* a Jew, and many other notable *Picarons* had rang'd themſelves under him; whereby his Forces were ſo increas'd, that no Navigation was ſecure in the Parts adjoyning to him. This Year (particularly) he had taken *Penon de Velez* from the *Spaniard*, and May 21. defeated a Fleet of theirs ſhortly after. And now Octob. 25. his Deſign was to make himſelf Maſter of the Seas from *Gibralter* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperor employ'd divers, but infortunately; inſomuch that *Andrea Doria* himſelf, though recovering ſome Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where part of *Barbaroſſa's* Sea-Forces (under the Command of one *Haly*, a Pirate of *Tunis*) rode at Anchor; yet when he caus'd ſome Soldiers to be landed to attempt the Caſtle, *Haly* gathering a few reſolute Men together, charg'd them deſperately, and gave them a Repulſe with the loſs of ſo many, as made *Doria* deſiſt from his Enterprize; which being advertis'd to the Emperor, made him reſolve to invade *Barbaroſſa* in his own Country, the Succeſs whereof ſhall be related hereafter. The Context of my Hiſtory requiring me now to ſpeak of the *Florentines*; on whom as the Pope paſſionately deſir'd to be reveng'd, ſo the Emperor, having his Pretences alſo, did for complying with him, ſend an Army thither under the Command of *Phili-* Emperor's War in *Tuſcany*. *bert* Prince of *Aurange*, the Marquis of *Guaſto*, *Juan de Urbino*, and others of Note, and about twenty ſix thouſand Men. The Pope yet us'd Diſtinction; for if he deſir'd that the Enemies of his Name and Family with their Adherents ſhould be puniſh'd, he intreated as well that the City and the Country (whereof he was a Native) ſhould be ſpar'd. But as the Prince *de Aurange* thought this a ſubtilty fitter for a School-man than a Soldier, he undertook them together. While *Malateſta Baglioni*, a brave Gentleman, aſſociated with *Franciſco Carduci*, and ten others, were choſen the chief Directors of the *Florentine* Sept. 16. Affairs. And by their Advice the ſmaller Places of *Toſcana* (for avoiding that final Deſolation that Aſſaults do bring) yielded themſelves betime. Yet ſo as *Juan de Urbino*, a Soldier of Note, was kill'd at one of them. And thus Siege was laid to the fair City; the Suburbs whereof being weak were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their Ramparts, and eſpecial care taken to keep a Paſſage for Victuals open. Yet as the War was thought to proceed out of Unkindneſs rather than Hate, ſo divers of the more innocent ſort perſuaded the reſt to implore the 1530. Pope's Mercy. The Reſultance whereof was, that at laſt an Ambaſſade was ſent. But as by the Craft of the adverſe Party, Election was made of mean and deſpicable Perſons, the Deſign was eluded; the Pope not vouchſafing ſo much as to hear them. This made them reſolve to defend themſelves. Inſomuch that all their Fear being now actuated into Deſperation, they by continual 1529. Sallies (as well by Night as Day) not only wearied the Aſſiegers, and ſlew divers of their a- Aug. 3. 1530. bleſt Commanders, but finally kill'd *Philibert* Prince of *Aurange* himſelf, who being young, valiant, and liberal, was much lamented among the Soldiers. Famine, yet, at laſt preſſing the *Florentines*, a Parly was propos'd; but the more daring ſort (chuſing rather to die with their Arms in their Hands, than to yield to the Incenſed Pope) ſallied forth with that Fury and Diſorder, that one would have thought they pretended not ſo much to Victory, as to ſome other Death than Hunger. The more unquiet ſort, being thus at length worn out and ſpent, the reſt, by the means of *Malateſta*, came to a Compoſition with the Emperor, (the Pope alſo, out of Compaſſion to his Country, conſenting to it) upon theſe Terms; that they ſhould pay 80000 August. Ducats towards the Charge of the Army. That The *Florentines* loſe their Liberty. their popular Government ſhould be chang'd to Monarchical, under the Rule and Dominion of *Aleſſandro de Medici* (Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbin*) and his Heirs; their ancient Privileges being nevertheleſs reſerv'd. And thus, after above ten Months Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperor; who, for more ample Teſtimony of his Favour, beſtow'd *Margarite* his natural Daughter upon *Aleſſandro de Medici*, together with the Title of Duke. *I find yet by a private Diſ-* Emperor makes *A. de Medici* Duke. *patch, that he was not very well pleas'd with* theſe Articles, as believing he might have made more Advantage of his Conqueſt; though, for contenting the Pope, he gave way to it, as being now intentive wholly to the Buſineſs of *Germany*. For as the Affairs of Religion in thoſe Parts, together with the Invaſion of the *Turk*, requir'd his Preſence, ſo he departed from *Italy*, Mar. 22. about five Months before the Rendition of that Place: Making (in his way) the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his Brother *Ferdinand* at *Inſpruch*, with much demonſtration of Marquis of *Mantua* made a Duke. Love. Where alſo he advis'd concerning the preſent Eſtate and Diſpoſition, not of the Affairs only, but even Perſons and Favourites of thoſe with whom he was to treat. So that, coming at *Charles* arrives at *Augsburgh*. laſt to *Augsburg*, where a general Diet and Aſſembly was appointed, with much Solemnity (the Electors and others, Princes of *Germany*, meeting there) he requir'd their Grievances. The Account whereof yet I muſt omit a while, that I may come to the Reſtitution of *Francis* his Children.

The Jewel, Money, and Acquittances requir'd for diſcharge of his precious Hoſtages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to perform his Agreement. Only as he confeſt himſelf much enabled hereunto by the ſpecial Goodneſs and Bounty of our King, ſo he fail'd not to take his Advice on all Occaſions. And thus, the Mar. 10. Day being come, *Anne de Montmorency*, Grand Maiſtre of *France*, and *Hernando de Velaſco Coneſtable de Caſtilla* were choſen by both Princes for the Perſons to whoſe Fidelity and Care they thought fit to commend this important Buſineſs. And be- Articles for delivering the *Dauphin* and his Brother. cauſe the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the moſt ſubſtantial whereof (beſides thoſe extant in the Treaty of *Cambray*, to which Relation muſt be had) were theſe following. May 26.

I. *That a Bridge or* Pontone, *of forty* Foot *long, and fifteen broad, ſhould be erected upon Boats faſtned with Anchors upon the midſt of the River betwixt* Fuentarabie *and* Andaja; *whereupon the Exchange ſhall be made.*

II. *That no Troops of Horſe ſhould be within ten Leagues of the Place for ten Days before, and ten Days after the Delivery, nor no conſiderable Number of Foot,* *and*

1529. *and that no Gentlemen should pass that way, but those who were appointed.*

III. *That at the Day of Delivery, no Company of Men or Women should be within three Leagues of the Place.*

IV. *That in* Fuentarabie *there should be none but the ordinary Garrison, being fifty Men, and that the Canon should be dismounted.*

V. *That a hundred Horse, and four hundred* Foot, *(which afterwards was reduc'd to a less Number) should be allowed on either side to come to the Bank of the River.*

VI. *That twelve* Persons *should be admitted on either side to pass over and see these Articles observ'd; and that two Galleons should coast the River, with equal Numbers of both Nations, to prevent Surprizes.*

VII. *That the Money should be brought into one Shallop, and the Hostages in another, to the two sides of the Bridge; and that, for Counter-ballancing the Money, so much Iron should be put in the other.*

VIII. *That in the Shallop of the Hostages should be twelve* Spaniards, *the* Conestable, *and* Seigneur de Praet *being comprehended, and* Monf. de Brisac *a* Frenchman, *with Swords and Daggers, the Hostages having Daggers only. And that the like Number and Arms should be permitted to* Montmorency *in the other Shallop. And one* Alvaro de Lugo *a* Spaniard, *with two Pages to go along with them in lieu of the Hostages, and twelve Oars on either Part unarm'd.*

IX. *That coming both at the same time to the two sides of the Bridge, the* Conestable, *and* Montmorency *should land first on the said Bridge, and call to them in equal Number their Companies. And that the* Spaniards *should pass into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewels were, along the one side of a Barrier erected, and the* French *on the other Shallop of the Hostages.*

X. *That Queen* Leonora *should go in a Shallop apart with six Ladies Attendants, the rest being eight Cavaliers and six Oars of either Nation, but that she should not pass till the Exchange were made.* Notwithstanding which Agreement, so much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the Money, that many Weeks preceding were spent before they could accord of the Payment. The *Spaniard* finding the Gold to want of its Purity, and the Deschec or Loss being valued at 40000 Crowns. Besides, as the River on the *Spanish* Shoar was shallower than on the *French*, there wanted not some Jealousie and Wrangling. Howsoever, at length the Delivery was made. Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd, did post from *Bourdeaux* to *Varin*, where with much Joy he receiv'd his Children, and Queen *Leonora de Seres*, whom also he married an Hour before the Day following.

They are deliver'd. July 1.

And now *Francis* remembring how much it concern'd him to correspond with our King (to whom he ow'd first his own, and next his Childrens Liberty) sent over to acquaint him therewith.

Our King also considering that *Francis* being now dis-ingag'd, might more freely declare himself, did (by a particular Message) not only make known the little hope he had of the Pope's Favour in his particular Business, but desir'd that King's Assistance, for obtaining the Resolution of the Universities and Learned Men in his Kingdom, concerning the Lawfulness of his Marriage; for which Purpose he induc'd *Guillaume de Belloy* (sent by *Francis* to him in the beginning of this Year) to co-operate with them, as also those of *Italy* and *Germany*; not omitting together to employ at *Paris*, his Kinsman and Beneficiary *Reginald Pole*, with Sir *Francis Bryan*, and *Edward Fox*, Master *William Paget* (after) being sent to *Orleans* and *Tholouse*, and *Francis* together readily promising his Assistance. And because our King had many Agents about this Time employ'd in *Italy*, as namely Doctor *Richard Croke*, (a Man excellent in the *Greek* Tongue) at *Padua*; *Hierom de Ghinucci* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Gregory Casalis* at *Rome*; Doctor *Stokesley* at *Venice*, *Thomas Cranmer* (afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) *Andreas* and *Johannes Casalis*, and *Previdellus*; he had enough to do; while sometimes he labour'd to reconcile, and sometimes again to make use of their various Advertisements. *Stokesley* writ in a Letter (dated *June* 13.) that he had gotten the Opinions of the University of *Bononia*; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the Pope contradicted. *Croke* said, the Pope and Emperor threatned all that subscrib'd in favour of the King's Cause. He writes also that the Emperor's Ambassador in *Padua*, challeng'd one Frier *Thomas*, for favouring the King's Cause, and told him, if this Conclusion should take effect, many of the greatest Princes of *Christendom* should be disherited, or taken as Illegitimate; accounting in those as well the Emperor, as the King of *Portugal*. Notwithstanding which, he had gotten eighty principal Mens Hands a good while since, and had obtain'd thirty more, which yet by their means were burnt. By a Letter also of *Croke*'s, *Aug.* 24. it appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of *Venice*, to oppose the King in his Demand. Furthermore he protested none would take Money (Lawyers only excepted) for delivering their Opinions, though he forc'd sometimes a small Reward on them when they had done. Which Particular Dr. *Stokesley* (in a Dispatch *Sept.* 23. 1530.) did confirm; saying, it was their manner both in *Padua* and *Bononia* to refuse Money with these Words, *Quod à Spiritu Sancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur.* Moreover *Croke*, by a Letter, *Aug.* 31. 1530. said, *Caesar minis, precibus, pretio, & sacerdotiis, partim territat nostros, partim confirmat suos:* Certifying our King further, that *Andreas Casalis* and *Previdellus* did reveal his Highness's Secrets to the *Caesarians*: In conclusion I find that many would have given their Opinion in favour of the Divorce, if they durst. So that though the King's Agents did now and then differ in some Points, they all yet agreed, that most of the Learned Men in those Parts would have favour'd the King in the point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperor oppugned it. *Croke* adds further, that the Emperor got some Hands in *Mantua* for Money, but they were of the meaner sort. Whereas twenty nine Doctors in that Place had freely subscrib'd on his Highness's part. Now as *Gregory Casalis* seem'd among all his Highness's Agents, at this time, the most industrious, so he solicited the Pope continually on our King's Behalf, not neglecting also the *Caesarians*, to whom he gave, and from whom he receiv'd that Intelligence, as he made Advantage of all. By which dangerous and suspected Wisdom yet he prevail'd so far, that at length he had Authority, as it seems, to write this following Dispatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be transcrib'd out of the Original.

Belloy.

1529.

K. Henry's Agents get the Opinion of foreign Universities about the Divorce.

June 13.

June 22.

July 4.

Aug. 24.

Sept. 23.

Aug. 31.

Letter of Casalis from Rome.

SErenissime & Potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi *supreme, humillima Commendatione praemissa, Salutem & Felicitatem. Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, Concedi posse vestrae Majestati ut duas Uxores habeat; Cui dixi, nolle me Provinciam suscipere ea de re scribendi, ob eam Causam, quod ignorarem an inde vestrae Conscientiae satisfieri posset, quam vestra Majestas imprimis exonerare cupit.*

Cur

1529. *Cur autem sic responderem, illud in causa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cæsariani moliantur aucupari soleo, exploratum certumque habebam, Cæsarianos illud ipsum quærere & procurare. Quem vero ad finem id quærant, pro certo exprimere non ausim. Id certe totum vestræ prudentiæ considerandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim Pontifici, nihil me de eo scripturum, nolui tamen Majestati vestræ hoc reticere; quæ sciat omni me industria laborasse, in iis quæ nobis mandat, exequendis. Et cum Anconitano qui me familiariter uti solet, omnia sum conatus. De omnibus autem me* [ad] *communes Literas rejicio. Optime valeat vestra Majestas.* Romæ die xviii *Septembris*, MDXXX.

C. V. Majestatis,
Humillimus Servus,
Gregorius Casalis.

MOST Serene and most Powerful Lord, and my most gracious Sovereign, to whom all Health and Happiness, and the most humble Acknowledgments of my Duty and Affection. Some Days ago the Pope in private offer'd to me this Proposal, as a thing of which he made much Account, that your Majesty might have a Dispensation to have two Wives; to whom I answer'd, that I was very unwilling to take upon me to write to your Majesty, to know your Majesty's Pleasure herein, because that I did not know whether this Proposal would satisfie your Conscience, the Ease and Quiet whereof, was what your Majesty does only aim at. The reason why I gave this for Answer, was, that in a certain place, from whence I have Information of the Designs and Contrivances of the *Cesarians*, I have certain Intelligence and undoubted Knowledge, that this Proposal was started, and is promoted by the *Cesarians*; but what their Aim and Design herein should be, I dare not certainly affirm, and therefore leave that wholly to your Highness's great Prudence and Consideration. And though I told his Holiness, that I could not venture to write to your Majesty herein, yet was I unwilling to keep this from your Majesty's Knowledge, that it may appear, that no Care or Industry is wanting in me to execute your Majesty's Commands, or promote your Services. I have done all which I have been able with one of *Ancona*, with whom I have great Intimacy. As to all which I refer to the common Letters. May God preserve your Majesty's Health. *Rome, Sept.* 18. 1530.

Your most Excellent Majesty's
Most Obedient Servant,
Gregory Casalis.

How this Letter was believ'd or accepted yet, doth not appear to me; so that although *Melancthon* is said to have concurr'd in some such Opinion, no effect follow'd thereof. For I find, that at this very time, King *Henry*, jealous of the Queen's, or (as our Historians say) of *Woolsey*'s procuring Bulls against him, set forth this Proclamation, *September* 19.

Proclamation against obtaining Bulls against the King.

THE King's Highness streightly Chargeth and Commandeth, that no manner of Person of what Estate, Degree, or Condition soever, be or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome *or elsewhere, nor use and put in Execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore within this Year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing Matter prejudicial to the High Authority, Jurisdiction and Prerogative Royal of this his said Realm, or to the Let, Hindrance, or Impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous intended Purposes in the Premisses; upon pain of incurring his Highness's Indignation, and Imprisonment, and farther Punishment of their Bodies, for their so doing, at his Grace's Pleasure, to the dreadful Example of all other.* 1529.

Thus did the King begin to shake off the *Romish* Yoke; to which he was much animated by the Concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spiritual and Temporal, who (as it appears by our Records) in *July* this Year, under their Hands July 30. and Seals, sent a Declaration to the Pope. The Tenor whereof is this;

The House of Lords Letter to the Pope.

SAnctissimo in Christo Patri & Domino Domino Clementi, divina Providentia, ejus nominis Papæ septimo; Osculatis pedibus omni cum humilitate, fœlicitatem precamur & optamus perpetuam, in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Beatissime Pater, tametsi Causa Matrimonii, Invictissimi & Serenissimi Principis Domini nostri, Angliæ Franciæque Regis, Fidei Defensoris, & Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipsa per se Argumentis Vestræ Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerrime finem accipiat, quem Nos, summo cum desiderio jam diu desideravimus, & longa sed hactenus vana spe à Vestra Sanctitate expectavimus: Non potuimus tamen committere, ut Rebus nostris Regnique statu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum discrimen adducto, omnino sileremus, sed quod Regia Majestas nostrum Caput, atque adeo Anima omnium nostrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, justa compagine Capiti cohærentia, multa solicitudine Vestram Sanctitatem precati, & frustra tamen precati sumus, id nos Literis nostris doloris gravitate adducti seorsim & separatim flagitaremus. Sufficere sane alioqui debuisset, Causæ ipsius justitia, erudissimorum virorum calculis passim probata, celeberrimarum Academiarum suffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, à Gallis, ab Italis, prout quisque apud eos cæteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut Sanctitas Vestra, etiam nemine petente & reclamantibus quibuscunque, suo Ore suaque Authoritate aliorum Sententias confirmaret; præsertim cum Causæ definitio eum Regem, illud Regnum respiciat, quod de Sede illa Apostolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum sit: Precibus autem nihil opus fuisset, nisi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & preces non necessarias interdum effundere solent. Cæterum quum apud Sanctitatem Vestrum nec ipsius Causæ Justitia nec Beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam assiduæ & diligentes Preces quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur à vobis quod paternæ pietatis officium exigebat, adauctus supra modum in nobis miseriarum ac calimitatum recordatione doloris cumulus singula etiam Reipublicæ nostræ membra vocalia facit, & Verbis & literis conquestionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ Academiæ nostræ, quod Academia Parisiensis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod passim doctissimi, eruditissimi & integerrimi viri domi forisque verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam Verbis quam Calamo se paratos ostendunt, id pro vero non obtineat à Sede Apostolica

1529. ille Princeps, cujus Ope atque Præſidio ſua ſtat Sedi Apoſtolicæ Authoritas, à tam multis ac Populis etiam potentiſſimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim Ferro, partim Calamo, partim voce atque authoritate ſæpius in ea Cauſa reſtitit; & tamen ſolus illius authoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut eſſet qua alii fruerentur. His quid reſponderi poſſet non videmus, & malorem interim pelagus Reipublicæ noſtræ imminere cernimus, ac certam quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod diluvio par eſt, multa cæde ac ſanguine reſtinctam olim Succeſſionis controverſiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim ſummis virtutibus Principem, certiſſimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno tranquillitatem daturum, ſi Sobolem ex corpore Maſculum nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero Matrimonio ſola ſpes eſſe poteſt: Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obſtat, ut quod de priore Matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique Veſtra Sanctitas ſua Authoritate declaret. Hoc autem ſi non vult, & qui Pater eſſe debeat, nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, & pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Noſtri nobis curam eſſe relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, Sanctitatem Veſtram oramus ut Regi noſtro in tam ſanctis deſideriis adeſſe, & ſine mora aut dilatione favere velit, vehementer obſecramus, ut judicio ſuo comprobet quod viri doctiſſimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Paſtorali Officio debet Pietatem ex mutuo Cordis Affectu obteſtamur, ne claudantur paterna viſcera, tam obſequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris Filiis. Cauſa Regiæ Majeſtatis noſtra cujuſque propria eſt, à Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majeſtate compatimur, quibus facile Sanctitas Veſtra mederi poſſet, nec poſſet modo, ſed ex paterna pietate deberet. Quod ſi vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem diſtulerit Sanctitas Veſtra, hactenus ſane conditio noſtra erit miſerior, quod tam diu ſine fructu fruſtra laboratum ſit, ſed non omni prorſus remedio deſtituta. Sunt quidem Remedia extrema ſemper duriora, ſed Morbum omnino utcunque levare curat ægrotus, & in malorum commutatione nonnihil eſt ſpei; ut, ſi minus ſuccedat quod bonum eſt, ſequatur ſaltem quod eſt minus malum, & id temporis etiam curſu facile tolerandum. Iſta autem ut ſecum conſideret Sanctitas Veſtra, iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jeſu Chriſto, cujus Vices in Terris ſe gerere profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur oſtendere; Ut veritatem, doctiſſimorum hominum vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam ſua Sententia & Pronunciatione velit illuſtrare. Interim vero Deum Opt. Max. quem ipſam eſſe veritatem certiſſimo Teſtimonio cognoſcimus, comprecabimur, ut Veſtræ Sanctitatis Conſilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut quod ſanctum, juſtum ac verum eſt, à Veſtræ Sanctitatis Authoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia aſſequendæ Veritatis moleſtia liberemur.

1. Archiepiſcopi.

T. Cardinalis Ebor.
Willielmus Can.

2. Duces.

Tho. Norfolk.
Char. Suffolk.

3. Marchiones.

T. Dorſet.
H. Exeter.

4. Comites.

Willielmus Arundel.
Jo. Oxenford.
H. Northumberland.
Rauf. Weſtmerland.
Geo. Shrewsbury.
Henr. Eſſex.
Edw. Derby.
H. Worceſter.
Tho. Rutland.
Hen. Cumberland.
Robert Suſſex.
Geo. Huntington.
G. of *Kildare.*

5. Epiſcopi.

Robert Ciceſtrenſ.
Joh. Carliolenſ.
Joh. Lincoln.
Rich. Menevenſis.

6. Barones.

Henr. Montague.
G. Rochford.
Willielm. Weſton.
E. Abergavenny.
J. Audley.
Hen. Scroope.
Tho. Dacres.
Tho. La Ware.
Willielm Dacre.
Tho. Barkley.
Hen. Morley.
Geo. Cobham.
Rich. Latimer.
Edw. Stourton.
Jo. Fitzwarren.
Jo. Semers.
Jo. Lumley.
Willielm. Mountjoy. 1529.
Chriſ. Coniers.
Hen. Daubeny.
T. Darcy.
T. Montegle.
Willielm. Sandys.
Jo. Huſey.
Andr. Windſor.

7. Abbates.

Jo. of *Weſtminſter.*
Jo. of *Bury* St. *Edmund.*
Rich. Glaſton.
Will. Glouceſter.
Tho. of *Abendon.*
Hugh of *Reading.*
Edw. of *York.*
Jo. of *Peterburgh.*
Jo. of *Ramſey.*
Jo. of *Croyland.*
Ro. of *Thorney.*
Ro. of *Selby.*
William Ab. of *Bardney.*
Will. Ab. of St. *Benet de Hulmo.*
Tho. Ab. of St. *John* by *Colcheſter.*
Jo. Ab. of *Hyde.*
Clem. Ab. of *Eveſham.*
Ric. Ab. of *Malmsbury.*
Ric. Ab. of *Winchelcomb.*
Rob. Ab. *S. Crucis de Waltham.*
Jo. Ab. of *Circeſter.*
Hen. Abbot of *Teuxbury.*

8. Milites & Doctores in Parlamento.

William Fitz-William.
Hen. Guildford.
Steph. Gardiner.
Jo. Gage.
William Kingſton.
Bryan Tuke.
Rich. Sacheverell.
Rich. Sampſon.
Edw. Lee.
Rich Woolman.
Jo. Bettat.

To

1529.

*T*O the most holy Lord, our Lord and Father in Christ, Clement, by the Divine Providence the seventh Pope of that Name, we wish and pray for perpetual Felicity in our Lord Jesus Christ, with all Humility throwing our selves at his Feet. Most blessed Father, although the Cause concerning the Marriage of the most Invincible Prince our Sovereign Lord the King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, does for sundry, great, and weighty Reasons of it self, require and demand your Holiness's Assistance, that it may be brought to that speedy End and Determination, which we with so great and earnest Desires have wish'd, and with so very great, though very vain Expectations have long look'd for from your Holiness: We could not nevertheless prevail with our selves to keep silence herein any longer, especially since our Kingdom and the Affairs thereof suffer so much, and are brought into so great Danger through the unseasonable delay of Sentence herein: So that since his Majesty our Head, and by consequence the Life of us all, and we in his Words, as Subject Members, by a just Union annexed to the Head, have with great earnestness pray'd your Holiness, but pray'd in vain, we are by the greatness of our Grief, forced separately and distinctly by these our Letters, most humbly to intreat your speedy determination hereof. Be justice of the Cause it self, approved of by the Opinions of the most Learned Men every where, and determined by the Decrees of the most famous Universities in the World, and esteem'd and judg'd most righteous by all Persons either in England, France or Italy, who are most eminent for their Learning, might so far prevail, as that your Holiness, though no body entreated it, nay, though some oppos'd it, should with your own Voice and Authority, confirm that Sentence which has so universally been pronounced Just, especially when your Determination of this Cause is a piece of Justice done to that King and Kingdom, which upon so many several Accounts have deserv'd well of the Apostolical See; although Entreaties to you herein seem not to be necessary, however we make them, as Persons overborn with Troubles, who indulge their Grief, and frequently pour forth repeated and unnecessary Prayers. But since your Holiness is not to be prevail'd upon, either by the Justice of the Cause, the remembrance of the good Services you have always found, or by the earnest and continued Requests of the best of Princes, to do that which might be expected from your Paternal Love and Affection alone, our Grief is by the remembrance of our Miseries and Calamities encreas'd to that immense degree, that it overspreads the whole Body of the Realm, and gives a Voice of Complaint to each Member of it, forcing them both by their Words, and in their Letters, to lay before your Holiness this their insupportable Grievance. For how great a Misfortune is it, that what our own two Universities, the University of Paris, as well as many other in France, what almost all Men of Learning, Knowledge and Integrity, both at home and abroad have determin'd and affirm'd to be true, and the Truth of which they are ready to defend and support both in their Discourses and Writings; yet cannot a Confirmation of this so universally acknowledge a Truth, be obtain'd from the holy Apostolical See by that Prince, by whose Support and Assistance that See still keeps and preserves its Authority, which has been shaken and undermined by so many, and so powerful Adversaries, till he withstood and oppos'd their Designs partly by his Sword, partly by his Pen, at other times by his Commands and Authority, supporting that Power and Authority of the Church, from whence others are enabled to obtain those mighty Advantages from which he now finds himself only excluded. What Answer can be made hereto we see not, and yet we see that from hence a Flood of Miseries is flowing in upon the Commonwealth, and a sort of Deluge of Calamities overwhelming us, from the Disputes about Succession, which will soon overtake us, never to be setled without infinite slaughter and effusion of Blood. We now have a King most eminent for his Virtues, seated upon the Throne of his Ancestors, by Right undoubted and unquestionable, who would entail lasting Peace, and uninterrupted Tranquillity on his Realms, if he leaves a Son to succeed him from lawful and true Marriage; nor will that be possible, unless your Holiness will by your Authority, pronounce the same Sentence concerning his former Marriage, which so many Learned Men have already deliver'd. But if your Holiness, whom we justly call our Father, shall, by refusing to comply herein, esteem us as Cast-aways, and resolve to leave us Orphans; we can make no other Construction of it, but that the care of our selves is committed to our own Hands, and that we are left to seek our Remedy elsewhere. But that we may never be driven to these Extremities, we beg your Holiness without delay, or farther loss of time, to assist these his Majesty's most just and reasonable Desires, we most earnestly intreat a Confirmation of the Judgment of these most Learned Men, humbly imploring, that for the sake of that Mutual Love, and that Paternal Affection which your Pastoral Office requires you to shew us, not to shut up your Bowels of Pity and Compassion against us, your most Dutiful, most Loving, most Obedient Sons. The Case of his most sacred Majesty, is the Case of us all, since the Head cannot suffer, but the Members must bear a part, the Grief arising herefrom, and the Injury suffer'd hereby, does equally affect us, who bear our proportion of all his Majesty's Afflictions; the Remedy of which, as it must proceed wholly from your Holiness's Power, so is it a Duty necessarily arising from your Paternal Authority and Affection: Which Remedy, if your Holiness shall refuse or delay to grant, our Condition will indeed herein be more miserable, that so long we have fruitlesly and in vain sought Redress, but it will not be wholly desperate, since it is possible to find Relief some other way. Desperate Remedies indeed are not without extremity to be applied; but he that is sick, will by any means get rid of his Distemper: in the change of our Miseries there is some Comfort, when if we can't obtain perfect Relief, yet we may change our Condition for that which is less afflicting, and more tolerable. That your Holiness would be pleas'd to take these things into your most serious Consideration, we do again and again

1529. *again beseech you, for our Lord* Jesus Christ's *sake, whose Vicar on Earth you stile your self, and that you would now conform your Actions to that Title, by pronouncing your Sentence to the Glory and Praise of God, and thereby giving your Testimony and Sanction to that Truth, which has been examin'd, approv'd, and after much Deliberation confirm'd by the most Learned Men of all Nations. In the mean time we will beseech God, whom we infallibly know to be Truth, that he would vouchsafe so to inform and direct your Holiness's Deliberations herein, that having by your Holiness's Authority, a Confirmation of what is Just, Righteous and True, we may therein rest satisfy'd, and be free from the trouble of seeking to attain this end by other means.*

Archbishops,
T. Cardinal of York.
William Cant. &c.

To which *Clement* return'd this Reply.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis & Episcopis, ac dilectis Filiis Abbatibus, Nobilibusque Viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parliamenti Regni Angliæ.

CLEMENS *Papa* VII.

Pope's Answer. VEnerabiles Frates & dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multa sunt in vestris Literis die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis superioribus diebus redditis, quæ gravius accepissemus, nisi ea affectui, studioque vestro erga Charissimum in Christo Filium nostrum, Regem vestrum condonanda arbitraremur. Itaq; sedato animo ad eas Literas respondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis conquesti sitis, neq; oportuisse tantum à vobis tribui privato erga Regem sive officio sive amori vestro, ut nos duobus, ingrati adversus Serenitatem suam animi ac denegatæ Justitiæ, gravissimis nominibus incusaretis. Nos quidem agnoscimus Regem vestrum ea omnia quæ in vestris Literis enumeratis, ac multa etiam plura promeritum, manebitq; perpetuo non modo apud nos sed ad posteros nostros memoria ejus in Sedem Apostolicam meritorum. Fatemurq; nos non modo Pontificiæ personæ quam gerimus, sed privato nostro nomine tantum Serenitati suæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed quod attinet ad Controversiam quæ de Matrimonio est inter Serenitatem suam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum abest, ut denegando Justitiam, Regis spem frustrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes Majestatis suæ propensi, reprehendamur. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi nostri erga Regem vestrum Tenorem repetamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme abhinc annis, Regii Oratores ad nos hanc Causam detulissent; animi nostri propensionem potius quam Juris rigorem secuti, commisimus illam dilectis Filiis nostris Thomæ tt' Sanctæ Ceciliæ Eboracensi in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio tt' Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim Campegio à nostro Latere misso, Presbyteris Cardinalibus, in Regno atq; adeo domi ipsius Regis audiendam & terminandam; satisfecimusq; tum, quantum in nobis fuit, Serenitatis suæ voluntati. Verum cum Regina suspectum illud in partibus Judicium habere cepisset, & à gravaminibus sibi, ut dicebat, per eosdem Legatos illatis ad Sedem Apostolicam appellasset, Procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem prosequendam constitutis, ne tum quidem desiderari passi sumus nostram erga ipsum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tametsi causæ hujusmodi appellationis Commissio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via Juris terminari hanc controversiam cupientes, omnes moras in Commissione dictæ causæ appellationis concedenda interposuimus, eo prætextu, quod esset de majoribus causis, meritoq; ad Consistorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde super hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties consultatione, fuit aliquamdiu dilatum negotium; Sed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto conclusum est, Commissionem causæ Appellationis hujusmodi per nos negari non posse. Itaq; commissa est audienda & subinde in dicto Consistorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in rebus considerate procedere debemus, tum in hac potissimum quæ Regias & illustres personas tangit, & in quam totius Christianitatis oculos conjectas esse videmus. Post quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus Procurator comparuit, qui aut scripto aut verbo de Juribus Regis doceret; ideoq; factum, ut lis adhuc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum ex actis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda sit. Quamobrem nulla causa est, cur nobis ascribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam Oratores ipsius Regis alibi & præsertim Bononiæ à nobis petierint & impetrarint, invitissimis quidem & reclamantibus Reginæ Procuratoribus. Cum itaq; nunquam per nos steterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus rebus mature discussis, terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur querimonia vestra; nisi forte id dicitis, tot esse Regis erga nos & Sedem Apostolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Causam diffiniri oportuerit; id enim ostenditis satis aperte, cum dicitis, in Causa ab eruditissimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiarum suffragiis probata, & nemine petente ac reclamantibus quibuscunq; Sententiam à nobis ferri debuisse. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modestiam vestram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti postuletis, ut in Causa maximi momenti Sententiam feramus, nemine petenti ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adversa pars continue opponat totius Christianitatis Scandalum, tot annorum matrimonium ad supplicationem Clarissimorum Regum Henrici Patris ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex Dispensatione hujus Sanctæ Sedis constitutum; præterea Filiam extantem & plures Reginæ partus;

1531. tus; & adversus opiniones Doctoram, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum & ipsi gravissimorumque virorum judicium, & pro se facientia *Divini* Juris mandata adducant, Argumentis haustis non modo ex Latinis, sed etiam ex uberrimis in hac re Hebræorum fontibus: Nobis tamen in neutram adhuc partem inclinantibus, sed æquas aures præbentibus, cum Causam hanc gravissimam & ad totam Rempublicam Christianam & posteritatem omnem pertinere existimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Universitatum Opiniones scribitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus nostras, nobis non legitime, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præsentata, illæq; nudæ tantum illorum hominum opiniones, nullis adscriptis rationibus cur ita sentiant, nullaq; sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum spectare debemus, Authoritate subnixæ. Postulare autem, ut, in Regis gratiam, quicquam temere atq; inconsiderate statuamus, nec æquum nec vestra Sapientia dignum est. Nam, tametsi multum Serenitati suæ debemus, tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur Eum, per quem Reges regnant & Principes imperant; & veri Patris officium est prospicere, ne nimia facilitate plus æquo indulgeamus Filiis nostris: irretiremus enim non nostram solum sed Serenitatis suæ Conscientiam immatura Sententia; quæ non recte prolata, pernicioso universæ Christianitati noceret exemplo. Nam, quod Regno vestro Diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum esse arbitraremur, si Sententiam, que recta justiciæ via ac ratione ferenda est, præcipitaremus, ac, nimio erga Regem vestrum amore provecti, à Justitia atque Officio nostro discederemus; Masculam autem prolem non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati suæ; atq; utinam tanto Regi similes Filios, ac non Regni tantum, sed & Virtutum Hæredes haberet Christiana Respublica! Sed pro Deo non sumus, ut liberos dare possimus. Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos Authoritate nostra, secundum veritatem de priori Matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipso Rege pronuncient, vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati suæ gratificari; posse autem ita debemus, ut non destruamus; destrueremus enim, si quid contra Juris ordinem statueremus, etsi oculis nostris exploratissima res esset. Cæterum, quod est in extremo Literarum vestrarum, Nisi Petitionibus vestris satisfecerimus, vos existimaturos vestri vobis curam esse relictam, atque aliunde remedia conquisituros, nec vestra prudentia nec religione dignum Consilium, ab eoque ut abstineatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus: Nec tamen ulla Medici culpa esset, si ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in se statuerit, quod adversaretur saluti. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac sine pernicie dari possunt remedia non denegamus? Quis enim infirmatur, & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, & ego non uror? Os meum patet ad vos, Filii dilectissimi, & vos ut filios charissimos monemus. Sed nec Regem ipsum, cujus causam agitis, probaturum fuisse credimus, ut ita scriberetis: Cognitam enim habemus ac perspectam ejus probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non esset, acceptum fuisse putemus; & tametsi vestrum omnium intercessionem magni facimus, tamen noster erga Serenitatem suam amor non patitur se cujusquam cohortatione precibusq; excitari; nec meminimus frustra unquam Serenitatem suam à nobis petiisse, quod cum nostro, & hujus sanctæ Sedis honore concedere possemus; paremq; ostendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Deniq; quod ad hanc Causam attinet, Nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram interponemus, quin, cum instructa, & partes auditæ fuerint, terminetur; nobis summopere cupientibus vestrum Regem & ipsam Reginam, nosq; ipsos molestissimo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum à Serenitate sua & Devotionibus vestris requirimis, ne plus, ob summa ejusdem Regis beneficia, à nobis exigatis, quam quod sine offensa Dei persolvere possumus: Cum in cæteris omnia à nobis expectare possitis, quæ habitâ Officii ac Personæ quam gerimus & Justitiæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvij. Septembris MDXXX. Pont' nostri Anno septimo. 1531.

Evangelista.

To our Venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops, and to our beloved Sons the Abbots, Noblemen, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights and Doctors assembled together in Parliament in *England.*

Clement VII. Pope.

Venerable Brothers and beloved Sons, Health be to you, and Apostolical Benediction. There are many Expressions in your Letter, bearing date July 13. *which we receiv'd some Days ago which we could not have thought well of, did we not wholly impute them to the great Duty and tender Affection which you bear to our most dear Son in Christ your King. We shall therefore without taking these things amiss, sedately answer your Letter, that you may thereby learn with how little reason you have complain'd of us, and that your private Duty and Affection to your King, ought not to extend so far, as to justifie your accusing us of two grievous Offences, Ingratitude to his Highness, and denial of Justice. We do acknowledge that your King has deserv'd all that your Letter mentions, nay, even much more; that the remembrance of his many Meritorious Actions towards the Apostolical See, will not only live fresh in our Memories, but be transmitted down to late Posterity. We can't but own likewise, that not only with respect to our Office and Character in the Church, but also in our own private Person, we owe so much to his Highness's Affection, as we shall scarce ever be able sufficiently to recompence. As to what relates to the Controversy concerning the Marriage between his Highness and Queen* Catherine, *we have been so far from disap-*

1530. disappointing the King's Expectation therein by denying him Justice, that we have even lain under the Censure of the other Party, and have been thought partial, and too much inclin'd to favour his Majesty's Desires herein. But to give a more undeniable proof of our constant Affection to your King, it will be necessary to mention what has some time since pass'd: When first, about three Years since, his Majesty's Ambassadors laid this Cause before us, rather seeking redress herein from our Affection and Kindness to his Highness, than from the rigorous Course of Justice, we committed it to the Determination of our beloved Sons, Thomas Archbishop of York our Legate in England, Cardinal Sanctæ Cæciliæ, and Laurence Campejus Cardinal Sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim our Legate de Latere, who were both in your Kingdom, and upon the spot to examin into the Matter; whereby, as far as we were able, we satisfied his Highness's Desires. But when the Queen began to suspect them as partial Judges, and on the account of some Grievances she had impos'd on her by the said Legates, had appeal'd from them to the Apostolical Tribunal, and had on her part appointed Proctors to prosecute the said Appeal at Rome, even then our great Inclination to his Majesty's Service was sufficiently evidenced. For although we could not in this Cause deny the Queen a Commission of Appeal, yet seeking rather that this Controversy might be finish'd by the agreeable methods of Peace and Concord, than by course of Law, we fram'd several Delays in granting our Commission of Appeal in the said Cause, under pretence that this being a Cause of the highest Nature, must therefore be brought before the Consistory. After this we held frequent Consultation with our most venerable Brethren their Eminences the Cardinals, whereby this Affair was still farther put off; till at length by the unanimous Vote of all the Cardinals it was concluded, that a Commission of Appeal in this Cause could not be refus'd. It was therefore appointed to be examin'd, heard, and in the said Consistory, by us to be finally determin'd. For as in all Cases we ought to proceed with the greatest Caution, so ought we more especially to do in that which concerns the Majesties of Kings and Queens, on which we see the Eyes of all the Christian World plac'd. Since which no lawful Proctor has appear'd on the King's part, to set forth his Majesty's Pretensions either in Writing, or by Word of Mouth, from whence it is that this Cause could not yet receive its Determination. Since it must be decided according to what is alledg'd, and by Witnesses prov'd; not according to Favour and Affection. There is therefore no reason why this deferring our Sentence of Determination, of which you complain should be ascrib'd to us, and your Complaint herein seems to us the more strange, because his Majesty's Ambassadors in several Places, particularly at Bononia, did request and solicite this delay of Sentence from us, contrary to the Inclination and Demand of the Queen's Proctors herein. Since therefore we have no ways occasion'd these Delays, or hindred this Cause from being determin'd after mature Examination, and due consideration of all the Circumstances of it, we see not on what Reasons these your Complaints are grounded; unless you will venture to say, that the Services which his Majesty has shewn us, and the Apostolical See are such, that the Cause should be determin'd in his Favour, without regard had either to Right or Justice; for that must be the meaning of your Words, when you say that Sentence ought to be given by us, though no body entreated it, nay, tho' some oppos'd it in this Case, which has been adjudg'd just by all the Learned in England, France and Italy, and by the Decrees of so many Universities: Which Words to us seem not to proceed from your usual Prudence and Modesty; since we see not with what reason you can desire, that we should in a Cause of the greatest Moment give Sentence, though none entreated it, nay, though some oppos'd it; when on the other side is alledg'd the great Scandal and Offence that all Christians would take, at a Sentence of Divorce from a Marriage which has continu'd so many Years, which was contracted by Dispensation from the Holy See, at the request of his most excellent Majesty Henry VII. and the most Catholick King Ferdinand; from whence the Queen has had so many Children born, and still has a Daughter living; contrary to the Opinion of several Doctors (which you urge also on your behalf) and those very learned and grave Men, and who confirm their Judgment both by the Laws of God, and by Arguments taken not only from the Latins, but likewise deriv'd from the Jewish Law: Notwithstanding all which, we kept our selves unbyass'd, inclin'd to favour neither side, but to hear both, looking on this most extraordinary Cause, not only to concern the whole Christian World, but also to belong to all Posterity. As for the Opinions of Learned Men, and the Decrees of Universities which you mention, few of them have come to our notice, shewn us not in proper Form by your Ambassadors, nor in the Name of the King exhibited, and those were but bare Opinions of those Men, alledging no Reasons for their Determinations, nor supporting them by any Authority from Scripture, or the Canons, which herein ought only to prevail. Wherefore, to demand that we should rashly, and without due Consideration, determine any thing herein in his Majesty's Favour, is a thing neither righteous in it self, nor agreeable to your Wisdom. For although we owe much to his Highness, yet in executing Judgment we must necessarily much more regard him, by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice; and further, it is the Duty of a good Father, to take care that by over fondness, he do not too much indulge his Children: Besides, we should not only entangle our own, but also his Highness's Conscience, by such an hasty and inconsiderate Sentence, which if thus unduly given, would by its dangerous Example, greatly damage the whole Christian World. As for that Deluge of Calamities, which you fear is impending over your Kingdom, sure it were much more to be fear'd, if we should rashly hasten that Sentence which ought calmly to proceed in the strait way of Justice and Reason, thereby violating both our own Duty, and departing from the Rules of Justice through too great Favour and Affection to your King;

1530. *King; you cannot with more earneſt Deſires wiſh his Majeſty a Son, than we do; and that not only his Highneſs, but all Chriſtian Princes had Sons like ſo great a King, the Inheritors not only of their Realms, but of ſuch Princely Virtues, but we are not in the ſtead of God, that we can give Children. As to what you ſay, that we were unwilling to confirm by our Authority, a Truth concerning the former Marriage, which by ſo many Learned Men in the Kingdom is agreed upon; we are truly willing to gratifie his Highneſs in all things, wherein we are able by our Authority, but then our Ability can't extend to thoſe things which will deſtroy that Authority, as it would if we ſhould judicially give Sentence contrary to the uſual Methods and due Courſe of Law in any thing, tho' it might appear never ſo plain and manifeſt to us. As for what you mention in the end of your Letter, that unleſs we grant your Requeſt herein, you ſhall imagine that the care of your ſelves is remitted into your own Hands, and that you were left at liberty to ſeek Remedy herein elſewhere; this is a Reſolution neither worthy of your Prudence, nor becoming your Chriſtianity; and we do therefore of our Fatherly Love, exhort you to abſtain from any ſuch raſh Attempt: Tho' it would be no fault of the Phyſician, if the Patient weary of his Diſtemper, ſhould raſhly and unadviſedly venture upon Meaſures deſtructive to his Health: We indeed never deny'd you ſuch Remedies as might with Safety be given, and with Advantage receiv'd; for who is weak, and I am not weak; who is offended, and I burn not? I write not theſe things to ſhame you, but as my beloved Sons I warn you. We can't imagine that his Majeſty, on whoſe Account you write, can approve your writing in this manner; for we know, and are ſo fully acquainted with his Honour and Integrity, that we are aſſur'd he would not accept of any thing that is unjuſt, although it were offered him; and although your Interceſſion is in all Caſes of great power and prevalence with us, yet is our Love and Affection to his Highneſs ſuch, as to need neither the Entreaty nor Sollicitation of any Perſons whatever, to influence or quicken it; and as we never remember that his Highneſs has ever yet made his requeſt to us, and receiv'd a Denial, where it could be granted with ſafety to our own, and the honour of the Apoſtolical See, ſo we ſhall always ſhew him the ſame Regard and Good-will. Laſtly, as to the preſent Cauſe, we ſhall give no hindrance or delay to its Deciſion, ſo that when it is ready for Examination, and all the Circumſtances of it have been heard, it ſhall be brought to a ſpeedy Determination, and final Concluſion; being earneſtly deſirous to free your King and Queen, and our own ſelves from this moſt troubleſom Affair. But this we muſt deſire of his Highneſs, and of your Goodneſs, that you would not require more from us, by reaſon of his Majeſty's great deſervings of us, than we can without offending God perform; and then you may aſſure your ſelves of all the good Offices which can be expected from us, conſidering the Perſon and Office we bear, and the Juſtice we are indiſpenſably bound to adminiſter.* Given at St. *Peter's*, *Rome*, under the Seal of the Fiſherman, *Sept.* 27. 1530. in the Seventh Year of our Pontificat.

And now Cardinal *Woolſey* it ſeems had tried his utmoſt Skill for recovering of the King's Favour; whereof alſo ſome hope was given him in his being permitted to remove to *Richmond*. But as his Enemies ſuſpected he would make uſe of this nearneſs, to obtain acceſs to the King, ſo they labour'd inſtantly to ſend him to the North. Wherein they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and Abbey of St. *Albans*, as alſo ſome other Places of his, forfeited by the *Præmunire*, might be applied in part to the King's Servants; a Penſion only out of *Wincheſter*, being reſerv'd to the Cardinal. The Revenues alſo of his two Colleges were torn and divided, which griev'd him more than any other Affliction: Inſomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his Knees, with weeping Eyes, that the College of *Oxford* might ſtand, and importun'd *Cromwel* to this Purpoſe, ſince they are in a manner, ſaith he, *Opera manuum tuarum*. But *Cromwel* return'd him no Comfort herein, ſaying, *the King was determin'd to diſſolve them, though whether he meant to reſtore them again, and found them in his own Name, he knew not; but wiſhes him to be content*, &c. Howſoever, in the traffick of theſe and other Lands, as well as Negotiating his Maſter's Buſineſs, *Cromwel* ſhew'd that Dexterity, which at laſt won him much Credit, both with the King and his principal Counſellors. And now the Cardinal being commanded to *York*, had no excuſe for retarding his Journey, but want of Means, which alſo he ſignified to the King; who thereupon ſent him a thouſand Pounds, with which and a Train, reduc'd now to about one hundred and ſixty Perſons, he ſet forth, giving by the way much Alms, and not a few other Arguments of Devotion, which alſo made him gracious with the People, who reſorted from all Places adjoining, to him. And thus with ſlow and unwilling Removes, he came to *Cawood Caſtle* near *York*, about the end of *September*, 1530. where he prepar'd, according to the ancient Cuſtom, to be inſtall'd with much Ceremony about a Month after; all acceſs to the Choire, being till then forbidden. But whether the ſolemnity of this Action was thought by our King to be unreaſonable, and miſbecoming one in Diſgrace; or that otherwiſe the Cardinal had caſt forth ſome diſcontented Words, which were related again to the King; here certainly began his final Ruine. Which, as his Enemies (at this diſtance) did with more Boldneſs and Advantage procure, ſo had he leſs means to repair himſelf. Inſomuch, that without being able to diſcover or prevent their Machinations, he was forc'd to ſuffer all that could be either truly or (almoſt) falſly ſurmis'd againſt him. Neither had he other hope, but that the Puniſhments, he had already endur'd, might be accepted as an intire Satisfaction for all his Offences. And now his Stallation grew near, when the Earl of *Northumberland*, Warden of the Marches, with one Sir *Walter Welſh*, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, came by the King's Command to *Cawood* to arreſt the Cardinal, wherein he us'd that Diligence and Secreſy, that he had plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any eſcap'd to advertiſe the Cardinal thereof. Neither did he, at the Earl's coming up Stairs, receive him in other Terms than thoſe of a Gueſt, till entring into a private Chamber together, the Earl in a low and troubled Voice arreſted him of High Treaſon. The diſmayed and penſive Cardinal ſtay'd a while before he anſwer'd, but at laſt recovering his Spirits, demanded the ſight of the Earl's Commiſſion, proteſting that otherwiſe he would not obey; urging further, that he was a Mem-

1530.

The Cardinal ſent to his Biſhoprick of *York*.

March.

Sept.

Nov. 4.

Hall.

Is arreſted in *Yorkſhire* by *Northumberland*.

1530. ber of the College of Cardinals at *Rome*, and fo exempt from all Princes Jurifdiction. But while the Earl reply'd, that he might not fhew his Commiffion, Sir *Walter Welfh*, who had now arrefted Doctor *Auguftine* the Cardinal's Phyfician, comes in, and confirms what the Earl had faid. The Cardinal believing (by this time) that they were in good earneft, yields to Sir *Walter Welfh*, as the King's Servant, and not to the Earl; to whom he faid, he would not fubmit himfelf, before he was better fatisfied of his Authority. Which whether he did out of ftubbornnefs to the Earl, who had been heretofore educated in his Houfe, or out of defpight to Miftrefs *Anne Bolen*, who (he might conceive) had put this Affront upon him, in finding means to employ her ancient Sutor to take revenge in both their Names, doth not appear to me by my Author. Howfoever, he protefted he was no way faulty in his Allegiance. Doctor *Auguftine* (whofe Offence yet doth not appear to me) was difpatch'd to *London*, in the pofture of a Traytor, his Legs tied to his Horfe. But the Cardinal had fome Refpite; though yet commanded to prepare for his Journey; which he began at length in that deliberate manner, that if he remov'd flowly before from the King, he mov'd now more flowly to him. Infomuch that had not the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to whom (being the Steward of the King's Houfhold) the Earl of *Northumberland* was commanded to deliver him, till the King's further Pleafure were known, told him, that the King commanded he fhould be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly favour'd; it is probable, that the afflicted Cardinal would have fallen under the burthen of his own Griefs. Furthermore, the Earl affur'd him on the King's part, that, though his Highnefs could do no lefs than put him to his Trial, yet that it was more for the fatisfying of fome Perfons, than out of miftruft of his Traiterous Doings. And thus at *Sheffield Caftle*, he ftaid a Fortnight, when a Wind-Cholick, which ended in a Dyfentery, took him. In which ftate, Sir *William Kingfton*, Captain of the King's Guard, and Conftable of the Tower, attended with twenty four Yeomen of the Guard (all of them formerly Servants to the Cardinal) did find him. So that, notwithftanding the many Incouragements of the Earl, feconded by Sir *William Kingfton* (who on his Knees faluted him) the Cardinal remain'd ftill fick and comfortlefs. Neither did it avail him, that Sir *William Kingfton* (on the King's part) gave him many gracious Words, adding furthermore, that he fhould make no more hafte than ftood with his Health and Convenience. For the Cardinal became ftill more and more dejected. Notwithftanding, as he confider'd that delay would but argue Guiltinefs, fo he proceeded in his Journey the beft he could, till he came to *Leicefter Abbey*, where a Feaver, complicate with his former Difeafe, feizing on him, he languifh'd, not without manifeft figns of his End. Being thus upon his Bed, Sir *William Kingfton* came again to comfort him, but the Cardinal, finding now that Death would difcharge him of all Trials, but that before God, fpake to this effect:

Hall.

Nov. 8. *Hall.*

Falls fick on the Road to *London*.

Nov. 17.

His laft Speech. *Cavend.*

Had I ferv'd God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray Hairs; but this is my juft Reward. Notwithftanding, I pray ye commend me moft humbly to the King, defiring him to call to remembrance all Matters that have paft betwixt us, and fpecially about Queen Katharine, *and then fhall his Grace know whether I have offended him. He is a Prince of Royal Courage; but rather than he will want or mifs any part of his Will or Pleafure, he will endamage the lofs of one half of his Realm. For, I affure you, I have often kneeled before him, fometimes the fpace of three Hours, to perfuade him from his Will and Appetite, but could never diffuade him from it. Therefore Mafter* Kingfton, *I warn you, if ever you be of his Council (as for your Wifdom you are meet) that ye be well affur'd and advis'd what you put in his Head, for you fhall never put it out again.* After which Words (as *Cavendifh* hath them) he began an Exhortation to *take heed of the* Lutherans, *by the Example of thofe of* Bohemia, *left they fhould likewife fubvert the Secular Power.* But as in the profecuting of this Difcourfe his Speech fail'd him, fo did his Breath prefently after, infomuch that he died, and was buried there in the Abbey Church, *Nov.* 30. before Day. And not where he had begun a Monument for himfelf, long fince, (wherein, as appears by our Records, he had not omitted his own Image) which one *Benedetto*, a Statuary of *Florence*, took in hand 1524. and continued till 1529. receiving for fo much as was already done 4250 Ducats. The defign whereof was fo glorious, that it exceeded far that of *Henry* VII. Neverthelefs, I find the Cardinal, when this was finifh'd, did purpofe to make a Tomb for *Henry* VIII. but dying in this manner, King *Henry* made ufe of fo much as he found fit, and call'd it his. Thus did the Tomb of the Cardinal partake the fame Fortune with his College, as being affum'd by the King; both which yet remain ftill unperfect. The News of the Cardinal's Death being brought to our King, did fo much afflict him, that he wifh'd it had coft him twenty thoufand Pounds upon condition he had liv'd. Howbeit he omitted not to enquire of about one thoufand and five hundred Pounds, which the Cardinal had lately got, without that the King could imagine how. So that, till it appear'd he borrow'd it of divers Perfons, he might perchance fufpect it to be the remainder of fome of his ancient Acquifitions.

1530.

His Death.

1524.

And thus concluded that great Cardinal. A Man in whom Ability of Parts, and Induftry were equally eminent, though, for being employ'd wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous Inftruments of Power in active and mutable times. By thefe Arts yet he found means to govern not only the chief Affairs of this Kingdom, but of *Europe*; there being no Potentate, which, in his turn, did not feek to him; and as this procur'd him divers Penfions, fo, when he acquainted the King therewith, his manner was, fo cunningly to difoblige that Prince who did Fee him laft, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other fide. But not of Secular Princes alone, but even of the Pope and Clergy of *Rome* he was no little courted; of which therefore he made efpecial ufe, while he drew them to fecond him on moft Occafions. His Birth being otherwife fo obfcure and mean, as no Man had ever ftood fo fingle: for which reafon alfo, his chief endeavour was not to difpleafe any great Perfon, which yet could not fecure him againft the divers Pretenders of that time. For as all things pafs'd through his Hands, fo they who fail'd in their Suits generally hated him, all which, though it did but exafperate his ill Nature, yet this good Refultance follow'd, that it made him take the more care to be Juft; whereof alfo he obtain'd the Reputation in his publick hearing of Caufes. For as he lov'd no body, fo his Reafon carried him. And thus he was an ufeful Minifter of his King, in all Points, where there was no queftion of differving the *Roman* Church; of which (at what Price foever) I find he was a zealous Servant; as hoping thereby to afpire to the Papacy, whereof (as the factious Times then were) he feem'd more capable than any, had he not

His Character.

fo

1530. so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations. That Prince, who was ablest to help him to this Dignity, being ever preferr'd by him, which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperor and *French* King, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon these Terms, he doubted not to convey vast Treasures out of this Kingdom, especially unto *Rome*, where he had not a few Cardinals at his Devotion. By whose help, though he could not obtain that Supreme Dignity he so passionately desir'd, yet he prevail'd himself so much of their Favour, as he got a kind of absolute Power in Spiritual Matters at home. Wherewith again he so serv'd the King's Turn, as it made him think the less of using his own Authority. One Error seem'd common to both, which was, that such a multiplicity of Offices and Places were invested in him. For as it drew much Envy upon the Cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the Regal Authority, while one Man alone seem'd to exhaust all. Since it becometh Princes to do like good Husbandmen when they sow their Grounds, which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great Dissembler, for so qualified a Person; as ordering his Businesses for the most part so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his Word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was far from exact) it consisted chiefly in the Subtilties of the *Thomists*, wherewith the King and himself did more often weary than satisfie each other. His Style in Missives was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the Point. Briefly, if it be true (as *Polydore* observes) that no Man ever did rise with fewer Virtues, it is as true, that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser Crimes objected against him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his first coming into *England* committed to Prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial Author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, when either his Pride and immense Wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the King, or that other than Women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and close Enemies, so for the most part, they carry their Businesses in that manner, they leave fewer Advantages against themselves, than Men do. In Conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compassion of the People a little before his End, so I cannot but account it a principal Felicity, that during his Favour with the King, all things succeeded better than afterwards; though yet it may be doubted whether the Impressions he gave, did not occasion divers Irregularities which were observ'd to follow.

General Dyet at *Augsburg*. April 8. *Sleid. l.* 7.

I will return now a while to the Business of the Emperor at *Augsburg*, where (by his Command) the General Diet was appointed the eighth of *April*, 1530. Cardinal *Campejus* being employ'd for these Businesses on the Pope's behalf. The Emperor coming thither in the beginning of *June*, the first Point resolv'd, was, that until Controversies in Religion were settled, all the Preachers on both sides (some moderate Persons to be nominated by the Emperor only excepted) should be silenc'd: Which being done, the Emperor declares, that the Causes of calling together the Assembly were, First, the Invasion of the *Turk*. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion; demanding their Advice and Help in both; which that they might perform with less Confusion, he commanded their several Propositions to be put in Writing and read. Whereupon the Reform'd Princes made instance, that Matters of Religion might be first compos'd, promising afterwards to proceed unto the rest. Not 1530. long after which, *Campejus* in a *Latin* Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperor herein; adding further in the Pope's Name, that such Order should be taken as Unity in Religion might be conserv'd, to the end that all might go against the *Turk*. Which also was spoken in sequence of the Emperor's Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where he endeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in Agitation in *Germany*. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, (with whom *Melanthon* was,) the Marquiss of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the Landtgrave and others, desir'd the Emperor to receive in Writing the Confession of their Faith, (call'd from this Diet, *Confessio Augustana*) which the Emperor at last granted; admitting afterwards the Confession of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Lyndaw*, *Memingen*, and some other great Towns, who following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in some Points.

Protestants give in their Confession of Faith.

Whereupon, Advice being taken with *Campejus*, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that some able Persons of the *Romanists* should, by way of Confutation, return a written Answer hereunto, accompany'd with a strict Command of the Emperor's to obey it. But this again, was mitigated, and the Reasons at last examin'd on both sides. The Resultance whereof (among the more sober) was, that since they agreed on so many Points, their chief Labours should be not to make any Schism for the rest; since it could not be deny'd, but some things requir'd Reformation. But the more heady sort, on either side, would not acquiesce so, requiring an absolute Assent to their several Opinions; insomuch that they kindled in their Disputations against each other. The Duke of *Saxony* (particularly) demanding, that the Answer to their Confession might be given to them in Writing, which yet was not suddenly approv'd by the Emperor; though at last finding no other way to avoid Tumult, he granted their Request, on this Condition, that they should not Print or Publish the said Answer. Wherewith some were so discontented, that they return'd home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conscience, unless they disputed it abroad, and instructed others. At last, in *August*, Aug. 6. 1530. seven Persons were appointed on each side, to determine Controversies, of which two should be Persons of Quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the *Romanists* took the Bishop of *Augsburgh*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, two Lawyers, and *Wimpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochlæus*, Divines. The other side choosing *George* Duke of *Brandenburgh*, *John Frederick* of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melanthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schnepsius*, Divines.

Dispute between the Protestants and Catholicks.

But these not agreeing sufficiently (though coming somwhat nearer than they are at this present) *Melanthon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others, were permitted to decide the Business. But because the Protestants thought they had yielded already, to as much as was possible for them with safety of Conscience, the Business was remitted again to a greater Number. To which Course yet the Protestants would not condescend, but desir'd a Course should be taken for preserving of Peace till a General Council were call'd. The Emperor finding Things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt Threats and Promises, as each was most obnoxious; writing notwithstanding to the Pope (as I find by the *Spanish* History) that there was no way for ending of Differences but by a Council; which therefore he desir'd might be granted, for those Reasons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* should tell him. He omitted not

A Council desir'd by the Emperor.

1530.

not alſo to write to the College of Cardinals for this purpoſe: Adding further, for a Motive, that divers Princes (in which our King alſo concurr'd) agreed in the ſame Requeſt; as judging it neceſſary, not only for the Cauſe abovemention'd, but even for the Pope's proper Conſervation. He required alſo the Diſpatches uſual for making his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Laſtly, he deſir'd Permiſſion to ſell the Ornaments and Goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at leaſt to have the fourth part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, it being, as he ſaid, for the defence of the Common Faith. Which coming, at laſt, to the Princes Notice, was ſo ſuſpected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwiſe they were averſe enough from the *Roman* Church, yet, whether out of the Danger they foreſaw of putting ſo much Money into the Emperor's Hands, or that otherwiſe they would make themſelves neceſſary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Eraſmus* underſtanding now what was doing, writes to *Campejus* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as Affairs then ſtood, it was better ſuffer, than to make War againſt the *Lutherans*; ſuppoſing perchance, no Peace ſo devoid of Religion, as a Civil War. The Emperor finding Matters thus diſcompos'd, calls the Princes together, promiſing that a Council ſhould be call'd, as ſoon as the Place might be agreed; upon Condition, they would keep Peace in the mean while, and the Religion anciently profeſſed. But the Proteſtants affirming, that theirs was the ancient Religion, thank'd the Emperor for the reſt, deſiring only the Council might be pious and free. The Emperor not ſatisfied thus, would needs diſpute himſelf a while (which the *Spaniſh* ſay he did with that eagerneſs that he drew his Dagger;) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Concluſion, inſtead of making an amicable Accord, he publiſh'd a rigorous Decree; Commanding the Practice of the Ancient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Proteſtants every where ſhould permit the *Romaniſts* the uſe thereof, denouncing ſevere Puniſhments to thoſe which obey'd not: Howbeit, he promis'd, within ſix Months to obtain from the Pope ſufficient Authority for calling a Council the Year following. In the mean time, that Peace ſhould be kept with all thoſe who ſubſcrib'd to this Decree; who alſo, and no other, might be admitted to ſit as Judges in the Imperial Chamber. The Proteſtants now conſidering, that it was impoſſible to come to an exact Deciſion of the Points controverted, and being offended withal that the Emperor denied them a Copy of this Decree, took their leaves ſomewhat abruptly, and return'd; whereupon the Emperor (intending chiefly the Safeguard of *Germany* againſt the *Turks*) commanded the other Princes Attendance. From whom he demanded Money, towards the War; which as few denied (to their Powers) ſo the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Proteſtants offer'd freely to contribute their Parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the Exerciſe of their Religion till the above-mention'd Council was call'd. But the Emperor, not thus contented, inſiſted ſtill on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed (which were many) could not agree among themſelves, concerning the Lord's Supper, and ſome other Articles. The Conſequence whereof being not difficult to foreſee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who alſo had brought them near to a Head. Neither was there other Impediment, but that ſingularity they affected in their ſeveral Opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, agreed ſufficiently among themſelves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally embrac'd. But as the *Romaniſts* took this occaſion to brand the Reform'd, ſo they again regarding more their Reputation (ingag'd to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publick Writing) than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by degrees rather violently confirm their own Aſſertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the Terrors, and Difficulties which their ſeveral Teachers impos'd on them. In which ſtate of Things yet the Reform'd Princes and Cities, for preventing further Inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themſelves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the end of *Decemb.* (at the ſame time that the Emperor having concluded the Diet at *Augsburgh* (19 *Novemb.*) had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen* (*December* 29.) concerning the chooſing a King of the *Romans*. And here a defenſive League being made by the Proteſtants, they thought fit to ſignifie it to the Emperor; and together to declare certain Objections againſt the pretended Election. Notwithſtanding which, the Emperor proceeds to make his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, *Jan.* 5. 1531. which alſo being advertis'd to the Confederate Proteſtants, *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* manifeſted the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the Advice certainly of *Francis*; who as he had his Deſigns that way, ſo he endeavour'd nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving Order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* to *France*, upon Condition that the eldeſt Son ſhould always quarter the Arms thereof with thoſe of *Dauphine*. And in theſe Terms ſtood the Affairs of *Germany* in the end of 1530. which I have deliver'd with the more Particularity, for that the firſt manifeſt Separation from the *Roman* Church began here, there being little elſe material in regard of *England* that I can find, ſave that our King (as appears by a Diſpatch of the fifteenth of *July* 1530.) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his Intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I ſhall conclude this Year with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low-Countries*; which were very damageable; ſhortly after which follow'd the Death of the two great Ladies who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. Madam *Margarite*, Aunt to the Emperor, departed firſt, who having been propos'd in Marriage to our *Henry* VII. (when ſhe was then about twenty ſeven Years of Age) and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*, died in the fifty-ſecond Year of her Age, with the Reputation of governing the *Low-Countries* with much Diſcretion for the ſpace of twenty three Years. The News whereof being brought the Emperor, made him neglect all his other Buſineſſes, to come to the Burial; which being perform'd with much Solemnity, he ſubſtituted his Siſter *Donna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her place. Madam *Louiſe*, Mother of *Francis*, died ſhortly after, (for whom our King kept a ſolemn Obſequy) a Lady from whom *France* receiv'd many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if ſhe govern'd wiſely, during the King's Captivity, and again procur'd both his and her Grand-Childrens Delivery; ſhe was thought alſo out of ſome particular deſpight to *Bourbon*, to have given him the firſt Cauſes of Diſcontentment: And to have occaſion'd in part the Loſs of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Our King during theſe great Affairs of Chriſtendom, reſolving his Parliament ſhould continue, caus'd it to ſit again, *Jan.* 6. 15 31/32. Where theſe Laws were enacted.

That

Margin notes: Aug. 18. — Sept. 7. — *Sandov.* — Proteſtants leave the Diet in diſcontent. — 1530. A Council deſir'd by the Emperor. — Meet at *Smalcald*, and conclude a defenſive League. — Nov. 19. — Dec. 22. — Dec. 24. — Jan. 5. 1531. — July 15. — Octob. 8. — Novemb. — Nov. 30. 1530. *Sandov.* 1503. 1513. — Death and Characters of *Margarite* and *Louiſe*. — Sept. 22. 1531. — 15 31/32. Jan. 6.

1531. That, becauſe much Wooll was imploy'd to Uſes not ſo beneficial to the Kingdom, and ſometimes tranſported by Strangers, it was decreed, that none ſhould buy Wooll in ſome principal Shires (to the Number of twenty eight) but thoſe who would make Cloth or Yarn thereof, and that Strangers ſhould not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewiſe have its Inconveniency, was continu'd only for ten Years, as it had been in ſome former Kings Times.

Jan. 6. Acts of Parliament.

Alſo a Law was made againſt Exactions on Apprentices by Maſters, Wardens, &c. And this was beneficial for poor Men, who were not able to put their Children to learn Occupations without paying extraordinary Sums. A Remedy alſo was taken for Repairing of decay'd Bridges, and Highways, and the manner of raiſing the Money (which before was uncertain) ſet down. The carrying over of Horſes, Mares, Geldings, alſo was forbidden upon a Penalty to all Places but *Calais*. Moreover, Deniſons, notwithſtanding their Priviledges, were order'd to pay ſuch Cuſtoms as they paid before. For which purpoſe the Officers and Miniſters of Cities and Boroughs, &c. where ſuch Cuſtoms, &c. were due, were commanded to ſet up a Table in ſome open place, containing the Particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the *Stilliart* (call'd then *Theutonici*.) Together with which, it was provided, that the Tables touching Scavage to be ſet up at *London*, ſhould be firſt view'd and examin'd by the Chancellor, and Treaſurer in *England*, the Preſident of the King's Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Steward, and the two Chief Juſtices; or by four of them at leaſt, and by them ſubſcrib'd. And this was for preventing of the ſecret Exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. upon Wares to be ſold within their Precincts. A Law was made alſo againſt *Egyptians*, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got Money and Credit among the more ignorant ſort. And whereas ſome Penal Statutes were made heretofore againſt Strangers who were Handicrafts-Men; it was declar'd, that the ſaid Strangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Chirurgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be Handicrafts-Men. And, becauſe the abuſe of taking Sanctuary, and flying to hallowed Places was great about this time, inſomuch that many Criminals, finding Refuge and Protection in them, did there abjure the Realm, and ſo went into foreign Parts, by which means they diſcover'd the Secrets of the State, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas alſo, when they were to be tried before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of ſome Sanctuary or Hallowed Place, and Juſtice thereby delay'd; divers good Orders were taken to remedy theſe Inconveniences. Which yet I mention not at large; becauſe they, together with the uſe of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and aboliſh'd. And now the Buſineſs of *Præmunire*, into which the whole Clergy was ſaid to fall, by ſupporting the Power Legantine of the Cardinal, having fully been debated by the King's Council Learned, and reſolv'd againſt them; (whereupon alſo they were brought to the King's Bench:) It was agreed in their Convocation-Houſe, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the firſt Queſtion was, in what Form to make it; the Title of *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, was by ſome inſerted in the Proem; but this again being demurr'd on, ſome of the King's Council, together with *Cromwel*, came in and perſuaded them to approve it; but they being ſilent, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *Qui tacet conſentire videtur*; whereto one anſwer'd, *Itaque tacemus Omnes*. But at laſt this Clauſe being added, *quantum per Chriſti legem licet*, nine Biſhops (whereof *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rochester* was one) and fifty two Abbots and Priors conſented thereunto, as alſo the major part of the Lower Houſe, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proem, they petition'd the King, that he would accept the Sum of one hundred thouſand Pounds of the Province of *Canterbury* (eighteen thouſand eight hundred forty Pounds, being afterwards given by the Province of *York*) in lieu of all Puniſhments: They promiſing, for the future, to make no Conſtitution, or execute any, without the King's Leave. All which the King graciouſly accepting, granted them a Pardon for all Offences againſt the Statutes of Proviſors, Proviſions and *Præmunire*, and all other Penalties and Forfeitures, except Treaſon, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having paſs'd the Lords, came to the Lower Houſe, the Commons, not knowing how far this might concern them, made ſome difficulty till themſelves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a Check, ſaying, *that was not the way to exempt themſelves*. Whereupon the Lower Houſe, becoming ſenſible of the King's Diſpleaſure, and their own Danger, humbled themſelves in that ſort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewiſe.

The Clergy falls into a Præmunire.

And pay 18840 Pounds Fine.

The King checks the Commons.

I Shall begin the foreign Buſineſs of this Year, 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* at *Aix*, *January* the 11th, on whom it was thought, the Emperor his Brother did confer this Dignity, that he might the better eaſe himſelf from the Troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in ſo many Kinds, and Places, that his Council in *Spain* writ a Letter, exhorting him to leave thoſe Parts, and return. To which alſo conduc'd that *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the Year before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, ſo that he was now enabled to ſuſtain the Dignity of that Charge; to the which I find alſo the Duke of *Bavaria* aſpir'd. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperor's ſole Authority (and without thoſe Formalities anciently us'd) it was not every where allow'd for Authentical. So that it was thought fit an Imperial Mandate ſhould be ſent forth every where in *Germany* to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Proteſtants were requir'd to aſſiſt in a War againſt the *Turks*. For which alſo all Military Preparations were made. But whether the Proteſtants doubted leſt this ſhould be intended againſt them, or that otherwiſe they thought all hope of reconciling Differences in Religion to be vain, they prepar'd to defend themſelves. They would indeed have been glad to ſee ſome general and moderate Reformation. But as thoſe they call'd the moſt erroneous Points of the *Roman* Clergy's Faith, prov'd to be their moſt profitable and commodious Doctrines, the *Romaniſts* fighting for them, *tanquam pro aris & focis*, all Accord was adjudg'd deſperate: Notwithſtanding which, neither would they have broken thoſe neceſſary Bonds of Charity, (which Religion ſhould ſtrengthen) or liv'd under other Name than that of Catholick, when the *Romaniſts* would have allow'd the ancient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their Primitive Inſtitution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the *Roman* Church would remit nothing of its Rigor, under pretence that it was inſpir'd from above; they not only caſt off all hope of Accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benign

Jan. 11.

June 23. *Sandov.*

1531. Feb. 16. *Sleid.*

benign Cenſure of their Actions abroad. Therefore, they ſent ſeveral Letters to our King and *Francis*, dated 16th of *February*, 1531. from *Smalcald*, reciting what had formerly paſt at *Worms*, and *Augsburg*, betwixt the Emperor and them; ſaying farther, *That the Emperor propos'd to them certain Articles (call'd the* Interim) *which they ſhould hold till a General Council were ſummon'd, but that they were ſuch, as they could not with any ſafety of Conſcience admit; concluding with a requeſt, that their good Offices with the Emperor might be interpos'd for the Convocation of a pious and free Council, out of all the Parts of the Chriſtian World; which alſo the Emperor had promis'd.* But before the ſeveral Anſwers of theſe Princes were return'd, the Emperor doubting the Conſequences of this Aſſembly, requires again their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*. To which the Princes reply'd, that *before themſelves had ſecurity given for Peace, it was unſeaſonable to grant help againſt others.* Which being privately advertis'd to the *French* King, he left a while his *Amourettes*, to which he was now much addicted, and ſtudied nothing more than how to make ſome Advantage of the Diviſion. For the preſent yet he return'd this Anſwer only to the Princes, *dated* 21 *April*, 1531. That *he deſir'd Peace and a General Council, and was glad to underſtand they inclin'd that way; only that they muſt take care of chooſing a ſecure and indifferent place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much he eſteem'd them, he ſaid they might gather by this, that during his War with the Emperor, all free Acceſs and Intercourſe was permitted them.* Our King alſo, by his Letters of *May* the third, writ, that *he was glad to underſtand their Deſign was to conſerve the ancient Religion, and to cure only the Diſeaſes crept into it. Therefore, that they ſhould eſpecially take heed of thoſe who deſir'd to Innovate, bringing in parity of Degrees and Perſons, and making the Magiſtrate contemptible. Of whom he could not but take notice, ſome of them having come out of* Germany *to his Realm*; Concluding, that *he deſir'd a Council, and that he would mediate with the Emperor for them.* The Princes thus animated, proteſt againſt the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withal to defend themſelves. Which being related to the *Swiſs*, made them deſire to enter into the Confederacy. But the Duke of *Saxony* refus'd; alledging, that ſince they differ'd about the Lord's Supper, they could not ſafely accept their Help and Friendſhip, leſt ill ſhould happen to them, as to thoſe (*ut ſcriptura teſtatur*) *qui muniendi ſui cauſa cujuſque modi præſidiis uſi ſunt.* For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to be read, ſo out of the literal Senſe thereof, the manner of thoſe Times was, promiſcuouſly to draw Arguments, for whatſoever in matter of State or otherwiſe was to be done. Inſomuch, that the Text which came neareſt the Point in queſtion, was taken as a Deciſion of the Buſineſs; to the no little detriment of their Affairs: The Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular Inſtructions in thoſe Points. But this is ſo much leſs ſtrange, that the Year preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the People) were now tranſlated in divers Languages, and into *Engliſh*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, though, as not being warranted by the King's Authority, they were publickly burnt, and a new and better Tranſlation promis'd to be ſet forth, and allow'd to the People. It being not thought fit by our King, that under what pretence or difficulty ſoever, his Subjects ſhould be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniences were obſerv'd to follow. For as the People did not ſufficiently ſeparate the more clear and neceſſary Parts thereof from the obſcure and acceſſory; and as again taking the ſeveral Authors to be equally inſpir'd, they did equally apply themſelves to all; they fell into many dangerous Opinions: Little caring how they liv'd, ſo they underſtood well, bringing Religion thus into much Irreſolution and Controverſy. While few Men agreeing on the ſame Interpretation of the harder Places, vexed each other's Conſcience, appropriating to themſelves the Gift of the Spirit. Whereof the *Roman* Church, (much perplext at firſt with theſe Defections) did at laſt prevail it ſelf; as aſſuming alone the Power of that Deciſion; which yet was us'd more in favour of themſelves, than ſuch an Analogy, as ought to be found in ſo perfect a Book. So that few were ſatisfied therewith, but ſuch as, renouncing their own Judgment, and ſubmitting to theirs, yielded themſelves wholly to an Implicit Faith; in which, though they found an apparent Eaſe, yet as, for juſtifying of themſelves, the Authority of their Belief, was deriv'd more immediately from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few Difficulties were introduc'd, concerning both: While the more ſpeculative ſort could not imagine, how to hold that as an infallible Rule, which needed humane help to vindicate and ſupport it; nevertheleſs, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the *Roman* Church had added or alter'd in Religion, ſo many recover'd a juſt Liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergy, which yet, through the Obſtinacy of ſome, ſucceeded worſe, than ſo pious Intentions deſerv'd.

Proteſtant Princes ſolicit for a general Council.

April 21.

May 3.

June.

1530.

May 3. 1530. *Tindal's* Tranſlation of the *Bible* burnt.

153[1]. Conſequences of having the Bible in the vulgar Tongue.

The former Proceedings of King *Henry*, being advertis'd to the Pope, made him fear a total Defection in our King. Inſomuch, that at *Rome* they ſtudied nothing more than how to retain him in his ancient Devotion; ſome Arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which Intention alſo it did not a little conduce, that he had taken ſome diſtaſt againſt the Emperor; who, being deſir'd to appoint certain Judges to determine all Differences betwixt him and the Duke of *Ferrara*, concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, choſe ſuch as ſentenc'd on the Duke's behalf; which ſo incens'd the Pope, that he fell off from the Emperor (as will appear hereafter.) For which reaſon alſo it is probable, that our King might have clos'd with him, and receiv'd ſome Satisfaction in the Affair of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this time, as is above-ſaid, concurr'd *to the* ſetting up of the Regal Authority *in Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs. To whom therefore he thought fit to communicate what his Agents, in *Italy* and other Places, had done, concerning that ſo much controverted Point of the lawfulneſs of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet ſitting, the Lord Chancellor, accompany'd with Doctor *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, and divers other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, came into the Lower Houſe 31ſt *March* 1531, and told them; That *they could not be ignorant, how the King, having married his Brother's Wife, was troubled in Conſcience, and therefore had ſent to the moſt learned Univerſities in Chriſtendom, to be reſolv'd in that* Point; *and namely had employ'd the Biſhop of* London *there preſent, for this purpoſe. Not, yet, but that his own Univerſities of* Oxford *and* Cambridge *could have ſufficiently decided the Point, but that he might the more amply ſatisfie himſelf and the World.* Whereupon Sir *Bryan Tuke* was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Bourges* in *Berry*, and *Tholouſe* in *France*, and of *Bononia* and *Padua* in *Italy*,

Jan. 6. 1530/31.

March 31. The Chancellor's Speech to the Commons about the Divorce.

1531. Hall.

Italy, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawful. After which, above a hundred Books of feveral Doctors, (whereof Doctor *Cranmer*'s was one) confirming the fame Opinion, were exhibited. The perufing of which yet (the Day being far fpent) was referr'd to a further time. As alfo the Refolution of our two Univerfities (brought after the reft to our King,) which becaufe *Sanders* calls in a fort Surreptitious, I fhall relate out of fome Original Pieces which I have feen. To the Univerfity of *Oxford*, the Bifhop of *Lincoln* was imploy'd, where, neither eafily, nor by general Vote, there paft this Decree, 4 *April*, 1530.

April 4. 1530.

Refolution thereon of the Univerfity of Oxford.

NOS *Johannes Cotisford hujus almæ Univerfitatis Oxoniæ Commiffarius, authoritate & confenfu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & definimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum, Magiftrorum, tam Regentium quam non Regentium, fingularum facultatum hujus almæ Univerfitatis Oxon. conceffiffe & concenfum pariter & affenfum fuum prebuiffe, quod Determinatio, Definitio & Refponfio ad Quæftionem nobis ex parte Sereniffimi Domini Regis nuper propofitam, per illos Triginta tres Doctores & Baccalaureos, ad id per facultatem Theologiæ nuper electos, five per majorem partem eorum faciendo, habeatur, cenfeatur, & reputetur, pro Definitione Determinatione & Refponfione totius hujus Univerfitatis; Et quod liceat Domino Commiffario & Procuratoribus Sigillum commune Univerfitatis literis fuper præfata determinatione per eofdem concipiendis, appenere.*

WE *John Cotisford*, Commiffary of the Univerfity of *Oxford*, by the Authority, and with the confent of the whole Venerable Convocation, do declare, determine and adjudge, that the major part of all the Doctors, Mafters, as well Regents as Non-Regents of all Faculties in this famous Univerfity, have agreed and given their Confent and Affent, that the Determination, Refolution, and final Anfwer to the Queftion lately propounded to us by his moft Excellent Majefty the King, which fhall be given by the thirty three Doctors and Bachelors in the Faculty of Divinity, chofen for that purpofe, or by the major part of them, be efteem'd and accounted the Determination, Refolution and final Anfwer of this whole Univerfity, and therefore that it may be lawful for the Commiffary and the Proctors to affix the Common Seal of the Univerfity to the Decree, which fhall be made in purfuance to their faid Determination.

Which Copy though blurr'd (upon what occafion I know not, for it is not probable it fhould be intended to the King in that manner) was difpatch'd the Day following, as the Act of the Univerfity, by the Bifhop of *Lincoln*. As for the Univerfity of *Cambridge*, I find *Stephen Gardiner*, and *Edward Fox* were employ'd; Where, notwithftanding the King's Letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few Difficulties did occur. Infomuch that it was firft deny'd, then the Voices on both fides were brought even, and at laft, (fome abfenting themfelves) it was agreed, that the Queftion fhould be difputed by twenty eight Delegates, and that two parts of three fhould determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whofe Names are extant in the fame Record. Which averfnefs, more than in foreign Univerfities, whether it fhould be attributed to the Power of the Pope in *England*, or to their particular fcrupulofity of Confcience, is more than I will determine; though, on this occafion, I can do no lefs, that repeat fome Arguments drawn (in favour of the Divorce) out of our Records. First, the place in *Leviticus*, Chap. xviii. Verf. xvi. Thou fhalt not uncover the Nakednefs of thy Brother's Wife. Secondly, St. *Bafil*'s Opinion, tending this way, where he faith, that he fhall be Excommunicated that Marrieth his Wife's Sifter. Thirdly, becaufe two Epiftles, tranfcrib'd out of the Pope's Regifters, and fent into *England*, by Doctor *Stokefley* (whereof one was of *Gregory*, the other of *Innocent* the Third) do profefs, that the Pope cannot difpence againft the Law of God, the particular Cafe being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that granting the Pope can difpence, *ex urgentiffima caufa*, with that which is *ex jure divino*, (which yet Divines for the moft part deny) there was no occafion here, fince the Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*, (which was taken as the Ground of the *Breve*) ftood firm and intire. Laftly, that the *Jews* themfelves (for our Agents confulted with them alfo) did not hold the Law of Marrying the Brother's Wife, *Deut.* 25. as neceffary in this time, but did often *pati difcalceationem*. All which being maturely confider'd by the Lower Houfe, made them deteft the Marriage, as our Hiftorians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit alfo to prorogue the Parliament, to the intent that every Man repairing home, might fatisfie his Neighbour of thefe Paffages; not omitting, together, to caufe thefe foreign Determinations, to be printed and publifh'd this Year, as the Book yet extant in Print fhews. Notwithftanding which, fo far was the King from remitting any thing of his gentle Behaviour to the Queen, that, had he not forborn to come to her Bed, neither could his outward Favour towards her, or her Fafhions towards him have argued any diminution of Love; all thofe wonted Ceremonies, by which they fuftain'd the Dignity of their Place, and Civilities which might imply a mutual Refpect, continuing firmly on either fide. Which our Hiftorians amplifie fo far, that they fay he fore lamented his Chance, and made no manner of Mirth or Paftime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to fpeak improbably, when we confider both how dear this Liberty coft him, and how much it endanger'd the Succeffion. However, that he might both prevail himfelf of the occafion, and alfo fatisfie the Doubts he had rais'd, not in his own alone, but Subjects Breafts; he fent to Queen *Katharine* fome Lords of his Council, wifhing them to acquaint her with thefe Determinations (which alfo I find had been fhewed the Pope,) and together to demand of her for quieting the King's Confcience, and ending this Bufinefs, whether fhe would rather refer her felf to the Judgment of four Spiritual, and four Temporal Lords in this Kingdom, or ftand to her Appeal. To which the fad Queen anfwer'd, That *her Father, before he confented to her fecond Marriage, had taken the Advice of Doctors, and Clerks, whofe Opinion fhe believ'd rather than any others; and that the Pope having confirm'd it, fhe wondred that any fhould queftion it. And whereas for quieting the King's Confcience, you would have me put the Bufinefs to eight Lords; that which I fay, is, I pray God fend his Grace a quiet Confcience. As for anfwer to your Meffage; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawful Wife, and fo will abide, till the Court of* Rome *determine to the contrary.* But our King, who alledg'd his Proceedings were according to the Law of God (which therefore he faid fhould be more infifted on, than any other Authority) fent other Meffengers, exhorting her ftill to conform her felf; among whom one fpake to this effect: *Madam, you cannot be ignorant how much you have provok'd the King's Difpleafure againft you, fince his Grace ha-*

Cambridge makes a fcruple to decide it.

1531.

Bafil. Epift. 197.

The Commons deteft the Marriage.

The K's kind Behaviour to the Queen.

Hall.

May 31.

Hall.

The Q. refufes to refer her Cafe.

1531. *ving us'd all fit means to clear his own, and Subjects Insatisfactions, concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage, you yet continue Refractory in that violent manner, as you not only refuse the General Determinations of Universities, and Learned Men; but contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royal Dignity, have cited his Highness to appear in the Court of* Rome; *neither have those many Admonitions you have receiv'd concerning the Danger, and Consequences hereof, being able to divert you from your Purposes, or reduce you to Reason and your Duty. Of which therefore his Highness is so sensible, that he hath forborn of late to see your Grace, or receive your Tokens, giving you liberty further, to repair either to his Manor of* Oking, *or* Estamsteed, *or the Monastery of* Bisham; *for, since you were known by his Brother* Prince Arthur, *you cannot be his lawful Wife.* To which the virtuous and sorrowful Queen reply'd little more than this: *That to what place soever she remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the King's Wife.* And here the King bid her a final Farewel: for, from this time, being *July* the fourteenth, I find not the King ever saw her more.

July 14. The King sees her no more.

Our King being now inform'd that *Italian*, and other foreign Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they sold well, and then return'd the Money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhausting of the Wealth of this Realm, and the Diminution of his Customs, caus'd a Proclamation to be set forth, that according to a Branch of a Statute, *Ric.* 3. no Money they took here for selling their Ware, should be exchang'd to other Countries, but employ'd in the Commodities of this Realm, which (our Historians say) as long as it was observ'd, prov'd to the great Benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Money for the *Præmunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their Ease, would have drawn the Priests of *London* to Contribution, which they took so ill, that, in outragious manner, breaking into the Chapter-House of St. *Paul's*, they did beat the Bishop's Servants; till the Bishop, for avoiding more Mischief, gave them his Blessing, and leave to depart for the present; though shortly after they were punish'd for their Misbehaviour.

Sept. 1.

Hall.

This while, the Emperor (intentive wholly to the Affairs of *Germany*) did more calmly suffer our King's intended Divorce; and the rather, for that it is probable the Determinations of the Universities above-mention'd had given him, if not Satisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect a while the prosecuting this Business. Especially, since at this time he might have so much use of our King's Assistance against the *Turk*; of which also hope was given him. On the other side *Francis* did by all means advance, and set it forward; both in regard himself (as their Historians have it) was much addicted to Love-making at this time; and as that he doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a variance with the Emperor. Against whom the Offences and Quarrels he had taken being not extinguish'd, he both fortified himself by all means, and labour'd publickly to traduce even his most impartial and generous Actions. Therefore he was so far from admitting the Restitution of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that he took it, if not as an Affront to him, yet at least as a politick Introduction of one to that Dignity, who he knew could not be dispossest thereof again, without offending all *Italy*. So likewise the parting with the *Contado* of *Asti* (anciently belonging to the House of *Orleans*) to the Duke of *Savoy*, was thought to be no more than interessing him in that Quarrel. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in *Italy*, at the Cost of the Confederates, (but under the Command of *Antonio de Leyva*) was understood, not for conserving the Peace of *Italy*, but defending of *Genoa* against him. All which was so ill taken, that *Francis* did not only by the Entremise of *Guillaume de Bellay*, treat of entring a private League with the Princes of *Germany*, for Defence of the Rights of the Empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*) but prepar'd to send them Succours when occasion were. Nor did his Rancour against the Emperor stay here; but (if we may believe some even of his own Nation) extended it self so far, as secretly, at this time, to incourage the *Turk* to invade the Patrimony of the House of *Austria*; to the no little scandal, both of his own Honour, and the Christian Religion. The Emperor, not ignorant of all these Machinations, sends *Seigneur de Balanzon* to *Francis*, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furnish Land and Sea-forces for a War against the *Turk*; alledging Treaties, Promises, and many Arguments to this purpose. To which *Francis* answer'd; *That the Emperor had gotten lately enough from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to suffice. For the rest, that he was neither Merchant nor Banker to furnish Money, but a Christian Prince, that would have his part of the Honour and Danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that he would spare no Forces out of his Kingdom, nor permit them to go to any place where himself did not lead them.* Besides, as this Summer was far spent, he could not send his Cavalry to *Austria* without much Incommodity, (the distance between both Countries being so great.) Therefore, that the Emperor should defend *Germany*, while himself with an Army of fifty thousand Men, would undertake to defend *Italy*, which the *Turk* also menac'd. And for the next Year, he would be ready, with the help of his good Brother, the King of *England*, to go to any Place where it should be needful. As for his Shipping, he could least of all spare it; having occasion to defend the Maritime Parts of *France* against Pirates. Which being related again to the Emperor (then at *Ratisbonne*.) he thought fit to publish it, thereby to make *Francis* more odious, though effectively he took his Offer to defend *Italy*, to be little more than Irrision. Businesses standing thus, *Monsieur de Bellay*, Ambassador from the *French* King to the Princes, (having first conferr'd with *Monsieur de Velley*, Ambassador from *Francis* to the Emperor) absolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Master: giving by this means a perpetual cause of Jealousy, and Offence to the Emperor. *Yet as Francis thought himself not strong enough alone, so he implor'd our King's Assistance*; which our King also promis'd, by *Monsieur Gilles de Pommeraye*, (*French* Ambassador in *England*,) sending with him (at his Return) fifty thousand Crowns to be employ'd for the Defence and Conservation of the Rights and Privileges of the Empire. An Interview also was projected betwixt them for the Year following, wherein both Kings should treat of the General Affairs, and particularly what they were to do, in case the *Turk* should again invade *Christendom*.

French K. promotes the Divorce.

1531.

Sides with the Protestants.

Incourages the *Turk* to invade the Emperor.

Bellay l. 4.

July. 1532.

Bellay.

1532.

K. *Henry* sends 50000 Crowns to *Germany* to assist the Protestant League.

While Affairs abroad pass'd thus, our Nation enjoy'd much Security and Quietness; so that, if Contention about Religion had not happen'd, they might have thought themselves happy; which though it had its beginning from the divers Explications of the Holy Scripture, yet many good Men labour'd to reconcile them; affirming, that whatsoever was necessary to the attaining of everlasting Happiness, was so plainly, and so perspicuously set down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing besides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet

1531/32. yet unneceſſary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers Points might be added, for the Ampliation, Conveniency, and Ornament of Religion, when they were deliver'd upon theſe Terms, and not under thoſe Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more neceſſary Parts were enjoy'd. Whereupon alſo they concluded, that if divers Paſſages in the Holy Scriptures might ſeem obſcure, it was God's Will to have it ſo, who thought not fit to reveal them otherways; as reſerving a full Knowledge to a ſecond and better Life. Yet, becauſe divers, not content with this or any moderate Reformation, did (through the Violence of their Spirits) run into thoſe Extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church into a perverſe Senſe; much occaſion of Controverſy was given; while they who endeavour'd a Peace ſo little prevail'd, as, (for the moſt part) like thoſe who part Affraies, they bore Blows on either ſide. In which doubtful times King *Henry* put in Execution all former Laws againſt Heretical Perſons, and Books; whereby one *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelor of both Laws, declaring himſelf with great vehemency in divers Articles againſt the *Roman* Church, was (*a*) condemn'd to be burnt, and ſhortly after, for the ſame Cauſe, (*b*) *Bayfield* a Prieſt, and (*c*) *Baynam* a Lawyer. The whole Narration whereof being extant in Maſter *Fox*, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe.

Hereticks burnt.

Fox.

(*a*) Aug. 19.

(*b*) Nov. 27.

(*c*) April 30. 1532.

1532. Jan. 15. *Rec.* 23. *Hall* Mar. 18.

The next Year, *January* 15th, the Parliament ſate again till *May* 14th, where the Commons perſiſting in their Grievances againſt the Clergy, which they compris'd in a Book, and deliver'd by their Speaker; The King anſwer'd, *He would take Advice, and hear the Parties accus'd ſpeak, and then proceed to a Reformation*; which follow'd in part, as appears in ſome Statutes of this Parliament. For, whereas it was uſual in former Times, that Clerks who committed Petty Treaſon, Murder, or Felony, were (through a certain Privilege of the Church) deliver'd to their Ordinaries, who alſo thereupon, for lucre or other undue Motives, did ſuffer them to make their Purgation by ſuch as nothing knew of their Miſdeeds, to the great Scandal of Juſtice; it was now enacted, that none ſhould have the Benefit of this recourſe to the Ordinary, but thoſe who were within holy Orders, and yet to find ſufficient Sureties for their good abearing. This Act yet not to extend to thoſe, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and ſo deliver'd to the Ordinary. It was provided alſo, that Ordinaries having ſuch Perſons in their Cuſtody, might degrade them, and ſend them to the *Kings-Bench* to be detain'd.

Abuſes in the Clergy regulated.

Other Acts made to regulate ſundry Abuſes.

It was enacted alſo, how Perjuries and untrue Verdicts ſhould be puniſh'd. And this was to the ſingular Benefit of the Subject; their being no miſchiefs ſo eaſie to be done, ſo irreparable in their Conſequence, or unlimited in their extent, as thoſe of this kind.

And, whereas the Commiſſion of Sewers, being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, &c. and Dams, Weres, &c. in freſh Rivers, was not particularly enough ſet down heretofore; it was now declar'd and interpreted. And this was much for the Benefit of the Sea-Coaſts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

Whereas alſo Statutes of the Staple were heretofore us'd only betwixt Merchant and Merchant, for ſuch Merchandiſe of the Staple, as paſs'd betwixt them; the uſe thereof was now permitted to others of the King's Subjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarg'd Contracts, but ſtrengthned much the Sinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the King's Subjects were ordinarily call'd by the Citations to appear, in the Arches Audience, and other High Courts of the Arch-Biſhops of this Realm, to anſwer to many ſurmis'd Cauſes; and that they who refus'd, were Excommunicated or Suſpended from Divine Service; it was now enacted, that none ſhould be ſo cited but in certain Caſes declar'd in the ſaid Statute. 1531/32.

Feofments of Lands alſo to the uſe of a Church (as being little different from *Mort-main*) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the Benefit of their Clergy, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break Priſon, it was now declar'd Felony.

Divers other good Statutes paſs'd alſo this Seſſion; which yet, for being meerly legal, or limited to certain Places, are not here recited.

This Year alſo an Act paſs'd concerning *Annates*, or the firſt Fruits of Biſhopricks, paid uſually to the See of *Rome*, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, &c. The Preamble and Conſideration whereof was (as I find in the Records,) 1. That great Sums of Money already paſs'd out of the Kingdom that way, (being no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds Sterling, ſince the ſecond Year of *Henry* VII.) Secondly, that more was like to be ſhortly tranſported, by reaſon many of the Biſhops are Aged. Thirdly, that the firſt uſe and grant of them was for maintaining Arms againſt Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no more Money be paid to *Rome* to that intent, except as is hereafter ſpecified, (*viz.*) leſt the Court of *Rome* ſhould think themſelves irremunerated for their pain, in making and ſealing Bulls in Lead, &c. it was ordain'd, that there may be allow'd for the ſaid Bulls five Pounds in the Hundred, according to the Rate of the Biſhopricks clear Value above all Charges. And if any Man, being choſen to a Biſhoprick, and preſented by the King to the Pope, ſhall hereupon find any let or hindrance, by reſtraint of his Bulls, upon convenient Suit for the ſame; then he may be named and preſented by the King's Highneſs to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province; who ſhall conſecrate him; or, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop delaying under pretence of want of Pall, Bull, &c. the Perſon ſo nam'd, ſhall be Conſecrate, and inveſted by any two Biſhops of the Land, whom the King ſhall appoint thereto; and ſhall be held and reputed thereafter as a compleat Biſhop. But of this Act we ſhall ſpeak again when we come to the 25th Year of the King. For though it paſt the Parliament now, and the King gave his Aſſent thereto; yet Power was reſerv'd for him to annul or confirm the ſame any time within two Years next following.

Records.

Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament declare, that they do not intend to uſe any Extremity or Violence, before gentle and courteous ways have been attempted. But if it ſhall pleaſe the King to propoſe an amicable Compoſition to the Pope, and his Holineſs ſhall be content either to aboliſh or moderate thoſe *Annates*; then the Compoſition ſo made, to ſtand firm. But if, upon the ſaid amicable Propoſitions, the Realm cannot be diſburden'd, and that, for the continuance of the ſame, the Pope ſhall unjuſtly vex, and diſquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, &c. Be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and all his Spiritual and Lay Subjects of the ſame, without any ſcruple of Con-

1532. Conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the Honour of Almighty God, the increase and continuance of Vertue, and good Example within this Realm, (the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding) minister, or cause to be ministred throughout this said Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Service of Holy Church, or any other thing or things, necessary for the Health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously us'd or accustom'd to do within the same. And that no manner of such Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Process or Compulsories shall by any of the Prelates, or other spiritual Fathers of this Region, by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publish'd, executed, or divulg'd in any manner of ways.

April 29. This Act being pass'd, our King made use thereof to terrifie the Pope, which also took Effect; as I find by our Ambassadors Letters dated from *Rome*, *April* 29th. 1532. though together (as they were instructed from hence,) his Holiness was told by them, that our King had reserv'd the whole business to his own Power and Direction; which however it appeas'd the Pope a while, yet as matters pass'd afterwards, the Statute had his final Confirmation, *Anno* 25. *Henry* VIII.

Q. *Katherine's* Affairs. I Shall begin this Year's History with the Affairs of Queen *Katherine*; who, by her Proctor at *Rome*, assisted with the Advice and Power of the Imperialists, Negotiated puissantly with the Pope; so that, notwithstanding our King's Indignation for her prosecuting him in this manner, she urg'd still the Appeal, beseeching the Pope to cite the King, by himself or Proctor to appear. But the Pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our King to take again his Wife *Katherine*.

Clemens Pap. VII.

The Pope's Letter to perswade the K. to take his Wife again. CHarissime in Christo fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Quod pro nostra in te benevolentia, tuoq; honore & salute falsum esse cupimus, Relatum nobis est, & à multis confirmatum, Serenitatem tuam, quæ non solum antea, verum etiam post motam litem inter te & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrem, super validitate matrimonii inter vos Contracti, eam apud se, ut decebat, in sua Regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam & uxorem habuerat, & tractaverat, à certo citra tempore eam non solum à se & sua curia, sed etiam à Civitate seu loco suæ residentiæ separasse, alioque misisse, loco autem ejus quandam Annam in suum contubernium, & Cohabitationem publice recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere; Quæ res, fili Charissime, si modo vera est, tuq; parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perspecturus sis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentiæ & Judicii nostri, vel ob scandalum Ecclesiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem; Quæ omnia ita à recto & religioso Principe, qualem te semper habuimus, aliena sunt, ut, 1532. tanquam tuæ naturæ & Consuetudini repugnantia, etsi nobis indies magis confirmantur, difficilius tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, & tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per Oratores & literas super causa istuc remittenda, instare, inde te ipsum Tuo facto causa decidere? Quid simile tui, armis & scriptis olim Ecclesiam & sanctam fidem defendisse, Nunc tali facto Ecclesiam videri Contemnere? Jam vero communis salus & tranquillitas à nullo unquam nostri temporis Rege acrius quam à te custodita est, qui bellum pro Ecclesia olim susceptum, & gloriose confectum, pro communi quiete deposueris; semperque Arbiter quidam pacis & communis concordiæ inter Christianos Principis Conciliandæ Existimatus; Quo magis hæc nova de te audientes, admiramur simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modo verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria & consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, Hanc ad te, quasi amantis & solliciti Patris vocem præcurrere voluimus, antequam Judicis ullas partes tecum sumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ Celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraq; ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu & lenitate agere velimus, sumpta parentis persona, & Judicis tantisper deposita, donec ex tuis literis consilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falsa esse, aut non tam aspera quam nobis referuntur, Teq; ipsum deinceps, pro tua singulari sapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de Serenitate tua omni virtute conspicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex Hæreticis gaudens audiat, te Reginam, quam in uxorem accepisti, Regumq; filiam, Cæsarisq; & Regis Romanorum materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commoratam, prolemq; ex te susceptam habentem, nunc à tuo thoro & contubernio procul amovisse, aliam quoq; publice apud te habere, non modo sine ulla licentia nostra verum etiam contra nostram prohibitionem; Is profecto necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodo de optimo Principe ferat, tanquam Ecclesiam & publicam tranquillitatem parvi faciente, quod nos scimus ab intentione & voluntate tua longissime abesse; in tantum, ut si quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat, quod à tua Serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed etiam severe vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem, fili, etiamsi tu rectissime sentias, ut nos quidem constanter credimus, tamen causam præbere rumoribus & scandalis non debes; hoc præsertim tempore tam calamitoso, plenoq; Hæresium, & aliarum perturbationum; ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præsertim illustrium, sicut tua Serenitas est, proposita quasi in specula, hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est communis salus, & totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper fuit optimorum Regum. Nec, fili, debes Serenissimos Cæsarem &

1532. & Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ nepotes, nulla te profecutos contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indecisa lite, afficere, & exinde pacem perturbare universalem, qua sola adversus imminentem nobis Turcam tuti sumus; ne scandali in Ecclesia, periculi in tota Christiana republica causam præbeas, proptereaq; Rex cœlestis à te irritatus, tantam suam erga Te benignitatem aliqua severitatis amaritudine permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua semper te sumus prosecuti benevolentiam, semperque, si per te liceat, prosequemur, omni studio & amore hortamur, & paterna charitate monemus, ut, si hæc vera sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem & gloriam denigrant, tute ea corrigere velis, ipsam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atq; in eo Reginæ honore, & uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te habendo: Ipsam vero Annam à publico tuo convictu & cohabitatione, propter scandalum, removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos subsequatur. Quod nos quidem, etsi est à te debitum, tibiq; est maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse à tua Serenitate videbimur. Nam quod te in pristina tua voluntate erga nos, Observantiaq; erga hanc sanctam sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis & beneficiis semper certasti, conservare maxime cupimus; Summo sane cum dolore, ad ea descenderemus Juris remedia, quorum necessitatem nón nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, sed Dei omnipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis, & tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quanquam invitis, imponeret, Sicut Etiam Nuntius apud te noster hæc Tuæ Serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv^to Januarii 1532. Pont' nostri Anno Nono.

Jan. 25.

Blosius.

Clement VII. Pope.

TO *our most dear Son in Christ*, &c. *Health and Apostolical Benediction. What in our tender Affection towards you, for the sake of both your Honour here, and your Salvation hereafter, we should be glad to find false has been reported to us, and by many Hands confirm'd, concerning your Highness, that although not only before, but since the Controversy has been depending about the lawfulness of the Marriage Contract between your self, and our most dear Daughter in Christ, the most excellent* Catherine *Queen of* England; *you entertain'd the said* Catherine *in your Palace, and liv'd with her as your Queen and Wife, as it was fitting you should do; yet now of late you have not only remov'd her from your Person and Court, but have banish'd her from the City, the usual place of her Residence, and sent her to another place, taking in her room publickly to your Bed and Conversation, a certain Lady* Anne, *with whom you cohabit, and to whom you shew that conjugal Love and Affection, which is only due to your Wife, the said Queen. Which thing, most dear Son, if it be true, and you would lay aside Carnal Affections, and give your self leisure to think, we doubt not but that, although we were silent herein, you would soon perceive upon how many several Accounts it is unworthy your Highness, either as it is a great Contempt of our Judgment and Sentence, which you thus refuse to stay for, as it is a publick Scandal to the Church, or as it is a manifest Violation of the publick Peace; all which things are so contrary to the Principles of a virtuous and religious Prince, as we have always esteem'd your Highness, that though they have daily more and more been confirmed unto us, yet we have found great difficulty to believe them, as things wholly repugnant to your Nature, and perfectly contrary to your usage. For what can be more unnatural to you, or less agreeable to your Integrity, on one hand, both by your Letters and by your Ambassadors, to implore our Assistance in determining your Cause, and on the other, by your Actions to judge and decide it your own self? To contemn the Authority of the Church by such a Proceeding, how unlike is it to the Actions of him, who has so well defended by the Power of the Sword, and by the strength of Argument, our most holy Faith and the Catholick Church? Surely the publick Peace and Tranquillity have by no Prince of our Age, been more carefully preserv'd than by you, who piously undertook a War for the Church, gloriously prosecuted it, and at length for the sake of publick peace and quiet desisted from it, from whence your Highness has been justly esteem'd the Arbiter of Peace and common Concord among Christian Princes; wherefore when we hear these strange things concerning you, it raiseth both our Admiration, and encreaseth our Grief, that this one Action of yours, if it be true, should cast a blemish upon the Glory of your former Life and Behaviour. Wherefore as we could not but enquire into the truth hereof more carefully, and ought not to pass by a Matter of this weight with neglect, we were willing to send you this kind Admonition, as of a loving and affectionate Father, before we are forc'd to deal with you in the severer Methods of an impartial Judge. The high Dignity of your Majesty, your most deserving Services to us, and our most tender Love and Affection to you, makes us choose to act towards you, with all respect and gentleness in the Person of a kind Parent, and so long lay aside our Office as a Judge, till by your Letters we shall see what Measures will be most proper for us to take. We wish, Dear Son, as we have said, that these things were false, or at least not so bad as they are represented to us; and farther, that you your self would take such care of your singular Wisdom, that no body may in this thing have occasion to speak ill of your Highness, whose Virtues have in all other your Actions been so conspicuous. For if any Catholick, to his great grief, or any Heretick to his mighty joy, should hear that you have now remov'd afar off from your Bed and Presence, your Queen whom you Married, the Daughter of a King, the Aunt of the Emperor, and King of the* Romans, *after she had liv'd with you more than twenty* Years, *and had several Children by you; that you have openly taken another Woman to your Bed, not only without our License and Dispensation, but also contrary to our express Prohibition;*

1532. *tion; he cannot but in some measure make this Judgment of the best of Kings, that he is one that little regards the Authority of the Church, and nothing values the publick Peace, than which we are satisfied nothing can be farther from your Highness's Will and Intention; insomuch that should any one in your Kingdom dare to do this which is reported of your Highness, we surely know that you would be so far from approving, that you would most surely punish it. Wherefore, my Son, as we most certainly believe that your Knowledge is rightly inform'd herein, so ought your Practice to be such, as not to give occasion to scandalous Reports; especially in these dangerous Times, which so abound with Heresies, and other most grievous Calamities, lest what you do, should grow a Precedent and Example for others: For the Actions of Princes, especially those so illustrious as your Highness, are looked upon as Marks and Patterns whereto others may direct their Aim, and whereby they may form their Practice. Nor ought your Highness to neglect the common Safety, and overlook the Peace and Tranquillity of Christendom, to which the best of Princes have never fail'd to pay, as in Duty bound, a regard. Nor ought you, my Son, to offer this Injury to the most Serene Princes, the Emperor and the King of the* Romans, *the said Queen* Catherine's *Nephews, who have never given you Offence, by thus proceeding before your Cause is determin'd, thereby disturbing that Universal Peace among Christian Princes, wherein alone, our safety from the* Turks *consists; lest you give occasion of much Scandal in the Church, and of great danger in the Christian World, and so provoke the Almighty so far, as to change the great Blessings he has so long pour'd down upon you into Bitterness and Affliction. We therefore of our tender love and affection, exhort you, and of our Paternal Duty, warn you, my Son, that for the sake of that kind Indulgence and Favour which we have always shewn, and shall continue ever to shew you, unless you hinder us, that, if these things be true, that tarnish your former Reputation of Piety and Glory, you your self would amend them by affectionately taking again to your self your Queen* Catherine, *by giving her the Honour and Respect due to a Queen, and the Tenderness and Affection due to a Wife: And by removing the said Lady* Anne *from your Bed and Conversation, so long at least till your Cause shall be determin'd, and we have given Sentence herein. Which, although it be no more than your Duty, and what will greatly conduce to your Honour, and advance your Glory; yet we shall take as a great Mark of your Highness's respect and good will towards us. For as our most earnest desire is always to preserve in you your good esteem of us, and your customary Duty and Affection to the Apostolical See, which in your Regard and your Actions, you have never fail'd to shew; so we cannot without the greatest Grief betake our selves to the sharper Remedies of Justice; to which the Indignity offer'd to our own Person herein, which we can willingly pass by, could never prompt us, nor indeed can any thing force us to it, but the Honour of Almighty God, the Advancement of the Publick Good, and the Salvation of your Immortal Soul, as our Nuncio with you has Orders more fully to acquaint your Highness.* 1532.

Given at St. *Peter's*, under the Seal of the Fisherman, *Jan.* 25. 1532. in the 9th Year of our Pontificat.

But the Pope had no good Answer thereunto; for as the People for the most part exclaim'd against the Match (as our Historians relate) so the King would have found perchance some difficulty to appease their Scruples, when otherwise he could have satisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet those who defended her Cause publickly, both in Books and Sermons (of whom the chief were *Thomas Abel* her Chaplain, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*) and privately in Discourse, (especially Women) though not sufficiently either to clear all Objections, or to remove the King from his Affection to Mrs. *Anne Bolen*. Among which, I must not forget one *Temse*, of the Lower-House of Parliament; who motion'd, that they all should petition the King to take his Queen again; which being advertis'd to our King, he sent for *Thomas Audley*, the Speaker of the House, and told him to this effect. *That he marvell'd any among them should meddle in Businesses which could not properly be determin'd there. As for this particular, that it concern'd his Soul so much, that he many times wish'd the Marriage had been good, but since the Doctors of the Universities had generally declar'd it unlawful, he could do no less than abstain from her Company. Which therefore he wish'd them to take as the true reason, without imputing it to any wanton Appetite: Since, being in the one and fortieth Year of his Age, it might be justly presum'd such Motions were not so quick in him. All which, that they might the better understand, he had inform'd himself in all Parts of Christendom, concerning strange Marriages; and that, saving in* Spain *and* Portugal, *he could never find that any Man had so much as Married two Sisters, if the first were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife was so abhorr'd among all Nations, that he never heard any Christian so did but himself, and therefore wish'd them to believe that his Conscience was troubled.* Shortly after which, the King sent for the Speaker again, and told him, *that he had found that the Clergy of his Realm were but his half Subjects, or scarce so much. Every Bishop or Abbot, at the entring of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope derogatory to that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradiction he desir'd his Parliament to take away:* Whereupon these two Oaths by the King's Command being read and consider'd, the Parliament so handled the Business, as it occasion'd the final renouncing of the Pope's Authority about two Years after.

It is moved in the House of Commons to petition the K. to take his Wife again.

April 30. *Hall. Fox.* K's Speech to the Speaker hereupon.

May 11. *Hall.*

While these things thus pass'd, King *Henry* commands his Agents at *Rome*, (the Bishop of *Worcester* and Sir *Gregory Casalis*) to present unto the Pope the Opinion of divers famous Lawyers, in favour of his Cause; procuring also Learned Men from all Parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, to offer Disputation for the same. To second this again, King *Henry* in *January*, 1532. sends *William Benet*, Doctor of Law, to *Rome*, with Instructions to this purpose. But because it was found, that, by the continual Intercession of the Queen and Emperor, the Pope intended shortly to cite the King to appear at *Rome*, either in Person or by Proxy; he dispatches thither about *February*, *Edw. Karne*, Doctor of Law, to be his Excusator, and to remonstrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law so to appear. Jan. Feb.

But

1532. March. April.

But the Pope making difficulty to admit this Excusator, it was disputed in the Consistory, whether he ought to be heard or no? But much time being spent herein, the Queen's Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principal Cause. In the mean while our King, by Sir *Francis Bryan*, importunes *Francis* to intercede for him with the Pope; who, thereupon by Letter, dated

Mar. 16.

March 16. informs his Holiness, that *the request of the King of* England *is just, and he ought to relieve him. Or else they two, (being* one mesme *chose, and who have so well deserv'd of him) shall be forc'd to seek such other Remedies, as shall not please him*, &c. To enforce this most earnest Letter, *Francis* sends *Gabriel de Grammont*, Bishop of *Tarbe*, lately made Cardinal) to the Pope, who yet, being continually urg'd by the Imperialists to proceed against the King, and hearing (besides) first the Prohibition of *Annates* above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certain Priest was committed for maintaining the Papal Authority, and that another Priest (being put in Prison by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for favouring *Luther*) after he had appeal'd to the King *tanquam Dominum Supremum*, was set at Liberty, proceeds to Citation; and calling a Consistory (*July* 8.) commits the hearing of the Cause to *Paulus de Capisucci* Dean of the *Ruota*, and appoints the Month of *October* 1532. for the King's Appearance, protesting *alioqui procedetur*, &c. In the mean time, he writes to our King, certifying him what was done, (yet omitting the Clause of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to send a Proctor; making also this Overture to our Agents, that he will be content that all the Process shall be in *England*, except only the final Decision, which (because there is question of the Papal Authority and the Law Divine) he will reserve to himself. The Term prefix'd for our King's Appearance being expir'd; *Capisucci* cites our King again, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which *Edward Karne* answer'd publickly, *November* 14. 1532. That the Proceeding was undue, both as the Question concerning his Excusation was not decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the *Breve* sent to the King concerning this Business. Besides, that the Emperor was so powerful in *Rome*, that he could not expect Justice, wherefore, unless they desisted, he declar'd, that he must appeal from thence to the able Men in some indifferent Universities. And that, if this were refus'd, he protested then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope, as little regarding this, goes to *Bononia* shortly after, to meet the Emperor, according to an Agreement made a good while since betwixt them; promising our Agents yet, that notwithstanding the Queen's Proctors Sollicitation, nothing of moment should be done in this Cause, till the Emperor were departed.

April. June. — The King cited to *Rome*. — July 8. — July. — Nov. 4. — Nov. 14. — *Karne* the King's Agent's Answer to the Citation.

The *Turk* now threatning *Germany*, the Elector of *Mentz*, and *Ludovicus* Prince *Palatine* interpos'd Offices for reconciling the Emperor and the Protestants: The Treaty whereof began in *April*, and so continued until *July*. When News of the coming of the *Turk* being brought, both Parties condescended to this Capitulation concluded at *Noremberg*.

April 4. July 23.

That no Man should be troubled for cause of Religion, till the Council be held, (which the Emperor will labour to procure to be summon'd within six Months, and held within a Year following) or some other way of Determination of controverted Points be found.

Sleid. League between the Emperor and Protestant Princes.

Whereupon also the Protestants (being seven Princes, and twenty three Cities) offer'd him Aid against the Turk, who, this Year, 1532. upon colour of putting *Johannes Sepusius* in Possession of that Crown, invaded *Hungary*, which also he prosecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any Reasons from the Emperor, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of *Spain*, (for he said there was no Emperor but himself) he brought in an Army of three hundred thousand Men into *Hungary*. And because his Equipage was singular, I presume the Reader will take well the Description of it; for his own Person, he was cloath'd only in a rich Robe of *Crimson* broider'd with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as also the Saddle and Bit of the Horse, on which he rid, was set with Stones of inestimable Value. Then follow'd his Visier-Bassas, and *Abraym* his Favorite, and Houshold Retinue; being about twelve thousand Men. Before him went four thousand Horse with the Standard Imperial, and four thousand Janizaries of his Guard, four hundred Slaves on Horseback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his most precious Treasure, and some of the choicest Beauties of the Seraglio, and especially the admir'd *Esspanziel* a *Macedonian*, and four thousand Horse to guard them, besides two hundred brave Horse richly furnish'd, which were led by the Hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horseback, whereof one more gorgeous than the rest, and his Lacquies one thousand, richly Apparell'd likewise in a Livery, all of these (last mention'd) wearing great Plumes. After which follow'd his Dogs and Hawks in no small proportion.

1532. — 300000 *Turks* invade *Hungary*.

With this Train *Solyman* marches to *Belgrade*, then turning to the left hand of the *Danubius* he besieges *Guntz*: Whence being repuls'd, he sent out his Captains to forage the Country; who after committing all sorts of Cruelty, were at the last defeated and slain: And now *Solyman* finding great Forces rais'd against him, and prepar'd to give him Battel, retir'd, with as little Success as he had three Years since at *Vienna*; this Army of the Christians consisting, as I find, of ninety thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse, was rais'd by the Emperor, who yet did not think fit to conduct them, in Person, as coming from *Lintz* in *Austria* to *Vienna*, no sooner than that *Solyman* was departed from *Hungary*; whence he sent to *Rome* a Dispatch of the 4th of *October*, desiring the Pope to meet him at *Genona*. About which time he receiv'd News from *Andrea Doria*, whom the last Summer he had commanded to scour the *Mediterranean* Sea, and to land where he thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with a great Fleet, and ten thousand Soldiers, setting forth from *Messina* in *Sicily*, *August* 18. passing by *Cephalony* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*, and landed at *Coron*, (anciently call'd *Corone*, not *Cheronea*, in *Bœotia*, *Plutarch*'s Country, as *Sandoval* mistakes it) and battering it both by Sea and Land, took it by Composition, *Sept.* 21. where leaving for Garrison fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, he return'd with great Spoils and Honour to *Genona*.

Retire without Success. — Octob. 16. 1529. — Octob. 4. — Aug. 18. — *Libr.* xx. p. 178. — Sept. 21.

This while our King finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the Pope, hastens the League with *Francis*, formerly projected, to a Conclusion; and the rather, that he heard this Meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperor would shortly follow. In Emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and *Francis* was concluded, in that Form which Cardinal *Woolsey* heretofore had set down upon the like Meeting projected, *Anno* 1527.

Bellay. 1527.

The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and *Ormond* Lord Privy Seal, together with *Edward Fox*, the King's Almoner, on the one part, and *Gilles de la Pomeraye* on the other part, were these.

Titl.

I. *That*

1532.

July 23. League between the K's of England & France.

I. *That all former Treaties shall remain in force, so that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not perform'd, the former Treaties yet, especially that of perpetual Peace, shall stand firm.*

II. *That if the Emperor* Charles *any way shall invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they shall be bound to send mutual Aid, (viz.) The King of* France *to the King of* England *(within three Months warning) to the place appointed five hundred Men at Arms, (arm'd* a la Francoise,*) or any other less Number, which the King of* England *shall pay according to the Rate they use to have of the* French *King. The King of* England *to the King of* France *such a number of Archers on foot as he shall require, so it exceed not five thousand; to receive Pay of the* French *King, according to the rate of* England. *And if either the Horsemen or Archers pass the Sea, these into* France, *or those into* England, *then, besides this Pay, there is such Provision to be made for Victual, by the Prince under whom they serve, that the Soldiers may well live and maintain themselves by their Pay. And if the said Emperor shall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Months notice to the other, shall receive for Aid a Navy, (in which shall be fifteen thousand Soldiers, well arm'd and equipped, which Navy both Kings shall be bound to maintain for six Months together, or longer if need be, at their own Costs, to defend and secure against the said Emperor the Sea and Shores on both sides, from the Isle of* Ushant *to the place call'd the* Downs, *between* Sandwich *and* Dover.

III. *If the Emperor or his Governors shall detain the Goods, or Ships, or Persons of the* English *Merchants in his Dominions, the King of* France *shall summon him to make Restitution, which if he denies, he shall lay hold on and arrest the Emperor's Subjects, and Goods in his Kingdom,* &c. *nor shall release them till Satisfaction be given. And in like Manner is the King of* England *bound to the King of* France.

(But, if for any probable Cause, and particularly for any contain'd in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of England *and* France, *or for Justice deny'd, after he hath requir'd it, the Emperor shall arrest any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their Goods, then the other is not bound to see him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, First, that the Emperor made it appear, that it is for a just Cause. Secondly, That he arrest no more than may countervail his pretended Loss. Thirdly, Provided also that the number of Ships arrested by the Emperor, be not above five or six, and that for some particular Interest or Deed betwixt them and him.) This third Article shall not be extended to the Merchants of Higher* Germany, *and the Subjects of* Charles Jure Imperii.

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendship, or Affinity with any Prince or Estate, to the prejudice of the other. If he do, it shall be counted void, and of no effect; This Treaty, being Minuted 23 June 1532. *was to be sign'd five Months after.*

Interview between the two Kings. Octob. 11. * Sept. 1. Octob. 20.

And now the Time of the Interview approaching, our King pass'd the Seas to *Calais*, 11 of *Octob.* 1532. with a Royal Train, and Mistress *Anne Bolen*, (lately * created Marchioness of *Pembroke*.) And going thence to *Bologne*, the young Princes, the Children of *Francis*, meeting him, were recommended to him by the King their Father. Who, after many Complements, conducted him to the Abbey; where they both lodg'd in the same House. Many Courtesies were exchang'd, and many Designs projected betwixt those Princes concerning Religion, and other Affairs of Christendom, for the space of four Days that they stay'd together; which being past, *Francis* return'd with our King to *Calais*, in this Order, that, while *Francis* was on *French* Ground he gave place, but when he came to the *English* Pale, he receiv'd it. Being now come near *Calais*, the Duke of *Richmond*, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. All the Soldiers of the Town also, and Servants to the Nobility, richly Apparell'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the Streets. The Lodging which *Francis* was brought to, was most richly furnish'd with Cloth of Gold and Tissue, imbroider'd in some places with Pearl and precious Stone. And their several Services brought in a hundred and seventy Dishes all of massive Gold. The Marchioness also made them a curious and rich Masque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which *Anne de Montmorency*, a noble Man of a most ancient and generous Family, Grand-Maister, and Mareschal of *France*, and *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, and Admiral of *France*, were accepted into the Order of the Garter. *Francis* himself (who was also of this Order) sitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into the Order of St. *Michael* by *Francis* at *Boulogne*. And here the two Kings advis'd what in their particular should be done against the *Turk*; for, though News were already brought of his Retreat, yet because that he had left behind him a great part of his Forces, and that it was thought he intended to return, it was agreed betwixt these Princes, the next Year to bring an Army into the Field, of seventy thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and not to part without mutual consent. That they should send to the Princes in *Italy* or *Germany*, to require Passage and Victuals at a reasonable Price, &c. This being settled, our King complain'd of the ill Usage the Pope gave him in the Affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was cited to appear at the Court of *Rome* by himself or Proctor; whereas it was usual in these Cases to send Judges to the place; it being not reasonable that either a Proctor should be trusted with the Secrets of his Conscience, or that himself should abandon his Realm to go in Person to so remote a place. Whereupon they began mutual Complaints against the Pope for the *Annats* and Exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promis'd to remedy, by summoning him to a Council, and in the mean while to send their Ambassadors to require Reparation, protesting, that otherwise (by calling Provincial Councils in their several Kingdoms) they would give that Order which was fitting. And, for this purpose that the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, should be employ'd; who also were authoris'd to tell the Pope, that, whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the *French* King at *Avignon* or *Nizza*, that it might be, that the King of *England* his good Brother, could be perswaded easily to go along with him, for ending all Controversies, if his Holiness were dispos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Bishop of *Auxerre*, the *French* Ambassador at *Rome*, should certifie the Pope, that the said Cardinals would be present at the Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperor, to the end they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King *Henry* Judges in his own Kingdom, to decide the point of the Divorce. After which, coming to speak, (as I find by our Records) concerning his intended Match with the new Marchioness, *Francis* incourag'd him to proceed; promising, if the Cause were question'd, to assist him to the uttermost, whatsoever should come of it. In which Discourses purposing *fier la Partie* for the chief Affairs of *Europe*, they pass'd four Days at *Calais*. After which time the King conducting him to the *French* Ground, bid him farewel 30 *Octob.* 1532. and so return'd to *Calais*. Yet as the Weather was then tempestuous, he pass'd not

Octob. 25. Hall.

Octob. 27.

Octob. 28.

Octob. 25.

Bell.

They resolve to summon him to a Council.

Francis incourages Henry to marry Anne Bolen.

1532. Nov. 14. *Holingſ. Stow.* He marries her.

not the Seas before the 14th of *Novemb.* on which Day ſome write, he privately Married the Marchioneſs, though others place it on the 25th of *January* following, *Rowland Lee* afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and Preſident of *Wales*, (under whom it began firſt to be govern'd by the Laws of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the preſence of Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, *&c.* which yet was not publiſh'd till the *Eaſter* following. Not long after which (or as ſome have it in the beginning of the next Spring) the King ſent *George Bolen* Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to deſire him (if occaſion were) not to fail his Promiſe. Furthermore he requir'd his Advice, how it were beſt to publiſh it, ſince it could not be long conceal'd. He alſo acquainted him how the *Scots* under the Earl of *Murray* had done ſome Hoſtile Acts in his Kingdom; wiſhing him therefore not to take it ill if he reveng'd himſelf on the *Scots*; intreating him further, that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then ſecretly projected) muſt needs follow (which yet he wiſh'd were protracted) that he would remember his Cauſe, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often deſir'd.

Bellay.

Interview between the Pope and Emperor. Dec. 20.

The Emperor who was well inform'd of this Interview, haſtned his with the Pope. And becauſe the Pope could not be perſuaded to come to *Genoua* by Sea, the Meeting was agreed at *Bononia*, 20th *December* 1532. where alſo the two Cardinals above-mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the general Affairs, but not with that intireneſs and ſatisfaction which formerly paſt; for the Pope retain'd ſtill ſome Grudge concerning the Buſineſs of *Ferrara* above-mention'd. Therefore, when the Emperor (according to his Promiſe given to the *German* Princes) preſt him to call a Council, he deferr'd it; and, when he wiſh'd him to renounce all Friendſhip with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himſelf, ſaying, they were Chriſtian Princes. Again, when he requir'd that *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece (between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, ſecond Son to *Francis*, a Treaty paſt) ſhould be diſpos'd of to *Franciſco Sforza*; he reply'd ſhe was already promis'd. Only, it ſeems, he accorded all that could be requir'd concerning our King. Inſomuch, that unleſs he would contribute puiſſantly for and againſt the *Turk* (for which purpoſe the Pope promis'd his Letters) the Emperor was then aſſur'd that all that could be done in favour of Queen *Katherine*, ſhould be immediately diſpatch'd. Which alſo the Emperor (now more than ever offended at our King's League with *Francis*) took ſo well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his Forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinals being made at this Interview, the Ambaſſadors of *France* demanded a Cardinal's Hat for *Hierom*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; which the Emperor oppos'd, ſaying, *he would have taken it leſs ill, that the* French King *ſhould have ſu'd for four Hats for his own Subjects, than one for any appertaining to our King, eſpecially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce.* Many Deſigns here likewiſe were projected, and among them one by the Biſhop of *Como*, who for deciding all Controverſies, ſaid it was neceſſary that the Pope, the Emperor and *French* King ſhould meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unleſs our King made the fourth. But this alſo in regard of the little ſecurity thoſe Princes could mutually give or receive, being judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after which, the Pope and Emperor took leave of each other.

Bellay.

1532. Feb. 28. 1533. Jan. 31. 1533. Ambaſſador ſent to the Pope from the K. of Ethiopia.

During this Interview, I find in our Records a *Portugueze*, in the Name of *David* King of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly call'd *Prete Jan*) preſented himſelf Ambaſſador to his Holineſs; for authorizing of which Charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (tranſlated out of the *Chaldee* to the *Italian* and *Portugal* Tongues) wherein the ſaid King declar'd himſelf to be deſcended from Queen *Candace*, mention'd in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further effect of his Employment being to require ſome excellent Artificers, and 2000 Arquebuſiers, whom he would uſe in a War againſt the *Turk* in *Egypt*, when his Holineſs would compoſe the Differences in the Weſtern Parts, and join all Chriſtian Princes for recovery of the *Holy Land*; pretending thereupon in the Name of that King to render Obedience to his Holineſs as the true Succeſſor of St. *Peter*. But this (as *Auguſtino de Auguſtini* an *Italian* there preſent, and ſometimes Servant to Cardinal *Woolſey*, hath it in his Letter to *Cromwel*) made the reſt ſuſpected; and the rather that other Circumſtances made it probable, that this Ambaſſador was ſuborn'd partly by the *Portugal* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards thoſe Parts (much grudg'd at by his Neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to return to our Hiſtory.

Feb. 2. 1533. But ſuſpected to be a Counterfeit.

Our King having notice of the foreſaid Interview, and finding that the Emperor, who ſeem'd a while to deſiſt from the eager Proſecution of his Aunt's Cauſe, was now more vehement than ever; ſends Inſtructions to his Agents at *Rome*, to proteſt in his Name, that he was not bound either in his own Perſon, or by his Proctor to appear there, urging, for this purpoſe, the Determination of ſome Univerſities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithſtanding which, he permitted Doctor *Bennet* to make (as of himſelf) divers motions to the Pope, the principal whereof in our Records I find theſe. Firſt, that ſeeing by the Opinions of Lawyers, and the Council of *Nice*, the matter ought to be decided *in partibus*; and that by the Laws of *England* the Determination (it concerning the Succeſſion) cannot elſewhere be made; it would pleaſe his Holineſs that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Biſhops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, ſhould decide the ſame. But this being diſlik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* ſecondly propos'd, whether he would refer the Determination to Sir *Thomas More*, or the Biſhop of *London*, to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperor name another, and the *French* King the third, and let the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* be the fourth. But this alſo being rejected, *Bennet* came, it ſeems, to the laſt degree of the Inſtructions, which was, that if the Cauſe might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refus'd the Sentence, ſhe ſhould have the benefit of her Appeal before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the third from the Pope, who alſo ſhould diſcuſs the matter in ſome indifferent place. But the Pope allow'd not this, ſaying, *ſince he ſaw the King would needs conſerve his Authority, he would likewiſe conſerve his, and proceed* via ordinaria. Before yet I conclude this Year, I ſhall relate ſome particular Home-buſineſſes. Among which, I find that our King having gotten *York*-Houſe (now *White-Hall*) upon the Cardinal's Conviction in a *Præmunire*; did newly enlarge and beautifie it, buying alſo the Hoſpital and Fields of St. *James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpoſe he compounded with the Siſters of the Houſe for a Penſion during their Lives. Not

White-Hall and St. *James's* Palaces built.

1532. long after which, he ſuppreſs'd the Priory call'd *Chriſt-Church* in *London*, diſtributing the Canons, being *Franciſcans*, into other Houſes of that kind, and beſtowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on Sir *Thomas Audley*, newly made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. For Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, after divers Suits to be diſcharg'd of his Place, (which he had held two Years and a half) did at length by the King's good Leave reſign it. The Example whereof being rare, will give me occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of him. Sir *Thomas More*, a Perſon of ſharp Wit, and endued beſides with excellent Parts of Learning (as his Works may teſtifie) was yet (out of I know not what natural Facetiouſneſs) giving ſo much to Jeſting, that it detracted no little from the Gravity and Importance of his Place, which though generally noted and diſlik'd, I do not think was enough to make him give it over in that Merriment we ſhall find anon, or retire to a private Life. Neither can I believe him ſo much addicted to his private Opinions, as to deteſt all other Governments but his own *Utopia*, ſo that it is probable ſome vehement deſire to follow his Book, or ſecret Offence taken againſt ſome Perſon, or Matter (among which perchance the King's new intended Marriage, or the like, might be accounted) occaſion'd this ſtrange Counſel, though, yet, I find no reaſon pretended for it, but Infirmity and want of Health. Our King hereupon taking the Seal, and giving it, together with the Order of Knight-hood, to *Thomas Audley* Speaker of the Lower-Houſe, Sir *Thomas More* without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his Family at *Chelſey*, where after a Maſs celebrated the next Day in the Church, he comes to his Ladies Pew, with his Hat in his Hand (an Office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and ſays, *Madam, my Lord is gone.* But ſhe thinking this at firſt to be but one of his Jeſts, was little mov'd, till he told her ſeriouſly, he had given up the Great Seal; whereupon ſhe ſpeaking ſome paſſionate Words, he call'd his Daughters then preſent to ſee if they could not ſpy ſome fault about their Mother's Dreſſing; but they after ſearch, ſaying, they could find none, he replied, *do you not perceive that your Mother's Noſe ſtandeth ſomewhat awry*; of which Jeer the provok'd Lady was ſo ſenſible, that ſhe went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, he acquainted his Servants with what he had done, diſmiſſing them alſo to the Attendance of ſome other great Perſonages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Fool he beſtow'd him on the Lord Mayor during his Office, and afterwards on his Succeſſors in that Charge. And now coming to himſelf, he began to conſider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred Pounds yearly in Lands, beſides ſome Money, he adviſ'd with his Daughters how to live together. But the greiv'd Gentlewomen (who knew not what to reply, or indeed how to take theſe Jeſts) remaining aſtoniſh'd, he ſays, *We will begin with the ſlender Diet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, we will take ſuch Commons as they have at* Oxford; *which, yet, if our Purſe will not ſtretch to maintain, for our laſt Refuge we will go a Begging, and at every Man's Door, ſing together a* Salve Regina *to get Alms.* But theſe Jeſts were thought to have in them more Levity, than to be taken every where for current; he might have quitted his Dignity, without uſing ſuch Sarcaſms; and betaken himſelf to a more retir'd and quiet Life, without making them or himſelf contemptible. And certainly whatſoever he intended hereby, his Family ſo little underſtood his meaning, that they needed ſome more ſerious Inſtructions. So that I cannot perſuade my ſelf, for all this Talk, that ſo excellent a Perſon would omit at fit times, to give his Family that ſober account of his relinquiſhing this place, which I find he did to the Archbiſhop *Warham*, *Eraſmus*, and others. 1532.

June 4. May 16. Sir *Thomas More* reſigns the Seals. June 4. Life of Sir *Thomas More*, by *J. M.* Gives his Fool to the Lord Mayor and his Succeſſors.

THis Year of 1533. *February* 4. the Parliament ſat again, 1532/3

The chief Laws enacted were; that all Victuals ſhould be ſold by the larger kind of weight call'd *Averdupois*. That the price of a pound of Beef or Pork ſhould be a Half-penny at moſt, and of Mutton or Veal three Farthings, and leſs where it was uſually ſold for leſs. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of thoſe Times with theſe. This Law yet was finally repeal'd, in regard unſeaſonable Years did not permit a certain Rule in theſe things, and ſome of the Lords of the Council appointed to ſet the Prices; whereof in its due place.

Feb. 4. *Reg.* 24. Parliament ſits and makes ſeveral Acts.

That they who kill'd any Perſon attempting to Rob by or near the High-way, or that broke Houſes, ſhould be acquitted, without forfeiting either Goods or Lands.

That no Appeals ſhould be made out of this Realm for theſe Reaſons, (*viz.*) That whereas the Kingdom of *England* was a juſt Empire, furniſh'd with ſuch able Perſons both Spiritual and Temporal, as could decide all Controverſies ariſing in it; and whereas *Edw.* I. *Edw.* III. *Rich.* II. *Hen.* IV. and other Kings of this Realm, have made ſundry Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, for the Conſervation of the Prerogative, Liberties, and Pre-eminences of the ſaid Imperial Crown, and of the Juriſdictions Spiritual and Temporal of the ſame, to keep it from the Annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as alſo from the Authority of other foreign Potentates attempting the Diminution or Violation thereof; and becauſe notwithſtanding the ſaid Acts, divers Appeals have been ſued to the See of *Rome* in Cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great Vexation and Charge of the King's Highneſs, and his Subjects, and the delay of Juſtice; and, foraſmuch as the diſtance of the way to *Rome* is ſuch, as the neceſſary Proofs and true Knowledge of the Cauſe, cannot be brought thither, and repreſented ſo well, as in this Kingdom; and that therefore many Perſons be without Remedy: It is therefore Enacted, that all Cauſes Teſtamentary, Cauſes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, *Oblations*, and Obventions, either commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter ſhall commence in any of the King's Dominions, ſhall be heard, diſcuſs'd, and definitively determin'd, within the King's Juriſdiction, and Authority in the Courts Spiritual and Temporal of the ſame, any foreign *Inhibition* or Reſtraints to the contrary notwithſtanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this Occaſion ſhould follow from that See, the Prelates and Clergy of this Realm ſhould adminiſter Sacraments, and ſay Divine Service, and do all other their Duties, as formerly had been us'd, upon Penalty of one Year's Impriſonment, and Fine at the King's Pleaſure; and they who procur'd the ſaid Sentences, ſhould fall into a *Præmunire*. As for the Orders to be obſerv'd henceforth, it was Enacted, that in Suits commenc'd before the Archdeacon or his Officials, Appeal might be made to the Biſhop of the ſaid See: And from thence within fifteen Days to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or Archbiſhop of *York*, reſpectively in their Provinces, and ſo likewiſe to the Archbiſhops in the King's other Dominions. Or if Suit

be

1532. be commenc'd before the Archdeacon of any Archbishop or his Commissaries, then Appeal may be made within fifteen Days to the Court of Arches, and so to the Archbishops, without further Appeal. In all which Cases, the Prerogative of the Archbishop and Church of *Canterbury* was reserv'd. That if any Suit arose betwixt the King and his Subjects, Appeal might be made within fifteen Days to the Prelates of the Upper House in the Convocation then sitting, or next call'd by the King's Writ, there to be finally determin'd. And that they who shall take out any Appeal contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuse to obey it, they, their Adherents and Counsellors, shall incur the Penalty of the Statute of xvi *Rich. Secundi*. And thus the Spirituality finding the Power invested formerly in the Pope, to be deriv'd now in great part on them, did more easily suffer the Diminution of the Papal Authority.

All former Statutes also made against the excess of Apparel were repeal'd, and new Orders given, which yet stood not long; there being no measure it seems for things that depended so much upon Fancy and Opinion. It is now time that we return to our History.

Among the many things concluded at the late Interview at *Bononia*, we may remember one was, that the Pope should write to our King to send Aid against the *Turk*, who having fail'd (accidentally) in his Intentions, he said this Summer would puissantly invade Christendom. But our King answer'd by his Ambassadors, that the Emperor's Ambition was the Cause thereof, and the rashness of the Pope, who at the Emperor's request had lately Excommunicated *John Sepuse Vayvode* of *Transilvania* and elect King of *Hungary*, and so forc'd him to seek foreign Aid; which ought to put his Holiness in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his own Particular were afraid of the *Turk*, that he should come to *Avignon*, and that he and *Francis* would undertake his Protection, since the Emperor was resolv'd to consent to the *German* Princes, about some Innovation in Religion; only to diminish his Holiness's Power. How the Pope yet relish'd this Motion, appears not; but certainly I find that as long as he was so aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* think it safe to treat, or our King to repose intire Confidence in him, though now the *Cesarean* Forces being withdrawn, a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* took effect; insomuch that *Francis* now began secretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medices* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbin*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleance*, had promis'd his Assistance to him for recovering his Claims in *Italy*, which he passionately desir'd, so he was dispos'd now, though not altogether to forsake our King, yet at least to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his side, it may be thought no small Motive, that he had upon his own Authority, not only levied some Tenths upon the Clergy in *France*, but prepar'd Forces to assist the Protestant Princes; which so scandaliz'd his Holiness, as he thought it safer to permit a War of Dominion (though in *Italy*) than of Religion in *Germany* assisted by the *French*. And certainly, as the Times then stood, the Pope had reason to fear a Defection in more than one Prince. The Pope also wanted not his Designs upon *Modena* and *Reggio*, wherein he hop'd *Francis* would second him against the Emperor, whom he hated still for approving the late Sentence in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which Places now he intended to give his Niece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbin*, when it could be gotten. For Performance of all which, the *French* Writers say a Treaty was concluded. Our King (being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis*, notwithstanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers reiterated Professions of Friendship, had upon the Pope's Breve and Request executed some Persons in *France*, who it seem'd oppos'd the Papal Authority, and recall'd from Banishment one *Bede* a bitter Enemy to the King's Divorce,) thought it now his best expedient to stand to the Decision of his own Clergy: Whereunto it conduc'd much, that *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Cranmer* (an able Person) much favour'd by the Nobility, as our Historians say, and lately imploy'd in the King's Business in *Italy*, and at this present in *Germany*, was, though absent, chosen to this Place. Neither indeed could the King's clandestine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Child: So that he resolv'd shortly, both to publish his Marriage, and to require his Clergy to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean time, so favouring his Intentions, that they made the aforesaid Act against Appeals to *Rome*, to the no little displeasure of Queen *Katherine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our Law) to insist on hers. Howsoever, I find, she had many openly favour'd her Cause, without that our King thought fit to punish them.

Margin notes: June 4. Records. — 1532. 1532. March. Sleid. — Aug. 23. 1532. Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Queen *Katherine* was now at *Ampthil* in *Bedfordshire*; and because it concern'd the King to acquaint her, with the Causes of this second Marriage, he sent again some grave Persons to prepare her thereunto, wishing her together to submit. But she persisting still, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* cited her to appear at *Dunstable*, being six Miles off. Where for deciding this Business, he appointed a Court to be held; and with him came the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincoln*, and many great Clerks. Their first proceeding (as *Sanders* hath it) was a Citation to our King to put away his Wife *Katherine*; protesting otherwise, that they would censure him. But the Records which I have seen, mention only that *Cranmer* demanded and obtain'd Leave of the King to determine the Matter, since it caus'd much doubt among the common People, and Fears of great Inconveniencies in matter of Succession. The Court being now held, and the Queen summon'd fifteen Days together, without yet that she appear'd, the Archbishop having first pronounc'd her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which also he caus'd to be publickly read in the Chapel of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunstable*, before two Notaries, and then sent to the King, desiring further to know his mind concerning his second Marriage, as soon as he had advis'd with his Council.

Margin notes: Cites Q. Catherine to appear at Dunstable. — May. — Sand. Schis. Angl. — April 11. — May 10. — May 23.

The Tenor of the Sentence was this:

IN Dei nomine, Amen: Nos Thomas permissione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, in quadam Causa inquisitionis de & super viribus Matrimonii inter illustrissimum & potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Do-

Margin note: Sentence of Divorce pronounced against her.

1533. minam Catharinam, nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis filiam contracti & consummati, quæ coram nobis in Judicio ex officio nostro mero aliquamdiu vertebatur, & adhuc vertitur & pendet indecisa, rite & legitime procedentes. Visis primitus per nos & diligenter inspectis Articulis sive capitulis in dominica Causa objectis & ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti illustrissimi & potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi, factis & redditis, visisque & similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis & depositionibus in eadem causa habitis & factis; Visisque præterea & simili modo per nos inspectis quamplurium & fere totius Christiani Orbis principalium Academiarum censuris seu conclusionibus Magistralibus etiam tam Theologorum quam Juris peritorum Responsus & Opinionibus, utriusque denique Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conciliorum Provincialium assertionibus & affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus monitis & doctrinis super dicto Matrimonio desuper respective habitis & factis. Visisque ulterius & pari modo per nos inspectis, tractatibus seu fœderibus pacis & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum Septimum nuper Regem Angliæ & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniæ, desuper initis & factis; visis quoque peramplius & diligenter per nos inspectis omnibus & singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, munimentis, rebusque aliis Universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis & factis, ac hic omnibus & singulis ita per nos visis & inspectis atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recensitis: Servatisque ulterius per nos in hac parte de Jure servandis; Nec non partibus prædictis (viz.) præfato illustrissimo & potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente (cujus absentia divina repleatur præsentia) de Concilio Juris peritorum & Theologorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad sententiam nostram definitivam, sive finale decretum nostrum in dicta Causa ferendam sive ferendum fix duximus procedendum & procedimus in hoc modum. Quia per acta, inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata pariter & confessata, articulataque Capitulata partis, Responsa testium, depositiones, & dicta, instrumenta, munimenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, Opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera Pacis, processus, res alias & cætera præmissa coram nobis in dicta Causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta. Necnon ex eisdem & diversis aliis ex causis ac considerationibus, argumentisque & probationum generibus variis & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus quibus animum nostrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum matrimonium inter præfatos illustrissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, 1533. ut præmittitur contractum & consummatum, nullum omnino & invalidum fuisse & esse, ac divino Jure prohibente, contractum & consummatum extitisse. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, ipsumque prætensum matrimonium fuisse & esse nullum & invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum & consummatum, nulliusque valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus & firmitate juris caruisse & carere, præfatisq; illustrissimo & potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo ac Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere in eodem prætenso matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, ipsosque illustrissimum & potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum, & Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto & non de Jure dictum prætensum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & consummarunt, ab invicem separamus & Divortiamus, atque sic separatos & divortiatos, necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi matrimonii, liberos & immunes fuisse & esse pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, per hanc nostram Sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Maii 23. 1533.

IN *the Name of God,* Amen: *We* Thomas *by Divine permission Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apostolical See, in a certain cause of enquiry of and concerning the validity of the Marriage contracted and consummated between the most potent and most illustrious Prince, our Sovereign Lord* Henry VIII. *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *Defender of the Faith, and Lord of* Ireland, *and the most serene Princess* Catharine, *Daughter of his most Catholick Majesty,* Ferdinand *King of* Spain, &c. *of glorious Memory; we proceeding according to Law and Justice in the said Cause, which has been brought judicially before us in virtue of our Office, and which for some time has lain under Examination, as it still is, being not yet finally determin'd and decided, having first seen all the Articles and Pleas which have been exhibited and set forth of her Part, together with the Answers made thereto, and given in on the Part of the said most illustrious and powerful Prince* Henry VIII; *having likewise seen, and diligently inspected the Informations and Depositions of many Noblemen and other Witnesses of unsuspected veracity exhibited in the said Cause; having also seen, and in like manner carefully consider'd not only the Censures and Decrees of the most famous Universities of almost the whole Christian World, but likewise the Opinions and Determinations both of the most eminent Divines and Civilians, as also the Resolutions and Conclusions of the Clergy of both Provinces of* England *in Convocation assembled, and many other* whol-

1533. *wholsom Instructions and Doctrines which have been given in and laid before us concerning the said Marriage. Having farther seen, and with like diligence inspected all the Treaties and Leagues of Peace and Amity on this account, enter'd upon, and concluded between* Henry VII. *of Immortal Fame, late King of* England, *and the said* Ferdinand *of glorious Memory, late King of* Spain, *having besides, seen, and most carefully weigh'd all and every of the Acts, Debates, Letters, Processes, Instruments, Writs, Arguments, and all other things which have pass'd and been transacted in the said Cause at any time; in all which thus seen and inspected, our most exact care in examining, and our most mature deliberation in weighing them, hath by us been us'd, reserving herein whatsoever of right ought to be by us reserv'd. Furthermore, the said most illustrious and most powerful Prince King* Henry VIII. *in the foremention'd Cause, by his proper Proctor having appear'd before us, but the said most Serene Lady* Catherine *in contempt absenting her self, (whose Absence may the Divine Presence always attend) by and with the Advice of the most Learned in the Law, and of Persons of most eminent skill in Divinity, whom we have consulted in the Premises, we have found it our Duty to proceed to give our final Decree and definitive Sentence in the said Cause, which accordingly we do in this manner. Because by Acts, Warrants, Deductions, Propositions, Exhibitions, Allegations, Proofs and Confessions, Articles drawn up, Answers of Witnesses, Depositions, Informations, Instruments, Arguments, Letters, Writs, Censures, Determinations of Professors, Opinions, Councils, Assertions, Affirmations, Treaties and Leagues of Peace, Processes and other Matters in the said Cause as is above-mentioned before us laid, had, done, exhibited, and respectively produc'd, as also from the same and sundry other Reasons, Causes and Considerations, manifold Arguments, and various kinds of Proof of the greatest Evidence, Strength and Validity, of which in the said Cause we have fully and clearly inform'd our selves, we find, and with undeniable evidence and plainness see, that the Marriage contracted and consummated, as is aforesaid, between the said most Illustrious Prince King* Henry VIII. *and the most Serene Lady* Catherine, *was and is null and invalid, and that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the Law of God. Therefore we* Thomas, *Archbishop, Primate and Legate aforesaid, having first call'd upon the Name of Christ for direction herein, and having God altogether before our Eyes, do pronounce, sentence and declare for the Nullity and Invalidity of the said Marriage, decreeing that the said pretended Marriage always was, and still is null and invalid, that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the Will and Law of God, that it is of no force or obligation, but that it always wanted, and still wants the strength and sanction of Law; and therefore we sentence, decree and declare, that it is not lawful for the said most illustrious and powerful Prince* Henry VIII. *and the said most Serene Lady* Catherine, *to remain in the said pretended Marriage; and we do Separate and Divorce from each other the said most illustrious and most powerful King* Henry VIII. *and the said most illustrious Lady* Catherine, *in as much as they contracted and consummated the said pretended Marriage* de facto, *and not* de jure; *and that they, so separated and divorc'd, are absolutely free from all Marriage Bond, with regard to the foresaid pretended Marriage, we do pronounce, decree and declare by this our definitive Sentence, and final Decree, which we now give, and by the Tenor of these Presents publish.* 1533.

May 23. 1533.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the last Parliament) commands strictly *Katherine* should no more be call'd Queen, but Princess Dowager, and Widow of Prince *Arthur*; and dispatches Messengers both to *Rome*, and to the Emperor (then in *Spain*) to declare and justifie the Proceedings, not omitting together to satisfie *Francis* thereof, as shall be told in his place. The Oration made to the Emperor (whether by Doctor *Hawkins* then resident in his Court, or Sir *Thomas Wyat*, as Fox hath it) did in effect remonstrate, that since his Highness did still esteem him to be his Friend, Confederate and Ally, he thought good to acquaint *him with* his Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Justice of the Cause, and order of the Process, in which nothing being omitted, which might satisfie himself or others, he hath found, at last, that the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was indispensable, as being against the Law of God, Nature, and Man; yet that herein he us'd not his own Judgment alone, or his Subjects (though enough to quiet his Conscience) but requir'd it of foreign Parts and Universities, and among them those of *Bononia* (though depending of the Popes) and *Padua* (though menac'd by the *Venetians*) and hath found them, and many other, so consentaneous to his Divines, that (some few partial Places and Persons only excepted) they all determin'd in favour of his Highness's Cause; the further Confirmation whereof, by publick Disputation and Proof, he should willingly offer his Majesty, were it not too great an Injury to that which is pass'd in this Realm, to dispute it in any other Country; especially when it is contrary to the Laws of the Land: So that he trusted his prudency would take it as a thing done, and justly done, and not to marvel if the King his Master, for the weal of his Soul, as well as benefit and peace of his Realm, had taken a course which otherwise he would so little have thought of, as he wisheth no such occasion had ever been given him; wherein, he hopes it will appear, how much respect is given both to the Pope and your Self, since otherwise his Highness should not have sent so many Ambassages to you both, or spent so many Years in clearing these Points, without receiving yet any Fruit but Delay and Insatisfaction. Insomuch, that he perceiv'd, after the Cause had depended almost seven Years space, he was in a Labyrinth, out of which he saw no likelihood to get, had he not stept right forth at once to the Maze's end. Yet if this were all, he could better suffer it: For since at last the necessity of clearing his Conscience, and satisfying his People, had made him give a Period to his Suits, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, cited him to appear at *Rome*, and publish'd divers slanderous Breves against him, requiring the Cause to be determin'd before him; though

K. orders her only the Title of Princess Dowager.

Fox. July 6. Notice of these Proceedings sent to the Emperor.

1533. through a General Council hath long since determin'd, that all Matters should be ended, where *Constantinople.* they begun. So that if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* as Metropolitan of the Realm had at length given Sentence on the King's part, he thought the question should not be so much, whether it were done according to the common Fashion, as whether in it self it were right, whereof therefore he would treat with the Pope apart, desiring his Majesty howsoever to take well this Declaration, since his Highness reputing him still his Friend, thought this Accompt due to him, as hoping further, he would not be less friendly *Emperor's thoughts of them.* hereafter, than he had been heretofore. To which the Emperor answer'd little more that I can find, *than that he well knew how matters pass'd, and that he would advise with his Council,* what further was to be done; giving by this short and sharp Reply, just suspicion of preparing War against *England*, as he had more than once threatned. For which purpose, as 1529. he had practis'd with the Earl of *Desmond* in *Ireland*, so now he treated secretly with *James* King of *Scotland*, to whom also he sent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes occasion (upon Expiration of the late five Years Truce) to give ear unto the complaint of the Earl of *Angus*, (then at *Berwick*) and to permit Sir *Arthur Darcy* to enter the Country and forrage it. Which he did *April. Inroad into Scotland.* in *April* 1533, burning divers Towns, and carrying away much Booty. Pretending for cause thereof, the Restitution of the *Douglasses*. But while *James*, a valiant Prince (as his many Expeditions in Person against the Out-Laws did declare) prepar'd to be reveng'd, the *French* King taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without some difficulty. Notwithstanding, which, the Treaty with the Emperor continu'd. For whereas the young King being not long since desirous to match in *France*, found some Interruption, he harkned now to an Offer from the Emperor. And his faithful Servants thought it time, as having run no small hazard in his Night-walks. And now three *Maries*, all of the Emperor's Family, were mention'd to him; his Sister *Mary* Dowager of *Hungary*, *Mary* of *Portugal* his Niece by his Sister *Leonora*, and *Mary* our Princess. Neither will the Reader think it so strange, that the Emperor presum'd here so far with our King's Daughter, when he shall consider (as I find in our Records and *Bellay*'s History) that he offer'd her afterwards to the *Dauphin*; as intending, together with troubling this Kingdom, to make this Princess a Reward of their Ambition 1535. who assisted him. The Answer which *James* return'd was, that he should most desire the Match with *England*, if conveniently it could be effected; saying yet, that after her he would gladliest have a Daughter of his Sister of *Denmark*. But *Charles* saying, she was already promis'd, the Business of Marriage ended so, for the present, the Treaty of Friendship nevertheless being in some kind entertain'd. Whereof our King being advertis'd, labour'd to break it, proposing to his Nephew a Match with *Isabel*, Sister to *Henry* King of *Navarre*. For which purpose he also sent *Henry Knevet* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, who gladly entertain'd the Motion.

This while, the Duke of *Albany* was sent by *Francis* unto the Pope, to treat in Appearance of a War against the Duke, but really to conclude the design'd Marriage with *Catherina de Medices*, to whom the said Duke was near allied. Which Match though the Emperor had heretofore oppos'd; yet now considering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide *Francis* from our King, he resolv'd privately to give assent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniences would follow that way, than if both King's join'd against him. 1533. Before yet he would declare himself, he told the Pope he should require these Conditions from *Francis*. 1. To Innovate nothing in *Italy*. 2. To confirm again the Treaty of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. 3. To obtain some Assurance from him, that he *Bellay.* should consent to the calling of a General Council. 4. That he would labour effectually with the King of *England* not to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other Answer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as he alledg'd) to dispose otherwise of so puissant a Prince.

And now because the Reader may expect an 1532. Account why this General Council, promis'd within a Year's space to the *Germans*, formerly by the Emperor, sollicited by our King and *Francis*, submitted unto by the Protestant Princes, took yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chief Passages thereof: Since I dare say no Age ever produc'd a juster Occasion for the calling of it. Which therefore also I shall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in some free place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or now, could more authorise any solemn Error, than a factious and partial Assembly, under what general or specious Title soever. Nevertheless, as it concern'd the Emperor in point of Honour and Advantage, chiefly to procure this Work, our King and *Francis* were content a while to look on. And three Motives I find were pre- *Bell. l. 4.* sented by the Emperor to the Pope. 1. *The setting* *Emperor's Reasons for a General Council.* *of the Business of Religion.* 2. *Resistance against the* Turk. 3. *Accommodation of Differences betwixt Christian Princes.* The Pope having receiv'd these, reply'd only, *That he would commit the Business to some principal Person of his Council,* who making this following Remonstrance, the Pope thought fit to send it to the Emperor; which finally was, that *concerning Religion, they thought it a dangerous* *Pope's Objections.* *Point to admit Protestants or Hereticks to dispute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councils have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon also they might take occasion to call in question the Articles of Christian Faith. On the other side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might think themselves worse us'd than the* Arrians *and other Hereticks heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home more obstinate than ever.* Secondly, *If they have contradicted the Determinations of former Councils, what hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a scandal would it prove to be disobey'd? Besides, how unseasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compel them to a strict observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperor and other Christian Princes, had so much to do both one against another, and against the* Turk? Thirdly, *That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhere to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councils, who by Divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtful Places: So that if once they call'd in question the Authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding Controversies.* Fourthly, *That it is probable, their demand of a Council was not so much with the intention to obey it, as to avoid the Punishment due from the Magistrate; since their request was to have Liberty of Religion till a Council had determin'd the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done.* Fifthly, *That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart before any Determination, as they did from the Diet at* Augsburgh. *Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some* 1530. *should condescend to an Alteration in part, it might cause a Schism, and consequently a setting up of Council against*

1533. *against Council, or of Pope against Pope, as hath formerly happen'd. And again, that whether the Pope were declar'd above a Council, or a Council above the Pope, Inconveniencies would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Council were permitted to them, or to the Emperor, it might take up more Time and Years, than the Emperor could spare to attend it.* 2. As for the second Motive of calling this Council, being the Invasion of the Turk, it was answer'd, That *the Hostile Preparatives being ready, and the Assembly of a Council in all likelihood so slow, it was more fit to think of taking Arms, than of entring into School Disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alledging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the business of Religion were setled; moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks coming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his damage and hurt, and consequently, would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Council gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seek Protection from the Turk, as the Wayvod of Transilvania had lately done, and under pretence of Evangelical Liberty seize on the Goods of the Church.* These Motives from the Emperor, together with this politick Answer of the Pope, being brought to Francis by the *Seigneur de Praet*, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, *Francis* after deliberation said, that *notwithstanding there were Inconveniences in calling a Council, there were far greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other lawful and ordinary way for decision of Controversies in Religion. Insomuch, that all future Ages would condemn not only his Holiness, but all the Christian Princes of the time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they should assemble a Council without yet neglecting the other Point propos'd. And for this end, that all Christian Princes by their Letters and Ambassadors should advise together before the Council were call'd, and each of them set down what they in their particular thought fit to be done. Whereupon also, they should send to Rome jointly to demand a free and secure place of meeting, where the Points projected might be resolv'd. In discussion whereof, therefore, such intire and honest Liberty should be permitted to all and every one, as they might frankly discover themselves. Only, that they should not interpose any thing concerning their private Differences and Quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it should be agreed, that no decision of former Councils should be urged to the hindrance of an ingenuous and free Communication concerning these Points; when yet it should be alledg'd that the questioning of former Acts would but open the way to frustrate this. Since it would give occasion unto many to withdraw themselves, who otherwise would be present at the Council. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them should send their Ambassadors or Deputies with unlimited Commission to treat concerning the Points in Controversy. Which also should be laid down in Writing, to the intent that by common Vote and Consent they might afterwards be determin'd. With this Caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities should be laid aside or quenched. And that till this were done, and the several Superiors of the said Ambassadors or Deputies acquainted with the Proceedings (so that absolute Power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unseasonable to call a Council. But if they chose this way, it would follow that either the inferior Number would submit to the greater, and consequently conform themselves to one common way in Religion, or at least they would remain without Excuse, or cause of Exception, when on so good and indifferent Terms the determination of a free Council had been offer'd them.* All which he signified by his Ambassadors.

The French King's Opinion herein.

Feb. It was now toward the end of *February*, 1533. when the Emperor receiv'd this Answer, who as he was disaffected to *Francis*, did easily misinterpret his meaning, taking all his Advice in a counter Sense: First, *Because he thought it unreasonable, that the Ambassadors of Christian Princes and Protestants should project the Points and Articles to be treated of in the said Council, since it could be thought no less than an Artifice and Invention, to restrain and diminish the Authority of the said Council, which together with all that could be treated therein, ought intirely to depend on the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not on the Opinions of Men.* Secondly, *Because* Francis *had made no particular Answer concerning Contribution for resisting of the* Turk, *as if he thought the Danger of his Neighbours in this kind did not concern him.* 1533.

Emperor's Answer to it.

Which Remonstrance being brought (in form of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperor) to *Francis*. He answer'd, That *he cou'd not but marvel how the Emperor should so much mistake him, since together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affair of Religion, he had declar'd likewise, that the Ambassadors and Deputies should not neglect the other Point, whose Resolutions also concerning resistance of the* Turk, *he thought not only more effectual and proper than those of a Council, but of a quicker dispatch. And for the other Point concerning the restraint or diminution of the Council, it was sinisterly and malignly interpreted. For when they should send Ambassadors from all Parts with so pure and sincere Affection and Zeal for the good of the Church, and defence of Christendom, he could do no less than believe that the Holy Ghost will assist and direct their Assembly. And howsoever that any thing concluded in this kind should be esteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Council. Nevertheless for the giving more entire satisfaction to the Emperor, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperor did not approve the said Assembly of Ambassadors, he for his part would mention it no further; only when the Emperor would but please to take notice that himself made the first Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by* Du Praet *might appear. For the rest, he wish'd it might be a true Universal Council, and not a National or Provincial, as it must be term'd, when all Christian Nations did not assist therein. And as for War against the* Turk, *tho' he had already paid* 1200000 *Crowns, and must pay* 800000 *more, yet if the* Turk *in Person should assail Christendom, he would not only hazard his own Blood and his Subjects to oppose him, but hope the Emperor would do the like.* But neither was the Emperor satisfied herewith. For as he thought *Francis* would make use of this Assembly for contriving some Design or Enterprize against him, so he secretly declin'd it. *Francis* likewise, as he was wholly won to the Pope, and intentive to the Business of *Italy*, labour'd not much to advance a Business, so suspected and dangerous to the *Roman* See. So that the Diffidence and Jealousy betwixt these Princes broke off the Council at this time, when it seem'd so necessary for the Peace and Welfare of *Christendom*. Howbeit the Emperor (who departed from *Genoua*, *April* 8. and was now in *Spain*) lest he should be thought not to comply with his Promise, obtain'd from the Pope, that these following Conditions should be offer'd to *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony* in the room of his Father, lately deceas'd. *That it should be free and open to all, as in times past. That Assurance should be given on both sides to stand to whatsoever should be decreed there. That they who could not be present, should send their Deputies. That in the mean while, nothing should be innovated. That the Place should be* Piacenza, Bononia, *or* Mantua, *at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themselves, nor sent, they should yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Council, and if they disobey'd, that the Emperor and other Princes should see Justice done. That if these Conditions were accepted, the Council should be summon'd within six Months*

Francis's Reply.

Bellay.

The Council put off.

April 8.

Aug. 1532.

Sleid. l. 8.

Proposals to the E. of Saxony.

1533. *Months following the date hereof* (being towards the end of *March*, or beginning of *April*, 1533.) *and held within a Year after*. For more authorising of which Propositions, the Emperor commanded his

His Answer. Ambassadors to second the Legate. The Duke of *Saxony* hereupon, after deliberation with the other Protestant Princes and States at *Smalcald*, return'd

June 30. this Answer: *That the Council could not be free as long as the Pope, who was a Party, should sit as Judge. That the Cause of Religion, as being grounded on the Scriptures, should be determined by them, and not by School-Opinions. That the Place ought to be (as the Emperor had promised) in* Germany, *if it should be free and open unto all*. Our Historians say also, that the Pope sent (in *May*) to our King to be present at the Council, or at least to send thither: But when the Messenger (being requir'd to

Hall. it) shew'd a Commission, which had neither place nor time express'd, he was dismiss'd.

While these things past, our King by a Dispatch to *Francis* requires him to send hither some trusty Person, to whom he might with all Confidence communicate such things as could not fitly be committed to Paper; intreating also that the said Person might be instructed in all the Passages of Affairs (wheresoever) since the Interview. For though the King by Message, sent formerly by the Lord *Rochfort*, had acquainted *Francis* that he was privately married, yet as he had many Particularities to speak of, and might besides have use of the Assistance which *Francis* had offer'd, so he desir'd one on that part to whom he might freely open himself. Hereupon *Francis*

March. *Bell. l.* 4. sends *Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey* with these Instructions: That he should persuade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any else to justify and defend his proper Cause, assuring him, that he should be as safe, both in his Passage to, and Stay there, as in his own Kingdom. Nevertheless, if he thought not fit to come, that at least he should send one in whom he might repose intire Confidence. He was charged also to inform our King, how *Francis* had made those Ordinances concerning Horse and Foot, and Sea-businesses, which were agreed betwixt them. Lastly, he was commanded to desire our King's Advice concerning the Affairs of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who instantly crav'd their joint Assistance.

K. *Henry* stiles the Pope only Bishop of *Rome*. When *Monsieur de Langey* was come, and had expos'd these Particularities, our King answer'd: That since the Bishop of *Rome* (for so he now term'd the Pope) after many Dissimulations, and Delays, would not decide the Business of the Divorce, he had for discharge of his Conscience referr'd it to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as being not able to support any longer the continual Vexations wherewith his Mind was afflicted. And that the said Archbishop and divers Bishops and principal Persons of the Clergy having sentenced a Nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Dispensation for it void, as given in a Case which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not be dispensed with; he had thereupon privately married the Marchioness, without yet that he had intention to disclose it before *May* next. About which time he hoped also that the Interview betwixt his Master and the said Bishop would be, and that the said Bishop therefore would do him Justice. If not, that he would publish his Marriage, and withdraw himself totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Bishop's Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Usurpation whereof, he had compos'd a large and ample Treatise; the Title whereof was, *De Potestate Christianorum Re-*

Beuth. Hist. Lib. 4. *gum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem impietatem*, as *Beutherus* hath it; though (for my part) having seen no such Book, I conceive it was that *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ, & quæ sit ipsa virtus & veritas utriusque*, made about this time; which nevertheless he said he would not publish, until he saw what Right the Bishop would do him; desiring the said King in the mean time not to abandon him, since the Bishop had vaunted, he would set all *Christendom* against him, which the Emperor also, in his Discourse with the Pope had averred, discovering how by the means of *Scotland* he would revenge his Aunt's Quarrel. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the said *Seigneur de Langey*, who crossing the Seas from *Boulogne* to *Dover*, was assaulted by some *Scotchmen* of War, who hovering in our Seas to espy their Advantage, set upon the Gallion that *Langey* went in, so that had he not made use both of Sails and Oars, he had been overtaken or sunk; their Number being superior, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his Consort, which having Sails only, and not Oars, could not escape them. *Monsieur de Langey* being now dismiss'd, acquainted *Francis* with our King's Resolution. Whereupon also, he hasten'd his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propos'd, was finally resolv'd at *Marseilles*, the Emperor's Ambassadors at *Rome* in vain opposing it.

1533. Writes a Book against the Papal supremacy.

And now the News of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, and open Marriage of Mistress *Anne Bolen*, being come to the Pope's Ears, and together with it an Information concerning the Book our King had compos'd against the Pope's Authority (which also more than any thing else offended him) the whole College of Cardinals, especially such as were for the Emperor, became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would proceed rigorously against our King; which also the Pope accorded, tho' not in that peremptory and publick manner as was afterwards done; for I find that this Sentence was not definitive in the principal Cause, as the Imperials desir'd, and *Sanders* mistakes it) but only declarative in the Point of Attemptats, (as they call it) in that King *Henry* (the Cause yet depending) had divorc'd himself without the Leave and Authority of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein were subject to a Nullity, and Himself to Excommunication, unless he restor'd things *in integrum*, for which time was allow'd him till the end of *September* following. These Proceedings being reserved, and the Censures thus suspended, argued that the Pope was willing before he went any further to see the Success of his Interview with *Francis*, which was accelerated by this means. For as the Pope knew well that the Emperor was already sufficiently incens'd against the King, so it was easy for him to collect, that if he could gain *Francis*, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And he had reason to chuse this way of Treaty; for I find all his Interviews succeeded well with him. Nevertheless, the Emperor as he knew not how far this new Treaty might extend, labours by his Ambassadors to retard it. But they failing, he took another Course; for being advertis'd that the Pope intended to make use of some of his Gallies for this Journey, he sends a Command that they should be employed against the *Turk*. But neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not go, resolv'd to commit himself to the *French* Gallies, and so to pass to *Marseilles*. May 18.

Is proceeded against vigorously at *Rome*. June. *Con. Trid.* Records. July 11.

Things being thus advanc'd, our King (in conformity to the Proposition of *Francis*) sends the 1532. Duke of *Norfolk*, lately made Marshal of *England*, the Lord *Rochfort*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, followed with some hun-

1533. hundred and sixty Horse, to repair to *Francis*, and afterwards attend the Interview.

This while, our King being confident, that either by the Pope's good Permission, or his proper Authority, he should be able to justify a Cause which so many Universities had sentenc'd on his side, proceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which also was perform'd with much Solemnity. And the rather that the murmur of those who objected against the Irregularity and Deviation of our King's proceeding herein, might be hidden and recover'd in the Pomp. Shortly after which, our Historians say, *Mary* the Dowager of *France* dy'd, and was bury'd at St. *Edmunds-Bury*.

June 1.

June 23.

July.

The Duke of *Norfolk* being now come to *Francis* (who was upon his Journey to *Marseilles*) acquaints him with part of his Instructions, which were to dissuade him from the Interview and Marriage propos'd, or, at least, to suspend it till the Pope had given our King Satisfaction; offering also Aid for a War in *Piedmont*, if he would suffer no more Monies to go out of his Realm to *Rome*, and instead of the Pope to erect a Patriarch; which it seems was one of the private Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview: But hearing, at the same time, of the Declaration past at *Rome* against our King, he thought it too late to expect any Favour from the Pope, and therefore demanded leave to return. Notwithstanding which *Francis* desir'd his stay, promising all the best Offices and Assistance to our King he could require, assoon as he should come to *Marseilles*; protesting furthermore, that what Offence soever was done to our King, he would take as to himself. But the Duke being inform'd again, by our diligent Agents, what had past at *Rome*, would omit no longer to advertise the King. Therefore, he posted away the Lord *Rochfort* to acquaint his Highness with what was done, and to know his gracious Pleasure; whereupon, the King, upon Advice with his Council, thought fit to revoke, together with the said Duke, the Duke of *Richmond*, then living in the *French* Court, commanding also his Ambassadors with the Pope to return. Nevertheless, as *Francis* insisted with our King to send some other, if for no other end, yet at least to witness the Earnestness and Sollicitation wherewith he would pursue the King's Affair with the Pope; so our King thought fit to send to *Stephen Gardiner*, not long before made Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*, together with Sir *John Wallop*, to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable, that *Francis* had many Designs, whereof also he resolv'd to prevail himself according to the Occasion. For if he treated with the Pope, he no less entertain'd his former Correspondence with the Princes of *Germany*, who sent to him (then being at *Tholouse*) a Secretary of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, to tell him how, upon the Consignation of 100000 Crowns, which the said King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in Aid, and for the Restitution of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, whose Possessions were withheld by *Ferdinand*, they now all agreed, that it should be put into the Hands of the said Duke; desiring nevertheless that it might be done with all secresy. To which *Francis* answer'd; That the Interview being past, he would send some one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

Perswades *Francis* to set up a Patriarch in *France*.

Records.

Aug. 8.

Dec. 5. 1531.

This while the Duke of *Albany* being departed with the Gallies of *France*, to conduct the Pope to *Marseilles*, News was brought to *Francis* of the Death of one *Merveilles*, employ'd by *Francis* to *Francisco Sforza* (then in Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Emperor's Favour, though not as yet of the Daughter of *Denmark*, formerly destin'd unto him;) the occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my Relation. This *Merveilles* being a *Milanese*, had serv'd long in the *French* Court, and was now by the good leave of *Francisco Sforza* received as a secret Agent or Ambassador for *Francis*; the Terms on which *Sforza* stood with the Emperor, not admitting a more ouvert Access. The Servants of this *Merveilles* having a Quarrel with one *Castiglione* concerning some Words he had spoken against their Master, did at last kill him in the Streets; which was reveng'd by the Magistrate on *Merveilles* himself, whose Goods he seised on, and afterwards by order of the Duke privately cut off his Head. Which being advertis'd to *Francis*, he fell into an extream Passion, saying he was his Ambassador, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated. The Resentment whereof also, as he thought common to all Princes, so he acquainted the Pope, Emperor, and other Potentates of *Europe* therewith, in high Terms, not forgetting also to give our King a particular account thereof, together with his Intentions; protesting to them all he would have Reparation. But when the Emperor had receiv'd his Letter, he return'd no other Answer, but that *Merveilles* had deserv'd Death, and was justly punished, he being no Ambassador, but a Subject of the Duke of *Milan*'s. Whereupon the *French* Ambassador hoping to satisfy the Emperor, shew'd him private Dispatches, by which it appear'd that the Duke acknowledg'd him under that Title. Notwithstanding which, the Emperor made small account of them, as supposing the Quality of an Ambassador not wrong'd, as long as the Person in question (besides that he was no Subject of the *French* King) did not openly sustain the Dignity of his Place: Whereupon also this Act was so far from being chastised by him, that it did but hasten the Marriage of *Sforza* with *Christine* the King of *Denmark*'s second Daughter, whom the Emperor immediately sent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of *Orleans* married *Catherina de Medices*. Notwithstanding which, *Sforza* sent his Chancellor to *Francis*, alledging by way of Excuse, that *Marveilles* was no more but a private Person, though authoris'd sometimes to treat; neither was he ever acknowledg'd publickly by any other Title than his Vassal and Subject; so that not to have done Right to another Subject kill'd by his Procurement, had been to the derogation of Justice and his own Authority. Besides, he said, *Merveilles* was such an outragious and mischievous Person, that he had been told divers times on the Duke's part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the secret manner of his being put to Death, he said, it was to avoid Ignominy, in case *Francis* for delivering some of his Messages (when there was occasion) should repute him his Ambassador. But the Excuse (as it imply'd some Contradiction) did but exasperate *Francis*, who told the Chancellor, that if intire Satisfaction were not given, he would in some fitting Time and Place procure it.

1533.

Bellay. July 3.

July 6.

About this Time, the Queen being brought to Bed of the Princess *Elizabeth*, (who happily succeeded to this Crown) the Christening following shortly after, with much Solemnity, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the Dutchess of *Norfolk* and Marchioness of *Dorset* Godmothers. Howbeit the divorced *Katharine* and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cause, writ, and spoke against the late Marriage: A Nun of *Kent* also, pretending to prophesy thereon, of whom and her feigned Miracles (about this time discover'd) we shall make mention hereafter.

Sept. 6. Sept. 10. Princess *Elizabeth* born.

Novemb.

It was now in *Octob.* 1533. when the Pope, conducted by the Duke of *Albany*, came by Sea to *Mar-*

Octob. 6.

1533. *Marfeilles*, where *Montmorency* received him. His publick Entrance into the Town (being the next Day after his Arrival) was in a rich Chair, carry'd on the Shoulders of two Men, himfelf wearing his Pontifical Ornaments, (the *Tiara* or Triple Crown only excepted) before him a white Hackney was led, on which the Sacrament was carry'd. After him follow'd all the Cardinals, and his Niece *Catharina de Medices* (the Dutchefs of *Urbin*) with a great Train of Cavaliers and Ladies. *Francis* at the fame time, that he might feem to give the Pope intire Poffeffion of the Town, going out thereof, but the next Day returning thither, and after many Complements to the Pope, coming to Bufinefs, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himfelf marrying the young Couple. Her Portion in Money was but little, being

Pope's entrance into Marfeilles.

1556. only but 100000 Crowns, but in Expectation and Titles great; fince a pretence to *Urbin* in the Right of her Father *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Leo* X. gave the Inveftiture to the difinherifon of *Francifco Maria Conte di Feltri*, (who at this prefent was in Poffeffion thereof) as alfo the Donation of *Rheggio*, *Modena*, *Rubieira*, *Pifa*, *Ligorno*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* by the Pope, or fomething equivalent to them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of *Francis*; efpecially, when fo potent a Prince fhould undertake her Caufe, not without hope of uniting thefe Places to the Rights he claimed in *Italy*. After which, the Pope was often follicited by *Francis* in the behalf of our King, that at leaft the time of declaring the Cenfures againft him might be prorogu'd. But the Pope anfwering only, that tho' the Term prefix'd for Fulmination were now paft, yet he would omit further Procefs till he came to *Rome*. Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Inftructions, and *Edmund Bonner* (as I find by an Original of his to our King) getting Au-

Nov. 13. Nov. 7. dience of the Pope, *November* 7. in refpectful Terms, and under proteftation that his Majefty intended no contempt of the See Apoftolick or Holy Church, intimated to him King *Henry's Appeal to the next General Council lawfully affembled*, exhibiting alfo the Authentick Inftruments thereof (made before the Bifhop of *Winchefter*;) at which the Pope being much incens'd, faid, *he would refer it to the Confiftory*. Which being held *Nov.* 10. he anfwer'd *Bonner*, That, *concerning the King's Appeal, he rejected it, as being unlawful, and againft a Conftitution of Pope* Pius. Secondly, *for the Council, he would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King* Henry's. Thirdly, *for the Original Inftruments* (which *Bonner* required back) *he denied them*, and fo difmifs'd him; defiring *Francis* only, that *he would perfuade our King to conform himfelf to his ancient Devotion and Obedience to the* Roman *Church*. Shortly after which, being

Bonner brings K. Henry's Appeal from the Pope to a General Council.

Nov. 10. The P's Anfwer.

Nov. 12. the twelfth of *November*, 1533. the Pope return'd. I find moreover, that the Archbifhop of *Canterbury* at this time fufpecting the Pope would proceed againft him, by the Advice of our King, made his Appeal alfo to the Council: Which he defir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The Succefs whereof yet doth not appear in our Records.

Here alfo, at the requifition of *Francis*, he made four *French Cardinals*, which added to fix more, who held that Dignity, made the Emperor fee that the Pope intended to ftrengthen the *French* Party in *Rome*. Befides, as the Pope did fear left *Francis* fhould ufurp upon the Ecclefiaftical Jurifdiction in his Kingdom, he gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monafteries alone, but in all Elective Benefices in his Kingdom; which was politickly done; for he prevented thereby that Power which *Francis* might have affum'd, efpecially when he had ftood to the Conventions he made with our King at their laft Interview. By which means alfo, he 1533. difpofed *Francis* to oppofe the Emperor about calling a Council, fhewing together how inconvenient it would be to the *Roman* Church, as Affairs then ftood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to fend to *Germany*, both in favour of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and to comfort the Proteftant Princes in their Perfeverance, promifed to do all that he could for them in a defenfive way: He omitted not alfo to fend *Jehan du Bellay*, Bifhop of *Paris*, to our King, both to acquaint him with all the Paffages at *Marfeilles*, and to induce him to fend Ambaffadors to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning the fufpending of this Fulmination, which he faid highly concern'd him. But our King, who was in fome part acknowledg'd already *Supremum Caput Ecclefiæ* in his Dominions, replying, he would advife with his Council hereof, one who much favour'd the Papal Authority, fpake in this manner.

Sir, Your Highnefs is come to a Point which needs a ftrong and firm Refolution, it being not only the moft important in its felf, that can be prefented, but of that Confequence as will comprehend your Kingdom and Pofterity. It is, whether, in this Bufinefs of your Divorce, and fecond Marriage, as well as in all other Ecclefiaftical Affairs in your Dominions, you wou'd make ufe of your own, or of the Papal Authority? For my part, as an *Englifhman*, and your Highnefs's Subject, I muft wifh all Power in your Highnefs: But when I confider the ancient Practice of this Kingdom, I cannot but think any Innovation dangerous: For if in every Temporal Eftate it be neceffary, not only to keep Order, but to come to fome Supreme Authority, whence all inferior Magiftracy fhould be deriv'd, it feems much more neceffary in Religion, both as the Body thereof feems more fufceptible of a Head, than any elfe, and as that Head again muft direct fo many others. We fhould above all things therefore labour to keep an Unity in the Parts thereof, as being that facred Bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much, *Sir*, fhould we recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chief and moft eminent Part? And who ever liked that Body long whofe Head was taken away? Certainly, *Sir*, an Authority received for many Ages, ought not rafhly to be rejected; For is not the Pope *Communis Pater* in the Chriftian World, and *Arbiter of* their Differences? Doth he not *fupport the Majefty* of Religion, and vindicate *it from neglect*? Doth not the holding of *his Authority* from God, keep Men in awe, not of Temporal alone, but Eternal Punifhments, and therein extend his Power beyond Death it felf? And will it be fecure to lay afide thefe potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and truft only to the Sword of Juftice and Secular Arm? Befides, who fhall mitigate the Rigour of Laws in thofe Cafes, which may admit Exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who fhall prefume to give Orders, or adminifter Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Difpenfations, Indulgences, and other Myfteries of the Church? Who fhall be Depofitary of the Oaths, and Leagues of Princes, or fulminate againft the perjur'd Infractors of them? For my part, (as Affairs now ftand) I find not, how either a General Peace among Princes, or any equal Moderation in Human Affairs, can be well conferv'd without him. For as his Court is a kind of Chancery to all other Courts of Juftice in the Chriftian World, fo if you take it away, you fubvert that Equity and Confcience which fhould be the

Debates in the Privy Council concerning throwing off the Papal Supremacy.

Rule

1533. Rule and Interpreter of all Laws and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highness, as my King and Sovereign, all true Greatness and Happiness, but think it not fit (in this Case) that your Subjects should either examine by what Right Ecclesiastical Government is innovated, or inquire how far they are bound thereby; since, besides that it might cause Division, and hazard the Overthrow both of the one and the other Authority, it would give that Offence and Scandal abroad, as Foreign Princes would both reprove and disallow all our Proceedings in this kind, and together upon any Occasion, be dispos'd easily to join against us.

To which was reply'd by one in this manner.

SIR, If he who propos'd this Question, had resolv'd it as well, I should not have needed to return an Answer. But since from Principles we admit as true, he draweth Consequences which follow not, I shall according to common Reason crave leave to examine his Arguments, without insisting upon any thing urged out of either Testament, or controverted by the Theologians of this Time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some Supream Power in Spiritual as well as Temporal Affairs; only the Question will be, whether they be better united in one Person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the Precincts of both be of the same extent, and the Magistrate no way obnoxious: For can we suppose a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? Will the bare Precepts of Theology contain People in their Duties, unless the Secular Arm concur? Or, the inflicting Punishment with a high Hand suffice to teach a good Life, or bring Men to Everlasting Happiness? Besides, can a Kingdom be safe, if the Secular Magistrate command one thing, and the Spiritual another? Must not the Subject on these Terms be suspended betwixt his Obediences, or distracted into some Schism or Rebellion? Which Inconveniences as they cannot be deny'd, so neither do Examples want thereof, both anciently betwixt Emperors and Popes, and of latter Times, as well in this Kingdom as divers others, where not only Scandal and Dissention, but even Ruins and Desolation follow'd on this Occasion. It being manifest thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoined, the next Question will be, Who is most proper to exercise them in this Kingdom? But it is clear that the Popes are not. For besides that they want Title, Succession, Election, Possession, or whatsoever else may establish Government for the Temporal Part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the Spiritual, while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither can take timely notice of the Proceedings and Deviations of the Clergy, or give that Order and Redress which is fitting; so that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to *Rome*, they strive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increased. The Causes brought thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes wholly frustrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, then be at the cost of bringing their Witnesses with them to so remote a place, as neither their Health or Means can reach unto. Of which, as also many other Inconveniences in this kind, the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long since complain'd, without that the whole Court at *Rome* could devise a due Remedy, as long as the determination of Ecclesiastical Affairs was so commonly avok'd thither. Whereby it follows, that the Pope, as being neither Secular Magistrate in this Kingdom, nor within a just distance to exercise the Spiritual, cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute Power in either Jurisdiction. It remains, that Princes of this Kingdom successively assume it, both as their Person and Office hath in it a mixture of the Temporal and Spiritual Power, and as the Precincts they claim in Ecclesiastical Affairs are no longer than their Swords can reach to, and secure, nor their Interests other, than to conserve at home a perpetual Peace of Religion; which also will be with so much Advantage to their Subjects, as while the same Authority animates and gives Life unto all, none of the Members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxim, he may be convinc'd by Examples of Popes themselves, who practise this mixed Power not only in their Territories about *Rome*, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote Dominions, with that singular benefit to their Vassals, that they more than any other in *Italy*, are exempt from being drawn into contrary Parts. So that if it be clear as well by Reason as by Precedents, that both Powers may subsist together, and be exercis'd by one and the same Person, I think none will deny, but that it will be so much the more equal, to place them in a Temporal than a Spiritual Monarch, as it imports more to give good Laws, and exhibite Justice, than to dispute Controversies (where the Grounds of Religion are already settled) and to resist Foreign Invasions, than to declaim against Vice, and the Non-payment of Church-Duties: Out of which therefore may be concluded, That there is no more necessity of a Pope over us, or (if you will) over all Churches in the World (when they could be converted to Christianism) than to assign one Universal Monarch over it. There being in the Frame of Government as well as all other Bodies, a certain Symetry and Proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. These things thus appearing, it may be considered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity for swaying all the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Kingdom, in his being so obnoxious to other Princes. But this also is evident, since the *French* and *Spaniard* so constraining him on either side, that he must submit to the stronger, or suffer such Imprisonment and Outrages as he hath lately done, it will be dangerous to constitute him our Supream Judge in these Affairs of Religion, which regard matter of State. For suppose he would be impartial between such Princes as may press him equally, Shall we presume he will be so to us, who stand not in the same relation of Nearness and Interest unto him? Nevertheless, I shall easily grant that he may wish us well, or bestow his Blessing on us; but where his Person or Estate will be concern'd, I do believe it would be so unsafe for him to do us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to ask it. But may he not in some Cases yet be retain'd as Judge in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Arbiter of the Differences of *Christendom*? For my part, I shall accord it, as long as he complies with his place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Censures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he proscribe, and exterminate those, who otherwise might give him a due Respect, doth he not relinquish his Name? Especially while without regard to the Quietness of Men's Consciences, the Peace of *Christendom*, or the Unity of Religion, (which might easily follow, when the unnecessary Points were laid aside) he (for the conservation of his Authority in this Kingdom only) procures Foreign Princes to invade it. Whereupon therefore, he so little exerciseth his Pastoral Charge, (instituted at first for the Safeguard and Ease of the Secular Magistracy) as he now disturbeth

1533. ſturbeth all, whereas he ought ſo much rather to uſe a diſcreet Moderation, as he ſees that Princes can both reign without him, and contain their Subjects (whether Spiritual or Temporal) in their accuſtom'd Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that until theſe Eccleſiaſtical Affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determin'd without them, there will be ſmall hope of an Accommodation. And for theſe Reaſons alſo, we can as little admit him Arbiter of the Temporal Cauſes betwixt us, and any other Chriſtian Prince, though otherwiſe the Function be ſo neceſſary, as (it ſeems) there is no ſo good means for avoiding the many Wars, and deciding the Controverſies betwixt them. But it is alledged ſtill, That in deſerting the Pope's Authority, ſome diminution of Religion may follow: Alas! if Religion ſtood not on firmer Principles than theſe, it were worſe grounded than any other Knowledge: For were not the Laws of Piety and Goodneſs ſo written (at firſt) in the Heart, as Mankind had no other Direction for attaining his everlaſting Happineſs, for about two thouſand Years, and until the Decalogue was given? And is that again any thing elſe but an Explication of theſe Laws? Beſides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith deliver'd us in ſome part of our Belief or Creed (and I ſay in ſome, for the beginning thereof, as well as certain Articles towards the end, are general Notions both written in our Hearts, and received in all Religions.) And have we not through the Reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the Ten Commandments, and therein ſubmitted our ſelves to all that is required in either Teſtaments, and will they yet exact new Beliefs, and obtrude new Articles? When the Laws of God, only written in Men's Hearts, and the Decalogue, for ſo many Ages were thought to ſuffice for Salvation. Let them ſay what they will; I find no reaſon to believe, that the Divine Wiſdom impoſeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than thoſe that were deliver'd to our Fore-fathers; or that ſome ſuch Obliquation of Religion hath happen'd as the courſe of his Providence ſhould be varied too. And therefore, though I ſhall be content, that the Illuſtration or Explication of ſome Points may be worth the Church's Labour, I can never agree that the Principles and Foundation of this Structure ſhould be ſtirr'd, or exhibited on other Terms. Neither indeed ſhould the *Roman* Church in true Wiſdom procure it, the Majeſty of Religion being no ways ſo well conſerv'd, as by aſſerting ſuch a Perfection, Antiquity, Univerſality, and Viſibility in the more neceſſary Parts thereof, as may argue the Care which God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to repreſent the Doctrines of Faith, and of God's Mercy, in middle Times after ſuch manner, as may be for our Inſtruction. And thus their Auditors, being informed, not only what Parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in ſequent Times, may glorify him for both. Nevertheleſs, if Popes ſhall be ſo far from theſe charitable and temperate ways, as they will ſtill intermix and trouble all things; if they ſhall confound and join together the certain, and the uncertain, and compel Men equally to the Belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this caſe to prevent Diſtractions? Ought they not to extinguiſh Uſurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Error and Neglects? While in giving a due Luſtre and Protection with the Temporal Sword, they make her become more Reverend and Awful. Which Duty alſo is ſo much more requiſite in them, as it is not in the Power of any elſe to perform it. Neither ſhould we fear, leſt our Princes ſhould grow too abſolute thereby; when it is the moſt aſſured way for conſerving, not the outward only, but inward Peace in this Kingdom. Not that this Authority may be at length devolv'd to ſuch as would abuſe it; there being a poſſibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. And that *Incommodum non ſolvit Argumentum.* And thus, Sir, may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all Defects reſtored by your Highneſs in your Dominions, without either ſuffering Sophiſtry or Pedantiſm to be taught inſtead of true Doctrine, or that the Hierarchy of your Kingdom ſhould be deveſted from their ancient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highneſs pretends not to create new Articles of Faith, they may continue ſtill to expound the old, in their ſeveral kinds, and give light to the hard Places in the Scripture, read Divine Service, adminiſter Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort Men to Piety, Charity, Good Life, Repentance, and whatever elſe may conduce to Everlaſting Happineſs: Whereof alſo when the Pope would take ſuch notice, as to confirm and approve our Proceedings, we might (if your Highneſs ſo pleas'd) return that Reſpect to him, as, upon his Publick Declaration, that he doth not only ratify our Confeſſion of Faith, but relinquiſh all his Pretences, which may derogate from your Regal Authority, and behave himſelf (for the reſt) *tanquam Communis Pater*, ſuch Points might be referr'd to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be ſo far forth acknowledg'd, as he might ſtill retain a Primacy, according to his ancient Patriarchal Right, without intermedling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-Houſe hath already decreed for your Highneſs. And now to come to the preſent Queſtion concerning the Divorce; I muſt ſay, I cannot find what the Pope ſhould take ill. For is any thing done by our Archbiſhop, but what, not only the Pope himſelf, but the moſt famous Univerſities of *Chriſtendom* have declared Lawful? So that, if after ſix Years ſuſpenſion of the Cauſe, we have determined the Buſineſs, as himſelf confeſſed he would have done, but for fear of the Emperor; What Offence can he take? Will he complain, he is not able to do us Juſtice, and yet be ſcandalized if it be done by others? Or ſhall the executing of what he thought reaſonable, be judg'd a Fault, when the not executing thereof muſt (in all Equity) have made us the greater Criminals? Let us therefore ſend to deſire his Conſent. It hath been already intimated unto us, that it was not ſo good to ask a Licenſe, as a Pardon, we will hope then from him a Confirmation of the Archbiſhop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conſerv'd, without that we ſhould need to fear any Foreign Invaſion, as long as the general Vote of our Kingdom ſhall eſtabliſh what (in a ſort) it hath agreed unto.

And to this Opinion our King inclined, and ſo much the rather, that about this Time the Pope's Sentence againſt him was openly ſet up at *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*; ſo that to prevent further Inconveniences, the King (as the Records ſhew) adviſed with his Council, *December* 2. *Firſt*, To inform his Subjects of his Appeal to the Council General, and the Juſtice thereof. *Secondly*, Of the Unlawfulneſs of the Dowager's Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute againſt it, which ſaid Statute was (for that purpoſe) to be ſet upon every Church-Door in *England*, as alſo his Majeſty's ſaid Provocation, or Appeal, whereof Tranſumpts alſo were to be ſent into *Flander's*. *Thirdly*, To

Hall. The Pope's Sentence againſt the King ſet up at *Dunkirk*. Records.

1533. To command it to be taught, that the General Council is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in *England*, by God's Law, than any other Foreign Bishop. *Lastly*, To send into *Germany*, to confederate with the King of *Poland*, *John* King of *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Bavaria*, the Landtgrave of *Hess*, &c. as likewise the *Hanse-Teutonick* Towns, being *Lubeck*, *Dantsick*, *Noremberg*, &c. These Things being resolv'd on, for a final Answer, he desir'd the Bishop of *Paris* to certifie *Francis*, That if the Pope would supersede from executing his Sentence, until he had indifferent Judges sent, who might hear the Business, he would also supersede from the Execution of what he was deliberated to do in withdrawing his Obedience from the *Roman* See. But the Bishop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good Terms, made an offer to Negociate the Business at *Rome*; which our King gladly accepted, assuring him withal, that assoon as he had obtain'd what was demanded, he would send sufficient Power and Authority to confirm as much as was accorded on his part, as having entire Confidence in his Discretion and Sufficiency, ever since his two Years Imployment as Ambassador in this Kingdom. Whereupon the Bishop, though in *Christmas* Holydays, and an extream Winter, posted to *Rome*: Where he came before any thing was done, more than what formerly past: And here obtaining a Publick Audience in the Consistory, he eloquently declared our King's Message, representing both what he had obtain'd of our King, and shewing withal how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which so prevail'd, that they prefixt a Day for receiving from our King a Confirmation thereof. Insomuch, that a Courier was dispatch'd to our King *Henry*, desiring his Answer within the time limited. But the Term being expir'd, and no Answer brought, the Pope resolv'd to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence; which being advertis'd to *Bellay*, he repair'd to the Pope and Cardinals, (then sitting in full Consistory) desiring them to stay a while, it being probable that the Courier, either through cross Winds, or other Accidents in long Journies, might be detain'd; concluding his Speech, that if the King of *England* had six Years together been patient, they might attend six Days; which space only he desir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our King's Answer; this Proposition being put to the Question, the plurality of Voices carried it against our King, and the rather, that in this mean time, News came to *Rome*, that the King had printed and published the Book written against the Pope's Authority, (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it was not yet kept so close, but a Copy was now come to the Pope's Hands) and that there was a Comedy represented at Court, to the no little Defamation of certain Cardinals. By reason whereof the Sentence was so precipitated, that, what according to their usual Forms could not be done in less than three Consistories, was now dispatch'd in one: And so by a final Determination (the Copy whereof is in *Fox*) the Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was pronounced good, and King *Henry* commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in case of refusal, Censures were fulminated against him. But two Days of the six were not past, when the Courier arriv'd with ample Commission and Authority from our King, to conclude and confirm all that the Bishop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) that King *Henry* was content to accept the Judgment of that Court, upon condition that the suspected and Imperial Cardinals should not intervene, and that indifferent Persons should be sent to *Cambray* to be inform'd of the Merits of the Cause; giving Authority further for his Proctors to appear in that Court. At which, the more wise and temperate Cardinals were so astonish'd, that they became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would advise how all things might be repair'd; whereupon the Business was again discuss'd. But all Remedies being judg'd either late, or impossible, the Sentence stood, and the Emperor was made the Executor of it. The Bishop now returning toward *France*, met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne* and *William Revet*, who were employ'd by our King for solliciting this important Business. But as they understood by the Bishop, that the first Marriage was pronounced good, and the Issue by it legitimate, so they judg'd it lost labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our King, who became so sensible of the Indignity wherewith he was us'd in this important Affair, that he separated himself from the Obedience of the *Roman* Church, but not from the Religion thereof (some few Articles only excepted) as shall appear hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this present Condition found nothing so fitting to be done, as to cherish the good Affection of his Subjects, who in a Parliamentary way he found did many ways advance and second his Designs. I shall for a Conclusion add only the Censure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this Business, *Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille Rex, ut eum, si æquiores & prudentiores Pontifices nactus fuisset, sponte se subjecturum ipsorum potestati fuisse appareret.*

Side notes (left margin): *Belcar*. 4. — Bp. of *Paris* offers to negotiate the Business with the Pope. — Decemb. — But without Success. — March 19. Records. — *Concil. Tri.* March 23. — *Pag.* 132. Marriage between K. Henry and Q. Katherine pronounced valid by the Pope and Cardinals.

Side notes (right margin): 1533. — *Concil. Trid. L.* 1. — April 7. — The King separates from the Obedience, but not from the Religion of the Ch. of *Rome*.

The Emperor (now in *Spain*) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marseilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at least the Pope would dissuade *Francis* from favouring our King, or assisting the Protestant Princes: Therefore he did not much endeavour to hinder it: For as he knew the Pope was passionately affected to the Advancement of his Kindred, so he judg'd it lost labour to oppose him therein; since by ingraffing his Family now in *France*, as well as by his former Alliance with *Spain*, he might hold himself secure on either hand. Neither did he think that Terrors could prevail, at a time when the Pope must know, there would be use of all the Imperial Forces against the *Turk*, who besides that he threaten'd a general Invasion, had now particularly besieged *Corron*, taken a Year since by *Andrea Doria*, which a *Spanish* Garrison held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the *Turk* about *April* 1534.

Side notes: *Sandov.* — April 1. 1534.

I will come now to the Business of our Parliament, holden this Year from *Jan.* 15. till 30. of *March* next, wherein these Statutes were Enacted:

Side note: Jan. 15. *Reg.* 25.

That the Prices of Victuals should not be inhanced without just Ground and Reason. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellor (and others, who had Authority given them herein) should tax the said Victuals how they should be sold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Also that no Corn or Cattel be carried beyond Sea without the King's License, unless either to *Calais*, *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, &c.

Side note: Several Acts of Parliament passed.

That no Man indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment standing mute, to prevent the Process of the Law against himself, shall have Benefit of his Clergy; but Law shall proceed against him for the Crime whereof he is indicted, as if he had pleaded to the same, and thereupon had been found Guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

1533/34. *Elizabeth Barton* (call'd the *Holy Maid of Kent*) and Complices were attainted of High Treafon, for confpiring to flander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katherine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Holy Maid of Kent and her Accomplices attainted.

Becaufe by the greedinefs of fome, who have gotten into their hands much Cattel, and many Farms, which they have turned from Tillage to Pafture (efpecially for Sheep) old Rents are raifed, Prices of things inhanfed, and fo, much Poverty and Theft enfu'd; it was Enacted, That no Man fhould have in his own or Farmed Lands above 2000 Sheep (yet that every Temporal Perfon may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, That no Man fhall take and hold above two Farms at once, and thofe to be in the fame Parifh; upon certain Penalties there fet down.

The Statute of *Henry* IV. concerning Hereticks was repeal'd. And it was Enacted, That Sheriffs in their turns, and Stewards in their Leets, may make Inquiry and Prefentment of Hereticks; who being by two lawful Witneffes accufed, may be cited and arrefted by an Ordinary, and being convict in open Court, fhall abjure their Herefies; and refufing fo to do, or relapfing, fhall be burnt.

Alfo the Statute of *Richard* III. permitting free Importation of all kinds of Books, was repealed. And (for the Benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted, That no Bookfeller fhould buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any Stranger, but by Engrofs. And if the Prices of Books chanced to be raifed above reafon, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treafurer, the Chief Juftice of either Bench, or any two of them fhall moderate the fame, upon a certain Penalty.

Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged, that the Convocation is always affembled by the King's Authority, and have promis'd his Majefty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new Conftitutions, without his Highnefs's Affent and Licenfe; and whereas divers Conftitutions and Canons Provincial and Synodal heretofore enacted, are thought to be prejudicial to the King's Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realm, and enormous to the People; and the faid Clergy therefore hath humbly befought his Majefty, that the faid Conftitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination of thirty two Men to be nam'd by his Majefty, *viz.* fixteen of both Houfes of Parliament, and fixteen of the Clergy, who may annul or confirm the fame, as they find caufe; it is Enacted, That all Convocations fhall be henceforth call'd by the King's Writ, and that in them nothing fhall be promulg'd or executed without his Highnefs's Licenfe, under pain of Imprifonment of the Authors, and Mulct at the King's Will. And that his Highnefs fhall at his Pleafure (feeing the time of this Parliament is too fhort) appoint thirty two Men, as aforefaid, to furvey the faid Canons and Conftitutions, for the Confirmation or Abolition of the fame.

And as concerning Appeals, they fhall be made (according to the Statutes made the laft Year) from Inferior Courts to the Archbifhops, and for lack of Juftice there, to the King's Majefty in his Court of *Chancery*.

As concerning *Annates* us'd to be paid to *Rome* by Archbifhops and Bifhops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, fince there hath been heretofore an Act pafs'd, and the Bifhop of *Rome*, otherwife call'd Pope, being inform'd thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the King's Highnefs for redrefs of the fame; his Highnefs hath now confirm'd and ratified the fame Act, and every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth enact the fame, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Bifhop fhall be commended, prefented or nominated by the Bifhop of *Rome*, nor fhall fend thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, *&c.* but that at every Vacation of a Bifhoprick, the King fhall fend to the Chapter of the Cathedral a Licenfe (as of old hath been accuftom'd) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferr'd above twelve Days next enfuing fhall belong to the King, but being made within the Time limited, fhall be held firm and good, and the Perfon fo elected, after Certification of his Election to the King's Highnefs, and Oath of Fealty taken to him, fhall be ftyl'd Bifhop Elect; and fo by his Majefty, be commended to the Archbifhop of the Province, to be Invefted and Confecrate. And if the Perfons to whom this Election, or Confecration belongeth, neglect or refufe to perform the fame, or admit, or execute any Cenfures, Interdictions, *&c.* to the contrary, they fhall incur the Penalty of the Law of *Præmunire*.

Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoverifh'd by the ufurp'd Exactions of the Bifhop of *Rome*, under the Titles of *Peter*-Pence, Procuration, Expedition of Bulls, Delegacies, Difpenfations, *&c.* It is Enacted, That fuch Impofitions be no more paid; and that neither the King's Highnefs, nor any Subject of his, fhall fue for any Difpenfation, Faculty, Delegacy, *&c.* to the See of *Rome*, but that any fuch Difpenfation, *&c.* for Caufes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, as well to the King's Highnefs, as to his Subjects: But in thofe things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the faid Archbifhop fhall not meddle, without the King's Licenfe. Provided, that all Difpenfations, *&c.* whofe Expedition at *Rome* came to four Pounds and upwards, fhall be confirm'd by the King's Seal, and enroll'd in *Chancery*, thofe below four Pounds paffing under the Archbifhop's Seal only. That the Fees for thefe Difpenfations fhall be limitted by the faid Archbifhop, and the Lord Chancellor, and a part of the fame (be they great or fmall) fhall alway come to the King's Hands. As for all Monafteries, Colleges, Hofpitals, heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Archbifhop, fhould have Authority to vifit them.

Laftly, upon the Suit of Parliament to the King for the eftablifhing of the Succeffion *to the* Crown (the uncertainty *whereof hath* caus'd heretofore great Divifion and *Bloodfhed* in this Realm) it was Enacted, that the King's Marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur* (as was lawfully prov'd before *Thomas* Archbifhop of *Canterbury*) as contrary to God's Law, fhall be held void: and fhe ftyl'd no more Queen, but Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and the Matrimony with Queen *Anne* fhall be taken for firm and good, and the Iffue thence procreate be accounted lawful; the Inheritance of the Crown to belong to the fame in manner following, (*viz.*) Firft to the eldeft Son begotten by the King or Queen *Anne*, and to the Heirs of the faid Son lawfully begotten; and for default of fuch Heir, then to the fecond Son, *&c.* and if Queen *Anne* deceafe without Iffue Male, then the Crown to defcend to the Son and Heir of the King's Body lawfully begotten, and the Heirs of the faid Son lawfully begotten; and for a default of fuch Iffue, to the fecond Son in like manner, *&c.* And for default of Sons, that then the Crown fhall belong to the Iffue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and firft

K's Marriage with Catherine made void by Act of Parliament, and fhe to be no more ftyl'd Queen:

Crown to defcend on the Heirs of Q. Anne.

1533/34. first to the first begotten the Princess *Elizabeth*, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten. And for default of such Issue, then to the second Daughter in like sort, *&c.* And for default of all such Issue, to the right Heirs of the King's Highness. It was ordain'd that this Act shall be proclaim'd before *May* next thoughout the Kingdom. And all Persons of Age shall swear to accept and maintain the same. They who refuse the Oath standing guilty of Misprision of High Treason; and they who speak or write against the Marriage or Succession here establish'd, to be adjudg'd Traytors.

An Oath to be taken to maintain this Act of Succession.

Besides all this, the present Statute express'd certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; (amongst which, that between the Brother and the Brother's Wife, was one) which being against God's Laws, could not be dispenc'd with by Man, and therefore no such Marriages shall hereafter be made; and those that are made already, shall be by the Ordinary dissolv'd, and those that are already so dissolv'd, shall be esteem'd justly and lawfully dissolv'd, and the Issue thence proceeding Illegitimate.

March 30. Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *T. More* refuse the Oath.

The Parliament rising, Commissioners were sent abroad to require the Oath of Succession, which nevertheless *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*, late Chancellor, deny'd, yet so as they both profess'd a readiness to swear to the Succession, but not to the whole Act, (it containing divers other things. First, the indispensability of the first Marriage, as being against the Law of God. Secondly, of the legal proceeding in the Divorce by *Cranmer*: Thirdly, some touches against the Pope's Authority, *&c.*) But which of these in particular offended them, they would not discover; therefore though Archbishop *Cranmer* told *Cromwel*, it were not amiss to accept the Oath as they offer'd it, both for satisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperor (who much rely'd on these Mens Authority,) they yet refusing, were sent to the Tower, where they continu'd till they were brought forth to their Tryal and Death, as will appear hereafter.

April 17.

And are Imprison-ed.

The Pope having proceeded in those rigorous Terms with our King (as is formerly mention'd) and for more authorising his Sentence, made the Emperor Executor thereof, hop'd now to have his Revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the Emperor did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen *Katherine*'s sake, and the hope he had to dispose of the Princess *Mary*, as Inheritrix of the Crown, yet as he had deeper Designs, in aspiring to the Conquest of *Italy*, and indeed to an *Universal Monarchy*, he was no less glad of the Occasion to take off our King from the Pope; howsoever each side prepar'd for War. The Emperor's Intention was, to give the Princess *Mary* to some one, who upon her Title might pretend to the Crown, whom therefore he promis'd to second. Our King and *Francis* not ignorant of the Emperor's Designs, agreed on the other side, partly to join with the Duke of *Gueldres* for invading the adjoining Territories to *France*, and partly to renew the ancient Claim to *Navarre*, and assail the Emperor in those Quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperor take effect, because there was no means to recover the Person of the Princess *Mary*. Nor this of our Kings, because *Francis* employing his Thoughts wholly on the Affairs of *Italy*, did not think fit to comply openly with one against whom the Pope had fulminated. Howbeit, our King, for defence of his Authority and second Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a Confirmation thereof, and of the Succession in that Line (as is mention'd before;) sending also to Queen *Katherine* at *Bugden* near *Huntingdon*, in sequence thereof, *Edward Lee*, Archbishop of *York*, and *Cuthbert Tonstall*, Bishop of *Duresme*, to signifie unto her, that he took it ill that she still claim'd the Title of Queen, *&c.* the Passages of which Negociation I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Original Record, as containing many material Points concerning the whole Frame of the Business.

Charles V. aspires at Universal Monarchy.

1533. May 11. Two Bishops sent to acquaint Q. *Catherine* with this Act.

Their Letter to the King, was this.

'PLease it your Highness to understand, that this Day we repair'd to the Princess Dowager; and there I the Archbishop of *York*, for an Introduction to declare to her the effect of our Commission, said to her, First, that your Highness had often sent to her divers of your Council, and amongst them me, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the Marriage, between your Highness and her. Secondly, that Carnal Knowledge, which is the great Key of the matter, is sufficiently prov'd in the Law, as also some that were of the Council do avow. Thirdly, that upon Proof so sufficiently made of Carnal Knowledge, Divorce was made between your Highness and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by lawful Sentence, she was admonish'd to leave the Name of a Queen, and not to account or call herself hereafter your Highness's Wife. Fifthly, how that after your Highness was discharg'd of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your dearest Wife Queen *Anne*. Sixthly, that for so much as (thank'd be God) fair Issue is already sprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow, by God's Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gather'd together in Parliament, hath for the Stablishment of this Issue, by your dearest Wife Queen *Anne*, and the Succession coming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances against all them that would in Word or in Deed withstand them, and that for these Purposes we were sent to her Grace, to the intent she might understand the true purpose of these Acts, with the pains; lest by Ignorance she should fall in any of them; and so I declar'd the Act. Which thing being thus declar'd to her, she being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and always interrupting our Words to the aforesaid Points, made these Answers following. To the first, that she took the Matrimony between your Highness and her for good; and so always would account herself to be your Highness's lawful Wife, in which Opinion she said she would continually (till Death) persist. To the second, she utterly denied that ever Carnal Knowledge was had between her and Prince *Arthur*, and that she would never confess the contrary; and with loud Voice when mention was made of that Point, she said, they ly'd falsly that so said. To the third, she answer'd, that she is not bound to stand to that Divorce made by my Lord of *Canterbury*, whom she called a Shadow, and that although he had given Sentence against her, yet the Pope had given Sentence with her, whom she took for Christ's Vicar, and therefore would always obey him, as his faithful Daughter. To the fourth, she answer'd, that she would never leave the Name of a Queen, and she would always take herself for your Highness's Wife. To the fifth, she said that this Marriage, made after her Appeal, which she made by your Highness's Leave and Consent, is of no value.

An account of their Negociation herein sent to the King.

May 20.

'To

1534. 'To the fixth, fhe anfwer'd, that fhe is not bound 'to the Acts of the Parliament, for fo much as 'fhe is your Highnefs's Wife, and not fubject to 'your Highnefs, and alfo becaufe thefe Acts were 'made by your Highnefs's Subjects in your fa'vour, your Highnefs being Party in this mat'ter; with divers other unfeeming Words. Un'to which her Anfwer, I the Bifhop of *Durefme* 'replying, forafmuch as fhe had faid in her Com'munication, that both I and the refidue of her 'Council had always fhew'd unto her, that her 'Matter is juft, and good; I faid, that all the que'ftion whereupon we were confulted at fuch time 'as the Legates were here, depended only upon the 'Validity of the *Bull* and *Breve*, albeit I faid, 'that fith that time divers other Queftions had ri'fen and been debated by many Univerfities, the 'chief of Chriftendom, of which one was *Bo'nonia*, the Pope's own Town; and by them 'concluded, that after the deceafe of the Bro'ther, who had had Carnal Knowledge with his 'Wife, the Brother living might not marry the 'faid Wife by any Difpenfation of the Pope, 'becaufe it was forbidden by the Law of God. 'And forafmuch as the Pope (albeit the faid 'Conclufions, have been by Learned Men fent 'from your Highnefs, declar'd unto him) never 'made anfwer to maintain lawfully his Power to 'the contrary, bur rather in Confirmation of the 'Opinions of the faid Univerfities, faid at *Mar'feilles*, that if your Grace would fend a *Proxie* 'thither, he would give the Sentence for your 'Highnefs againft her, becaufe that he knew 'that you Caufe was good and juft; which his 'faying was according alfo to an Epiftle De'cretal fent hither by the Legat *Campejus*, where'of the effect was, that if Marriage and Carnal 'Knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and 'her, the Legates fhould pronouce for the 'Divorce, according whereunto Proofs were 'brought in before the Legats, and alfo fince, 'before the Convocations of this Realm, and 'the Bifhop of *Canterbury*, and by them allow'd 'and approv'd as fufficient and lawful: Whereby 'doth plainly appear, that the Sentence given 'by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, 'becaufe it pronounced the Difpenfation, (which 'he had no Power to grant, feeing it was a'gainft the Law of God) to be good; therefore 'I had now chang'd my former Opinion, and 'exhorted her to do the femblable, and forbear 'to ufurp any more the Name of a Queen; 'fpecially for that the Sentence fhe fticketh fo 'greatly unto, was given after your Grace's Ap'peal to the Council General, and intimate to 'the Pope, fo that it could not be vailable. And 'that if fhe fhould fo do, fhe might thereby at'tain muft Quietnefs for her felf, and her Friends, 'and that fhe being conformable fo to do, I 'doubted not but your Highnefs would fuffer 'her to have about her fuch Perfons as fhould 'be to her pleafure, and intreat her as your 'Grace's moft deareft Sifter, with all liberty and 'pleafure, with divers other things which by her 'much enterlacing, I was forc'd to anfwer unto. 'The fpecialities whereof, and of her Obftinacy, 'that fhe will in no wife, ne for any Peril of 'her Life or Goods, relinquifh the Name of a 'Queen, we do remit for tedioufnefs unto the 'Wifdoms and Difcretions of my Lord of *Che'fter*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Mr. *Redell*, who like as 'they have very fubftantially, wifely, and ef'fectually order'd themfelves in the Execution 'of the Premiffes, fo we doubt not, but that 'they will fincerely report the Circumftances of 'the fame unto your Highnefs, whom we be'feech Almighty God long to preferve in much 'Honour, to his Pleafure, and your Heart's de'fire. At *Huntington*, the 21ft day of *May*.

By your Highnefs's moft humble Subjects,
Servants and Chaplains,

Edovard Ebor.
Cuthbert Durefme.

Notwithftanding which Anfwers of the Prin- Dec. 1533.
cefs Dowager, fuch was the gentlenefs of our *Hall.*
King, as betwixt the Memory of his former Love and the Pity on her prefent Condition, contenting himfelf to have diffolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her all fuch as would not ferve her as Princefs only; he pafs'd them over with much calmnefs. Howbeit he refolv'd to punifh rigoroufly her Adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth*
Barton (call'd the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had Maid of
almoft ftirred up more than one Tragedy; for *Kent* and
being fuborn'd long fince by Monks, to ufe her Accomplices
fome ftrange Gefticulations, and to exhibit di- punifh'd.
vers feign'd Miracles, accompanied with fome Wifardly Unfoothfayings, fhe drew much Credit and Concourfe to her, infomuch that no mean Perfons, and among others *Warham*, late Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fifher* Bifhop of *Rochefter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave fome belief to her; fo that notwithftanding the Danger that was to give ear to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry* VIII.
fhould not *live one Month* after this Marriage *Hall.*
with Miftrefs *Bolen*, fhe was cry'd up with many *Morofin.*
Voices, *Silvefter Darius*, and *Antonio Pollioni*, the *Apomaxis.*
Pope's Agents here, giving Credit and Counte- Novemb. 1533.
nance thereunto. But the Plot being at laft dif- Jan. 15.
cover'd, fhe was attainted of Treafon in the $15\frac{33}{34}$.
Parliament, and executed with her chief Com- April 21.
plices fhortly after. At which time alfo fhe confefs'd their Names who had inftigated her to thefe Practices, and whom fhe had acquainted
with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* *More.*
and *Fifher*; whom yet the King pardon'd upon *Mar. 5. Fifher.*
their feveral Submiffions, not fuffering the Bills Feb. 27.
to pafs, which were put into the Parliament a- $15\frac{33}{34}$.
gainft them. 1533.

After many bickerings betwixt the *Englifh* and Sept. 1534.
Scotch, a Truce firft, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King *James*. On
the King of *Scots* part, *March* 23. came to *London*, March 23.
William Stuart Bifhop of *Aberdeen*, *Robert Reid* Ab- April 12.
bot of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne*, a Lawyer. To treat with thefe on our King's behalf, were appointed T. *Audley* Chancellor, *Cromwel* Secretary, and *Edward* Fox Almoner.

The Treaty was for perpetual Peace, which Treaty of
was concluded *May* 20. during their joint Lives, Peace con-
and a Year after, and Sworn by King *Henry*, cluded
Aug. 2. and by King *James*, *July* 9. It was alfo with *Scotland.*
agreed, that King *Henry* fhall deliver to the King May 20.
of *Scots* the Fortrefs of *Edrington*, lately taken by the *Englifh*, and the King of *Scots* fhall not impute breach of Peace to King *Henry*, if he entertain *Archibald* Earl of *Anguis* his Brother, or his Uncle, and if the faid *Douglaffes* fhould chance to invade *Scotland*, Redrefs fhould be made according to the Laws of the Marches, and the Peace remain between the two Kings. Which that it might continue during their Lives, as was then agreed, Queen *Margaret* by Letters follicited Queen *Anne* and *Cromwel* the Secretary. July 4.
While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was fent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of St. *George*, whereunto he was alfo accepted at *Windfor* the next Year, *July* 28. he had Inftructions alfo to acquaint him with an Interview intended betwixt

our

1534. our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be present, and for this purpose to pass through his Kingdom, that they both together might go to *Calais*; which Favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was disappointed, so our King, who desir'd much to confer with his Nephew, invited him to *York*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the Business to his Council, who judging *Newcastle* to be the fitter place, made an Excuse for the present, promising yet the Year following to meet, if he so thought good. Nevertheless, as our King well knew upon what Ground this Meeting was deferr'd, the Lord *William Howard*, and *William Barlow*, Elect Bishop of St. *Asaph*, were sent to make certain Overtures and Propositions to that King, whereof in its due Place.

This Year *Charles* the Emperor being in *Spain*, intentive chiefly to the Proceedings of the *Turk*, and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, desirous to govern without home-Opposition, such a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and such favourable Usage given the Protestant Princes, that the Pope complain'd openly of *Ferdinand*'s Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excus'd all with reason of State. Which also the Pope accepted the rather, in that the *Anabaptists* (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the *Lutherans*) did then prevail in many Places, and particularly held *Munster* in *Westphalia*. So that because the Duke of *Wittenberg*, promised to contribute some Forces to the besieging of that Place, he said he had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no Man knew how far the Innovations of these Times might reach, it was thought to be of much Importance, that they had drawn one side to oppose the other. In *France* also about this Time, the Doctrine of the Evangelicks began to take Root, though so covertly, that few durst openly avow it; yet as they found Favour and Protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutchess *d'Estampes*, so the King himself, whether for deciding the Cause, or Love of these two Ladies (whereof one was his Sister, and the other his Favourite) refus'd not to confer privately with divers of the Reform'd, and to give some such tacit Assent to their Doctrines, as thereupon growing Audacious, they adventur'd to set up Papers in the Court, and publish Libels against the Church of *Rome*, in such manner, as *Francis* being incens'd thereat, caus'd the Authors to be sought out, and burnt. Not yet but that he could have been content to have had some Points reform'd, and the Papal Authority diminish'd a little, but that he fear'd it might cause a Division in his Realm, as he saw it had done in the Empire. Therefore, following a violent Course, and improper to convince those who are well perswaded of their Religion, he condemn'd the Professors thereof to the Fire. While yet on the other side (as the *French* Historians confess) he enter'd into a League with the *Turk*, to the no little Scandal of his own, and all the Christian Religion. But as this was not without some great Design, so he instituted certain Legionary Soldiers, or Regiments of Foot thoughout *France*, to the Number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compos'd of two thousand Harquebusiers, and 4000 Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were commanded by twelve Captains (having 500 a piece) under six Colonels; while to draw the People voluntarily to support this Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the Service they ow'd the Crown, by reason of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Pesant from all Impositions, saving twenty Solz apiece. Many good Ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering this Militia. Neither did the King misdoubt that the putting of Arms into so many of his Subjects Hands would redound to his Prejudice, or the People fear that their Liberty should be opprest thereby. So that it gave not only Security at Home, but Reputation Abroad; all which was done, while the Emperor prepar'd for a Voyage to *Tunis*, the Relation whereof also, I shall set down in its due Place.

June 29. Sleid. l. 9.

Protestants greatly increase in France.

Flor. Ramund. l. 7.

Sleid. Com. l. 7.

Novemb.

And are grievously persecuted. Dupleix. De Serr. King of France enters into a League with the Turk.

De Serr.

This Year (*Sept.* 26.) Pope *Clement* VII. took his End. For as he had been troubled long with a Weakness in his Stomach, which his Physician *Curtio* advis'd him to remedy by change of Diet, so being not able in an infirm State to suffer such an Alteration, he sunk under his Disease and died. This Pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill Fortune, more than any other of his Sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all; he was happy in his Interviews, as returning ever with some Advantage, without that the committing himself to the Power of those puissant Princes whom he met, did diminish his Authority, in a Time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. He was a passionate Lover of the Advancement of his Family, for which Purpose also he sometimes chang'd the whole Face of the Affairs of *Europe*. His Riches were rather in Jewels than Money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. He was provident enough in conducting all Affairs where Arms did not Intervene, but withal so timerous, that it was reproach'd to him. The Historians of those Times, besides, note him to have been of little Faith. Both which Properties seem the more credible, that he so often varied in his Treaties with our King. Insomuch that he may be thought for more than one Reason to have wilfully lost him. Into this Place succeeded *Alessandro* of the House of the *Farnesi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately chosen; neither did his Age, being 67, exempt him, while every one thus might hope in his turn to succeed. Which Opinion also he so cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have us'd some Art to make himself thought still more sickly than he was.

Sept. 26. Death of Pope Clement VII.

Paul III. succeeds him. Octob. 12.

Our King, who still suspected that the Pope and Emperor had their Designs upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and strengthen himself. For which Purpose also this Occasion was given; *Frederick* King of *Denmark* dying about this Time, and leaving the Crown in Competition between his Son *Christian* (yet a Child) and *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothy*, eldest Daughter to *Christiern* II. and the Emperor's Sister, the *Lubeckers* and *Hamburghers* offer'd our King for the Sum of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country which should be at his Devotion, and thereby exclude the Interest which the Emperor or his Niece had to that Crown. Concerning which, our King taking Advice with his Council, it was thought fit to propose the Business to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his Affection, (which he had lately found cold) and ease himself of the Charge, half whereof therefore he desir'd *Francis* to support. But what Answer *Francis* return'd, appears not; only I find by a *Dutch* History, as well as by our Records, that a great Sum of Money was lent by our King, whereupon also they proceeded in their War, which yet at last being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment.

Bewther. 1535. May 25.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (*July* 9. as our Historians have it) was arraign'd at *Westminster* of High Treason, but as the principal Witnesses produc'd against him by his Accusers (Sir *Ralph Fenwick* and one *Musgrave*) were some mean and provok'd *Scottish* Men, so his Peers acquitted him,

July 9.

1534. as believing they not only spoke maliciously, but might be easily suborn'd against him, as one who (having been Warden of the Marches) by frequent Inroads had done much harm in that Country. And thus escap'd that Lord to his no little Honour, and his Judges, as giving Example thereby how Persons of great Quality, brought to their Tryal, are not so necessarily condemn'd, but that they sometimes may escape, when they obtain an equal hearing. The 11th of *August*, this Year, our King, as he was watchful over the Voice and Affection of his People, so for the finding out how they would take his Design of putting down Religious Houses, began with the Remove of some. And therefore suppress'd at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmond*, and other Places, the *Observant* Fryars, noted to be the most clamorous against him, and for them substituted the *Augustines*, placing the Observants again in the room of the Gray-Fryars, as some have it, though others mention not this latter Exchange; which Passages, though of no great Moment, in regard of that which follow'd, our King was glad to find no worse interpreted, since they serv'd to establish his Authority.

K. *Henry* suppresses three Monasteries.

Holinshead. *Speed.*

Regn 26. Nov. 3. I shall come now to the Laws enacted in the Parliament, held *Novemb.* 3. this Year, which were important, and such as testified the great Respect and Awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The first was to this effect; That albeit the King was Supream Head of the Church in *England*, and so recogniz'd by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, yet for more Corroboration thereof, as also for extirpating all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses of the same; it was enacted, That the King, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of *England*, should be accepted and reputed the Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England* (call'd *Ecclesia Anglicana*) and have and enjoy, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof as all Honours, Dignities, Pre-eminences, Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits and Commodities to the said Dignity of Supream Head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full Power and Authority from time to time, to visit and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend, all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reform'd, repress'd, order'd, redress'd, corrected, restrain'd, or amended most to the Pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of Vertue in Christ's Religion, and for the Conservation of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquility of this Realm; any Usage, Custom, foreign Laws, foreign Authority, Prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. Which Act, though much for the Manutention of the Regal Authority, seem'd yet not to be suddenly approv'd by our King, nor before he had consulted with his Council (who shew'd him Precedents of Kings of *England*, that had us'd this Power) and with his Bishops, who having discuss'd the Point in their Convocations, declar'd, that the Pope had no Jurisdiction warranted to him by God's Word in this Kingdom. Which also was seconded by the Universities, and by the Subscriptions of the several Colleges, and Religious Houses so far as they bound their Successors thereunto. The Particulars whereof are to be seen in our Records. Howsoever, the Business was both publickly controverted in foreign Countries, and defended here by many at this present, while they produc'd Arguments for rejecting the Pope's Authority, and together maintain'd it necessary, that such a Power should be extant in the Realm for supporting and strengthning of the Religion profess'd in it, and excluding the impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of those Times. The Arguments of all which, may be seen in the King's Book *De vera differentia Regiæ, & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis* (which we have formerly mention'd) as being printed and publish'd on this Occasion; whence also the Learned Bishop *Andrews* in his *Tortura Torti*, seems to have drawn divers Assertions of the Regal Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further recourse.

He is by Act of Parliament declar'd Supream Head of the Church.

June 1. Records.

And that the Pope has no Jurisdiction in this Kingdom.

It was also declar'd Treason, to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Also, that no Traytor shall have Benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realm, yet upon Commission given by the King for his Tryal, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law shall proceed against him as effectually, as if he were present.

An Act also made the last Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the King's Subjects for the surety of the Succession by Queen *Anne* was now confirm'd, and the Oath prescrib'd, for the more validating whereof also, it was declar'd that all former Oaths concerning Succession taken by the King's Subjects, should be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

Oath of Succession to be confirm'd.

That towards the Augmentation, Maintenance and Defence of the King's Royal Estate and Dignity of Supream Head, the First-fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, *&c.* Spiritual, shall be paid to his Highness. As also a Yearly Revenue, being the tenth Part of all such Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem* not excepted.)

First-fruits given to the King.

Whereas also it was doubted, lest in these troublesom Times some Commotion might follow in this Kingdom, and that particularly *Wales*, as being a strong and fast Country, might be a Refuge for ill-affected Persons, and the rather that there were so many Lordships Marches in those Parts (the several Lords whereof having ampler Power than they now enjoy, did protect Offenders flying from one place to the other) divers Laws were enacted against Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in *Wales*: Passage over *Severn* also at unlawful times was prohibited; and Clerks *convict in Wales*, not to be releas'd till *they found Sureties* for their good abearing. *Notwithstanding* which, the Year following, upon *mature* Deliberation, *Wales* was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of *England*; it being thought better to adapt that People into the same form of Government with the *English*, than by keeping them under more severe and strict Laws than others in the Island were subject unto, to hazard the alienating of their Affections.

Wales united to *England*.

An Act also was made, declaring by *whom*, and in what manner Bishops Suffragans should be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Priviledges should be.

And thus after a free and general Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogu'd. The Act of Supremacy being thus pass'd, the King proceeded more confidently to abolish by Proclamation, the Pope's Authority out of his Kingdom, and establish his own, the Doctrine whereof he commanded not only to be often preach'd in the most frequent Auditories, but taught even to little Children, injoining further that the Pope's Name should be raz'd out of

1535. of all Books, his Resolution being after this time to treat with him no otherwise than as an ordinary Bishop. In sequence whereof also, he not only proceeded with an high hand against all the Opposers of his Supremacy, (as shall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or Promise, under their Hands and Seals, from his Bishops, declaring their Acknowledgment of the same, together with Renunciation of the Pope's pretended Authority, and any Oath or Promise made to him heretofore. The Form of this Oath or Promise given by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *February* the 10th, 1535. may be seen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

June 25. 1535.

Feb. 10. 1535.

IN the beginning of this Year *Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon*, Admiral of *France*, being sent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Nassaw* had been on the Emperor's part with the King his Master, and among other Overtures of Agreement, propos'd to him two Marriages; to which yet he would return no Answer without our King's Advice. One was betwixt the *Dauphin* and the Princess *Mary* our King's Daughter (which also *Bellay* mentions, adding that notwithstanding the Instances which *Francis* made, the Emperor would not declare his further Intentions herein; the other was betwixt the Emperor's Son and the *French* King's youngest Daughter. To which Points, as also some others here following, our King commanded his Agents in *France* to return this Answer. That he marvel'd much at the Emperor's Malice, in medling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore desir'd *Francis* to surcease this Treaty, since he knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperor's reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis*, that the Emperor's Intention (notwithstanding all his Promises) was to divide him first from his League with *England*, and afterwards disappoint him; for though he had understood by the said *Bryon*, that the Emperor upon some Conditions had offer'd to *Francis* (for one of his Sons) a Pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, payable Yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* it self after the Death of *Sforza*, he desir'd him to give no credit to such Improbabilities. And here, I must observe that *Bellay*, who speaks of the Pension, saith nothing of the Dutchy it self; so that it may be that *Bryon* stretched this Point. And whereas the said *Bryon* had told him these things should be treated of by the two Sisters, Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the *Low-Countries*, who, I find by the *Spanish* History, did afterwards meet at *Cambray*) he thought he disparag'd this Business to commit it to Women. After these Points, and some others (which as they follow'd not, I spare to rehearse) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the Censures of *Clement*, late Pope, against him. And to tell him, that he would send Commissioners shortly to treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angoulesme* (his third Son) and the Princess *Elizabeth* our King's Daughter, which should be more advantageous than the Emperor's Offer. Whereupon, this Year in *May*, our King who knew there was no so good way, to prevent the Danger on the part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the *French*, and besides would have been glad that the Pope's Censures were retracted, sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to treat with the *French* King's Commissioners, being *Philip Chabot* Admiral, and *Gillaume de Poyet*, afterwards Chancellor of *France*, to this effect, as I find by their Instructions.

1535. Emperor offers the Princess Mary to the Dauphin in Marriage without K. Henry's Consent.

Mar. Bell. l. 4.

Records. K. Henry's Resentment of it.

May. Ambassadors sent to conclude a Treaty with Francis.

To require *Francis*, together with his Children, as also his Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, to enter into Bond to revoke the Censures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from some Proposition which *Francis* made of Reconcilement with the Pope.) That he, his Nobility and Universities should declare the late Marriage to be good, and bind themselves to maintain the same, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain Conditions, whereof these are the principal.

1535.

That all former Treaties shall stand in force. That when the Parties came to sufficient Years they should ratifie the Marriage. That *Monsieur de Angoulesme* should be presently sent to our King to be brought up in *England*. That if he succeeded to the Crown, the Dutchy of *Angoulesme* should be free from Homage to the *French* Kings. That he should not change the Laws of the Realm, and that sufficient Security and Caution should be given for this purpose. But some of these being thought to be high Demands, our King sent shortly after *George Bolen* Lord *Rochford* with Power to modifie and allay some Points, yet so as he insisted still, *Francis* should bind himself and his three Sons to revoke the Censures; and to declare, that it was enough if the Duke of *Angoulesme* came hither when the Espousals were to be made. At last, by third Instructions, our King said, he was content to accept the single Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Censures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of *Angoulesme* came six Months only before the compleat Marriage. To the first of which Points the *French* Commissioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd; affirming, that it was sufficient, if the young Duke came to consummate the Marriage. This while Sir *John Wallop* (Ambassador in *France*) being commanded to propose the same Conditions to *Francis*, was so sharply answer'd, that our Commissioners resented it. Nevertheless, as some Articles were agreed on the part of the *French* Commissioners, so they again demanded what help our King would give to the King their Master towards the Recovery of his Mother's Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as also about the Pension usually paid to our King, some wrangling Words were interchang'd, while we demanding that which was in Arrear, they desir'd to be exonerated of the whole; and thus the Treaty remain'd imperfect; yet so as I find by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Casalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Renunciation with much earnestness, and not a few Threats unto the new Pope. Though as *Paulus* III. was by Nature slow (as *Casalis* observes) and that the Emperor, besides, had his Designs in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that time against our King, so no effect follow'd. For which yet none suffer'd so much as the Pope himself, it being certain our King hitherto passionately desir'd to be, if not, reintegrated, yet at least in good Terms with the *Roman* Church, as far as with his Dignity he might.

June.

June 6.

May 14.

This while, *Haradin Barbarossa* King of *Argier*, that famous Pirate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth, gloried in some sort to be Superior to the Princes thereof) obtain'd the Kingdom of *Tunis*, so true is the ancient Verse, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema.* This Man being sent for by *Solyman*, and constituted Admiral in the Spring, 1534. with 100 Sail of all sorts; 8800 Soldiers, and 800000 Ducats, began his Expedition for Christendom the same Day that *Solyman* undertook his for *Persia*. His principal Design was upon *Genoüa*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the *Spanish* History hath it; in his

Barbarossa the Pirate endeavours to seize Julia Gonzaga. Sandov.

1533. 1534.

Sandov.

1535. way to which, he burnt or took many Ships in *Sicily* or *Italy*, facking divers Towns, and mak-
Aug. 1. 1534. Aug. 7. ing many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be fuch a Prize for *Solyman* as the beautiful *Julia Gonzaga*, he commanded two thoufand *Turks* to land by Night, and feize on her Perfon, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; but fhe, half naked, efcap'd them.
Aug. 22. 1534. Some Difficulties yet appearing about the Defign of *Genoua*, *Barbaroſſa* makes for *Tunis*, which at laft, between Stratagem and Force, he took, 22 *Auguſt* 1534. and made himfelf King thereof; *Muley Hazem*, the true Prince, flying for his more fecurity unto the Mountains. Which being advertis'd to the Emperor, he thought fit to prevail himfelf of the occafion. As hoping that *Solyman*'s being in *Perſia*, and the Troubles and Confufions, which are incident to unfetled and ufurp'd Governments, would make his Defign eafy.
Sandov. Nov. 14. 1534. And as he was one who knew the ufe of Spies in any great Enterprife, he defcended fo low, as to give particular Inftructions to one *Luys Preſendes*, a *Genoueſe*, well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large fet down by *Sandoval*.
Sandov. The effect of which were, that he fhould have certain Monies given him, wherewith he fhould Buy a Ship and Commodities to traffick with *Tunis*, and by thofe means infinuate himfelf into the acquaintance of the principal Perfons both in the Town, and about *Barbaroſſa*, and thereupon either to make a Party with the difcontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might join, or elfe to penetrate the Defigns of *Barbaroſſa*; for which purpofe alfo he had liberty, and Letters of Credence to make himfelf Ambaffador, and Negotiate with *Barbaroſſa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperor's Service to proceed that way; giving him Authority further, to promife Affiftance to *Barbaroſſa* for the Conqueft of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperor. But whether through want of Dexterity to ufe fuch different Inftructions, or that otherwife another who was privy to his Imployment did difcover him (which fome
Sandov. affirm) he was feiz'd on by *Barbaroſſa* and put to Death. Which being related unto the Emperor, did but haften his Expedition, wherein he refolv'd to go in Perfon.

This while, *Francis*, who was intentive to the Actions of the Emperor, both as himfelf had his Defigns in *Italy* at that Time, and that he had entred into a fecret League with the *Turk*, thought fit to acquaint *Barbaroſſa* therewith, by the means of one *Monſieur de Forreſt* a *Frenchman*, who from thence was commanded to go to *Conſtantinople*, and procure Succours for him; the Succefs whereof we fhall tell hereafter; and now the Emperor being affifted by the Pope,
1534. The Emperor's Expedition to *Tunis*. and *John* King of *Portugal*, and attended by *Don Luys*, Son to the faid *John Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobility of *Spain*, fet fail from *Barcelona*, *May* 31. and coming to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence 13 of *June* 1535. with twenty five thoufand Foot, and about two thoufand Horfe, befides the Nobility and Adventurers, and ten thoufand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sail, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of fixty Paces one way, and fixty five the other, fituate on a ftrait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tunis* ftands. Which Place, though defended bravely, was at laft taken, together with a great part
July 14. of the Fleet of *Barbaroſſa*. After which, the Em-
July 20. peror leaving the Lake on the left hand, march'd to *Tunis*, (where *Barbaroſſa* was) being a City of about ten thoufand Houfes, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the Moors intended to burn with their Prifon, ef-

caping out of it, and taking Arms at the fame time that the Forces which *Barbaroſſa* fent to defend the Paffage were routed by the Imperialifts, *Barbaroſſa* with about feven thoufand Men, and much Riches, fled out of the Town, quitting his Reign fo, after that he had enjoy'd it not a full Year. Some of the Townfmen hereupon coming to the Emperor, and acquainting him herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Empe- July 21.
ror, that two Hours fpace might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alledging for this purpofe alfo fome probable Inducements; when yet the crafty *Moor*, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining fo much time for the Townfmen to hide their moft precious Riches, from the Rapine of the Soldiers: To which purpofe alfo, he gave them private Warning. The The Emperor takes *Tunis*.
Emperor at laft entring, and together giving Liberty to many Slaves, reftor'd it to *Muley Hazem* upon thefe Conditions, That he fhould fuffer Aug. 6.
him to retain *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and fome other Places belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. That certain Churches for Chriftians fhould be allow'd. That he fhall no more make Chriftian Slaves, or protect Pirates, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they took. And now *Charles* finding no more to be done in thofe Parts, the Year being far fpent, and his Men fick of Calentures, and being not ignorant befides of the Defigns of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1535. from whence he went fhortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell fick, the Aug. 28.
fuppos'd caufe whereof (as I find by our Records) was a Grief he took, that a Servant of *Monſieur de Forreſt*, returning with a Difpatch concerning his Negociation with the *Turk*, was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbin*, and all the Treaty by this means difcover'd to the Emperor; yet, at length taking Heart, and recover- Novemb.
ing, he fent our King word thereof, who thereupon commanded a folemn Proceffion to be made in *London*.

While the Emperor was at *Tunis*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the Command of *Philip Chabot*, Admiral of *France*, fent to his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, for Paffage through his Country, giving out, that he defir'd it only to revenge the Death of his Ambaffador *Marvelles* upon *Franciſco Sforza*. But the Duke confcious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the *Contado* of *Aſti* (belonging to the Houfe of *Orleans*) of the Emperor, and befides, had accepted the Emperor's Order, when he refus'd the *French*, wanted not occafion to fufpect the Entrance of fo potent an Army into his Country: Therefore he denied Paffage. Whereupon *Francis* incens'd, fends to require of the Duke the Inheritance falling to him by *Louiſe* of *Savoy* his Mother. Demanding alfo Reftitution of a great part of *Piedmont*, *Dupleix.*
and the Marquifate of *Saluzzo*, as belonging anciently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. The Duke (as being allied to *Charles*, by his Wife *Beatrix*, Sifter to *Iſabella* the Emprefs) fends to him for Aid, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the Lands he held on this fide the Mountains in exchange for fo much in *Italy*. This being reported to *Francis*, inrag'd *G. Bellay.*
him fo much the more againft the Duke, fo that he commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*; whereof in his place.

Charles feeing thefe Preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the prefent to refift them (his Army being return'd fick and much weakned from *Tunis*) for gaining of Time, thought fit to

renew

1535. renew the Propoſitions of Alliance and Accord, formerly mention'd to *Francis*, not omitting the while to levy Forces in *Germany*. Neither did he think to find any ſo ſtrong Oppoſition in *Francis*, as long as he hop'd that he had given our King enough to do in the Parts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But as that of *Scotland* by our King's Induſtry took no effect, ſo that of *Ireland* was prevented, as by this Narration drawn chiefly out of our Records may appear.

The Earl of *Kildare* being (as is aboveſaid) now reſtor'd again to his Liberty and Pardon'd, return'd into *Ireland*, conducted by Sir *William Skeffington*, Maſter of the King's Ordnance, who [1530. *Campion.*] was alſo made Deputy there about 1530, and *Oſſory* diſplac'd. But ſome ſtirs ariſing, which *Skeffington* was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to reinplace *Kildare*, as a Man much eſteem'd by his Countrymen. Thus was he made Deputy in *Ireland* again, about 1532. where he pacified the Country, and *May* 19, 1533. under the Title of Deputy to *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and [*Iriſh Stat.*] *Somerſet*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, held a Parliament [25 *H.*VIII.] at *Dublin*. But the old Grudges between his Family [The Earl of *Kildare* raiſes a Rebellion in *Ireland*.] and *Oſſory*'s, beginning to break out anew, and himſelf being accus'd to have invited *O Neale* and others to ſpoil the Countries of *Oſſory*, not without ſuſpicion of further Deſign, he was ſent for by our King, with command to ſubſtitute at his Departure ſome able Man, who might govern during his Abſence. This Charge was com- [June 11. 1534.] mitted to *Thomas* his eldeſt Son: Who ſhortly after (hearing that his Father was Convict, and to be put to Death in *England*) roſe up in Arms, and combining with *O Neal*, *O Carol*, &c. of the *Iriſh* Nobility, committing divers Outrages, and particularly *July* 26, 1534. murder'd Doctor *John Allen* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, heretofore *Woolſey*'s Chaplain and Commiſſary, and forc'd the Citi- [Auguſt. *Holingſ.*] zens of *Dublin* to take Truce with him till *Michaelmas*, and in the mean time to admit ſome Bands of his Men into the City, to lay Siege to the Caſtle, (which was defended againſt him) while himſelf with the reſt of the Army depopulated the Country of *Oſſory*. The News whereof being brought into *England*, the old Earl then in Priſon, died as is thought of Grief, and the King appointed Sir *William Skeffington* by the Name of Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under the Lieutenant thereof the Duke of *Richmond*, with a well-provided Army, to ſuppreſs the Rebel. For tho' ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility ſtood firm to our King, and particularly the Earl of *Oſſory*, and his Son *James* Lord *Butler*, whom *Fitzgerald* had in vain ſollicited; yet they were not able to make head againſt him. And here it is remarkable how politickly that Family ſtrove to preſerve it ſelf: For though three of the five Brothers of the late Earl of *Kildare* were againſt our King, two [Sept. 24. *Holinſhead* Records.] others offer'd their Service to him: Who yet (as it was danger either to receive or refuſe them) were but coldly welcom'd. *Michaelmas* now aproaching, (when the Truce with *Kildare* expir'd) *Francis Herbert* having been ſent from *Dublin* at the beginning of theſe Stirs, to give notice thereof to King *Henry*, return'd with a comfortable promiſe of Succours, and a command to defend themſelves; whereupon the Citizens ſuddenly laying hold on the Rebels, who beſieg'd [*Dublin* Caſtle beſieg'd by the Rebels.] the Caſtle, ſhut their Gates, and ſtood upon their Guard. Which *Fitzgerald* underſtanding, comes with an Army of 15000, and aſſail'd the City, which yet was ſtoutly maintain'd by the Townſmen, and particularly by *Francis Herbert*, who behav'd himſelf ſo well, that as I find by ſeveral Original Diſpatches of *Finglas*, Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, dated in *November* 1534. the Ci- [Records.] ty by his politick and manful Defence was preſerv'd; inſomuch, that if he had tarried three [1535.] Days longer, it was ſaid, both it and the Caſtle had been loſt. I find alſo by their Original Diſpatches, dated in the ſame Month, that he ſhot and kill'd twenty four of the Rebels with his own Hand, whereof twenty in one Day. For which Service alſo, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the King's Council in *Ireland*. Notwithſtanding which, as he was ſingle, and the City much preſs'd by *Kildare*, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water and Fuel, ſo at laſt they were inforc'd to treat upon certain Conditi- [Octob. 12.] ons, which were, That the Citizens ſhould ſet at Liberty ſuch of his Men as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within ſixteen Weeks; and he on the other ſide ſhould deſiſt from Hoſtility, during the ſaid Space, and redeliver their Children. Being thus depart- [Octob. 16.] ed from *Dublin*; two Days after Sir *William Skeffington* arriving on the Coaſt of *Ireland* with his Army, a falſe Report came, that the City was yielded, whereupon a Council of War being aſſembled, the Reſolution was, that *John Saliſbury* and Sir *William Brereton* (two of the Captains newly come over) ſhould be ſent to *Dublin* with ſome Forces, being about five hundred Men, to relieve it (if it were poſſible,) and that the Lord Deputy ſhould ſet Sail for *Waterford*, where, about the ſame time, Sir *John Saintlo*, and Sir *Rice Manſel*, landed with five hundred Soldiers; who, joining with the Earl of *Oſſory*, ſpoil'd the Country of *Kildare*; while *Brereton* and *Saliſbury* coming during the aforeſaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any difficulty, where alſo they reſolv'd to proceed hoſtilly againſt *Kildare*, as having, during this Reſpite, deſtroy'd ſome part of the Country adjoining, contrary to his Promiſe. While Affairs paſs'd thus, the Generals on either ſide made uſe of the time. For as *Kildare* ſent to the Emperor for obtaining Supplies, (in which Buſineſs a Servant of the Earl of *Deſmond*, in whom the Emperor had a ſpecial Confidence, was employ'd) ſo the Lord Deputy (being now come to *Dublin*) treated with the Nobility, to diſco- [Octob.] ver their Affection, as not knowing otherwiſe, how to form a Party amongſt them, on which he might rely. For which purpoſe alſo he thought it not amiſs to conclude a Truce with *Kildare*, until the fifth of *January*. *Kildare* in the mean time incouraging his Soldiers with hope of Succours from *Spain*; the aſſurance whereof being [Dec. 14.] brought him by the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Servant, he forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our King's Defection from the *Roman* Catholick Faith, and together deſiring that he might hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* from that See upon Payment of a yearly Tribute. In [Dec. 26.] theſe Uncertainties, Sir *John Allen* Knight, formerly Secretary to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, now Maſter of the Rolls there, a dexterous Perſon, gave the King this Advice, That he ſhould quickly publiſh, whether he would pardon *Kildare*, and ſo ſave Charges, or otherwiſe proſecute War againſt him; ſince he ſaid, that until this were declar'd, the Gentry of *Ireland* durſt not oppoſe *Kildare*, as fearing that when he were reſtor'd, he would revenge himſelf on all thoſe who oppos'd him. In the mean while the Earl [Nov. 30.] of *Deſmond* dying, leaves his Eſtate litigious betwixt his Brother and Grandchild. The Truce now expiring, our Army (which took ſome few Places at their laſt landing, and made ſome light Skirmiſhes) lay idle for the moſt part; inſomuch that having gotten *Kildare* Caſtle, they ſuffer'd it to be loſt again. At laſt, being commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputy in *March* following took *Maynoth* or *Mynoob* Caſtle, ſtrongly fortified and defended by a hundred of the choiceſt Ser-

1535.

Servants and Soldiers of *Kildare*. Which place our Records ſay was gotten by Battery and Aſſault; ſo that *Hollinſhead* ſeems to be miſtaken

1535. March 23.

when he writes, it was betray'd by one *Pareſe*, Foſter-Brother to *Fitzgerald*, the Garriſon being by him made drunk the Night preceding, and that for this Treachery, inſtead of a Reward, the Deputy commanded him to be hang'd. And further our Records tell us, that one of the ſaid Garriſon depos'd, that not only the Emperor had promis'd to ſend thither 10000 Men, but that the King of *Scots* had aſſur'd them of Aid; Arms in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from *Flanders*, and other Places. Some Defeats alſo were given to thoſe Troops of the Rebels which appear'd. Nevertheleſs as they daily increas'd, and *Skeffington* was old, weak and ſlow in all his Enterprizes, the Lord *Leonard Gray*,

June 22.

Brother to the Marquis *Dorſet*, though ally'd to *Kildare*, was (under the Duke of *Richmont*, who died ſhortly after) authorized to execute the Place of Deputy Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to the no little Grief and Diſcontentment of *Skeffington*. Whereof *Kildare* being advertis'd, and for the reſt finding himſelf reduc'd to ſome neceſſity; by the delay of the Emperor, and uncertainty he found in ſome of his Complices, thought fit to yield himſelf to the King's Mercy; yet ſo as the Lord *Gray*, together with the other Commanders, promis'd to intercede effectually with the King in his behalf. Which I find they perform'd, and particularly the Lord *Gray*, whoſe Siſter the old

Auguſt. *Kildare* and his five Uncles Executed. 1537. Feb. 3.

Earl had married. And thus *Kildare* was brought by the Lord *Gray* to *London*, and his five Uncles not long after; where, upon Examination, the Buſineſs being found to merit Puniſhment, they were at laſt Executed. Notwithſtanding the earneſt Mediation of the Lord *Gray* and others. And now theſe Troubles of *Ireland* being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace

Supremacy and Succeſſion ſettled in *Ireland*.

with *O Neale* for a Year or two, and together to ſummon a Parliament, both for giving order to thoſe Grievances whereof the *Iriſh* complain'd, and for ſettling the Buſineſs of Supremacy and Succeſſion in that Form it was eſtabliſh'd in

May 1. 1536. *Regn.* 28. *Iriſh Stat.*

England. Whereupon it was aſſembled, *May* 1. 1536. And in it the Acts of Succeſſion, of Supremacy, of Firſt-fruits, againſt Appeals to *Rome*, &c. as alſo an Act for the Attainder of the late Earl of *Kildare* and his Complices, were paſs'd. And becauſe the King had ſpent in this War forty thouſand Pounds, he demanded together with a preſent Satisfaction for his Charges, a Yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal accorded in great part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly Rents, firſt for ten Years following, and at laſt for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogu'd till the Year following.

Nov. 3. 1534. *Fox*.

The Supremacy being (as is aboveſaid) inveſted in the King, by the Approbation of his Parliament. The Univerſities and Biſhops of this Kingdom did not a little ſecond him; (and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*, whoſe *Latin* Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpoſe, with the Preface of Doctor *Bonner*, (Archdeacon of *Leiceſter*, and about theſe times Ambaſſador with the King of *Denmark*) being yet extant in Print, and by *John Fox* digeſted to a Sum) I ſhall not mention otherwiſe; my intention being not (in a Hiſtory) to diſcuſs Theological Matters, as holding it ſufficient to have pointed at the Places where they are controverted, as far as the notice of

Cardinal *Poole's* Opinion deſir'd by the King.

them is come to me. Notwithſtanding, as our King deſir'd to give and receive all Satisfaction herein; ſo knowing that the eſteem of *Reginald Poole* was great in foreign Countries, and eſpecially in *Italy*, where he now liv'd at *Padua*; he ſent unto him, deſiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few Words; whereupon

May 25. 1536.

Poole writes, and diſpatches to him his Book *Pro Unitate Eccleſiæ*, inveighing therein againſt the King's Supremacy, as alſo againſt his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen *Katherine*; exciting the Emperor to revenge the Injury offer'd her, concluding with an Advice to *Henry* to reconcile himſelf to the Catholick Church, and the

June 14. 1536.

Pope as head thereof. Our King having peruſ'd this, and knowing it could not long lie hid in *Italy*, (though *Poole* had promis'd not to publiſh it,) ſends for him by Poſt to come into *England*, to explain ſome Paſſages thereof. But *Poole*

July 15.

knowing that it was declar'd Treaſon there, to deny the King the Title of Supream Head, which he had principally intended in his Book, refuſ'd,

Records.

deſiring the King nevertheleſs, as being now freed from her, who had been the occaſion of all this, to take hold of the preſent time, and to reintegrate himſelf with the Pope, and accept the Council now ſummon'd, whereby he might have the Honour of being the cauſe of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwiſe he would be in great danger. He wrote alſo to *Cuthbert Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme* to incline the King hereunto. But this Biſhop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the bitterneſs of his Book, and counſelling him to burn the Original, denies that King *Henry* hath ſeparated himſelf from the *Roman* Church, but only freed himſelf from the unjuſt Uſurpations of the Biſhops of that See. (And to this purpoſe, another large Letter jointly written after, from the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *London* may be ſeen in *Fox*.) But *Poole* being at this time

1537.

invited to *Rome* by the Pope, and utterly refuſing to burn a Catholick Book (as he ſaid) like

July 26. 1536.

an Heretick, our King haſtned the publiſhing at home of a Declaration, call'd the Biſhops Book, ſign'd by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*,

Declaration againſt the Pope's Uſurpations ſign'd by the Biſhops.

and nineteen other Biſhops, *wherein is alledg'd out of ancient Hiſtories and Councils, how many hundred Years had paſt, before the Pope took on him this Superiority over other Biſhops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; which is, that they ſhall obſerve and keep inviolably the firſt eight Councils, that decree a limited Power to all Biſhops, and particularly the firſt Council of* Conſtantinople, *which both excludes foreign Juriſdiction every where, and allows Biſhops, within their ſeveral Dioceſſes, an abſolute Power to determine Controverſies ariſing within their Precincts; and together ſhews how the Papal Authority was firſt deriv'd from the Emperors of thoſe Times, and not from Chriſt, whoſe Kingdom they ſaid was Spiritual and not Carnal; ſetting forth this Doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and ſome Fathers.* But to return to 1535. neither the Example of others which ſubſcrib'd, nor the Terror of the Statute could hinder divers Religious Perſons to continue in their former Opinions; inſomuch, that they openly ſpake againſt the King's Supremacy. Which being made known, caus'd him to adviſe with his Council concerning their Puniſhment, ſome indeed thought that Impriſonment, Baniſhment, or the like, was Chaſtiſement enough for thoſe, who confeſſing the King's Supream Authority in all Temporal Matters, did out of Scrupuloſity rather than Malice, impugn the reſt. But when it was objected again, both that the Number was too great for either of thoſe Puniſhments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be Death, it was not ſafe to go leſs, eſpecially when ſome exemplary Juſtice might contain the reſt in Obedience. Our King, who needed now no Motive to Security, reſolv'd to proceed Legally againſt them. Therefore ſome Priors, and other Eccleſiaſtical

Perſons,

1535. Perſons, that were Criminal in this kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this Year condemn'd as Traitors, were executed, being the firſt that ſuffer'd in this kind. This piece of Juſtice was not yet grown ſo familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to ſuch violent Courſes; therefore he not only mourn'd inwardly, but caus'd his Head to be poll'd, and his Beard, formerly ſhaven, to be cut round, though others facetiouſly interpret it to be nothing elſe, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new Countenance; but if he proceeded thus rigorouſly againſt the Oppoſers of his Supremacy, he did no leſs puniſh the many pretended Reformers and Contradictors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion. Therefore, as the laſt Year he had condemn'd *John Frith*, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, ſo he now caus'd divers *Hollanders* in *London*, who had deviſ'd ſome different Opinions by themſelves, concerning certain Articles of Chriſtian Religion, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after which again, ſome others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both ſides it grew a bloody time. Only, as our King found the Terrors already given, did not ſuffice to keep the reſt in awe, he reſolv'd to make ſome great Examples.

Priests and Eccleſiaſticks executed for denying the K's Supremacy. May 4. *Sand. Schiſ. Angl.* July 22. 1534. May 25. June 18.

Therefore, he laid hand on *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who having been impriſon'd now a Year's ſpace, for refuſing to ſwear to the Act of Succeſſion, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urg'd with the Supremacy; which he diſallowing (as having not given his voluntary Oath or Promiſe thereunto the laſt Year, together with other Biſhops) incurr'd the danger of the Law. Which alſo was taken the worſe, that in the Convocation, 1530. he had yielded the Title of *Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ quantum per Chriſti Legem licet*. Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his Opinion, had declar'd him Cardinal of St. *Vitale* during his ſaid Reſtraint (though he profeſs'd, that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up.) So our King underſtanding thereof was much more incens'd, both as the Pope had conferr'd his moſt eminent Honours on a Man kept by him in Priſon, and guilty of the higheſt Puniſhment his Laws could inflict; and as he knew of what Conſequence it would be, if his Subjects were thus incourag'd to contemn his Authority: Therefore he reſolv'd now to defer his Juſtice no longer. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop as publickly Convicted and Condemn'd for divers Points (the Particulars whereof yet I have not ſeen, but only that on the ſeventh of *May* laſt in the Tower of *London* before divers Perſons, he had Falſly, Maliciouſly and Traiterouſly ſaid, that the King is not Supream Head of the Church of *England*.) was by the King's Command openly Beheaded the 22d of *June*, 1535. Thus did the Pope's Favour but precipitate the Biſhop's Ruin; againſt whom notwithſtanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in ſingular eſteem, for his Learning and good Parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that he was Author of King *Henry*'s Book againſt *Luther* (as *Sanders* and *Bellarmine* will have it) or Sir *Thomas More* (as others ſay) though I doubt not but they might both reviſe it by the King's Favour, and where it was needful alſo interpoſe their Judgment. This while, the Pope, who ſuſpected not perchance that the Biſhop's End was ſo near, had for more Teſtimony of his Favour to him, as Diſaffection to our King, ſent him the Cardinal's Hat, but unſeaſonably, his Head being off. Nevertheleſs, as he had firſt deſir'd *Francis* to mediate for him, he omitted not afterwards publickly do juſtifie his Actions, calling him by the Name of *Sanctiſſimus Epiſcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a Breve ſubſcrib'd by *Bloſius* (as I find it briefly mentioned in our Records, extracted by *Sanders*, and extant in the *Bullarium*,) of which hereafter) both that he was Innocent, and our King an Heretick, *&c.* But this again was defended in an Apology written here in Elegant *Latin*, whether by *Stephen Gardiner* (who as I find in our Records wrote a Juſtification of the King herein) or ſome other; which I ſhould have inſerted but for the length, and as ſome would judge it for the Vehemency. Though, as the King retain'd ſtill all the chief Articles of the *Roman* Church, it cannot be wondred if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh againſt one that had given his Sovereign that odious Title.

Apr. 1534. Nov. 1534. Biſhop of Rocheſter's Troubles. May 7. May 21. Is offer'd a Cardinal's Hat. Is Beheaded. June 22. By ſome thought the Author of the King's Book againſt Luther. 1535.

Our King being thus many ways exaſperated againſt the Pope, neglected no means of extirpating his chief Agents and Favourers, and, with them, all his Authority in this Country; therefore he proceeded againſt Sir *Thomas More*, committed at the ſame time, and for the ſame Cauſe, with *Fiſher*. For though (as *Sanders* ſaith) he would by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s exemplary Death have brought *More* to a Conformity, yet finding that it was impoſſible, he commanded his Council in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir *Thomas More*, (as his Indictment hath it) *malitioſe ſilebat*, ſaying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with ſuch Matters. He was accus'd alſo for holding ſecret Intelligence by Letter with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, during their Impriſonment; which appear'd both by the confeſſion of the ſaid Biſhop, and in that they held the ſame Language. It being obſerv'd that both of them ſaid, in their Examinations, *the Act about Supremacy was like a two-edg'd Sword; for if one anſwer one way, it will confound his Soul, and if the other way, it will confound his Body.* Yet *Richard Rich* the King's Sollicitor (made afterwards Lord *Rich*) comes to him again, and having firſt proteſted that he had no Commiſſion to talk with him of that Matter, (as believing perchance his former Anſwer, or Silence had ſufficiently convinc'd, him,) did, as is in the Record, demand then, *if it were enacted by Parliament, that* Richard Rich *ſhould be King, and that it ſhould be Treaſon for any to deny it, what Offence it were to contravene this Act?* Sir *Thomas More* anſwer'd, *that he ſhould offend if he ſaid No, becauſe he was bound by the Act; but that this was* Caſus levis; Whereupon, Sir *Thomas More* ſaid he would propoſe a higher Caſe, *ſuppoſe by Parliament it were enacted* quod Deus not ſit Deus, *and that it were Treaſon to contravene, whether it were an Offence to ſay according to the ſaid Act*; *Richard Rich* replied *Yea*, but ſaid withal, *I will propoſe a middle Caſe, becauſe yours is too high. The King you know is conſtitute Supream Head of the Church on Earth, why ſhould not you, Maſter* More, *accept him ſo, as you would me if I were made King by the Suppoſition aforeſaid.* Sir *Thomas More* anſwer'd, *the Caſe was not the ſame, becauſe* (ſaid he) *a Parliament can make a King and Depoſe him, and that every Parliament-Man may give his Conſent thereunto; but that a Subject cannot be bound ſo in the Caſe of a Supremacy,* Quia Conſenſum ab eo ad Parliamentum præbere non poteſt *(for ſo it is in my Copy if it be not miſtaken)* Et quanquam Rex ſic acceptus ſit in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes exteræ idem non affirmant. All which being produc'd together, and added to his refuſal of the Oath of Succeſſion, for which in the Parliament of *November*, 1534. he was attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon, as I find by the Par-

1535. Sir *Thomas More* committed on the ſame Account. May 7. June 28. June 12. June 12. His Conference with the Sollicitor General. 1534.

1535. Parliament Rolls, was thought sufficient to condemn him. So that notwithstanding many subtil Defences made by him, while he contended to have given no Offence but in Silence, (unless it were in comparing the Statute to a two-edged Sword, which yet he said, he alledg'd no otherwise, than to shew how dangerous it was to answer,) and notwithstanding also his denying utterly the Passage between the Sollicitor and himself in that Sense (perchance he meant the *Latin*) which is above related, the Jury in his Tryal, *July* 1. before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. declar'd him Guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a Statute, *Regni* 26. was made High Treason. This great Person hereupon going shortly after to the Place of Execution, met among many Friends one only Enemy, who openly revil'd him, for a Sentence heretofore given in *Chancery*; to which, yet, he made no answer, but that *if it were to do, he would do so again*. And, now being resolv'd to die, he return'd to his wonted Facetiousness. Therefore, being to go up the Scaffold, he said to one; *Friend, help me up; and when I go down again, let me shift for my self as I can.* Being now mounted, the Executioner (as the Custom is) ask'd him Forgiveness, which he granted, but told him withal, *he should never have Honesty by cutting of his Head, his Neck was so short.* Then laying down his Head on the Block, he bid the Executioner *stay till he had laid aside his Beard, for* (said he) *it never committed Treason.* After which, coming to some private Devotions, he receiv'd his Death. Thus ended Sir *Thomas More*, with so little Consternation, as even the Terrors of Death could not take off the Pleasure he had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly, though he fell into the Danger of the Law, they thought his Intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous Answers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himself any way. Beside, by an Original of his, (about this Time, written to *Cromwel*) it appears, that heretofore, upon perusing the King's Book against *Luther*, *he dissuaded him to exalt so much the Papal Authority, lest it diminish'd his own. Professing nevertheless, both out of the Reasons urg'd in that Book, as well as his private Study of that Question afterwards, he could not deny the Pope a Primacy; however yet he could not hold it such, as that the Authority deriv'd to him thereby, was to be preferr'd above a General Council.*

Reg. 26. Condemned for Misprision of Treason. Life of Sir *Tho. More*, by *T. M.*

July 1.

July 6.

His Facetiousness at the place of Execution

1534. March 5. His Opinion of the Pope's Supremacy.

This while (as I find in our Records,) our King upon the Death of *Clement* VII. hoping better of *Paulus* III. gave Sir *Gregory de Casalis* new Instructions to advise him, to regard the King of *England*, and to consult with some Learned Men, in his Cause, (not imitating *Clement*, who knowing the Truth, conceal'd it) and these Learned Men to be chosen out of *France*. To this also the Pope seem'd to give some ear, until News came to *Rome*, first, of the Execution of divers Monks in *England* for denying the Supremacy; and then of the Death of *More* and *Rochester*. Whereupon the Pope resolving to proceed against our King, begins to minute terrible Bulls, whereof I find there were five several Forms. But this which I find in the *Bullarium*, and extracted by *Sanders* (dated *Aug.* 30.) was that which was approved and made use of, being to this Effect. First, objecting to him, as well the Divorce of *Katharine*, as the Marrying *Anne*, and making Laws against the Pope's Authority, and punishing those who contradicted (as lately the Bishop of *Rochester*.) He warns the King, to reform these Faults; or upon refusal cites him, and all that favour him, to appear at *Rome* within ninety Days to answer; which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives *the* King of *his Realm*; *subjects the* whole Kingdom to the Interdict; *declares the* Issue by *Anne*, Illegitimate; forbids Allegiance to his Subjects, Commerce with *other States*; *dissolves* all Leagues of Princes with *him*; commands the Clergy to depart out of *England*, the Nobility to take Arms against him, *&c.* Having resolv'd this Censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounc'd, till he saw all hope past of reclaiming King *Henry*, or at least that the Emperor was at leisure to execute it; of which hereafter. Our King hearing of this, entertains Friendship with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and the rather that Intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declar'd he would give away his Kingdom to some *Roman* Catholick Prince of that Country, as being (it seems) unwilling to greaten *France* or *Spain* therewith, lest afterwards himself should not be so able to sway the Ballance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to be effected, or that our King fear'd any such Attempt, as long as he stood upon good Terms with his Subjects, but that by strengthning himself in *Germany*, he might the better chastise that Person, who upon the Pope's Incouragement durst undertake the Enterprise. I do find also, that the *French* King did concur in this Treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the Death of Pope *Clement*, the chief Support of the great Design in *Italy* did fall, and as he began to give some ear to the Evangelicks in *Germany*, as appears by his sending for *Melancthon*, and other Passages in *Sleidan*, which I shall hereafter set down. Howsoever, our King as he found that with no little Asperity he maintain'd his Authority at Home, so he thought his care should be the greater to justifie it Abroad. Insomuch that he sent unto all Places, (where he held Correspondence) to give, together with an Account of his Actions, the Reason why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Doctor *William Barlow* the King's Chaplain, and elect Brother of St. *Asaph*, being join'd in Commission with *Thomas Holcroft* to *James*, labour'd to give him all manner of Impressions, which might bring him to a Conformity; which *Buchanan* also mentions; saying, that *James* was intreated to read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were referr'd by him to his Clergy, so (as the same Author hath it) they, together with some Learned Men, whom our King offer'd to send, for further Declaration of this Point, were for the present Rejected. Which again, being advertis'd to our King, he thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the said Bishop, to *James*, to make him divers advantageous Propositions, and withal to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being press'd by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former Proposition; *James*, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our Ambassadors write) to procure by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhibiting this Journey; so that until the Receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other Excuses; by which, yet, I find he denied not a meeting with our King; but desir'd him only, it might be in *France*, and the *French* King present; as hoping, thereby (it seems) to be less constrain'd, than if he came single into our King's Dominions; all which, as it did but increase our King's Jealousie of his Nephew's Intentions (for he expected War from many Hands, as the Pope had threatned) so he endeavour'd but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what Consequence it

June 1.

Aug. 30. *Sanders.*

1535. The King Excommunicated at Rome.

Makes a League with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*.

Fran. I. sends for *Melancthon*.

Buch.

1535. it was, to keep his Kingdom ſafe on that part; and therefore, labour'd ſtill, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papal Juriſdiction in his Dominions, but made ſome other Overtures; both of creating him for the preſent, Duke of *York* (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Succeſſor in this Kingdom, in caſe he conform'd himſelf for the reſt. But his Clergy (however Queen *Margaret* had given hope thereof) being utterly averſe, diſſuaded him; yet ſome Operation I find it ſeem'd to have. For by an Original Diſpatch in *May* following, 1536. *James* certified our King, that *he had ſent to* Rome *to get Impetrations for Reformation of ſome Enormities, and eſpecially, anent the ordering of great and many Poſſeſſions, and Temporal Lands given to the Kirk by our noble Predeceſſors.* To which as our King not only gave Credit, but a ſafe Conduct to the Meſſenger, as was deſir'd; ſo he ſeem'd to receive ſome Satisfaction, and together hop'd, he would not, at leaſt ſo ſoon, be drawn to aſſiſt his Enemies, and therefore forbore a while to ſolicite this Point; purſuing, nevertheleſs, the propos'd Interview, but more ſlackly than before; but *James* had other Deſigns, as ſhall be told the Year following.

May 2. 1536. K. *James* writes to *Henry* how far he had abridg'd the Pope's Power.

Our King finding thus, that Buſineſſes were ſafe on this Part, proceeded more confidently in his Intentions of ſuppreſſing, together with the Pope's Authority, all thoſe who chiefly ſupported it. And becauſe he thought Monaſteries did furniſh more able Men to conteſt with him in this Point, than any part elſe, he adviſ'd how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one ſaid thus:

Speech in Council againſt ſuppreſſing Monaſteries.

S I R,

IF in all Affairs, betwixt your Highneſs and any elſe, at home or abroad, it be the Part of a Counſellor to give a free and impartial Advice, I ſhall, under Favour, crave the ſame Liberty in thoſe things that intervene betwixt God and your Highneſs, both becauſe the Duty we owe unto that Supream Majeſty is tranſcendent, and that general and publick Errors committed againſt him, are of a more pernicious Conſequence than any elſe. In Confidence of Pardon, therefore, I ſhall preſume to opine concerning the Buſineſs of Monaſteries now in queſtion. *SIR*, If it were firſt propos'd now, whether it were fit to erect them, I muſt confeſs I ſhould give my Aſſent; not yet that I ſhould allow any exceſſive Number, or perchance approve all the *Rules* obſerv'd in them. But wholly to exclude ſo pious a *Retrait* for Men unapt for ſecular Buſineſs, or otherwiſe retir'd from the World, were, in my Conceit, to leave thoſe unprovided for, who, of all other, were moſt proper in a devout Life to ſerve and glorifie their Creator. There is in my Opinion, therefore, a due Place left for Monaſteries; yet, when they grow to that Multitude, that either the juſt Proportion they ſhould bear in a State, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they ſhould become a Receptacle only for lazy and idle Perſons, I ſhould wiſh to apply ſome convenient Remedy. But, Sir, who ſhall give it? For if we refer all unto the Pope, how could we ever hope of a Moderation, eſpecially while they are but Retraits for ſo many Servants entertain'd for him at other Mens Coſts. And if your Highneſs (eſpecially ſince you have taken upon you the Supremacy) ſhould ſuppreſs them, what a Scandal would follow? For who would think, Sir, at home or abroad, that your Highneſs exercis'd your new Charge therein, as you ought, or complied with your Place? Again, Sir, what a wrong would it be to the Founders of them, who had as much Right to give ſome of their Lands to that uſe, as their Heirs have to enjoy the reſt? Would they not ſay, this were to trench on the Publick Right, and to fruſtrate whatſoever either Divine or Human Laws have eſtabliſh'd? Therefore, Sir, be pleas'd not to think ſo much of their Overthrow, as Reformation; or if there be occaſion to ſuppreſs ſome, as being Supernumerary, yet ſince they are Houſes dedicated to God, be pleas'd, by all means, to convert the Profit ariſing thence, to ſome other pious Uſe, and howſoever, to reſerve a ſufficient Number in every Shire for either Sex; and ſo ſhall your Highneſs both excuſe all Obloquy, and together manifeſt the Care you have to keep up thoſe ancient Monuments of Devotion. 1535.

To which another, who better underſtood the King's Mind, anſwer'd thus:

S I R,

IF it be true, that they ſpeak enviouſly (that I may ſay nothing elſe) who would reduce all Reaſon of State to the ſober Principles and Doctrines of Faith, it is no leſs certain, that they ſpeak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In State there is uſe of all: Only as it is a Symmetrical Body, nothing in it muſt paſs Proportion. Inſomuch, as neither the Secular Magiſtrate or Clergy, on the one ſide, nor the Soldier, Merchant, Artificer and Husbandman on the other, ſhall exceed a juſt quantity. The due Compoſition of it being ſuch, as there may be thoſe who may labour and fight, as well as pray for it. *Elſe*, who would not change our Generals and Captains to Biſhops and Deans, and our Shipping and Forts, to Chapels and Religious Houſes? But what a Proportion, Sir, doth the Clergy now hold, when the fourth Part of the Revenues of the Kingdom is imploy'd that way. For, Sir, when the Tenth we pay them in one kind, and the Lands they hold in another, are eſtimated, they amount to this Rate or more, as I am inform'd, I ſhall not yet be haſty to ſuppreſs them. I confeſs all true which was now ſaid, and do not only admit the Piety of their Inſtitution, but the uſe that may be made of ſome few, as two or three in every Shire. Neither, ſhall I ever conſent that more ſhould be ſuppreſt than were needful, and yet the Money imploy'd for your Highneſs's moſt urgent Occaſions only. The Supernumerary part of them, and your Foreſts being by me held like Jewels of your State, which though they yield not ready Coin, may ever be converted to it; I ſhould for this reaſon (*when there were no other*) conſerve them as much as were poſſible. But, Sir, when I conſider again, how the Pope or Biſhop of *Rome* (as your Highneſs commands him to be call'd) hath threatned to join all Chriſtian Princes againſt your Highneſs, and that in theſe Monaſteries he nouriſhes a Seminary of factious Perſons that oppoſe your Supremacy; and what Inſtruments they may be of ſtiring Sedition in your Highneſs's Kingdom, at the ſame time that ſome foreign Power ſhould invade it, I cannot but wiſh ſome good Order were given. I ſhould think fit therefore they were inſtantly viſited, and thoſe who were unable to keep the Vows they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to ſome more active Life, and the Vices of the reſt, not only chaſtis'd, but Care taken to puniſh thoſe who henceforth ſpeak or behave themſelves licentiouſly. *And*, ſo far forth, certainly your Highneſs *will make* but *lawful* Uſe of your Supremacy. *As for the* Suppreſſion of any, not I, but ſome violent and inexcuſable Neceſſity muſt be the Counſellor. If your Highneſs have

Anſwer'd by another at the Board.

1535. any other way to defend your felf againft the threatned Invafions, I fhall never advife you to this; and yet that, no further than to bring your Eftate to a juft Temper.

Our King confidering the Reafons on both fides, faid, he would caufe the Monafteries to be feverely vifited, and the enormous Crimes of them, (having been formerly rather fubject to Pecuniary Mulcts, than corrected as they ought) to be exemplarily punifh'd, and a Reformation given to all Abufes. Protefting neverthelefs, that he would fupprefs none, without the Confent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politickly forefee, that fome for Confcience fake, (the *Roman* Religion being now much cried down) and others for avoiding the Charges of War (then menaced) would fooner lay the Burden on thofe Monafteries, than take it on themfelves; whereof in its due place. And now *Cromwell* the Secretary, a Man fo difaffected to thofe Houfes, as he was thought a Favourer of the Reformers, being made General Vifitor, imploy'd *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Leigh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of the Law, Doctor *John London*, Dean of *Wallingford*, with others, giving them Inftructions in 86 Articles, for Vifiting Monafteries every where; by which they were to enquire into the Government, Behaviour, and Education of the Perfons of both Sexes. To find out all their Offences, and to this purpofe give them Incouragements to accufe both their Governours and each other. To command them to exhibit their Mortmains, Evidences, and Conveyances of their Lands; to produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be obferv'd, fome tending to the eftablifhing of his Supremacy, fome touching the good Government of the Houfes; as that no Brother go out of the Precinct; that there be but one entrance; that no Woman frequent the Monks, nor any Man the Nuns, *&c.* And fome for Education, as, that a Divinity Lecture be every Day read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound fome part of the Rule of their Order, fhewing yet, that thefe Ceremonies are but Introductions to Religion, which confifteth not in Apparel, fhaven Heads, *&c.* but in purity of Mind. That none fhall profefs or wear the Habit till Twenty-four Years of Age. That no feigned Relicks nor Miracles be fhewed. No Offerings to Images, *&c.*

Secretary *Cromwell* made Vifitor General of Monafteries. Records. His Inftructions to his Deputies.

Upon thefe and other Injunctions, joyn'd to the Inquifition aforefaid, the Commiffioners found means to make divers Monafteries obnoxious; for upon the Petition of divers Monks who were weary of their Habit, fome alledging for their Excufe, that they were profefs'd before they came to the Years of difcretion; others, that the late Injunctions were too ftrict to be obferv'd; the King feizing on the Houfe, commanded that they who were profefs'd under Twenty-four, fhould be fet at Liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above Twenty-four, when they made their Vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time the Men, if in Orders, fhould have a Prieft's Habit given them, and forty Shillings in Money; the Nuns fhould have only a Gown, fuch as Secular Women wear, and Liberty to go whither they would. The Condition yet of fome being better, who for furrendring their Houfes to the King (to which by threats and fair Words they were induc'd) got fmall Penfions during their Lives. Others, by paying great Sums to the King and *Cromwell*, redeem'd their Monafteries from the prefent Calamity; yet fo, as even from thefe alfo, divers Jewels and Church-Ornaments were taken away to the King's Ufe. 1535. Which being done, *Leigh* and the reft at their return, gave that Accompt of their Imployment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Relicks, as well as finful and fluggifh Life of all the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwell* with much Violence faid, their Houfes fhould be thrown down to the Foundation; but the whole Body of the Kingdom, when it was publifh'd to them, (which I find induftrioufly procur'd) became fo fcandaliz'd thereat, as they refolv'd if the King ever put it into their Hands, to give Remedy thereunto: Yet were not all alike Criminal; for fome Societies behav'd themfelves fo well, as their Life being not only exempt from notorious Faults, but their fpare Times beftow'd in Writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like Exercifes, their Vifitors became Interceffors for them. But of thofe, as I find not many mention'd, fo they were involv'd at laft in the common Fate; it being thought dangerous to ufe Diftinction, both left the fault of Manners (which might be corrected) fhould be taken by the People as the fole caufe of their Diffolution; and as it was pretended that the Revenues fhould be imploy'd to fome better Ufes. Not long after which again, the King caus'd all Colleges, Chantries, and Hofpitals to be vifited, not omitting to take a particular furvey of all the Revenues and Dignities Ecclefiaftical within his Kingdom, which was return'd to him in a Book, to be kept in the *Exchequer*.

The Nation generally fcandaliz'd at this Vifitation.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or fruftrate their Defigns who were moft able to offend him, thought it his part now, to affure thofe who he thought might be of moft ufe. Therefore he fends Fox, Bifhop Dec. 4. of *Hereford*, to the Proteftant Princes in *Germany*, Dec. 6. affembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an Unity *Sleid. l. 6.* in Doctrine, wherein he offered his beft Affiftance by Conference with their Divines, as being the only ground of eftablifhing either Peace at Home, or Correfpondence Abroad; that unlefs this were done, it would be a great prejudice to them in the Council now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Intention and Artifice of the Pope's to entertain Time, and in the mean while to fow Divifion among them, as he doth now incite Chriftian Princes againft *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore they were not to expect a free Council, how much foever promis'd, yet if they defir'd a Council, they fhould attend till all Chriftian Princes were at Peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent Place, it being impoffible otherwife, but that it fhould be Partial and Factious. That this being done, as he had expell'd the Pope's Authority out of his Dominions, fo he would joyn with them to reftore God's true Worfhip. And fo the Bifhop concluded, defiring only fome might be appointed to whom he might fpeak of thefe Bufineffes privately. To which, after due Thanks, they anfwer'd, that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not ftand to the *Auguftan* Confeffion: that they took well his Highnefs's Admonition about the Council General, now promis'd at *Mantua*. But that, (as they had Dec. 21. anfwer'd *Vergerius* the Pope's Legate) they did not think either that the Place was fit, or that the Pope had the fole Right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the Emperor and other Princes. For the reft, they faid, they would appoint fome who might communicate privately with the Bifhop, as was requir'd, of which we fhall fpeak more hereafter.

Bifhop of *Hereford* fent to the Proteftant Princes in *Germany*.

In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more defir'd to hear of Peace in the Empire, than School-

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1535. Arguments, how well ſoever diſputed, confirm'd the Treaty made 1532. of which the Duke of *Saxony* (who came from him to *Smalcald*) advertis'd the Proteſtants, who (*Decemb.* 24.) decreed, *That the League betwixt them, made* 1530. *for mutual Defence in the Cauſe of* Religion, *now ſhortly expiring, ſhould continue ten Years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who receiv'd the* Auguſtan *Confeſſion.* To this Diet *Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey* (imploy'd from *Francis*) came likewiſe. But his Advices, though for the moſt part conformable to our Kings, were not ſo acceptable. For as *Francis* by confederating himſelf with the *Turk* (that formidable Enemy of *Germany*) had diſoblig'd the whole Nation on the one ſide; ſo by burning divers Evangelicks in *France*, he had on the other ſide much incens'd them all againſt him; which Diſpleaſure, being fomented many ways by *Ferdinand*, had intercluded almoſt all Correſpondence betwixt them, till by *Monſieur de Langey*'s Induſtry it was reviv'd. Who to appeaſe them alledg'd not only ſome Excuſatory Letters formerly ſent, but ſaid his Maſter could not make any Alliance, nor lend any Aid to any Prince againſt them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenents of the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, unleſs they were both Authors of Diſſention in his Kingdom, and deſpighted the ancient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in private Conference with their Divines, he declar'd that the King his Maſter was not averſe to moſt of their Tenents ſet down in *Melancthon*'s *Loci Communes*; and particularly that he did not hold the Pope's Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *humano*; though *Henry* VIII. (he ſaid) denied it either way. That Purgatory, being the Ground of the Maſs, and all their gainful Doctrine, he had requir'd by what Place in the Scripture they prov'd it: To which all the Anſwer they made, after divers Months ſpace, was, that they would not give their Adverſaries Weapons which might afterwards be return'd or retorted on themſelves. As for Monaſteries, he ſaid, that he thought it might be obtain'd of the Pope, that none who were not of ſome ripe Age, ſhould vow themſelves to that Life: Or, if they did, they might leave it and marry if they would. But by no means, that his Maſter would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather imploy'd towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for Marriage of Prieſts, he thought this the beſt Expedient, that Men already married, might (notwithſtanding their Wives) be admitted to execute the Prieſthood; but for others, they ſhould not marry, or if they would, they ſhould relinquiſh the Prieſthood. As for Communion under both Kinds, that the King had heretofore ſpoken with *Clement* VII. at *Marſeilles*, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this Pope, that free Uſe of both might be granted according to the Conſcience of him that took it; alledging for this purpoſe from the King his Maſter, how he had heard from ancient Men, that about 120 Years ago, it was the manner to communicate in both Kinds, in the Chapels or Oratories, but not in the body or middle of the Church. Nevertheleſs, that the Kings of *France* receiv'd it ever in both Kinds. Which when his ſaid Maſter urg'd, the Prieſts did anſwer him, that Kings were anointed, and therefore might communicate in both Kinds as well as they. For the Scriptures ſpeak of the Royal Prieſthood, but it was not lawful for others to do ſo. That in the common and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things ſhould be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was heretofore committed by *Clement* to the Cardinal *de la Cruz*, though not with any good Succeſs. In Concluſion, he exhorted them to ſend ſome of their chief Divines to confer with thoſe he had in *Paris*; and that he would make ſuch a Choice, as if ſome that were appointed, were vehement and eager, he would alſo join others that were mild and temperate Perſons to treat with them, to the intent that all Parts being diſcuſs'd, the Truth might appear. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give ear, or agree to any Council, until they knew his Mind and the King of *England*'s, who both were reſolv'd to do nothing but by a mutual Conſent. As for thoſe who had Power to call it, that his Predeceſſor *Louis* was of Opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperors and Kings, and that the King of *Navarre* was of the ſame mind; but that Pope *Julius* Proſcribing or Excommunicating them both, *Ferdinand* of *Spain* took that occaſion to conquer *Navarre*. Nevertheleſs, that the King his Maſter confeſt no Council was Authentical, unleſs it were both aſſembled in ſo ſafe a Place, and held in ſo free a Manner, as no Man might ſuffer for ſpeaking his Conſcience. After all which, the ſaid *Monſieur de Langey* did ſollicite them much, to enter into a ſtrict League with the King his Maſter. But they, whether out of Favour for *Ferdinand* and the Emperor, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwiſe they were not ſufficiently ſatisfied of the *French* King's Proceedings, formerly mention'd, refus'd this. So that *Monſieur de Langey*, (though profeſſing on the preſent Pope's Part, that if Matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common Good and Peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what Miſtaking or Obſtinacy, this great Overture for bringing all the Differences in Religion, to a moderate and uniform Accord, was interrupted and broken off; it being probable that *Francis* would have ſubſcrib'd to the Tenents of Religion, which himſelf propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the reſt. But as *Monſieur de Langey* told them, *they might afterwards repent their neglect of ſo great an Offer*; ſo it prov'd true, as by the Sequence will appear. For *Francis* who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope uſurp'd over Kings were ſomething diminiſh'd, and the abovesaid Articles in Religion eſtabliſh'd, finding there was now no probability of an Union, thought it ſafer to rule by his ancient Maxims, than to run the trouble and hazard of a Reformation. Yet I find by an Original from *Chriſtopher Mount*, a *German*, and Agent of our King's, then in *France*, that *Monſieur de Langey* did once receive from the Proteſtants certain Articles concerning Pacification in Religion, which he deliver'd the King his Maſter; which thereupon being perus'd, mitigated and chang'd by the *Sorbon* or *Pariſian* Divines, were again return'd to the Proteſtants, who likewiſe adviſing of them, ſaid they would tolerate this Change, *Modo ſpes Concordiæ hinc acceſſura ſit.* But this was before *Langey*'s Oration above-mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the *French* King's Actions formerly deliver'd. I find alſo, by the ſame Original, that *Mount* was command-ed by our King to haſten to *Germany*, and to dehort *Melancthon* from going to *France*, whither he was invited by that King, and to perſuade him hither. For as about this Time the *German* Proteſtants deſir'd both Friendſhip and Accommodation in Religion with King *Henry* and *Francis*, into whoſe Hands they put the Arbitrement of their Differences, ſo both Princes ſought to make uſe

Margin notes: *Sleid. l.* 9. — Reſolution of the Proteſtants. — *French* Ambaſſadors aſſure the Proteſtants that *Francis* is in many Points of their Opinion. *Sleid.* — The Proteſtants not ſatisfied with the *French* King's Conceſſions. — Sept. 7. — 1535.

1535. use of *Melancthon*; especially our King; having, as I find in the Instructions to *Mount*, a great Opinion of his Vertue, Learning, Temperance and Gravity, and therefore desir'd his Presence here, both for framing an Accord with the *Germans*, and (when that succeeded not) for appeasing the Differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being thought a fit Work for that pious and modest Man, however he be branded by some, *tanquam De omni Religione securus*. But if *Mount*'s Relation of his Conference with *Monsieur de Langey* may be intirely believ'd, or (if you will) *Monsieur de Langey* himself; one of the Points the said Protestants would have agreed to, was, *Se ferre Posse primatum Episcopi Romani, ad servandum Doctrinæ Consensum in Ecclesia modo secundum Dei verbum omnia judicet*. *Langey* himself confessing, *Impossibile esse probari Primatum Episcopi ex Dei verbo*. And that this Point was so far acknowledg'd by *Clement* VII. that he said he was content, *Ut Primatus hic positius jure deferatur*; and that the more learn'd Cardinals in *Rome* were of this Opinion. But these things I leave to the Credit of *Mount*, the discreet and diligent *Sleiden* not mentioning any such Moderation on either side, and *Mount* himself giving indeed no other Authority for this, but *Monsieur de Langey*'s Word by way of Discourse, who yet when he was demanded for a sight of the Articles and Censure above-related, excus'd himself.

This Year some Letters from *Sevil* in *Spain*, extant among our Records, advertis'd our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperor from *Peru*, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the Spoils of the Country than otherwise; no rich Mines being then found. Nevertheless, that the Inhabitants of *Andaluzia* flock'd thither in so great Numbers, that the Country was almost left empty. Which Intelligence, though of great Consideration, was yet pass'd over; the King being intentive wholly to the setling of Religion, and the Right of Succession, which I find he did with all Industry procure.

Brass Canon first Cast in *England*. It appears by our Histories, that this Year great brass Ordnance, as Canon and Culverins, were first Cast in *England*, by one *John Owen*, they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and far from the Perfection of which they are at this present, as may be seen in *Tartaglia*, and some other ancient Authors.

Queen *Katharine*, or (as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princess Dowager, finding now no Assistance but Spiritual from the Pope, nor Reparation procur'd by the Emperor but incertain and slow, and for the rest grieving at the Prosperity and Fruitfulness of Queen *Anne* (now with Child again, whereof yet she mis-
Jan. 29. 1536. carried) fell into her last Sickness at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdonshire*, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and the three and thirtieth since her coming into *England*; during which time, though comforted by the King and *Eustachio Chapuys*, Doctor of both
Q. Katharine falls desperately ill. Laws, and Ambassador resident from *Charles*, she fell so desperately ill, as finding Death now coming, she caus'd a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect:

My most Dear Lord, King and Husband,

writes to the King. Polyd Virg. *THE Hour of my Death now approaching, I cannot chuse, out of Love I bear you, advise you of your Soul's Health, which you ought to prefer before all Considerations of the World or Flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many Calamities, and your self into many Troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you,* Mary *our Daughter, beseeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore desir'd. I must intreat you also, to respect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other Servants, a Year's pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for: Lastly, I make this Vow, that mine Eyes desire you above all things.*

Farewell.

Besides which Letter she dictated another to *Eustachius*, desiring him to procure, that the Emperor might put our King in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it.

1535/6. Jan. 8. Her Death and Funeral. The King having receiv'd her Letter, became so compassionate, that he wept; but her Death being related shortly after, he caus'd her Goods (which I find estimated to 5000 Marks) to be imploy'd towards the Funeral cheifly, and after to those that deserv'd Recompence; and her Body to be buried with due Solemnity in the Monastery at *Peterborough*, which for the Honour of her Memory, King *Henry* reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a Bishop's See. *Holinshead* The News whereof, not long after, being brought to the Emperor, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in singular Esteem. But as he considered, that in her Death all Causes of Hostility were ceas'd; and that, besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the *Turk*, than to pursue the Execution of the Pope's Ban (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more than to close handsomly with our King. Nevertheless, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himself till he had sounded first our King's Disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in Records. the Instruction of our King to Doctor *Richard Pace*) *Charles* (by his Resident Ambassador here) propos'd a Renovation of the ancient Amity upon these Conditions. First, *that our King would be reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offer'd his Mediation.* Secondly, *that our King would aid him against the* Turk. Thirdly, *that (according to the Treaty* 1518.) *he would help him against the* French *who now Threatned* Milan. The Emperor offers to renew Friendship with K. *Henry*. To which our King answer'd; *That the first breach of Amity proceeded from the Emperor, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King* Henry *is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely; as for the Conditions propos'd:* First, *touching the Bishop of* Rome, *the Proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the Parliament of* England, *that it cannot be revok'd. Therefore, though the Bishop himself hath made means to him for Reconciliation, yet it hath been refus'd.* Secondly, *for Aid against the* Turk, *when Christian Princes shall be at Peace, then King* Henry *will do therein as to a Christian Prince belongeth.* Thirdly, *for Aid against* France, *he cannot resolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperor, that so being indifferent Friend to both, he may freely travel, either to keep Peace between them, or aid the injur'd Party.* King's Answer to those Offers. And these Answers of the King's, *Pace* was to signifie to the Emperor then at *Rome*, April. and to urge him to renew the Amity without any such Conditions; but, as the Emperor hearkned not thereunto, so King *Henry*, thinking of nothing less than embracing his Friendship on those Terms, imploy'd his care cheifly how to defend his Kingdom against the threatned Invasions. And therefore, as he had often experimented the Love and Obedience of his Subjects, so in his important Occasions at this time, he resolv'd to make use of them, commanding thereupon, the Parliament, which had been Prorogu'd, Feb. 4. Regn. 27. to sit the Fourth of *February*: In which many Parliament sits and pass several Acts. Acts pass'd; the most material whereof I have set down briefly, not always according to the order observ'd in the Statute-Book, but rather accor-

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1534/5. ding to the Matters handled, remitting the Reader for the reft to the Statutes themfelves. My Intention being not to make an Abftract of them otherwife than may ferve for the Illuftration of the Times, and my Hiftory.

Whereas the Trial and Punifhment of Pirates was heretofore according to the Forms of the Civil Law, it was now Order'd, That it fhould be determin'd by the King's Commiffion, in like Form as Offences done upon Land, no Benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to thofe who were convicted: Neverthelefs, diftinction to be made between Pirates, and thofe who took fomething at Sea out of neceffity: As is to be feen in the Statute more largely.

Order alfo was taken upon Penalty, that all they who had Parks, fhould keep two or more Mares, according to the greatnefs of the Parks, of thirteen Handfuls high, for breed of ftrong Horfes; and that the Stallions fhould be fourteen Handfuls high at leaft: And this was much to the increafe of good Horfes.

The courfe of fuing forth Gifts and Grants made under the King's Signet Manual, and the Clerks of the Signet's Fees alfo were fet down.

Alfo becaufe many Men by Will made Feoffments of their Lands to fecret Ufes, whereby the King and the Lords loft their Wards, *&c.* It was order'd, that the Poffeffion of Lands fhall be adjudg'd to be in him that hath the ufe thereof.

Order alfo was taken, that no Land fhould pafs by Bargain and Sale, unlefs it be by Writing indented, feal'd and inroll'd. And this prevented many Miftakes, and took away much Deceit.

And now becaufe fome Statutes following give me occafion to fpeak of *Wales*, it will not be difpleafing to the Reader (I hope) to fet down thofe Reafons, which I conceive were the true Motives of them.

Reg. 27. History of Wales. *Wales*, and the Marches thereof, now having been for a long time fo diftinguifh'd, as the Maritime Parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient *Britains*, or Natives of this Ifland, the other by thofe who had got ground upon them, much diverfity of Government was us'd. For as the Kings of *England* heretofore had many times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a ftout People, without yet reducing them to a final and intire Obedience; fo they refolv'd at laft to give all that could be gain'd there to thofe who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much Land from the *Welfh*: Which, as gotten by Force, was by Permiffion of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages, in that abfolute manner, as *Jura Regalia* were exercis'd in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in thofe Parts which were gotten at the King's only Charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was obferv'd. Howfoever, the general Government was not only fevere, but various in many Parts: Infomuch, that in about fome 141 Lordfhips Marchers which were now gotten, many ftrange and difcrepant Cuftoms were practis'd (as will appear hereafter.) Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the King's, and particularly thofe in the Eaft, Weft, and North-*Wales*, being about this time adminiftred by my great Grand-father Sir *Richard Herbert* (Son of Sir *Richard Herbert*, renown'd for that alone he pafs'd and return'd twice through an hoftile Army at the Battel in *Banbury*-Field, 8 *Edw.* IV.) fuch Juftice was us'd, as I find him in our Records highly commended to the King's Council by *Rowland Lee*, now Prefident of *Wales*. So that they were govern'd in general according to the Laws of *England*; the Lords Marchers (who conquer'd at their own Coft) ruling yet by their own Laws and Cuftoms, and fubftituting Officers at their pleafure, who again committed fuch Rapines, as nothing almoft was fafe or quiet in thofe Parts: Whereupon this Statute was made.

Hall. 8 E. IV. Grafton 8 E. IV.

Whereas manifold Robberies, Murders, and other Male-facts be daily practis'd and committed in the County-Palatine of *Chefter* and *Flintfhire* in *Wales*, and alfo in *Anglefea*, *Caernarvan*, *Merioneth*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke* and *Glamorgan*, becaufe Juftice is not miniftred there in fuch Form as in other Places of this Realm. For Remedy whereof, it is enacted, That the Lord Chancellor of *England*, or Keeper of the Great Seal, fhall nominate and appoint Juftices of Peace, Juftices of the *Quorum*, and Juftices of the Goal-Delivery in the faid Counties, and that they fhall have like Power and Authority as thofe in *England*, *&c.* And by this means one kind of Juftice was eftablifh'd in the faid County-Palatine of *Chefter*, and the Shires aforefaid: So that Offenders now were kept in Awe, being not able, as before, to efcape and fly from one Lordfhip Marcher to another. Another Act alfo was made to this purpofe.

Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches, there were divers and many Forefts belonging either to the King or the Lords Marchers, wherein fundry Actions had been us'd a long time, contrary to the Law of God and Man; infomuch, that if any enter'd the faid Forefts without a Token given (by fome of the Forefters or Walkers of it) to let him pafs, or unlefs he were a Yearly Tributer or Chenfer, he was forc'd to pay a grievous Fine; but if he were found 24 Foot out of the High-way, then to forfeit all the Gold or Money about him, and a Joynt of one of his Hands, unlefs he fined for it at the Difcretion of the Forefter, or Farmer of the fame. And whereas likewife, if any Cattle ftray'd into the faid Forefts, it was the Cuftom of the Forefters to mark him for their own with the mark of the Foreft: Order was now given, that People fhould be fuffer'd to pafs freely, as in other Places, and eftray'd Cattel within a Year and a Day to be reftor'd again, the Owners paying for the Herbage. Regn. 27. Cap. 7.

That whereas by the Gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, divers of the moft ancient Prerogatives and Authorities of Juftice appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, have been fever'd and taken from the fame; it was now enacted, That no Perfon from the firft of *July*, 1536. fhould have Power and Authority to pardon or remit Treafons, Murthers, Man-flaughters, or any Felonies, or their Acceffaries in any Part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the fame. That likewife none fhould make Juftices of Oyer, Juftices of Affize, Juftices of Peace, or Juftices of Goal-Delivery, but they fhould be made by the King's Letters Patents: And that all Original Writs, and Judicial Writs, and all manner of Indictments of Treafon, Felony, and Trefpafs, and all manner of Procefs fhould be made in the King's Name; and things done againft the King's Peace, fhould be fuppos'd as done againft the King's Peace, and not againft the Peace of any other Perfon. Notwithftanding which, divers Priviledges were permitted, as is to be feen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vaft Power invefted anciently in thofe who had Counties Palatine and *Jura Regalia* in Lordfhips Marchers may appear; fo we may obferve how the reftoring of them to the Crown, hath eftablifh'd an uniform Juftice, and taken away Regn. 27. Cap. 24.

the

1531/2. the occasions of many Mischiefs done within the Jurisdictions and Precincts of the said Counties Palatine, and Lordships Marchers, as is before-recited; which, though a great Benefit and Ease to the *Welsh*, yet as they were under many Constraints, they hop'd his Highness would further extend his Goodness to them: And thus some (as in their Name) speak to this effect;

May it please your Highness,

Speech of a *Welsh* Gentleman to the K. in favour of *Wales*.

WE, on the part of your Highness's Subjects, inhabiting that Portion of the Island which our Invaders first called *Wales*, most humbly prostrate at your Highness's Feet, do crave to be receiv'd and adopted into the same Laws and Priviledges which your other Subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that we have liv'd so long under our own. For as they were both enacted by Authority of our ancient Law-givers, and obey'd for many Successions of Ages, we trust your Highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither easie nor safe so suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them with these now us'd, and less shall we contest how good and equal in themselves they are. Only, if the defence of them and our Liberty against the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for so many hundred Years, and lastly, against the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the Sword, was thought Just and Honourable, we presume it will not be infamous now; and that all the Marks of Rebellion and Falshood, which our Revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner than those who fought for so many Years, and with so different Nations, for our just Defence: Which also is so true, that our best Histories affirm the Christian Religion to have been preserv'd only by us for many Years, that the *Saxons* (being Heathen) either attempted or possess'd this Country. May your Highness then graciously interpret our Actions, while we did but that Duty which your Highness would have now done by all your Subjects on like Occasion: For when any should invade this Country henceforth, we know your Highness would have us to behave our selves no otherwise. Besides, had not the Assailers found some to resist, they might have despis'd a Country, that brought none forth able enough to assert it: So that we crave Pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for the Honour of your Dominions, that some part of it should never be conquer'd. We then in the Name of whatsoever in your Highness's Possession hath in any Age held out against all Invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble our selves to that Sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this the first time; we have always attended an Occasion to unite our selves to the greater and better Parts of the Island.

Regn. 27.

But as the Kings of this Realm, weary of their Attempts in Person against us, did formerly give not only our Country to those who could Conquer it, but permitted them *Jura Regalia*, within their several Precincts: so it was impossible to come to an Agreement, while so many that undertook this Work, usurp'd Martial and Absolute Power and Jurisdiction in all they acquir'd, without establishing any equal Justice. And that all Offenders for the rest, flying from one Lordship Marcher (for so they were term'd) to another, did both avoid the Punishment of the Law, and easily commit those Robberies, which have formerly tainted the Honour of our Parts. So that until the rigorous Laws, not only of the several Conquerors of *England*, but the Attempters on our Parts, were brought to an equal Moderation no Union, how much soever affected by us, could ensue. 1531/2.

Therefore, and not sooner, we submitted our selves to *Edward* the First, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws than any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the Second, when not only the *English* forsook him, but our selves might have recover'd our former Liberty, had we desir'd it. Therefore we got Victories for *Edward* the Third, and stood firm during all the Dissentions of this Realm to his Grandchild and Successor *Richard* the Second. Only if some amongst us resisted *Henry* the Fourth, your Highness may better suppose the reason than we tell it; though divers Foreigners openly refusing to treat with him as a Sovereign and lawful Prince, have sufficiently publish'd it. We did not yet decline a due Obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtful Times, we cannot deny, but many refractory Persons have appear'd. Howsoever, we never joyn'd our selves with the *English* Rebels, or took occasion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's Time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaster* and *York*, much Occasion was given. For adhering to the House of *York*, which we conceiv'd the better Title, we conserv'd our Devotion still to the Crown, until your Highness's Father's Time, who (bearing his Name and Blood from us) was the more chearfully assisted by our Predecessors in his Title to the Crown, which your Highness doth presently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently Proof of a generous Courage in defending our Laws and Country, we have given no less Proof of a Loyal Fidelity since we first rendered our selves. Insomuch, that we may truly affirm, that after our Acceptance of the Condition given us by *Edward* the First, we have omitted no Occasion of performing the Duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more, than that all those Controversies about Succession (which so long wasted this Land) are determin'd in your Highness's Person; in whom we acknowledge both Houses to be happily united. To your Highness therefore we offer all Obedience, desiring only that we may be defended against the insulting of our malignant Censurers: For we are not the Off-spring of the *Run-away Britains* (as they term us;) but Natives of a Country, which, besides defending it self, receiv'd all those who came to us for Succours. Give us then (Sir) permission to say, that they wrong us much, who pretend our Country was not inhabited before then, or that it fail'd in a due Piety, when it was so hospital to all that fled thither for Refuge: Which also will be more credible when it shall be remembred, that even our highest Mountains furnish good Beef and Mutton, not only to all the Inhabitants, but supply *England* in great quantity. We humbly beseech your Highness therefore, that this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it seem harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in this Island, but in *France*: Some Dialects whereof therefore remain still amongst the *Bas Bretons* there, and here in *Cornwal*. Neither will any Man doubt it, when he shall find those Words of the ancient *Gaulish* Language repeated by the *Latin* Authors, to signifie the same thing amongst us at this Day: Nor shall it be a Disparagement (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the Throat, since the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this kind of Pronunciation, as believing Words that sound so deep, proceed from the Heart. So that if we have retain'd this Language longer than the more Northern Inhabitants of this Island (whose Speech appears manifestly

Regn. 27.

15 11/16. feſtly to be a kind of *Engliſh*, and conſequently introduc'd by the *Saxons*) we hope it will be no Imputation to us; your Highneſs will have but the more Tongues to ſerve you: It ſhall not hinder us to ſtudy *Engliſh*, when it were but to learn how we might the better ſerve and obey your Highneſs: To whoſe Laws we moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted, and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other Part, ours alſo by your Highneſs's good Favour and Imployment may receive that Eſteem.

Act for an Union between *England* and *Wales*. The King now conſidering that it was but reaſonable to unite this Part of the Kingdom to the reſt, and that their Loyalty beſides had deſerv'd as much as they were Suitors for, caus'd an Act to be paſt for executing Juſtice in *Wales*, in manner as is in *England*, and reduc'd the Lordſhip Marchers to Shire-Ground. The Statute is to this effect:

Chap. 26. That albeit the Dominion, Principality and Country of *Wales*, be a Member and Part of the Temporal Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler; yet, as it hath divers Rights, Uſages, Laws and Cuſtoms diſcrepant from the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, and becauſe their Language is different from that which is ſpoken here, and that many rude People hereupon have made diſtinction and diverſity betwixt his Highneſs's other Subjects, and them, to the cauſing of much Diſcord and Sedition; his Highneſs therefore, out of his Love and Favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by Advice and Conſent of his Parliament ordain and enact, that *Wales* ſhould be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England*; and that his Subjects ſhould enjoy and inherit all ſingular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges and Laws which his Highneſs's Subjects elſewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore, that Inheritances ſhould deſcend after the manner of *England*, without Diviſion or Partition, and not after any Tenure or Form of *Welſh* Laws or Cuſtoms. And foraſmuch as there are divers Lordſhips Marchers within the ſaid Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no Parcel of any other Shires where the Laws and due Correction is us'd and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoining, manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all Law and Juſtice, becauſe the Offenders, making their Refuge from one Lordſhip Marcher to another, were continued without Puniſhment and Correction: Therefore, it was enacted, that the ſaid Lordſhips Marchers ſhould be united, annexed, and join'd to divers Shires ſpecified in the ſaid Act.

Chap. Whereupon 24 Lordſhips Marchers were united to *Monmouthſhire*, and the Laws of *England* enjoin'd in them; ſixteen to *Brecknockſhire*; ſixteen to *Radnorſhire*; eleven to *Montgomeryſhire*; and ten to *Denbighſhire*: ſeven to *Shropſhire*, which were reduc'd again to certain Hundreds, as *Down* to *Cherbury*, &c. ten to *Herefordſhire*, and they likewiſe reduc'd to Hundreds three; and all the Lordſhips, &c. betwixt *Chepſtowbridge* and *Glouceſterſhire*, to *Glouceſterſhire*; and they again reduc'd to one Hundred; ſeventeen to *Glamorganſhire*; eight to *Carmarthenſhire*; thirteen to *Pembrokeſhire*; four to *Cardiganſhire*; one to *Merionethſhire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lords Marchers. After this again, many Priviledges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the Service their Anceſtors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering thoſe Parts at their own Coſt; concerning which Hiſtories, Records, &c. may be ſeen, to which I refer my ſelf. 15 11/16.

Alſo Power was given to the King to alter Regn. 27. any thing in this Act, within the ſpace of three Years next enſuing, whereof we ſhall ſpeak again 34 *Hen.* VIII. c. 26. More alſo is extant hereof, 1 *Edw.* VI. 10. and 21 *Jacobi* 10. where through that King's Goodneſs, all Power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repeal'd.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters; of which Kind there are four chiefly.

The firſt, having relation to one formerly re- 1534. cited out of 26 *Henry* VIII. whereby the Firſt-fruits and Tenths were given for more Augmentation of Maintenance of the King's Royal Dignity, of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, that no Tenth ſhall be exacted that Year wherein Firſt-fruits are paid.

Secondly, Whereas 25 *Hen.* VIII. it was enacted, that the Clergy in their Convocations ſhall make no Conſtitutions without the King's Aſſent; as alſo, that the King ſhould have Authority to nominate ſixteen Spiritual, and ſixteen Temporal Perſons to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions aforeſaid, the ſaid Acts were now confirm'd.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary-men, that they ſhould wear Badges to be known by, and no Weapons; that they ſhould not go Abroad but at due Hours, and not reſiſt their Governors, &c.

Fourthly, A Court of Augmentation was erected, whereby Order was taken concerning the Religious Houſes that were ſurrendred or ſuppreſs'd; and how the King's Revenue ſhould be increas'd thereby, and Officers for this purpoſe appointed.

Theſe Marks of the King's Sovereignty being Parl. Rolls, thus premis'd, I ſhall come to the Act of Sup- 27 *Hen.* 8. preſſion of Religious Houſes under 200 *l.* Yearly. Religious Houſes under 200 l. *per Ann.* ſuppreſs'd. Which though lamented by many, and no ways ſo excus'd, that I know, as by the King's Neceſſities, had yet thoſe Motives. The vicious and incorrigible Life of *Monaſtical* Perſons, confeſs'd, by the whole Parliament: The Lands not imploy'd according to the intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superſtitions and forgings of Miracles practis'd amongſt them: That when thoſe under 200 *l.* Yearly were taken away, there remain'd yet many great and Religious Houſes: That they were the Seminary of thoſe that oppos'd the Regal Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; to which ſome have thought the Reaſon formerly touch'd might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the Burthen of furniſhing the King's Neceſſities from themſelves. And the rather, that the King promis'd to employ ſome of the Revenues to other Religious Uſes: As founding of Biſhopricks, Deaneries and Chapters, and the like. Which indeed follow'd, though not mentioned in the *Statute*. Howſoever, the *Statute* without any formal Preamble in the publiſh'd Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majeſty ſhall have and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, all *Monaſteries*, *Priories*, and other Religious Houſes of *Monks*, *Canons*, and *Nuns* of what Habit, Order, or Rule ſoever, which have not in Lands and Revenue above the clear Yearly Value of 200 *l.* as alſo all ſuch Religious Houſes, which at any time within one Year's ſpace preceding, have been given up and granted by any *Abbot*, *Prior*, *Abbeſs*, or *Prioreſs*, under Regn. 27. their Covent Seal; reſerving yet all Right to others by Leaſe and otherwiſe, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Succeſſors of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Poſſeſſion, Rent, Fee, or Office, according to the true Intention:)

1535/6. tention :) As also all Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels and Debts, belonging to the said Religious Houses: Nevertheless, that Hospitality and Husbandry should be kept by the Farmers of the said Religious Houses, and the Lands belonging to them, upon the Penalty of paying every Month six Pound thirteen Shillings and four Pence. The King also (as I find in the Parliament Rolls) allow'd the Governors of these Houses Pensions during their Lives, and translated some of the Religious Persons into other greater Foundations.

Lesser Monasteries dissolv'd.

And thus were the lesser *Monasteries* dissolv'd, with care yet that Hospitality should be preserv'd; for which Reason also our King did pass them away at such easie Rates. Nevertheless, as the Penalty being not ordinarily requir'd, due Hospitality was for the most part neglected: So the Forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parliament, 21 *Jacobi*, wholly abolish'd, at length, by the Indulgence of that King. Notwithstanding, it is probable, that not on this Occasion only, the *Abbey*-Lands were scattered and distributed into so many Hands, since *Cromwell* forgot not to tell his King, that the more he had Interest in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatsoever the Reasons were, it is certain, that use was not made of them which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was so little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the Profits of those which were dissolv'd, had been employ'd for a setled Entertaining and Payment of a Royal Army at Land, and a great Fleet at Sea, (which as they were the third or fourth part of the Revenues of the Land, might have been easily done) our King, without having recourse to any other means, might (besides securing his Realm) have given the Law in great part to all his Neighbours. And now of these ancient Monuments of Devotion, 376 being dissolv'd, a Revenue of about thirty or thirty two thousand Pounds yearly, fell into the King's Hands, besides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at one hundred thousand Pounds. The People (especially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being griev'd to see the Monks and Nuns wandring abroad, and the Churches and Chapels perverted to secular and prophane Uses; so that they began to murmur; which being again fomented by some Religious Persons turn'd to Rebellion, as shall be told hereafter. The Respect also given to the Relicks there, and some pretended Miracles fell; insomuch, as I find by our Records, that a piece of St. *Andrew*'s Finger, (cover'd only with an Ounce of Silver) being laid to Pledge by a Monastery for forty Pounds, was left unredeem'd at the Dissolution of the said House; the King's Commissioners (who upon surrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay the Debts thereof) refusing to return the Price again.

Cromwell's Advice to the King herein.

376 Monasteries dissolv'd. *Stow.*

Stow.

People murmur at it.

Regn. 27. Protestant Princes in *Germany* make Proposals to the King.

This fall of Abbeys yet did but set forwards the King's Designs with the Confederate Princes and Towns in *Germany*; who understanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papistry, and knowing besides that Queen *Anne* was disaffected to their adverse Party, as her greatest Enemies, thought fit to make our King's Orators (yet at *Smalcald*) these Propositions, as our Records shew.

Dec. 25. 1535.

I. *That he should approve and embrace the* Augustan *Confession, unless some things shall be alter'd therein, by common Consent, according to the Scripture.*

II. *And, Secondly, in a free Council, if any be, shall defend it with them.*

III. *That neither part should admit any Summons for a Council, or agree upon a Place for the sitting of it, without the others Consent; yet that if such a Council were offer'd, as* Vergerius *the Pope's Legate now propos'd; that is to say, free and pious, that it should not be refus'd.*

IV. *That if the Pope proceeded otherwise, that they should oppose and protest publickly against him.*

V. *That the King should join himself, as to their Doctrine, so to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.*

VI. *That the vulgar Opinion* de Primatu Pontificis *should be rejected for ever.*

VII. *That if either of the Contrahents be invaded for Religion, the other shall give no Aid against him.*

VIII. *That the King shall pay* 100000 *Crowns towards the defence of the League, and if the War be long,* 200000 *Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining should be restor'd when the War was ended.*

IX. *That when the King hath declar'd his Mind herein, they will send an Ambassage of Learned Men to him.*

These Propositions being communicated by *Cromwell* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, then in *France*, the Bishop return'd this Advice: *That if the first Article were accorded, the King shall do nothing without their Consent, tho' otherwise he be bound in Conscience to reform his Church. To the rest, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with those Inferior Princes for Religion, without the Emperor, whom the King must allow to be Supream Head of* Germany, *as his Majesty is of* England. *Again, that they could give King* Henry *no Reciproke, as lying at that distance: Finally, he admonished, that they be mov'd to approve the King's Title, since he had understood in* France, *that they would not agree thereto, lest they should thereby grant the Emperor the same Authority over their Persons.* In sequence whereof, on the twelfth of *March* following (1536.) the Bishop of *Hereford*, and the other Orators now at *Wittenberg*, return'd the Protestants this Answer: *That the King their Sovereign lik'd their Propositions with some Corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no cause why he should fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the Death of the late Queen; yet, for restoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to disburse the Sum requir'd, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would treat at large with their Commissioners, whom they promis'd to send. As for the Honour they did him, in constituting him* Patron and Defender of the League, *that he render'd them due Thanks, and acknowledg'd their Good Will. And though he understood well, to how much Envy this Charge was expos'd, yet that for the Publick Good he would not refuse it, when they could agree among themselves concerning the First and Second Article. For unless there were an Union and Consent in Doctrine, that he should get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he desir'd their Learned Men and his should concur; for until some Places of their Confession and Apology were mollified by private Conference, that there was small hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he desir'd much that they would send some Commissioners for this purpose, and among them, some one eminent for his Learning, who might confer with his Divines of the Doctrine and essential Part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That since he was so liberal to them, he hop'd they would not refuse, if any made War against him, to furnish for four Months* 500 *Foot, or* 10 *Ships equipp'd at their Cost; and at his Cost,* 2000 *Horse and* 5000 *Foot, or in lieu of these Foot,* 12 *Ships equipped; which the King shall keep and maintain as long as his Occasions require. Lastly, that they should approve the Sentence given by the Divines of* Wittenberg *in favour of his Divorce, and second Marriage, and if any Council General were holden, should there defend it.*

Records. *Gardiner's* Advice about this Proposal.

Regn. 27. March 12. *Sleid.* The King's Reply to this Proposal.

To

1536.

The Protestants Answer. April 24.

To all which the Duke of *Saxony* replying, that he would advise hereof with the other Confederates, this Answer finally at a Meeting at *Francfort*, on the 24th of *April*, 1536. was return'd, That *although divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a distance from home, had no Commission for giving any definitive Sentence: Notwithstanding, that in this Meeting it should be resolv'd concerning an Ambassador to be sent his Highness; and they who could not resolve for the present, should declare themselves within the space of one Month. And that there was no question but they would conform themselves to the Opinion of the major part.* Whereupon Instructions were given for certain Orators to be sent to *England*; in which yet it was (saith *Sleidan*) especially provided, that nothing should be treated of to the Prejudice of the Emperor, or Empire. And thus in the Name of the Confederate Cities, *Jacobus Sturmius* was appointed; the Divines being *Melancthon*, *Bucerus*, and *Georgius Draco*. But as shortly after the Death of Queen *Anne* followed; so all their Proceeding (as *Sleidan* notes) was stopt, until upon Occasion given, it was revived. As for the Approbation of the Divorce propos'd to the *German* Divines, *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Philip*, and others, the King was judiciously advis'd by his Agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant; the King having attain'd his principal Intent concerning the Council and Pope, and the Princes being then in such Terms with the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, as they desir'd not to offend them without an urgent Necessity.

Reg. 27. *Sleidan.*

Affairs of *Scotland.*

James King of *Scotland*, having the Year before been install'd of the *Garter*, and in sequence thereof instructed with the Causes of those Changes which had follow'd in Religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an eye to the Troubles that might ensue in *England* concerning Succession, as long as the Issue of both Queens surviv'd; so he desir'd to strengthen himself by the Advice and Assistance of *Francis*: yet being desirous withal to conserve our King's Affection; and knowing also his Designs on that Part could not be long conceal'd, he thought fit to advertise our King thereof; discovering himself no farther yet, than that he intended to match in that Country: Who also approving this, rather than that he should bestow himself in the Emperor's Family (which he still suspected) gave his Consent thereunto, as I find by our Records; yet so as he desir'd the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of *Vendosme*, rather than of *Francis*; upon Condition still that the Enterview might precede. But King *James*, who had no Disposition thereunto (though I find in our Records, the Queen his Mother once perswaded him,) resolves to go secretly and in disguis'd Habit to *France*. Whereupon also, commanding some Ships to be made ready, he set sail from *Lieth*, not acquainting any yet with his Journey; so that divers thought he purpos'd to land in some Part of our King's Dominions. But contrary Winds arising, he being demanded what Course his Pilots should hold, answer'd, to any Place but *England*; wherewith falling asleep, he was ere he waken'd, by the Advice of one of the *Hamiltons* (as *Buchanan* hath it) carried back. But at last, opening his Eyes, and finding himself at home, he was much offended with the Author of this Council, and the rather, that he was thought secretly to oppose the Match: So that he commanded to set sail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of *Vendosme*'s, and his Daughter not pleasing him (or rather, the Daughter of *Francis* liking him better) he arrives at *Paris*, and posting thence to the *Lionnois*, where *Francis* was raising an Army against the Emperor (as shall be told hereafter) he obtain'd the Consent of *Francis* (though not without some Reluctancy on his part, and wholly against our King's Will) for his Daughter *Magdalen*, whom he married *Jan.* 1. 1537. The News whereof being brought to our King, troubled him so much, that he writ to *Francis*, (whom he perfectly lov'd at that time) that his late Enterview with the Pope, and Alliance with the *Scottish* King vexed him no less than it would do a perfect Lover, *De voir sa Dame entretenir son mortel Enemi*: Whereof more at large in its due place. But as *Francis*'s Excuse (alledging it was better he match'd there than with his Adversaries) did in some part satisfie our King; so the new married Lady falling into a Hectick Fever, and dying the Year following, they both soon return'd to some part of their former Correspondence.

July 26.

K. of *Scots* goes privately to *France.*

Aug. 31.

Reg. 27.

July 7. 1537.

Our King now, thought by some to be various in his Appetite of Wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found, occasion to cut off Queen *Anne*; I shall not yet determine whether Princes secret Actions be beyond any Scrutiny. I will only lay down the Particulars, as far as by Records, or otherwise I could gather them, remitting the rest to the equal Reader.

The Troubles of Queen *Anne.*

Queen *Anne* being now without Competitrix for her Title, thought her self secure. But Prosperity is a dangerous Estate to those that use it not reverently. Again, Beauty is not always the best Keeper of it self. It may be doubted yet whether either of those did concern her; since she was thought both moderate in her Desires, and of Discretion enough to make her capable of being trusted with her own Perfections, as having liv'd in the *French* Court first, and after in this, with the Reputation of a virtuous Lady; insomuch that the Whisperings of her Enemies could not divert the King's good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own Nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her Honour in those Times they staid in *France*; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her Affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath Condemn'd her; and that whether she, or any else were in fault, is not now to be discuss'd. This is certain, that the King had cast his Affection already on *Jane Seymor*, (Daughter to Sir *John Seymor* Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which follow'd, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody, but were Law, or at least Pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his Actions. But Suspition in great and obnoxious Minds, is other than in the mild and temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow Waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toss all that comes thereon. So that I dare say, nothing hath been Author of so much Confusion; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the Mind without Remedy; how far yet Suspition wrought on our King is not for me to define.

Cap. 24.

The K. in love with *Jane Seymor*, Servant to Q. *Anne.*

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on *May-day* there being a solemn Justs at *Greenwich* (wherein *George Viscount Rochford*, the Queen's Brother, was chief Challenger, and *Henry Norreis* Principal Defendant) the King suddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, especially the Queen. No Cause hereof is related yet, unless (as *Sanders* hath it)

May 1. *Stow.*

Reg. 27.

1536. it) ſhe let fall a Handkerchief, wherewith ſome one (ſuppos'd her Favorite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceiv'd by the King. But our Hiſtories mention not this Paſſage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires her ſelf. He again haſtning to *Weſtminſter*, takes order to commit the next Morning *George* Lord

May 2.

Rochford, and *Henry Norreis* to the Tower: After

Q. *Anne* ſeized and committed to the Tower. May 2.

which, her ſelf coming to *London* in her Barge, was apprehended by ſome of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower; who telling her Offence, ſhe exclaim'd that ſhe was wrong'd, and that ſhe deſir'd to ſee the King only before ſhe went; but in vain, they having no ſuch Commiſſion. When ſhe enter'd the Tower, ſhe is ſaid to have fall'n on her Knees, beſeeching God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accus'd. This was about five in the Afternoon, on the Second of *May*. After which,

Others committed.

one *William Brereton* Eſquire, and Sir *Francis Weſton* of the King's Privy Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a Muſician, were Committed on the ſame Occaſion. The Queen being thus in the

Records.

Charge of Sir *William Kingſton*, Conſtable of the Tower, much Speech paſt betwixt them, as appears by an Original of his: Yet as her Language was broken and diſtracted betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for ſhe us'd both,) little can be inferr'd thence, only ſhe ſeem'd to exclaim on *Norreis*, as if he had accus'd her; when yet ſhe ſaid, they both ſhould die together. She nam'd others alſo, and thereupon confeſs'd, though not enough to condemn her, yet ſuch Paſſages as might argue ſhe took the utmoſt Liberty, that could be honeſtly allow'd her: But whether ſhe extended it to any further Act, is not there declar'd. For amidſt all her Diſcourſes ſhe ſtill proteſted her ſelf Innocent. By other Originals alſo of *Kingſton's*, it appears that he had made ſome difficulty to carry a Letter from her to Mr. Secretary, and that ſhe wiſh'd her Biſhops were there: For they (ſhe ſaid) would go to the King for her; and that the moſt part of *England* would pray for her; and that if ſhe died, a Puniſhment will fall on the Land; and in effect I find divers Biſhops and Learned Men did much honour her, and particularly the Archbiſhop of

May 6. Archbiſhop Cranmer and other Biſhops appear in her behalf.

Canterbury, who in a Conſolatory Letter to the King, (which I have ſeen) wrote as much in her behalf as he durſt; yet ſo as he made no Apology for her, but rather confeſſeth that divers of the Lords had told him of ſuch Faults as he was ſorry to hear of; deſiring howſoever, that he would continue his Love to the Goſpel, leſt it ſhould be thought it was for her ſake only he had ſo favour'd it. After which, another Letter in her Name, but no Original, coming to my hand, from more than one good part, I thought fit to tranſcribe here, without other Credit yet than it is ſaid to be found among the Papers of *Cromwell* then Secretary, and for the reſt ſeems ancient and conſonant to the Matter in queſtion.

May 6. The Queen's Letter to the King.

SIR,

YOur Grace's Diſpleaſure and my Impriſonment are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me, (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your Favour,) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine ancient profeſs'd Enemy, I no ſooner receiv'd this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed, may procure my Safety, I ſhall with all Willingneſs and Duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof ever preceded. And to ſpeak a truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bolen, *with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God and your Grace's Pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my Exaltation, or receiv'd Queenſhip, but that I always look'd for ſuch an Alteration as now I find; for the ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt Alteration I know was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me from a low Eſtate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire; if then you found me worthy of ſuch Honour, good your Grace, let not any light Fancy, or bad Counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of a diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt Dutiful Wife, and the Infant Princeſs your Daughter: Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial; and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open Shames. Then ſhall you ſee either mine Innocency clear'd, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatiſfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World ſtopped, or my guilt openly declar'd. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure, and mine Offence being ſo lawfully prov'd, your Grace is at liberty both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Puniſhment on me as an unfaithful Wife, but to follow your Affection already ſetled on that Party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.*

But if you have already determin'd of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſir'd Happineſs: Then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewiſe mine Enemies the Inſtruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict Account for your unprincely and cruel Uſage of me at his General Judgment Seat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe Judgment I doubt not (whatſoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently clear'd.

My laſt and only Requeſt ſhall be, that my ſelf may only bear the burthen of your Grace's Diſpleaſure; and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your Sight, if ever the Name of Anne Bolen *hath been pleaſing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Requeſt; and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions.* From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower*, this 6th of *May*.

Your moſt Loyal
and ever Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any elſe heretofore, I know as little, as what Anſwer might be made thereunto: Only I cannot omit to tell, that the King was ſo little ſatisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten Proof enough to put her to Death, he would further be divorc'd from her; which alſo by due Order and Proceſs of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28 *Hen.* VIII. was perform'd by *Cranmer*. The Cauſes being not yet ſet down otherwiſe, than that they were declar'd juſt, true and law-

The King divorc'd from her.

ful

1536. ful Impediments of Marriage: I know not how to satisfie the Reader therein; especially since the Lady *Elizabeth* their Daughter is thereby pronounc'd Illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I find by an Original Letter of the Earl of *Northumberland* (who it seems, might most be suspected) that he disavows it on his part. So that unless he retracted this Protestation, or that the contrary were prov'd, I cannot so much as imagine a Reason. The Letter is thus to *Cromwel*.

Princess *Elizabeth* made Illegitimate.

May 13. Records. *Northumberland* denies any Precontract between her and himself.

I *Perceive that there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examin'd upon mine Oath before the Archbishops of* Canterbury *and* York; *but also receiv'd the blessed Sacrament upon the same, before the Duke of* Norfolk, *and others the King's Council Learned in the Spiritual Law; assuring you (Mr. Secretary) by the said Oath and blessed Body, which afore I receiv'd, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any Contract or Promise of Marriage between her and me.*

But if this were not sufficient, I believe such other Cause was produc'd for the Divorce, as might satisfie the People, since the Act was publick. Neither is it much material which *Hall* saith, that the Validity of this Marriage was questioned, because the King married this second Wife before he was divorc'd from his first: For it seems contrary to the Act of Parliment, which saith, That the Impediments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which she was Arraign'd the 15 of *May*, 1536. before the Duke of *Norfolk*, High Steward of *England* for the Day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and others of the Peers: And there, notwithstanding her discreet Answers, (as our Historians term them) found guilty, and Judgment pronounc'd accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord *Rochfort* her Brother, was Arraign'd and Condemn'd, as also *Henry Norreis* Esquire, *Mark Smeton* Groom of the King's Privy-Chamber, *William Brereton* Esquire, and Sir *Francis Weston* Knight, Gentlemen of it, (the Lord Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being present) and the 17th of *May* beheaded: The Queen's Death yet was respited till the 19th of the same. About which time Order being taken that all Strangers in the *Tower* should be remov'd, *Kingston* in an Original to *Cromwel* writ these Words, *viz.*

May 15. She is Try'd and Condemn'd.

Her Brother and others Condemned and Executed.

May 17.

S I R,

May 19. The Lieutenant of the Tower's Letter concerning her.

I*F we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known in* London, *I think here will be but few: And I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good Woman for all Men, but for the King, at the hour of her Death: For this Morning she sent for me, and protested her Innocency: And now again, and said unto me, Mr.* Kingston, *I heard say, I shall not die afore Noon, and I am sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her it should be no Pain, it was so* sotell (for so is his Word.) *And then she said, she heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily: I have seen many Men and Women executed, and they have been in great Sorrow; and to my Knowledge, this Lady hath much Joy and Pleasure in Death.*

The 19th of *May* being thus come, the Queen, according to the express Order given, was brought to a Scaffold erected upon the Green in the *Tower of London*, where our Historians say, she spake before a great Company there assembled, to this effect:

Her Speech at Execution

Good Christian People, I am come hither to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judg'd to die. and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no Man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accus'd, and condemn'd to die. But I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler nor a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any Person will meddle of my Cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the World, and of you all; and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.

After which coming to her Devotions, her Head was stricken off with a Sword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as she was desirous to advance Learned Men, in which number *Hugh Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Nicholas Saxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, are recounted; and as she was a great Almsgiver; insomuch, as she is said in three quarters of a Year to have bestow'd fourteen or fifteen thousand Pounds in this kind, besides Monies intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realm. *Sanders* saith, her Father died shortly after for Grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two Years after, 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and Silence, I find by our Records, that the Princess *Mary* did about those times much endeavour to be restor'd to the King her Father's good Favour and Opinion, as hoping now that the Princess *Elizabeth* was declar'd Illegitimate, she should be receiv'd as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earnest Letters written with her own Hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of Obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the King to write to her, or send some Token as a sign of Reconciliation. Upon which Submission, our King, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, sent certain Articles for her to subscribe; which were,

Her Charity.

Princess *Mary* courts the King's Favour.

Articles sent her to subscribe. Records.

First, *Whether she doth Recognize the King's Highness for her Sovereign Lord and King, and will submit her self unto his Highness and all Laws of the Realm.*

Secondly, *Whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.*

Thirdly, *Whether she will Recognize the King's Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *and utterly refuse the Bishop of* Rome's *pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby.*

Fourthly, *Whether she doth freely Recognize and knowledge both by God's Law and Man's Law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawful.*

Fifthly, *For what Causes, and by whose Motion and Means she hath remain'd in her Obstinacy so long.*

Sixthly, *What is the Cause she at this time above all others submitteth, and who mov'd her hereunto.*

She submits to four of them.

In Satisfaction to which she return'd a Subscription, signing with her own Name the four first Articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd; some Persons being interested therein whom she would not discover.

What Effect follow'd hereupon apears not otherwise, than that notwithstanding this and other Submissions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage; which also he so hastned, as some say the Day following Queen *Ann*'s Death, others not till three Days after, he caus'd it to be Solemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law hath declar'd Criminal; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the Opinion held in these Times of the different Perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I shall out of our Records produce the Censure

The King marries *Jane Seymar*.

1536. Cenfure of Sir *John Ruffel* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) who having been at Church, obferv'd the King to be the goodlieft Perfon there; but of the Queens gave this Note, that the richer Queen *Jane* was in Cloaths, the fairer fhe appear'd; but that the other, the richer fhe was Apparel'd, the worfe fhe look'd; but this Queen certainly deferv'd all the favour done her, as being reputed the Difcreeteft, Faireft, and Humbleft of the King's Wives; though both Queen *Katherine* in her younger Days, and the late Queen, were not eafily parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto foreign Bufineffes now a long time intermitted.

Bufineffes betwixt our King and the *Roman* See were not fo defperate, but that divers Overtures on either fide were made for an Accommodation; for while the Pope fear'd, left our King, together with renouncing the *Roman* Church's Authority, would relinquifh the Religion, he not only cover'd his inward and deep Difpleafure, but fecretly permitted Treaties in divers kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a War againft the *Turk*; who alfo gladly entertain'd the Motion, as hoping the Pope would not fo foon joyn Chriftian Princes againft him. Infomuch that Sir *Gregory Cafalis* now refiding Agent at *Rome*, the Pope about *May* 20. fent for him, and told him, that *he heard of the Queen's Imprifonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequal Matrimony, had offer'd his Majefty occafion of gaining eternal Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and* French *King; which might be now done by joining with the* Roman *See. As for himfelf, that he never did him but good Offices, as having urg'd* Clement VII. *to right him in his Divorce, and at* Bononia, *(being then Cardinal) perfuaded the Emperor to fuffer it with Patience. As for* Rochefter, *that he made him Cardinal only to ufe him in the enfuing Council; and when his Death was related, being follicited and compell'd to revenge it, he could not but yield for the time to do thofe things* quæ tamen nunquam in animo ad habuit exitum perducere. *Wherefore that he purpos'd to fend a Nuntio into* England, *to treat of a Peace in Chriftendom, when our King would hearken thereunto; whence fhall follow a General Council, and a War againft the* Turk: And all this he wifh'd Sir *Gregory* to write (as of himfelf) to our King; as appears by the Original, *May* 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinal *Campejus* fending hither his Brother *Marco Antonio* about other Bufinefs, as regaining his Bifhoprick of *Salisbury*, and the Place of *Englifh* Protector in the next Council, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the Terms propos'd pleas'd not; fo the Pope conceiving now all further Treaty to be vain, labour'd to unite all Chriftian Princes in a War againft him, as a Deferter of all Papal Authority, and an Heretick. Therefore he both gain'd *Charles* (who had long folicited a Council) by fummoning one to begin at *Mantua* the Year following, *May* 23. and to oblige *James* V. he fent him a rich confecrated Sword. He found not yet in *France* that Difpofition he hop'd for, the Overtures of War being thought unfeafonable, in a time when a general Reformation was expected on the *Roman* Church's part. Therefore I find by an Original Difpatch of *Mount*'s, how the Bifhop of *Chaalons* in *Campagne* told him, (upon notice taken in *France* of the *Breve* of the Pope, whereby (as aforefaid) he Excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdom, and abfolv'd his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unlefs he return'd to that See, and abrogated thofe Laws were made againft the Papal Authority,) *that the Cardinal of* Lorain *should warn the Pope, and advife him not to be fo bold with Princes, unlefs he would become a Laughing-ftock to the World,* (for thefe are *Mount*'s Words;) yet did not *Francis* fully comply with our King, but held a middle way: For as he approv'd not the Pope's harfh Proceeding; fo when our King by his Ambaffador gave him Account of his Actions, expecting his Approbation, he return'd this Anfwer: That *notwithftanding all the King's Realm fhould agree and condefcend never fo much to the Right and Title of Succeffion in the Iffue of his fecond Marriage, yet when foreign Parts fhall conceive any other and contrary Opinion thereof, great Troubles might enfue.* Whereupon *Stephen Gardiner* Bifhop of *Winchefter*, then refident in *France*, was commanded by our King to tell *Francis, that he marvell'd much the King his Brother, being a wife Prince, fhould fo long infift upon thefe* Points, *fince it was ever the manner of lawful Kings to purfue their Right without demanding the Approbation of others. For proof whereof,* he faid, *he could give particular Inftances in* Francis *his Predeceffors, who had done many things contrary to the Advice of the Popes (when they were beneficial to the Kingdom,) and that notwithftanding all Oppofition they had been happily atchiev'd.* Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep *Francis* in good Correfpondency, as knowing the defire he had to recover *Milan* (for his fecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*) was fo vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtain'd. And in effect I find by *Bellay*, that the Treaty hereof begun the laft Year, as aforefaid, was ftill profecuted; infomuch that *Charles* gave hope of reftoring *Milan* now upon *Sforza*'s Death (who being thought the laft of the Line of *Æneas* and *Mutius Scævola*, dyed about the end of *October* precedent) to the Duke of *Angoulefme* the third Son of *Francis*, when he would fend the Duke of *Orleans* his fecond Son to affift him in an intended Expedition againft *Algier*, and help to reduce the Proteftant Princes in *Germany*, and the King of *England* to an Union with the Church; but *Francis* reply'd, that to give *Milan* from his fecond Son to his third, was to caufe a perpetual War betwixt two Brothers. Therefore that he defir'd it for the Duke of *Orleans*, in which Cafe alfo the faid Duke fhould renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Florence*, *Urbin*, &c. That to fend him to the Emperor, upon what pretence foever, was in effect to do nothing but put an Hoftage into his hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of thofe who had any *way* feparated themfelves from the Church, *he fhould* be glad to fecond him as well in *Germany* as in *England*. And that for *Henry* the Eighth in particular, he thought fit the Emperor fhould fummon all Chriftian Princes and Potentates to affift him, and, as *Bellay* hath it, *Donner main fort*, to conftrain the faid King to obey the Sentence and Determination of the Church.

During thefe Treaties, the *French* Army under the *Comte de St. Paul*, advanc'd fo far in *Savoy*, as they had taken all but *Montmelian*, which yet at laft yielded: While thofe of *Geneva*, thinking the Occafion fair, fhook off their Obedience to the Duke, and by the help of the Proteftant *Swifs*, afferted themfelves into the Liberty they now enjoy: Expelling together their Bifhop, and changing the Form of both their Civil and Ecclefiaftical Policy. Of all which the Emperor being advertis'd, thought how to gain Time, efpecially till he had reinforc'd his Army, not yet fully made up fince his late Voyage to *Tunis*, and affur'd himfelf of the Pope: Therefore he promis'd the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Duke of *Orleans*; fo that the Dutchefs, being the Relict of *Sforza*, might be provided for; intending thereby

Margin notes (left): The Pope endeavours to bring the King back to the Roman See, but to no purpose. — May 27. — June 6. — June 2. Endeavours therefore to fet all Chriftian Princes againft him. — 1535.

Margin notes (right): 1535. — [illegible] — Death of Sforza D. of Milan. — Bellay. — Jan. — Bellay. — Geneva afferts its Liberty, and expels its Bifhop.

thereby

1536. thereby (as my Author hath it) that she might be given the *Scottish* King: Yet in the manner of performing thereof so much Caution and Delay was propos'd, as their former Jealousies did but increase. And indeed, neither was the Overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperor to press the Pope against our King, more than device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Proposition of the Emperor for restoring *Milan*, other than an Invention to gain time, he being resolv'd to succour *Savoy* at what Price soever: And the rather, that (as is before said) there was a Project of giving all that Country to the Emperor for some other Lands in *Italy*; whereby also the Emperor should have wholly environed *France*: So that all was but Dissimulation on either part. For while these things were treating, the Emperor (though injoyning silence to the *French*, and promising it himself) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers Passages, and together made him jealous of the Intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the *Venetians* to his side, and made sundry Propositions of Allyance and Friendship with our King, (some whereof we have before shew'd) and rais'd great Forces by Sea and Land, upon pretence of imploying them against Infidels: While *Francis* on the other Part, being well inform'd hereof, resolv'd so to proceed in his War, as he neglected nothing which might strengthen himself, or weaken his Enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or sixteen Thousand, under the Command of *Chabot* Admiral of *France*, taken the chief Places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piedmont*, which was rendred to him, as also divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have enter'd and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Goverment unsettled; so there wanted all things which might serve to defend the Country. Nevertheless, out of I know not what Scrupulosity or Presumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to stay until he had sent to demand again the Investiture thereof from the Emperor in the Name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not Ignorant yet, that some *French* Writers say, that *Francis* checkt this Command by private Instructions: But *Chabot* thought it safer to follow those Directions he had under the Hand and Seal of *Francis*, than to comply with an intimated and contradictory Advice. Howbeit, the Overtures of Peace continued still (at *Naples*, where the Emperor then was) betwixt both Princes, the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *de Velly*, alledging, that the Business of *Savoy* was but a particular Difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it should not hinder the General Treaty. To which the Emperor seem'd to give ear also; not omitting yet to raise Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: Having, for the more enlarging his Entry to that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace built by the *Romans*: And indeed, the Pope's desire was, he should never put up his Sword, till he had reduc'd our King, and the Protestants to their former Devotion, and afterwards invaded the *Turk*. Of which our King being well inform'd, (for no Prince had better Intelligence) commanded *Richard Pace* his Ambassador, to treat with the Emperor, though not with Intention to joyn with him, so much as to discover his Designs. For I find by *Belloy*, that our King had acquainted *Francis* (by means of his Ambassador then resident here) with a Letter of the Emperor's, about this Time sent him, wherein the said Emperor advertis'd, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would say and do there; requesting our King further to interpose Offices with *Francis* for restoring all he had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the rest, desiring our King to forget not only what Discontentment soever had past betwixt them by reason of the Divorce with Queen *Katharine* (since she being dead, all cause of Offence was ceas'd) but to renew their ancient Treaties of Confederation and Amity, and together to assist him against the *Turk*. So, that by this free Communication of the Emperor's Letters, as well as by an Advertisement which I find *Francis* gave our King of certain following Passages at *Rome*, one may perceive what strait Correspondence was then held betwixt them. Howsoever, *Pace* in his Negotiation found, that the Emperor took nothing so ill as the Illegitimation of the Princess *Mary*: For though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* against his Niece, and encourag'd the Princes in *Germany* to take Arms against him; yet these Affronts the Emperor said might be pass'd over, but not the Princess *Mary's* Illegitimation; whom therefore he desir'd our King to restore, giving hope (as *Pace* writes from *Rome*) on that Condition to procure a General Council which might give the King Contentment in his Desires; or if he would refer all things to the Pope's Authority, to make his Peace with him, to validate his last Marriage, and together establish his Succession, Honour and Conscience in all he could wish. These were indeed thought great Offers: But our King, considering that they were little more than Sollicitations and Discourses of *Granvele*, and that to legitimate the Princess *Mary*, was in effect no less than to declare her his Heir, what Disguise soever the Emperor would put on it, and desiring, for the rest, nothing so much, as to settle the Succession in his future Issue, (which he hop'd would be Masculine) gave no good Audience hereunto.

The Emperor having now at *Rome* saluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his Reasons in private, *Monsieur de Velly* was refer'd again to them for an Answer concerning his Demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the Emperor had no such Intention; and when he should assent, the *Venetians* would not, who had enter'd into a League defensive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperor, requiring Performance from him: But the Emperor demanded whether he had Commission to treat thereof: But *Velly* saying he had none, the Emperor would hear him no more. Nevertheless, to shew a desire to come to a solid Peace with *Francis*, and avoid Effusion of their Subjects Blood; The Emperor in the presence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Ambassadors of *France*, of *Venice*, and many great Prelates and Noble-men assembled, made a long Oration in *Spanish*, his Hat in his Hand; declaring first the cause of Quarrel and Unkindness betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis* VII. deducing them after to his Times, with much particularity; and shewing still the Fault was on the *French* side: After which, in the presence of this great Assembly, he made three Offers to *Francis*, first, That *if a sure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of* Milan *to one of the King's Children (but not the Duke of* Orleans, *since he knew* Francis *did not demand it so much to fix there, as to serve himself thereof as a step to pass further to the State of* Florence *and* Urbin, *in the Right of the said Duke's Wife: Neither would he accept any Disclaim thereof, since he knew it would prevail no more, than that* Francis *had already made of the Dutchy of* Burgundy.) *Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of* Angoulesme *his third Son, when* Francis *would*

Margin notes: *Bellay*, l. 5. — *Bellay.* Records. — March. Successes of the *Fr.* in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. — April 5. — April. — 1536. Emperor offers to renew his ancient Treaties with King *Henry*. — Records. April 12. — Emperor comes to *Rome*. — *Bellay.* — April 17.

1536. *would declare in what manner he would assist him towards the Celebration of a Council, a Reformation of* Christendom, *and War against Hereticks and Infidels:* Which because it would not be done except all Offences were remov'd, he requir'd, *First, That his Army should be withdrawn out of* Piedmont. *Secondly, If within twenty Days* Francis *did not approve this, he offer'd to end the Business in a Duel betwixt their two Persons; not out of Bravery yet, but for avoiding the Effusion of Blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been shed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in assigning a fit Place for this Combat, than for an Interview, and that it might be in some Isle, or on some Bridge or Boat on a River: And for Arms, he thought them all good, whether they were Swords or Poignards, in their Shirts, only in this Case, that whosoever overcame, should give his Forces to the Pope, for the more strengthening him to summon a Council, and reduce all disobedient Persons to the Church, and resist the* Turk: *For which purposes he did there ingage himself to the Pope and Apostolick See; requiring besides, that the Dutchy of* Milan *and* Burgundy *should be deposited in some good hand, and the Victor have both.* The third Offer was War; to which yet he protested *not to come without necessity; though he had sufficient cause,* Francis *having taken Arms against him while he talk'd of a Peace by the Entremise of one who had no Power to treat thereof: Only if he were constrain'd to this Course, nothing should make him leave it, till one of them both remain'd the poorest Gentleman in their Country.* Thus bowing his Head to look upon a Scroul lapt about his Finger, he made a Pause: After which the Pope began to speak; but the Emperor interrupting him, said, *he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had referr'd all to his Holiness, whom he desir'd to bestow his Favour on him who had most reason and equity on his side.* This being done, the Pope commended the Emperor's Propositions, as tending to a Peace, and hop'd the *French* King would be no less inclin'd thereunto. After which, the Bishop of *Mascon* step'd forth, and said, *the Protestation being in* Spanish, *he understood it not well: But for the Point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Master would be inclinable to it*; reserving the further Declaration thereof to Monsieur *de Velly*, who drawing near, and desiring to be heard, the Emperor stopt him, and said *he had already spoken to him too often of Peace, and that he desir'd Deeds and not Words; and that he would grant him no other Audience at that time, only what he had there publickly said, should be given in Writing*, and therewith arose. So that though *Velly* desir'd to answer for his Master, yet the Emperor still laid the fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Mass. But that Evening the Pope, who knew of what Consequence a War betwixt these Princes was, sent for the *French* Ambassadors, desiring them to do good Offices in their Dispatches to *Francis*, protesting that he was surpriz'd on his part: *And that whatsoever he said, he would keep Neutrality betwixt them. The Emperor being now ready to take his leave of the Pope, the *French* Ambassador desir'd Audience, and thereupon told the Emperor in the Pope's presence, That *whereas he had spoken of a Combat with his King in case no Peace were made, without declaring other cause than to spare Effusion of their Subjects Blood; he desir'd to know whether his Majesty had made a Challenge to fight: And that if it were so, he durst answer on the part of his King, that it should not be refus'd. And that the Emperor might well remember that heretofore there was question hereof, but not now that he knew; the King his Master desiring to have* Milan *by Treaty, and having given express Command to his General in* Piedmont, *not to invade any thing in the Emperor's Possession. As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was set down in Writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would say no more of it, but know only whether the Emperor would charge the King his Master, as having fail'd in his Word or Honour, and whether he had defied him.* There were not many present when this pass'd; which the Emperor observing, call'd all those in the *Sala* and Chamber of Audience, and said, *as he spake publickly before, so he would again.* Many hereupon repairing to him, he said in *Italian*, That *he indeed did most desire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think best that they two in Person should end the Business; which yet he spake by way of Advice, and not as a Challenge; especially since it was in the Pope's Presence, without whose Permission he would do nothing. And therefore that he propos'd it only to avoid a greater Inconvenience, as thinking it better to do so, than suffer a War in Christendom: Which was the reason also why he appointed him twenty Days time to retire his Army out of* Piedmont. But these sharp Words (at the Pope's Request) were not openly advertis'd to *Francis*, nor some others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldiery of that Nation in comparison of his (as *Bellay* hath it;) who relates the Business somewhat more in favour of his Nation, and Monsieur *de Velly*, than *Sandoval* doth, or indeed our Records; amongst which I find divers of these Passages certified by *Richard Pace*. But though the *French* Ambassadors (at the Pope's Intreaty) were sparing in their Relation of the Emperor's Words, which (if we may believe *Sandoval*) were very high, yet order was given to his Ambassadors in *France* (as *Sandoval* hath it) to acquaint *Francis* with them; adding only four Days more to the Term of twenty formerly prefix'd: Though *Bellay* doth not acknowledge this particular.

Offers publickly to end the Dispute between himself and Francis in a Duel.

The Fr. Ambassador's Answer.

The Emperor's reply.

Bellay.

While these things past thus at *Rome*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was imploy'd by *Francis* to the Emperor: Who in his way coming to the *French* Army charg'd *Chabot* not to march further, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperor both rais'd great Forces, and drew near him.) After which he went to *Antonio de Leyva*, and the *Spanish* Army, requiring the same of them, at least till he had spoken with the Emperor; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his Answers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the *French* King; who having in the mean while understood by the Emperor's Ambassadors resident with him, the effect of his Master's Oration at *Rome* (though yet he would give no Copy of it) sent to the Pope a Justification, (set down at large in *Bellay*) in the Conclusion whereof he return'd this Answer to the Emperor's Offer of a Combat, *That if ever they came near each other (as might well be if they led their Armies in Person) and the Emperor then sent a Challenge, he would fight with him.* But the Pope, who had more use of their Swords than to imploy them one against the other, endeavour'd still to procure all good Amity and Correspondence betwixt them: Therefore he sent (upon the Request of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*) the Cardinal *de Carpi*, and the Cardinal *Trivulcio* to mediate an End; for which purpose they were to go joyntly to the Emperor first, and then one of them to the *French* King, according to the Occasion.

April 18.

French K's Answer to his offer of a Duel.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperor from going into *France*, where in sequence of a Protestation (as *Sandoval* hath it) to attend the *French* King thirty Days to see whether he would come in Person to fight, he resolv'd to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about sixty thousand Men, and an hundred Pieces of Artillery, he came to *Asti* the 22 of *June* 1536. June 22.

while

1536. while his Sister *Mary* (Governess of the *Low-Countries*) by his order had rais'd an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse under the Command of *Henry* Count of *Nassaw*, to invade *France* on that part: It was yet advis'd whether in his way he should take the Places in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, which the *French* held, or go strait to *France*. *Antonio de Leyva* said, that wild Beasts were to be sought in their Dens; and therefore wish'd the Emperor not to spend his Men in Sieges, but march on; which Counsel being follow'd (and the rather, because the Emperor desir'd Personally to be in *France* to acquit himself of his Promise) the Army having first taken some Towns, came near *Marseilles*: Where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonio de Leyva* (a valiant, but covetous and cruel Commander) dying there, and about thirty thousand more of Sickness and Disorder, the Emperor, who had now stay'd 33 Days (as *Sandoval* hath it) in the *French* King's Dominions, return'd to *Genoua*, and (not long after) to *Spain*, leaving Order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. But whatsoever retarded *Francis*, it was not want of Courage: Though I find by *Bellay*, he was resolv'd by his Council rather to weary and famish the Emperor's Army, than to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a considerable Army in those Parts under the Command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maistre* of *France*, he was not unprovided to resist him; besides which, he had another under his own Command at *Valence*, not far off; which he yet left, at last, to come to his other Army. But the Emperor, as having (even by the Confession of *Bellay*) lost half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behind him so many dead Soldiers unburied, that they infected the Air. Hereupon *Francis* took Advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperor into *Italy*, or to return and raise the Siege from *Peronne*, being then in some danger; the latter pleas'd him, his Affairs in *Italy* at that time succeeding well, and Winter besides drawing on: Only before he return'd, he thought good to visit *Marseilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the Ruins of *Aix*, where the Emperor had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going homewards, the glad News was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was rais'd; which (as *Sandoval* hath it) happened the same Day the Emperor dislodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*. And thus did those vast Preparatives of the Emperor come to nothing; great Armies as well as little ones having their Inconveniencies, especially where Sickness and Disorder doth intervene.

(Margin: The Emperor invades France with great Force. Aug. 15. Sept. 15. Octob. Nov. Sept. 10. But returns without effecting any thing.)

Francis being yet upon his way home (as *Bellay* hath it) received Letters from his Ambassador in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the *French* Court, that the Emperor's Retreat was out of Stratagem, that the *French* might follow him, and so be taken at an Advantage: And that this Rumour of his Men's Death, was rais'd only to draw them on the sooner; but that in effect he had not lost 2000 Men since his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which false Advertisements also, our King forbare to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other side estrang'd himself a little from King *Henry*, insomuch, as he began to cherish and love the King of *Scotland* more than before; who also had promised him Assistance in his Wars (which our King had neglected, contrary to *Francis*'s Expectation) and was now in *France*; for which Reasons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalene* (as is before related:) Nevertheless, that he might proceed formally, he sent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King: First, the true Cause of the Emperor's Retreat; Secondly, the Cause of his accepting the *Scottish* King for his Son-in-Law: Thirdly, to propose a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (his Son) and the Princess *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the Excuse for it was produced, our King was in that Passion, that he would not hear him again for four Days space; though yet he forgot not by his Council to shew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray*, without almost daring to speak of the Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, because our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while since propos'd it to *Francis*, only to sow Dissention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this Coldness on the *French* King's part, began to think how he might fortify himself by the Emperor's Friendship; for which purpose also (as is aforesaid) several Overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princess *Mary* to be Illegitimate hindred all (which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be perswaded to revoke) tho' he profess'd himself much inclin'd to return to his ancient Friendship with *Charles*; so that till after the Death of Queen *Jane*, being the Year following, all things remained in suspence. In which Terms also, he thought fit they should be continued till he saw the Event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and *French* King with more Ardour than ever, (as shall be told hereafter;) of which occasion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himself, for giving order to his Businesses at home: Which that he might do by the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, he commanded it to sit the Eighth of *June*, 1536.

(Margin: 1536. Bellay. The Parliament sits. Regn. 28. June 8.)

The principal Act was touching the Succession of the Crown; in which after a rehearsal of the Statute 25 *Henry* VIII. touching the King's Marriages, and Limitation of Succession to the Crown, and another of 26 *Henry* VIII. it is declared, That whereas a Marriage heretofore was solemnized betwixt the King's Highness and the Lady *Anne Bolen*, that sithence that time, certain just, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the said Acts, were confessed by the said Lady *Anne* before *Thomas* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the said Marriage betwixt his Highness and the said Lady *Anne* was never good nor consonant to the Laws; and therefore his Highness was lawfully divorc'd from the said Lady *Anne*: Moreover, that she and her Complices before-mention'd, were convict by due course of Law, and have suffer'd according to their Merits.

And whereas it has pleas'd his Highness, notwithstanding the great Perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katherine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the most humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for Conservation of the same, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Laws of the Church; and that there is hope she may conceive by his Highness; That it is the most humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for extinguishment of all Ambiguities and Doubts, it may be enacted in Manner and Form as followeth. And first, that the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katherine* should be void and of no effect; as being grounded on a Dispensation, in a Case not dispensable by Human Authority; and so determin'd by the whole Clergy, and both Universities of this Realm; as also by the Universities of *Bononia*, *Padua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse*, *Anjou*, and divers others, in regard, she being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*, was carnally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and therefore, that any Dispensation to the contrary here-of

(Margin: The K's Children by his two former Queens declared Illegitimate by the Parliament.)

1536. of should be to all Intents void, and of no effect; and the Issue procreated under the same unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highness and the said Lady *Katharine*, to be Illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any Inheritance from his Highness by Lineal Descent; and that the Marriage also, betwixt his Highness and Queen *Anne* is of no value, no effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highness and her, is good and effectual, and the Issue Illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highness, by Lineal Descent; any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many Inconveniences have fallen by marrying within Degrees prohibited by God's Law; which Marriages yet have been often dispensed with by some usurped Power; when yet no Man hath Power to dispense with God's Law. Therefore it was enacted, That if any were married within the said Degrees, or took to Wife the Sister or Daughter, &c. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definitive Sentence of the Archbishops, and other Ministers of the Church of *England*: And their said Sentence to be good and effectual, without suing any Appeal to or from the Court of *Rome*.

Further, it was enacted, that the Issue betwixt his Highness and Queen *Jane* should be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the course of Inheritance of the Laws of this Realm, the Imperial Crown of the same, with all Dignities, Honours, Preheminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging.

But if it should happen that Queen *Jane* should decease without Issue-Male of the Body of her Highness to be begotten, then the same Imperial Crown and all other the Premisses to be to his Majesty, and to his Heirs Males by any other lawful Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the same Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten; and so from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, and to the Heirs of every such Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten, according to the course of Inheritance, as is above-said. And for default of such Issue Male, then the said Imperial Crown and Premisses should be to the Issue Female, betwixt his Majesty and Queen *Jane* begotten, and so again to the Issue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to say, to the eldest Issue of the Issue Female, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and so from Issue Female to Issue Female, and to their Heirs of their Bodies, one after another, by course of Inheritance, according to their Ages, as the Crown of *England* hath been accustomed, and ought to succeed and go, in case when there is Heir Female inheritable to the same. And forasmuch as it stands in the only Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, whether his Highness shall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no Provision be made in his Life, who should govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his transitory Life should be destitue of a lawful Governour, or incumbred with such a Person that would covet to aspire to the same; that in this Case, his Highness might limit the Crown to any Person or Persons in Possession and Remainder by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal; or else by his last Will assigned with his Hand, after such manner as should be expressed in his said Letters Patents; and that such Person and Persons should have and enjoy the same after his Decease in as large and ample manner as the lawful Heirs of his Body should have done.

After which, order was taken to prevent Usurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treason impos'd on Usurpers, as on those also who believ'd either the Marriage of his Highness with the Lady *Katharine*, or the Lady *Anne*, to be good; and did call the Lady *Mary* or the Lady *Elizabeth* legitimate, and who used certain Words and Actions tending to this Purpose: As is to be seen more largely in the said Statute. 1536.

High Treason to assert the Legitimacy of the Princess *Mary* or *Elizabeth*.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That if his Majesty should decease before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realm should be of the Age of Eighteen Years, or any Heir Female which should be inheritable as aforesaid, should be married, or be of the Age of Sixteen Years, that then they, or any of them, shall be and remain until they came unto the said several Ages, at and in the Governance of their Natural Mother, and such other his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highness should name and appoint by his Last Will in Writing, signed with his Hand; or otherwise, to be at and in the Governance of such his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highness should name and appoint by his last Will in Writing, and sign'd with his Hand, (as is aforesaid) and that an Oath should be administred for Performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treason inflicted on those that shall refuse it.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That the King should have Power by his Letters Patents or last Will, as aforesaid, to advance any Person or Persons of his most Royal Blood to any Title, Stile, or Name of any Estate, Dignity or Honour, and to give to them, or any of them, any Castles, Honours, Lands, &c. in Fee-simple, Fee-tail, or for Term of Lives, or the Life of any of them, saving the Rights and Estates of all others, in and to the same.

Finally, it was enacted, That every Clause, Article and Sentence therein, should be taken and accepted according to the plain Words thereof. How yet this Act was altered, 35 *Hen.* VIII. shall be declared by me, God willing, in this History; referring the Reader to 1 *Mary* I. when it was repeal'd.

Howsoever, I thought fit to set it down with much particularity, both as it is Relative to many precedent Points touch'd in this History, and as it leads the way to some that follow; by which also it may appear unto the Reader, with how high a hand the King did authorize his Actions, while each part justified the other, and all his Subjects Voices being comprehended in his Parliament, no Man could accuse him, who did not in some sort first condemn himself; so that if in those two Divorces he had not Reason, the chief of his Kingdom seem'd to err with him: Unless ill Arts with the Nobility, and undue Election of the Knights and Burgesses be suppos'd; which though possible in many, and (for that I have seen) there be cause to suspect it in some; yet to believe a general Corruption in the prime Persons of a Kingdom, or to allow an Argument drawn from thence only, as conclusive, what is it else but to overthrow and and subvert the Columns and Foundations of Laws? And then what Statute can stand? What Decree will be in Force? I will not yet take on me every where to defend the Actions of a Prince, whom so many have bitterly censur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at Home in his first Times, or depress'd afterwards Abroad. But thus much I cannot but observe of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many Complices; where he did well, he had almost the Glory alone; as being so active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both: Only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his singular Perfections of Nature, so all things almost fell to the worse; while divers of those ill Accidents which befel him, were reveng'd some-

1536. ſometimes with ſo ſevere a Juſtice, as might be called *Summum Jus*; ſometimes repaired with furniſhing his Wants in that large manner and extent, both on the Spirituality and Temporality, as little elſe remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he loſt much of his former Love and Eſteem, yet he kept himſelf ſtill upon the high ſteps of Authority, without ſtooping either to Fear or Neceſſity; ſo that his moſt irregular Actions repreſented ſuch a Type of Greatneſs, as crooked Lines drawn every way, which tho' not ſo compendious and direct as the *ſtrait*, ſeem yet to have in them ſomewhat more of the infinite; but as theſe things are ſet down by way of Deſcription, and not of Apology, ſo I will leave them to come to my Hiſtory, which for being free and impartial, will ſpeak him better to the judicious Reader than my Annotations can.

This Year *Thomas Howard* youngeſt Son to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the preſent Duke (but by another Mother) had ſo obtain'd the Favour of the Lady *Margaret Douglas* Daughter to the Queen of *Scots* (then living in the King's Court) that ſome affiancing or privy Contract paſt betwixt them: whereof the King being inform'd, was much incens'd; as conceiving that one ſo join'd in Blood to him and his Nephew the *Scottiſh* King, ſhould not be given nor taken without his conſent, eſpecially when ſhe lived ſo near him; wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and ſhe not long after. The buſineſs thus being in *July* brought to the Parliament, and certain Suſpicions and Accuſations alledged of aſpiring to the Crown, (ſome Circumſtances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of High-Treaſon; and in ſequence thereof a Statute made, that none ſhould Marry in the next degrees of the Blood Royal, without the King's Licence firſt had, *&c.* which yet being repeal'd 1 *Edw.* VI. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1. I mention no otherwiſe. The News hereof being brought with ſpeed to *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, afflicted her much; ſo that it retarded her Journey into *England*, whither ſhe was coming; being deſirous alſo to be reconciled to her former Husband *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*. Nevertheleſs ſhe thought fit to write to the King, That whereas ſhe heard he was diſpleas'd with her Daughter for promiſing Marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to puniſh her for the ſame, ſhe deſir'd his Majeſty to pardon her; and if he ſo pleas'd, to ſend her into *Scotland*, that ſhe come no more in his preſence; and not to be extream to his own Blood. Notwithſtanding which, both ſhe and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were committed to the Tower, without ſuffering other Puniſhment, where alſo ſhe remain'd till the Death of the ſaid *Thomas Howard*; but then releas'd to be a Mother of that great Offſpring which after follow'd.

Lord Howard impriſon'd for marrying the K's Niece without Conſent.

She is alſo committed.

Aug. 12.

Beſides theſe two Statutes formerly mention'd, I find ſome others concerning State-Government, enacted this Seſſions, which therefore I ſhall inſert here.

Several Acts paſs'd.

Whereas in the 19 *Hen.* VII. 7. a Law was made, That no Maſters, Wardens, and Fellowſhip of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds and Fraternities, ſhould take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made, in diſheritance or diminution of the King's Prerogative, nor of other, nor againſt the common profit of the People, except the ſame Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or Chief Juſtice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Juſtices of Aſſize in their Circuit or Progreſs, in the Shire where ſuch Acts or Ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, *&c.* Sith which time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the meaning of the ſaid Act have been made; it was now order'd that Apprentices ſhould pay but little Fees at their Entry, and that no other ſhould be given to reſtrain them from keeping Shops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of thoſe who would learn and ſet up Trades and Occupations, ſo it was thought by ſome it would be much more, when the Myſteries of the ſaid Trades (as far as could be expreſſed by Words) might be commanded to be publiſhed in Print; to the end that all Men (who would) might learn them, and an honeſt Emulation (who ſhould do beſt) might quicken Induſtry, and bring down the Prices of things: Or if this were not permitted, that at leaſt due Order were taken, that the Maſters in all Trades might be reſtrain'd from packing together to inhance Wares and Commodities, but by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* as being to that common profit of the Subject, (mention'd in the Statute) which is more to be eſteem'd than any Man's particular Gain.

In ſequence whereof, alſo another Act was made concerning the Prices of Wine, to this effect, that no *French* Wine ſhould be ſold by retail above Two-pence a Quart, and no *Malmſies*, *Rumnies*, (being Wines of *Romania* as I take it) *Sack* or Sweet-Wines, ſhould be above Three-pence the Quart. Provided always that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Preſident of the King's Council, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two Chief Juſtices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them ſhould have Power and Authority by their directions to ſet the Prices of Wines; the ſaid Prices to be publiſhed in Chancery, in the Term-time, or in ſuch Cities, Towns and Places where Wines are ſold in groſs; the Contents or Quantity of Liquor alſo, to be held in every Veſſel, was expreſſed in the ſaid Statute; and Remedy given for loſs ſuſtain'd in thoſe which wanted meaſure: § And though this prevented much Couzenage, yet Order being not taken to puniſh thoſe who falſified and corrupted Wines, much Abuſe in this kind followed.

French Wine at 2 d. the Quart. Sack at 3 d.

Order was alſo taken how Pirates at Sea ſhould be puniſh'd.

All Bulls, Breves and Diſpenſations alſo from the Biſhop, or See of *Rome*, were declared void; nevertheleſs, that all Marriages ſolemniz'd before the third of *November*, 26 of the King's Reign, and not contrary to God's Laws, ſhould be good and effectual. And alſo that Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Orders of this Realm, might keep and retain their Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, *&c.* and exerciſe all things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures, *&c.* And that the Effect and Contents of all Bulls, Breves, Faculties, *&c.* purchas'd of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, ſhould be confirmed under the Great Seal at the humble ſuit of the Petitioners for the ſame.

Bulls, &c. made void.

1536. Alſo, for the more confirmation of the King's Supremacy (enacted two Years ſince) it was now ordained, that every Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Officer, ſhall be ſworn to renounce the ſaid Biſhop and his Authority, and to reſiſt it to his Power; reputing any Oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the ſame) to be void. And the refuſal of this Oath ſhall be adjudged High-Treaſon.

Some Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions alſo were made, during this ſhort Seſſions of Parliament,

1536. (beginning the eighth of *June*, and ending the eighteenth of *July* next following.) But to leave the less important to be seen in their places, I shall here briefly set down the Resultance of certain Articles, concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. These Articles (as I gather out of our Records) were devised by the King himself, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation-house by *Cromwell*, who being lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and then Vicegerent General of the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, gave much Subject of Discourse. For tho' the King substituted him for due Administration of Justice in all Causes and Cases concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as well as for Godly Information, and Redress of all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses of the Church, as the Act of Parliament hath it, 31 *Henry* VIII. 10. yet because there was no Example, either of King of *Israel*, they said, (tho' lawful in their own Person, enjoying this mixt Power of Spiritual and Temporal) or of Popes, that derive their whole Ecclesiastical Power immediately on any else, especially a secular Person, they thought it strange: But that I may pass by those things whereof no Publick Reason, that I have seen, is extant; I shall in these Articles observe rather the chief variation they had from the former Doctrines, than repeat the Doctrines themselves, as being sufficiently known.

Cromwel made a Baron and Privy-Seal. July 9.

After establishing (therefore) the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four first Councils, as the grounds of Religion: He made, according to his definition of Sacraments, three only. First, Baptism for washing away of Sins. Secondly, Penance for satisfaction of Faults afterwards committed both towards God and our Neighbour. Thirdly, the Eucharist: Changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary, (as I conceive) unless Auricular Confession seem not there altogether so strictly commanded as before; nor otherwise much than in case of mortal Sin. And that Prayer, Fasting, Alms-deeds, as being *Fructus digni Pœnitentiæ*, are not to be held as means of our Salvation by way of Merit, but of Mercy only. For Justification, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other inward and Spiritual Motions and Graces, and outward good Works.

Concerning Images, That they had been used in the Old Testament, and sometimes (for the abuse of them) taken away; and allow'd in the New, (as good Authors declare,) Therefore that the true use of them should be taught by Bishops and Preachers every where, they being permitted to stand in Churches no otherwise than as Representers of Virtue, and Stirrers of Devotion; and not that rude People should take Superstition thence as in times past, or that Idolatry should ensue; and that the Censing of them, kneeling before them, and all other Honours should be done as in the Honour of God only, although they be done before the Images of Christ, the Cross, or of our Lady, or any Saint besides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we should not trust to obtain at their Hands that which is to be had only of God: Yet that they were to be honour'd because they reign'd in Glory, and were Examples of Virtue, as not fearing to die for Christ; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the Advancers of our Prayers and Demands unto Christ, but not to be had in other Reverence and Honour.

Concerning praying to them: That it is very laudable to use these Words, *All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christ's sake we may have Grace of him, and remission of Sins, with an earnest purpose (not wanting Ghostly Strength) to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the same again unto our lives end.* And that in this manner we should pray to our blessed Lady, Saint *John Baptist*, and other Apostles, so that it be done without any vain Superstition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the same. And that we should keep Holidays in memory of him and his Saints, upon such Days as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the Assent or Commandment of the Supream Head; in which case the Subjects ought to obey it. 1536.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as using certain Vestments in God's Service, sprinkling of Holy-water, giving of Holy-bread, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, giving of Ashes on *Ashwednesday*, bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the Cross on *Good-Friday*, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it, setting up of the Sepulchre of Christ, the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Ministers of God's Church; as also all other laudable Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies; that they were not to be contemn'd and cast away, but to be us'd and continu'd, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time: But that none of those Ceremonies have Power to remit Sins, but only to stir and lift up our Minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory. Forasmuch as according to due order of Charity, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers ancient Writers, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed: And forasmuch as such Uses have continued in the Church even from the beginning, That all Bishops and Preachers should instruct and teach the People not to be grieved with the continuance of the same: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the Name thereof, and the kind of Pains there also, be to us uncertain by Scripture; that therefore this and all other such things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whose Mercy it is meet and convenient to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our Prayers for them; referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their state and condition. And therefore that it was necessary that such should be clearly put away, which under the Name of Purgatory have been advanced; as to make Men believe, That through the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardons, Souls might be clearly delivered out of Purgatory and all the Pains of it, or that Masses said at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their Pain, and send them strait to Heaven; and other like Abuses. This was subscribed by *Thomas Cromwel*, *Thomas Cantuariensis*, *Johannes London*, and sixteen Bishops more (*Rowland* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* being comprized by his Proxy) and *William* Abbot of *Westminster*, with 39 Abbots and Priors; and by the Lower House, consisting of 50 Archdeacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original, I find two *Italians*, *Polydore Virgil* Arch-deacon of *Wells*, and *Peter Vannes* Arch-deacon of *Worcester*, who not long before was made Coadjutor to *Richard Pace* Dean of *Salisbury*, being then thought commonly distracted and out of his Wits. May 8.

And

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And thus the King having taken on him the Title of *Supream Head* of the Church in his Dominions, would shew how capable he was of it: Though yet he published not these Articles without much consultation with his Bishops and Divines, who stood divided in opinion; some leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Hereford, Rochester, St. David*, and the rest: Others cleaving to the old Doctrine and Rites, as *York, London, Durham, Winchester, Chichester, Norwich* and *Carlisle*; whose Arguments on either side, the King himself took pains to peruse and moderate, adding Animadversions with his own Hand, which are to be seen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the *Romish* Party, because it took away much of their Authority and Revenue: Nor by the *Lutheran* and *Zuinglian*, (then beginning to appear in these Parts) because it differ'd from theirs. But whatsoever any of the Reformed might say for their only two Sacraments, it was thought by some, that according to the King's Instauration, Penance might have been retained still upon some Terms as a third; both as there is no other general way than Aversion from Sin, and Conversion to God, known to all Mankind for making their Peace with him, and obtaining Pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites only of the Christian Church, are in their explication subject to so much Difficulty and Disputes, as no less than a Man's whole Age is requir'd to study them; when as this other, being an uncontroverted Sign of the Operation of God's Spirit in our Hearts, produceth such holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledg'd not only as a particular Sacrament of Grace, but an Universal, of the reasonable Nature of Mankind, wheresoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where Abuses in Absolution were taken away: For performing whereof, they said the Priest should never pronounce it but in case of such a serious Repentance as might totally efface the Fault, and make the Sinner a new Man; without which therefore he should be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to Sin and Punishment, as if no such Absolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Absolution of Priests, extending (for the most part) no farther than to require Attrition, or Sorrow for their Offences past, and to command, for the rest, some formal Prayers, easy Fasts, or ordinary Pilgrimage, not only made Men believe they were quit of their Sins at so easy a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but usurped on the Power of God, while they brought the Forgiveness of Sins within their own particular Jurisdiction, and together put off Heaven and Everlasting Happiness at a cheaper Price than either they could justly promise, or frail Man expect. So that they concluded, that Priests should be allow'd indeed to absolve, but so as Men might not think their Sins past, as much pardon'd as if they had not been committed, unless they never do the same Offence again; lest greater occasion and liberty of Sin should thereby be given.

The King's Zeal.

Records.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly seen the Reformation *Francis* would have stood to, when it might have been imbrac'd in *Germany*; so here he may perceive what our King requir'd in *England*: Neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious School-men on all sides would have rather disturb'd the Peace of the whole World, than relinquished or retracted one Particle of those Opinions they had publickly taught their Auditors and Disciples. For which Obstinacy also, as the Reformers, being the weaker, suffer'd most, they being usually burnt in these Times; and among them one *William Tindal*, who had translated into *English* a great part of the Bible, (a witty, but violent, and sometimes railing Disputant) at a Town near *Brussels*; so, on the other side, these Cruelties made the *Romish* Party so odious, as their Differences grew almost irreconcileable.

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Sept. *Tindal* the Translator of the Bible burnt in *Flanders*.

Our King having thus begun to rectify the Frame of Religion, endeavour'd now to prevent foreign Opposition: And because he knew of what consequence the General Council now appointed at *Mantua* was, he obtain'd this Decree to be sign'd by the Bishops, while their Synod lasted.

Records.

The Bishops Decree concerning General Councils.

AS concerning General Councils, like as we (taught by long Experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more necessary for the establishment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abolishing of Sects and Schisms; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's People unto one perfect Unity and Concord in his Religion, than by the having of General Councils, so that the same be lawfully had, and congregated in Spiritu Sancto, *and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the Surety and Indifference of the Places, as all other Points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly Institution and Usage for the which they were at first devised and used in the Primitive Church. Even so on the other side, taught by like Experience, we esteem, repute, and judge, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more pestilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced and subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more Contention, more Discord, and other devilish Effects, than when such General Councils have or shall be assembled not Christenly, nor charitably; but for and upon private Malice and Ambition, or other worldly and carnal Respects and Considerations, according to the saying of* Gregory Nazianzenus, *in his Epistle to one* Procopius, *wherein he writeth this Sentence following:* Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam Cupiditates Contentionum, & Gloriæ (sed ne putes me odiosum esse scribentem) vincunt rationem. *That is to say, 'I think this, if I should write truly, that all 'General Councils be to be eschewed. For I never saw 'that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any 'Provision or Remedy, but rather increase of Mischiefs, 'proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance 'of Mens Opinions and Ambition of Glory (but reckon not that I write this of Malice) hath always in 'them overcome Reason. Wherefore we think that Christian Princes especially and above all things ought and must, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foresee and provide,* Ne sanctissima hæc in parte Majorum instituta ad improbissimos Ambitionis aut Malitiæ effectus explendos diversissimo suo fine & sceleratissimo pervertantur. Neve ad aliam prætextum possint valere & longe diversum effectum Orbi producere, quam sanctissimæ rei facies præ se ferat. *That is to say, 'Lest the most noble 'wholsome Institutions of our Elders in this behalf be 'perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end 'and effect. That is to say, to fulfil and satisfie the 'wicked Affections of Mens Ambition and Malice; 'or lest they might prevail for any other colour, or 'bring forth any other effect, than their most virtuous 'and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the World 'shew or pretend. And first of all, we think that they ought principally to consider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, whether the Causes alledg'd be so weighty and so urgent, that ne-*

1536. *cessarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, What order of proceeding is to be observ'd in the same, and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be consulted or ask'd. Fifthly, what Doctrines are to be allow'd or defended: with divers other things which in General Councils ought of Reason and Equity to be observ'd. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the Bishop of* Rome, *ne any one Prince of what Estate, Degree, or Preeminence soever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or summon any General Council without the express Consent, Assent, and Agreement of the residue of Christian Princes; and especially, such as have within their own Realms and Seignories* Imperium merum, *that is to say, of such as have the whole intire and supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other Supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induc'd to think by many and sundry, as well Examples, as great Reasons and Authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over-long, and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion, and Judgment touching the Premisses, we the Prelates and Clergy under-written being Congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of* Canterbury, *and representing the whole Clergy of the same, have to these presents subscrib'd our Names the twentieth of* July, *in the Year of our Lord,* 1536. 28 Hen. 8.

Thomas Cromwell.
Thomas Cantuariensis.
Johannes London.

With 13 Bishops: And of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks, and other Ministers, 49.

Fox. Injunctions laid on the Clergy.

After which, he set forth an Injunction to restrain the number of Holy-days, now grown to that excess, that there was scarce time to gather in Harvest, or hold the Seats of Justice in Term time; which, as it was inconvenient, so again the abuse of Holy-days in Drinking, and other Vices and Idleness was so great, as many Riots and Disorders were committed; for which reason, though the number was limited, yet Priests were suffer'd to do their Duties in Churches on these Days, and all who would to hear them. And now, as the poorer sort were at liberty to work for their living on those Days, so they approv'd well this Reformation. Whereby it came to pass that the Reverence of supposed Saints (whereupon much of the *Roman* Religion was built) growing to an excess, became one of the first degrees to the Ruine thereof in this Kingdom. In sequence of which, the same Year he commanded (under the Name of *Cromwel* his Vicegerent) these Injunctions following to be observ'd of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendaries resident, or having care of Souls each where. *Fox.*

1. And First, That in all Parishes and Places of Preaching, once every *Sunday* for a Quarter of a Year together, the Doctrine of Supremacy should be taught, and the Laws to that Purpose read, and that the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority having no establishment by the Law of God was justly taken away.

2. That in the King's Articles, lately set forth, the Real Doctrine of Salvation should be distinguish'd from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and so taught the People as they might know, what was necessary in Religion, and what was instituted for the decent and politick order of the Church, according to such a Commandment given heretofore in that Point. 1536

3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain Superstitious Holy-days, should be read to the People, and they perswaded to keep it.

4. That they should not extol or set forth Images, Reliques, or Miracles, or allure People to Pilgrimages otherwise than as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep God's Commandments, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to bestow it rather on the Poor, than upon the said Images, or Reliques.

5. That in their Sermons, they admonish Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater-noster*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which also should be often repeated by the said Youth, and to bring them up in Learning, or some honest Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid Idleness, and get their Living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently administred by the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates; and if any be absent from their Benefices by Licence, that Learned Curates be left in their Place.

7. That every Parson or Proprietary of a Church should provide a Bible in *Latine* and *English*, and lay the same in the Quire for every Man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the Word of God, teaching them withal to avoid Controversie amongst themselves in the Places they understood not, but to refer themselves therein to the better Learned.

8. That the said Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates should not haunt Taverns nor Ale-houses, or use Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their leisure that they should read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of Life.

9. That because the Goods of the Church are the Goods of the Poor, and yet the needy in these Days not sustain'd with the same, therefore all Parsons, Vicars, and Prebendaries, and other Benefic'd Men, which may dispend twenty pounds Yearly, or above, should distribute amongst the poor Parishoners in the presence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth Part of the Revenue of their Benefices, lest they should be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving thirty-nine parts, and yet not vouchsafing to bestow the fortieth.

10. That every Parson, Vicar, *Clerk, or* Benefic'd-man, being able to dispend *in Benefices* or Promotions of the *Church 100 l.* Yearly, or more, shall for one, or every of the said 100*l.* Yearly, give a competent exhibition to maintain one Scholar, or more, either in Grammar-Schools, or the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in Learning, may be partners in their Patrons Cure and Charge, in Preaching and otherwise, or else profit the Common wealth with their Council and Wisdom.

11. That all Parsons, Vicars, and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions, shall bestow Yearly upon the said Mansions or Chancels of their Churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their Benefices, till they had fully repair'd the same.

That all these Injunctions should be observ'd, under pain of Suspension and Sequestration of the Benefices until they were done.

Other Injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in *Fox*. But as the People were not generally satisfied with the King's alterations, and proceedings in Religion and

The [illegible] ple d[illegible] tisfied with the[illegible]

1536.

Alterations in Religion.

and Laws: So certain Fifteenths, granted by Act of *Parliament*, which were demanded of them (about these Times) being more than for their Poverty and former Taxes, they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmur; but if this were a Crime in them, *Cromwel* was not altogether free from Error; since to charge the Purse at the same time, that he would make a Reformation plausible, could be no safe Counsel; and in effect, it prov'd so. For the People did rise in many places; though as they agreed not alike in the Causes of their Discontentments, they neither took Arms at once, nor altogether for the same Pretexts. The *Lincolnshire*-men, set on by one Doctor *Mackrel*, (Prior of *Barlings* in the said County, but calling himself Captain Coblet) began first, though the moderatest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary Motive united them.

Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*.

Grievances of the Rebels.

The Grievances they sent the King in the Quality of most humble Supplicants, were, *The suppression of so many Religious Houses: The Act of Uses, as restraining the Subjects Liberty in the Declaration of their Wills: The Fifteenths, for which yet Poverty is only pleaded: That his Grace had ill Counsellors, and of mean Birth about him*, (among which *Cromwel* was not forgotten;) *That divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they fear'd the Jewels and Plate of their Parish-Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious Houses. For Reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly desir'd his Gracious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such order and directions concerning the Premises given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governour and Supream Head of the Church of* England, *which they did acknowledge to be his Grace's true Inheritance and Right: And that his Grace should have the Tenth, and First-fruits of Spiritual Promotions of the value of twenty Pounds and above, and of all other under the said value, which do not keep Residence and Hospitality.*

And now these Articles being publish'd in the Neighbourhood, and thence voiced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they swore to be true to God, the King, and Common-weal. Nevertheless, as they reserv'd the Interpretation of the Oath to themselves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertis'd to our vigilant King, caus'd him immediately to dispatch *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, against them, about the seventh of *October* (as I find by an Original) with Commission to raise Forces: Together with which he writ a Letter to them, in such a Stile, as though he might promise Justice, he yet requir'd many things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels should be deliver'd to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen, who were associated with these Rebels, wrote to the Duke of *Suffolk*, how ill the People were satisfied with the King's Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cry'd they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along, or else destroy them. And that for this Cause they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as also that by Policy they might the better stay them: Which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the People rose in so many other Parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and persuaded them to petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no ways to appease them but a General Pardon. This Letter made it self considerable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its Pretext, though

Octob. 7.

1536.

not sufficient to excuse the Gentlemen: And when not, it was cunningly remonstrated; for it serv'd both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of *Suffolk* finding that the end thereof, at worst, was to obtain a General Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, sollicited on their Behalf: Yet so as he offer'd withal to go against the Rebels with the Forces he had there assembled, if the King gave him leave. In the mean while, he order'd the Business in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the King's Answer were return'd. But the King, who was inform'd already from divers parts (but chiefly from *Yorkshire*) that the People began there also to take Arms; and knowing of what great Consequence it might be, if the great Persons in those parts (though the Rumour were false) should be said to join with him, had commanded *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon*, to make a Proclamation to the *Lincolnshire*-men, summoning and commanding them under their Allegiance, and Peril of their Lives, to return: Which as it much disheartned them, so many stole away, while the rest (being assured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) scatter'd themselves to divers Parts; the more stubborn and poorer sort yet retiring to the *Yorkshire*-men. Besides, they had heard, that (notwithstanding the foul Ways of this Country, and the Winter-season approaching) the great Ordnance was coming on, and the King in Person following: All which Considerations, together with the Danger that divers of the principal Ring-leaders found themselves in, as being Men of good Fortunes and sure to suffer most, caus'd them to persuade those who remain'd, to make their Submission as the King requir'd; which was, That they should acknowledge their Fault, deliver up their Armour, and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made since the King's Reign.

The Rebels disperse.

And so this Business ended: Though not that of *Yorkshire*, which pass'd in this Manner: While the *Lincolnshire*-Commotion was on foot, the *Yorkshire*-men made an Insurrection, under the Command of one *Robert Aske*; they would have it call'd yet only a *Pilgrimage of Grace*; while, for giving it Reputation, certain Priests with Crosses led the way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five Wounds, and the Chalice. And because they desir'd to draw in as many good Persons as they could, they attempted first *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*, advising him (as being of late wrongfully accus'd, and in Danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to join with them, but he refus'd: Then they sent to invite divers others, using Threats, where Persuasions serv'd not; insomuch, that at last they made sundry Persons of Quality swear to be faithful to them: For they pretended only the Good of the King and Commonwealth, the Church and Religion, and the depressing of Hereticks.

Insurrection in *Yorkshire*.

1534. July.

They being now assembled in great Number, the dispossessed and discontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aske* for Remedy; who I find also re-establish'd them in divers Places, wishing them to pray for the King, and to take up Victuals of the Farmers of the said Monasteries upon Bill, till their Suit were granted. Which being advertis'd to the King on the one side, and (presently after) that the Commons of *Richmont*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmorland*, &c. were up in another Place, and had fir'd the Beacons, made him think what he had to do: Yet was not his Service neglected by some of the Nobi-

And in other Places.

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1536.

lity there, especially *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who raising many Men before he received the King's Commission for it, did by this dangerous Discretion much advance his Service. For though his Zeal for the Welfare of the State were above Scruples, and that some Learned Men in the Law besides had told him, that his Intention being good, his Action could not be construed ill: He yet said, he knew his Danger so well, as he had sent to the King for a Pardon; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the satisfying many, who otherwise might have suspected him, he gave an Oath to his Men to be true unto the King; protesting further, that according to the ancient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a Stake, he would have liv'd and dy'd in Defence of it.

Hollingshead.

And now the first Order the King gave, was, to command the Duke of *Suffolk's* Stay in *Lincolnshire*, lest they should rise again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewsbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Canon, against the Northern Men: He writ also to *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, to raise what Forces he could, promising to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* also, Marquis of *Exeter*, Cousin-german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland* offer'd themselves to the King's Service.

Octob. 17.

And because now divers Monks in those parts were restor'd to their Monasteries by the Rebels, (as I find particularly those of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton*, and *Hexam*) he commanded them to be taken out, and Martial Law to be us'd against them. Yet as the Noise of this Insurrection was by continual Couriers augmented, *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* about the twentieth of *October*, was dispatch'd with Forces to assist the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: Who writ to the King, that the *Yorkshire*-men, as being us'd to Arms, were more considerable than those of *Lancashire*, yet that they could not long continue together, but for lack of means to provide Victuals otherwise than by Rapine; and the Season of the Year: And that the best way was to persuade them to lay down their Arms, or sow Sedition among them.

The Rebels restore some *Monks* to their Monasteries.

This while *Aske* and his Company advancing forward, forc'd *Edward Lee* Archbishop of *York*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, to surrender to them *Pomfret*-Castle, and take the Oath; which was, *That they should enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the King's Person and Issue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expulsing all Villain-blood, and evil Counsellors; and for no particular Profit for themselves, nor to do Displeasure to any, nor to Slay nor Murder any for Envy; but to put away all Fears, and take afore them the Cross of Christ, his Faith and the Restitution of the Church, the Suppression of Hereticks and their Opinions.* But as this Castle was strong, the Archbishop and Lord *Darcy* (though pretending want of Furniture and Provision to hold out) were suspected to have render'd it in favour of the Rebels. They stay'd not yet so, but took the City of *York* and *Hull*; and betwixt Force and Entreaty drew most of the great Persons of those Parts unto them. While not content to have pretext of Religion, they by false Tales got many Partizans: Therefore they gave out, as before they had done in *Lincolnshire*, that all the Gold in *England* should be brought to the *Tower* to be touch'd; and that the King claim'd all the Cattle unmark'd as his: As also all the Goods and Ornaments of Parish Churches; that they should pay Fines for Christenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat White Bread, and the daintier sorts of Meats, *&c.* And this again stirr'd Rancour in the Peoples Hearts.

They force the Archbishop of *York* and Lord Darcy to take their Oath.

Aske and his Followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaster* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aske* sitting in State and having the Archbishop on the one Hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, desir'd first to know the Contents; which being told, he said it should not be proclaim'd. Nevertheless, he gave the Herald a safe Conduct, as long as he ware his Coat. But the Rebels not contented thus, requir'd *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* (being then in his Castle of *Skipton*) to join with them: But he by Letters assures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen (retain'd at his Cost) had forsaken him, he would yet continue the King's true Subject, and defend his Castle (in which he had great Ordnance) against them all. Sir *Ralph Evers* also kept *Scarborough* Castle with no less Courage against the Rebels; he and his Company having no Sustenance but Bread and Water, for the space of Twenty Days that they Besieg'd him.

1536. Octob. [illegible]

Octob. 26.

The King being now in *Windsor*, intends in Person to go against the Rebels, commanding his Nobles for this Purpose to meet him at *Northampton*, *Novemb.* 7. And it was time to take some good Order, for they were now grown to be Thirty thousand Men; in which Number (being divided into three Battles) they presented themselves before *Doncaster*: Near which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Marquis of *Exeter* were encamp'd with an Army, though little in number (as being but five thousand) yet better furnish'd. And two Ways they had to pass the River *Don* to the Town; a Bridge, and a Foord: The Bridge, the Duke took on him to defend; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces: The Foord was undertaken by the rest of the Army. This alone yet could not have stay'd the Rebels; but a great Rain falling that Night, so increas'd the Water, that it was not passable the next Day: Besides, by the coming of some Shot, the Bridge was so fortified, that it was now defensible. This hindered not the Treaty; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest knowing of what Importance it was to gain Time till all the King's Forces were assembled, and having Intelligence besides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them to be deliver'd to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elecker* and *Robert Bowes* should carry, (who, though manfully defending *Hull*, against the Rebels, were at last forc'd to join and take the Oath.) The Duke himself also promis'd to go with them, upon Condition that there might be a Cessation from Hostility in the mean time; which was condescended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being first heard (who acquainted the King with the State of all Things) the aforesaid Commissioners presented the intrusted Petition with many Excuses on their own part. But the King, who desir'd still to gain more Time, would return no present Answer; and the rather, because he was inform'd by the Duke, that the Rebels began to disband; for the Treaty disheartned and divided them, while Rumours were dispers'd every where, that some of the Chiefs would compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the Gallows. Insomuch that daily and nightly they ran away, especially the poorer sort, who had neither means to subsist, nor might have leave from their Captain to take any thing by force; which being advertis'd to the King, made him both give private Order to discharge those Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon pretext that some Innovation had been attempted by the *Yorkshire*-

Octob. 22.

The Rebels encrease to 30000 Men.

Octob. 26.

They send Deputies to the King.

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1536. November.

men since their coming up; nevertheless, at last for clearing all Suspicion, (since the Commons took this detension of their Messengers so ill, that they encourag'd one another to be in Arms again at an Hour's warning) the King thought fit

Dated Nov. 14.

to send his Answer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of *Norfolk*, together with a safe Conduct (under the Great-Seal) for three hundred Persons to meet in the Town of *Doncaster* for concluding all Things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only less agree among themselves, but that some would be won to his Party. After which, the said *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their Dispatch too, as being commanded to say, that his Majesty took it marvelous unkindly at their Hands, that knowing his Benignity, they would rather rise in Arms than petition his Majesty, and that they had left their Country open to the *Scots*, who prepar'd to invade them: Referring the rest to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who brought (as I gather out of those Originals I have seen) the Offer of a Pardon to all,

Dated Nov. 13.

except six nam'd, and four un-nam'd, when the rest would submit. But as the four un-nam'd concern'd every body, so it was declin'd. Nevertheless, certain Books the King sent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion, devis'd by himself, being receiv'd by them, took away much Misunderstanding and ill Impression, which their discontented Priests had given; while for accompanying hereof, express Order was sent to the Bishops in their several Diocesses, not to neglect the usual Ceremonies of the Church.

King's Letter, dated Nov. 19.

Hereupon the Clergy of those Parts met at *Pomfret*, and agreed on certain Articles of Religion, to be propos'd in the following Treaty. The Archbishop of *York* being present, and taking occasion to tell them, that though Pilgrimages were good, yet an arm'd Pilgrimage could not be lawful. After this, a Day of meeting at *Doncaster* was appointed, in which *John* Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Latimer*, *John* Lord *Lumley*, and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Aske*, and about 300 Persons, were to treat with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *William Fitz-William* Admiral of *England*, and the rest: But concerning *Aske*, there was some Difficulty, the Rebels demanding Hostages for his safe Return. But the King inform'd hereof, answer'd, that *he knew no Gentleman or other, whom he esteem'd so little, as to put him in Pledge for such a Villain*; therefore he wish'd the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest, to assure the Passages over the River *Don*, and to secure *Doncaster*. And whereas the Rebels had demanded an abstinence from War for fourteen days, in case no Agreement should be made; not to grant it, as being Time given them to fortify themselves, whereas he should rather win it from them by Policy for his own Advantage.

Nov. 26.

But the Duke of *Norfolk* supposing that a General Pardon and a Parliament in those parts (which they requir'd) might quiet all, had by Letter to our King, persuaded him to accord it, or else to march towards the Rebels with an Army of Gentlemen and Houshold Servants, and not to trust the Commons; since the Rebels, though they had laid down Arms, had yet (upon firing of Beacons and other Signals) agreed among themselves to resume them again on all Occasions. And now on *December* the sixth, the 300 on the part of the Commons came to *Doncaster*

Treaty with the Rebels at Doncaster.

to the King's Lieutenants, where their first Demand was a General Pardon, then a Parliament to be held in those Parts, and a Court of Justice, that none beyond *Trent* might be cited to *London* in Law-Suits. After which, they desir'd a repeal of the Act of Parliament for the last Subsidy, for Uses, for Misprision of Treason for Words, for Tenths and First-fruits; then that the Lady *Mary* might be restor'd to her Legitimation, the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the late expuls'd Monks to their Houses; the *Lutherans* to be punish'd, the Lord Privy-Seal and Lord Chancellor to be excluded from the next Parliament, and the Doctors *Leigh* and *Layton* to be imprison'd for Bribery and Extortion. But as these Demands were more insolent than those of the *Lincolnshire*-men, and howsoever such as the King would not accord, the Lords rejected them; whereupon the Rebels assembled in great numbers, divers others also, desirous to know the Success, appearing among them. Which caus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to write again to the King what a Multitude was gotten together, and if no Agreement follow'd, his Highness's Army was in ill Estate to resist. Therefore, he and his Associates desir'd his Grace to send them Instructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the last might be for gaining of Time, in case they came to no Agreement.

The King finding these Difficulties, and suspecting besides that the Emperor had or would have a Hand therein, and that the Rebels might have Assistance from *Scotland*; and for the rest, believing that all was but Misunderstanding in the simpler sort, which yet he hop'd his Book of Articles, and other good Orders, would in time rectify, sent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a General Pardon for the Rebels, and Promise of a Parliament, with Directions yet to the Duke, that he should not make use thereof, but in case of Extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding so many gather'd together, as their Number was very great; and being not able to distinguish those who came on the Rebels part, from such as Curiosity only brought thither; and considering that the first Denial of their Demands had so inflam'd them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of *Doncaster*, had not the River this second time, swelling by Rain the Night preceding, prevented their Attempt) made use of the King's General Pardon and Promise of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and return'd home.

They are pardon'd and return home.

The Contents of this Pardon, dated *December* 9. at *Richmond*, and Sealed with the Great-Seal, was, as our Records shew, that the King granted them all a general and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treasons, Felonies, and Trespasses unto the Day of the Date hereof; provided that they make their Submission to the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* the King's Lieutenant,) and that they rebel no more. I find also by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mention'd) sent by *Elecker* and *Bowes*, the King sent a Reply, pen'd by himself; which I doubt not gave much Satisfaction (as another had before done to this Effect sent to the *Lincolnshire*-men.) It was this:

Records. The King writes an answer to their Grievances.

First, as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the Terms be so general, that it would be very hard to make certain Answer to the same; but if they mean the Faith of Christ, to the which all Christian Men be only bound, we declare and protest Our-Self to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath always minded to live and die in the Maintenance, Defence and Observation of the Purity of the same. And that no Man can or dare set his Foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marveling therefore much, that ignorant People would go about to take upon them to instruct and teach us (which hath been noted something Learned) what the Faith should be. And also, that they being ignorant People, be so presumptuous (seeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles

declar'd

1536. declar'd it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be so ingrate and unnatural towards their most Rightful King, and Natural Sovereign Lord, without any our desert, upon false Reports or Surmises to suspect us of the same, and give rather Credence to forged light Tales, than to the very Truth by us these twenty-eight Years us'd, and by our Deeds approv'd.

The Second, which toucheth the Maintenance of the Church, and the Liberties of the same; we say it is so general a Proposition, that without Distinctions no Man with Troth can answer; neither by God's Laws, nor by the Laws of the Realm. For first, the Church which they mean, must be known. Secondly, whether those things which they call Liberties, and say they would maintain, be Things lawful and beneficial to the Prince and Commonwealth, or otherwise. And these known, we doubt not but they shall be answer'd, according to God's Law, Equity, and Justice. Nevertheless, for all their Generality, this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they list) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by God's Laws and Man's Laws, or that is prejudicial to our Commonwealth, if our Proceedings may be indifferently consider'd. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the Supreme Head on Earth, we have done nothing so onerous and chargable to them, as many of our Predecessors have done, upon much lesser Grounds. Wherefore, sithence this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great Unkindness, and Unnaturalness in them, which had leaver a Churl or Twain should enjoy those Profits of their Monasteries for the supportation and maintenance of abominable Life, than that we their Prince should receive the same, towards our extream Charges done, and daily sustain'd for their Defence against foreign Enemies.

The Third Article toucheth three Things; the First is the Laws, the Second is the Commonwealth, the Third the Directors of the Laws under us. Touching the Laws; as it becometh not blind Men to judge of Colours, ne to take upon them to be Judges of the same; so we dare expresly and boldly affirm, as a Thing that may be easily and duly prov'd; that there were never in any one of our Predecessors Days, so many wholsom, commodious and beneficial Acts made for the Commonwealth, as have been made in our Time; and sithence some of them had Credit and doing in our Affairs, that would now perchance pick them thank without Desert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Council should have lost so much Time, as not to know better now, than we did in the beginning of our Reign, what were a Comonwealth, and what were against the Good and Commodity of the same; seeing we have been a King these twenty-eight Years, and by Experience learn'd the perfectness thereof. And although the Folly and Unkindness of some will not perchance let them so knowledge it, yet we trust and doubt not but the most part of our loving Subjects, especially those which be not seduc'd by false Report, do both think it, accept it, and find it so. Now touching the Commonwealth, what King hath kept his so long in Wealth and Peace, so long without taking or doing Wrong one to another, so indifferently ministred Justice to all Estates both high and low, so defended them from all outward Enemies, so fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner inestimable Charges, and all for their Wealths and Safeties? What King hath given among his Subjects more general and freer Pardons? 1536. What King hath been loather to punish his Subjects, or shew'd more Mercy among them? These Things being so true as no true Man can deny them; it is an unnatural and unkind Demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whose Report soever it should be set forth against us. And at the beginning of our Reign where it is said, that so many Noblemen were Counsellors, we do not forget who were then Counsellors; for of the Temporality, there were but two worthy to be call'd Noble, the one the Treasurer of *England*, the other the High Steward of our Houshold. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy*, but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of any great Lands, till they were promoted by us, and so made Knights and Lords; the rest were Lawyers and Priests, saving the two Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*. If these be then the great Number of Noblemen that is spoken of, and that our Subjects seem'd then contented withal, why then be they not much better contented with us which have so many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and Condition, of our Council. For first, of the Temporality of our Privy Council, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Lord Steward, (when he is present) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Sussex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral Treasurer of our House, Sir *William Pauler* Comptroller of our House. And of the Spirituality, the Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*. And for because it is more than necessary to have some in our Privy Council Learned in our Laws and Pacts of the World; we by the Advice of our whole Council, aforenamed, did elect and chuse into our Privy Council, and also in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy-Seal; thinking them Men in all our Opinion most meet for the same Rooms; and we with our whole Council think it right strange, that ye which be but Brutes and inexpert Folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Council, and who be not. Mark therefore now, how these seditious Persons, which thus wrongfully have born you thus in hand, have falsly abus'd you; that reckon there were then more Noblemen in our Privy Council than be now: But yet though of our great Clemency and Princely Goodness we declare now the Truth to pull our Subjects from that Error and Blindness they were led and train'd to by false and untrue Surmise and Report; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to presume to take upon him the Appointment of his King and Sovereign Lord's Council, ne for our part we will take any such thing at any of our Subjects Hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they should better remember the Duties of good Subjects to their natural Liege Lord, and meddle no further with those or such like Things as they have nothing to do withal.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Council to be Subverters both of God's Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as just and true Executors both of God's Laws and ours, as far as their Commission under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we shall proceed against them, and all other Offenders therein according to Justice, as to our Estate and Dignity Royal doth appertain. And in case it be but a false and an untrue Report, as we verily think it is, then it were as meet, and standeth as well with Justice, that they should have the self-same Punishment which wrong-

1536. wrongfully have objected this to them, that they should have had if they had deserv'd it. And one thing among others causeth us to think that this slander should be untrue, because it proceedeth from that place which is both far distant from that where they inhabit, and also from those People which never heard them Preach, nor yet know any part of their Conversation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more so light of credit in believing of evil things spoke of us your natural Prince and Sovereign Lord, nor of any of our Prelates and Counsellors; but to think that your King, having so long reign'd over you with the advice of his Council, hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsellors, as those, whosoever they be, that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant People, and out of all experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this final Point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkshire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, *Richmondshire*, *Craven*, *Dent*, *Sedbane*, and all other Places that have been seduc'd to this Insurrection to desire, and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions; we verily think that the rest of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an handful, will greatly disdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to set order to Us and them, and especially to Us, being Sovereign Lord to you both. And that (you being Rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your Mischief, willing them to take Pardon for Insurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never *minded*; *but like true* Subjects, to the contrary, *have* both with Heart and Deed been ready to our call to defend both us and themselves. And now for our part, as to your demands, We let you wit, that pardon of such things as you demand, lieth only in the will and pleasure of the Prince: But it seemeth by your lewd Proclamations and safe Conducts, that there be among you, which take upon them both the parts of Kings and Counsellors, which neither by Us, nor by the general consent of our Realm hath been admitted to any such room. What Arrogance is then in those Wretches, being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subjects without Commission or Authority; yea and against Us, under a cloaked colour of your Wealth, and in our Name, and as the success and end would declare, if we should not be more merciful unto you, than you have deserv'd, to your own utter Confusions? Wherefore, we let all you our said Subjects again wit, that were it not that our Princely Heart cannot reckon this your shameful Insurrection, and most ingrate and unnatural Rebellion to be done of Malice or Rancor, but rather by a lightness given in manner by a naughty nature to Communalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of Gentlemen; we must needs have executed another manner of punishment, than if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be inform'd.)

And now this great Company being dispers'd, began to take Books of Controversies in hand, and inform themselves concerning the King's Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in general wholly opposing the King's Reformation, kept the Rebellion still on foot, though outwardly smother'd for a while (as will appear in his place.)

Sandov. I shall come now to Foreign History.

Barbarossa being driven from *Tunis*, repairs to the *Turk*, newly return'd from the Expedition to *Persia*; and persuades him to take Arms against the Emperor; who wanted (he said) only *Algier* to command intirely all that Coast of *Africa*. The Counsel pleas'd him; and the rather that *Monsieur de Forrest* the *French* Ambassador concurr'd therein, and one *Pignafelo* a Renegado of *Naples*. Assembling thus an Army of 200000 Men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the command of *Lutsi Bassa*, he appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues distant from *Otranto* in *Italy*; from whence a small part of the Fleet being sent to enter that Continent, they chose rather to fall on *Castro* than *Otranto*, or *Brindisi*, being stronger than that they could be gotten easily. This great preparative yet, at last, came to nothing: For those of *Apulia* not rising in favour of the *French* (which was hop'd) nor *Francis* having any Army near to second him, and *Doria* (besides that) having taken some of their Gallies from them, the *Bassa* having gotten *Castro*, and taken store of Captives, neglected the Enterprize, and return'd; while *Forrest* the *French* Ambassador died at *Verona*.

1536. *Barbarossa arrives in Turky.*

About this time *Alexandro de Medicis*, first Duke of *Florence*, was betray'd by his Kinsman *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who promising to help him to a Lady much desir'd by the Duke, entic'd him to his House in the Night: But in stead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Assassins came in and kill'd him; which yet was reveng'd by *Cosmo de Medicis*, his Successor.

1537. June 6. *Sandov.*

Though the Emperor were now retir'd to *Spain*, (as is told before,) he yet continu'd his Wars against the *French* in the *Low-Countries* (and the rather, that our King had promis'd to be Neuter betwixt them,) giving order thereupon to besiege *Therouenne*; which being advertis'd to *Francis*, caus'd him to raise an Army of 25000 Men under *Anne Montmorency* his Lieutenant, wherewith (the King being present) *Hesdin*, St. *Paul*, and divers other places were taken: While by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperor was declar'd a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Estate he held of the *French* Crown, being *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Charolois*, and some others. But some considerable Forces being rais'd on the Emperor's part, and half the *French* Army being diminish'd by reason of Garisons put into the Towns won, and other occasions, *Francis* with the rest of his Army return'd. The Imperial Army hereupon, commanded by the *Count de Bures*, took * back St. *Paul*, † surpris'd *Monstruel*, and defeated *Claude de Annebault* Mareschal of *France*, though bravely defending himself after his Victualling of *Therouenne*. Things being brought to these extremities, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, Regent of the *Low-Countries*, mediated and effected a Truce on those parts between the two Princes for three Months: While in *Savoy* some Towns revolting, the *Count de St. Paul* was sent thither by *Francis*, who recover'd all again, and freed *Turin* then besieg'd by the Imperials. Yet *Alonso de Avalos*, Marquis of *Guasto*, won back the greatest part of the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* in the behalf of *Francois* Marquis thereof; who for falling away to the Emperor, was by the *French* King not long since depriv'd of his Possessions. But the Marquis enjoy'd not this Restitution, being kill'd soon after with a small shot, while he play'd the part of a Canoneer at the Siege of the Castle of *Carmagnola*, *Francis* understanding now the progress of the *Spaniard* in those parts, commands the *Seigneur de Humieres* with some *German* Foot to pass to *Piedmont*, both to defend the places he had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon besieg'd *Asti*, but in vain, it be-

The Emperor's Wars with the *French* King.

Is declar'd a Rebel and Felon in *France*.

May.

* June 15.

† June 19.

July.

Sept. 3.

July 6.

1536. ing well defended; fo that raifing the Siege, he went to *Albe*, which was rendred him without Refiftance.

Octob. 10. Bufineffes paffing thus with various Succefs on both fides, *Francis* thought fit to fend *Henry* the 1536. Aug. 10. new *Dauphin* (his Elder Brother *Francis* after four Days Sicknefs, being the laft Year dead of a Surfeit of drinking cold Water after Tennif-play, rather than Poyfon by the Emperors procurement, though one fuffer'd for it) and *Antonie de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendofme*, and *Montmorency*, who made their way over the *Alps*, by force took divers Towns, and perform'd many brave Exploits; which being advertis'd to the King, made him refolve to go thither in Perfon, where advifing with the *Dauphin*, and *Montmorency* what was further to be done, News was brought of a general abftinence of War concluded by the mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that Nov. 28. time being 28 of *November* 1537. till the 22*d* of *February* following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardie* for three Months (as abovefaid) Commiffioners were fent to the Emperor to treat of a Peace, or at leaft a General Truce, and that for a longer time, fo this Ceffation was accorded: And the rather, that the Pope had now a long while mediated it. And by this means, as the Siege was rais'd from *Therouenne*, fo the *French* remain'd in poffeffion of all they had in *Piedmont*. This Truce being publifh'd, the Marquis of *Guiafto* demanded leave to kifs the Hand of *Francis*; which being granted, he, with many *Spaniards* in good Equipage, came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis*, for more honouring of *Montmorency* (as a Man who for his rare Merits, he thought, deferv'd that Efteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himfelf and the *Dauphin*, and fo expected the Marquis, who having firft done his due Refpects, and after treated of an agreement concerning the *Soldatefque* in the Places taken on either part, departed with much fatisfaction of the Reception which *Francis* had given.

The Emperor this while not unmindful of the Princefs *Mary*, us'd all means for reftoring her to her Legitimation and Poffibilty of Inheritance. Therefore, defiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books *de Unione Ecclefiaftica*) fhould be made Cardinal, the Pope both eafily granted it, and in Dec. 10. 1536. the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as Legate to *Flanders*, that by this means he might confirm the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*, and advance his Defigns, being to ftir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-Royal (his Mother *Margaret* Countefs of *Salisbury*, being Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV.) many wanted not, who believ'd that his zeal was complicate with fome Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be depos'd, and his Pofterity, efpecially March. by Queen *Anne*, declar'd Illegimate. Being now on his way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him paffage through his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at leaft not to treat with him as a Legate; who thereupon difmifs'd him. Coming thus to the *Low-Countries*, his Servant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquifitive (as our Records tells us) whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Phyficians to bear a Man-child or Female: Which, as it made the intentions of the Cardinal more fufpected, fo it gave occafion to *John Hutton*, the King's Agent in the *Low-Countries*, to gain *Throgmorton*. He was alfo commanded by our King to charge the Queen-Regent there with breach of Treaty, if fhe receiv'd the Cardinal, being (as he call'd him) a

Cardinal *Poole* fent Legate to the Regent of the *Low-Countries*, but is not receiv'd there.

Traitor; which he feconded alfo in that manner, that though at firft fhe faid it was not fit 1537. for her to refufe the Pope's Legate, yet being now urg'd again, at a time when fhe was (as is before related) in War with *Francis*, fhe forbad the Cardinal to enter; telling him, that fince he was an *Englifhman* of that Quality, his Negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howfoever, the Cardinal fent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, to clear himfelf of all defign againft our King, and difpatch'd *John Matthei* Bifhop of *Velona* to the Regent, both to charge her with difobedience to the Apoftolick See, and to proteft that Legate was never fo us'd: Adding, that his bufinefs was chiefly to difpute the Errors of our Kings Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking difputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refus'd him: So that he was forc'd to hold his Correfpondence in *England* by more clandeftine means: Whereof, as alfo his other proceedings, his Servant *Throgmorton*, and one Frier *Peto* certified fome part, as I find by our Records; as alfo his return to *Rome* in *Novemb.* 1537. where he was receiv'd with much Triumph (as the faid *Throgmorton* affirm'd.) This proceeding of the Pope's on the other fide made our King cherifh the Princes of *Germany*: For Novemb. which he took this Occafion.

The Proteftants finding their late Pacification with the Emperor not obferv'd in all Points, met again at *Smalcald*, *Feb.* 7. 1537. to confult what was to be done. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperor's part, who exhorted the Princes, Firft, Feb. 7. to accept the Council indicted: Secondly, to aid the Emperor with Money againft the *Turk*; or (if he ftir'd not) againft the *French* (now ufurping *Savoy*,) *&c.* Thirdly, he objected to them, that they had receiv'd into their League new Confederates fince the Treaty at *Noremberg*. To this the Proteftants anfwer'd, that for 1532. the Council, it was not propos'd in a due manner nor place (the Emperor and Princes having decreed that it fhould be in *Germany*,) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremberg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperors Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the Conditions agreed on, had queftion'd Men for Caufes touching Religion. And as for thofe entred into their League fince the Treaty of *Noremberg*, it was defir'd that they alfo might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which condition they promis'd to furnifh the Emperor fuch Monies as he requir'd. Howbeit, if he offer'd violence to them, they proteft-ed to defend them as their Confederates.

The affairs of the Proteftants in Germany.

Things ftanding thus, King *Henry* privately difpatch'd *William Paget* and *Chriftopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Inftructions to take *France* in their way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his *Englifh* Ambaffador, and the *French* King therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the Voyage was to be perform'd in difguis'd Habit. In conclufion, the fum of their Inftructions was, Feb. to dehort the *German* Princes from according either with the Emperor, or to the Council indicted; but rather to refer all their Differences to him and the *French* King. And herein as the King pretended to fhew his Love to the faid Princes, (who, if the Emperor made a Peace with them, fhould (he faid) be fingly and feparately oppref'd) fo he had his own Ends, as knowing that if a Council were held, his Actions would receive no favourable Cenfure; fo that though not only the *French* King, but the Emperor had promis'd (as I find in our Records) that in the Council his Affairs fhould not be queftion'd; yet he gave them no intire credit.

The King fends Ambaffadors to them with Inftructions.

There-

1537. Therefore, after the Protestants had sent him their Recusation of the Council, he made a publick Protestation against it; shewing, that the Indiction belong'd not to the Bishop of *Rome*, but to the Emperor, and the Princes who should send or come thither. That the time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperor and *Francis*; the place inconvenient for the *English*, as being in *Mantua*, whether they could neither come safely, nor declare themselves freely; that the manner of deciding Controversies in Religion was unjust, the Bishop of *Rome* being Judge in his own Cause; that therefore the Pope's intention was rather to establish his Authority on this occasion, than to yield to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Council had damn'd the contrary Opinion. That for his particular, therefore, he would not come there, as having more reason to keep home, and provide against the Rebellions and Mischiefs that the said Bishop had now for three Years space procur'd or rais'd in his Kingdom, than run new dangers. In conclusion, that nothing remain'd to be done, but that every Prince should reform in his own Kingdom; all other ways being suspect, perillous and unequal: Yet if any could shew a better Expedient, he would give ear to it. The *French* King would not declare himself yet so far; and indeed he had use of the Pope at this time. Nevertheless, he publickly protested again to the Princes, that he would never consent to a Council which was not assembled in a safe place, and free manner: And that his Son-in-Law, the King of *Scots* was of the same mind.

March 25. He publickly protests against calling a General Council.

Conc. Trid. *May now approaching, Frederic* Duke of *Mantua* requir'd Money of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the Security of his City during the Council. But the Pope denying this, or at least requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his command, found the Duke averse; so that he deferr'd the Council from *May* to *November*, and then to *May* next, and lastly, transferr'd it to *Vicenza*, being in the *Venetian* Territory. And because (by reason of these delays) many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redress to the Enormities then generally complain'd of, he resolv'd privately to proceed in a Reformation a Year since propos'd. And this was a singular ingenuity: Yet as he referr'd the businesses to the Cardinals *Contarino*, *Theatino*, *Sadolet*, and *Reginald Pool*, and some others who were passionate on their own side, they produc'd, after many Conferences, no more than a Remonstrance of divers abuses in the Government and Administration of Ecclesiastical Persons and Affairs; for in the Church Doctrine they would not admit an Error. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that something more had been done; but as their Subjects were so much at the Pope's dispose (when he would use his Authority,) and as no little Sums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may say nothing of Theological Points vexed on either side. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in *Sleidan lib.* 12.) is worth the seeing: For certainly it was the occasion of rectifying divers abuses in that Church; so that it hath been better, or at least warier ever since: Whereby it appears, that Controversies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both sides more careful not to offend; while fear lest personal faults should redound to the detriment of the Religion they profess, becomes a caution for Vertue and good Example; so can God draw good out of evil; and so can Man pervert all again: For though indeed there was hope at this time that a further Reformation might have follow'd, (and certainly it had been the safest way to begin there) yet as *Luther*, *Sturmius*, and others hearing what was done by the Delegates at *Rome*, both irrided it publickly, and rejected all Reformations but their own; so all hope of Reconciliation in this kind was precluded: While the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now so little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Protestants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of the Church (as if it might err) than establish a General Peace.

Conc. Trid. Sleid.

1536. June.

Sleid. Com. lib. 12.

1537.

It is time I return now to those home Affairs which pass'd while those foreign Businesses formerly related were in Action.

The Insurrection of the North was not yet so quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a Hand over them: Therefore he commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to stay there, and together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to compose all things: Who thereupon took the submission of the Commons; which was, First, to revoke all Oaths and Promises made in the former Insurrection, asking the King forgiveness on their Knees. Secondly, to be true to the King, his Heirs and Successors. Thirdly, To observe and maintain all Acts of Parliament since the first Year of the King's Reign. Fourthly, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highness's Authority. Fifthly, To apprehend all seditious Persons. And Sixthly, To remove all the Monks, Friers and Nuns they had reinplac'd in the late dissolv'd Monasteries. Together with which these Lords had private Instructions to bring in the Lord *Thomas Darcy* and *Robert Aske*; and for *Aske*, I find by our History and Records, that he came to our King, and that upon the Submission aforesaid, and Oath not to depart for any long season without the King's leave, being well receiv'd for the present, he was dismiss'd again. But the Lord *Darcy*, suspecting he should be question'd, excus'd himself to *Cromwel*; saying, that all he did was only for retaining so much credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highness Service: Adding thereunto a note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty Years. But this did not avail; for he was sent for to *London*, and Imprison'd, that so he might no more run such hazards, the King foreseeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happen'd: For *Nicolas Musgrave*, *Thomas Tilby*, and others Besieg'd *Carlisle* with 8000 Men, but were repuls'd by the City; and in their return encountered by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caus'd all the Captains (save *Musgrave*, who escap'd) and about seventy Persons, by Law-Martial to be hang'd on *Carlisle* Walls.

1536.

Aske comes to Court.

Feb.

Lord Darcy Imprison'd.

Musgrave and the Rebels defeated in Cumberland.

Sir *Francis Bigot*, and one *Halam* attempted also to surprise the Town of *Hull*; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Insurrections, and some lesser which follow'd, I find yet no reason deliver'd, but that the People were unsatisfied because a Parliament was not held at *York*, according to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of *Norfolk* had order secretly (notwithstanding the Pardon) to chastise the principal Offenders. But our King on the other side, alledg'd, that since they had not restor'd all the Religious Houses, in which they had reimplac'd the Monks, he was not bound strictly to hold promise with them. Howsoever, these new Revolts ended quickly: And now the Duke having this occasion, proceeded severely; for having by the King's Commandment spread his Royal Banner, he thereupon executed Martial-Law where he thought it needful. In conclusion, so many were found to be

Sir Francis Bigot rebels, is taken and executed.

Feb.

[library stamp]

1537. be Complices in Treason, or the Conspiracy of it, that the Lord *Darcy*, *Robert Aske*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Wife (or Paramour;) Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest*, and *William Lumley*, were taken and brought Prisoners to *London*; and in *June* following the Lord *Hussy* for the *Lincolnshire* business, and the Lord *Darcy* were Arraign'd at *Westminster* before the Marquis of *Exeter* then High Steward, and found guilty of High Treason. The Lord *Darcy* was Beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, and the Lord *Hussy* at *Lincoln*: Others were hang'd at *Hull*, and at *York*, some elswhere, among whom were divers Religious Persons: The news whereof being certified by the Duke of *Norfolk* to Court, the King by Letter to him, said, he would close this Tragedy: For he sent now a General Pardon; which was receiv'd with great joy, many being terrified with the Dukes proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of *Norfolk* yet could not exempt him from Calumny: For the Lord *Darcy* during his Imprisonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the Rebels Articles when they first met at *Doncaster*. But the Duke denied it, offering the Duel, saying, that *Aske* (who suffered at *York* before the said Lord) told him the said Lord's Intentions; who (he said) bare him ill-will ever since the Duke had solicited the said Lord to deliver *Aske* into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the Rebels; which *Darcy* denying, some expostulation had pass'd betwixt them. Nevertheless, I find the King was so well satisfied of the Duke, that those things were pass'd over without further questioning.

The Lords Darcy and Hussy Beheaded. — *Aske hang'd.* — *Nov. 14. 1536.*

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though *James* the *Scottish* King (now in *France*) were advertis'd; yet he stir'd not. And it was happy for our State; for had he joyn'd, he might have endanger'd the Northern Parts, as People stood then affected. Howsoever our King who thought his absence was not security enough, had employ'd Sir *Ralph Sadler* thither, with command to reside till *James* return'd (which was about *Whitsontide*, 1637) and to inform him of all Occurrents. Howbeit, I find that *James* in his way touching on the Coast of *England*, divers *English* cast themselves at his feet, and desir'd him to assist them, saying, he should have all: (For so the Original hath it.) But the King would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to *Edenburgh* with his new married Queen, (who was brought up under the Queen of *Navarre*, and not disaffected to the Reformation of Religion) he was receiv'd with much joy, which yet continued not long, she dying shortly after of an Hectick Fever: (As hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinal *Beton* and *Robert Maxwel* were sent into *France* to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and *Mary* of the House of *Guise*, and Widow of the Duke of *Longueville*, which also follow'd.

Records. — *Scots King returns to Scotland with his new-married Queen.*

Ju. 1538. The King having appeas'd all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his Authority in *Ireland*; but as now the vigorous and many Executions done upon all sorts of Persons had made him terrible; so that sweet temper of Love and Fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects Hearts, was turn'd into that awe and dread as few thought themselves safe; which though it might have caus'd some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolv'd to hold his way, and where occasion was, to punish severely: Therefore he gave order that *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles after a long detension in Prison, at this time should suffer Death at *Tyburn*; who yet had he not hop'd for Pardon by the intercession of the Lord *Grey*, to whom he yielded himself, (as is formerly mention'd) he would have died some other Death. All the Race yet ended not so; for *Gerald*, younger Brother to *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of Clothes, and convey'd to his Friends in *Ireland*, and so to *France*, and from thence to the *Low-Countries*, in both which places being requir'd of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal *Pool* in *Italy*, who being his Kinsman, and finding him a fit Instrument for his Purposes, kept, and cherish'd him, until he obtain'd, in after times, that he might be restor'd to his Country and Place.

The Affairs of Ireland. — 1537 *Feb. 3. 1537*

This being done, our King devis'd certain Acts to pass in the Parliament of *Ireland*; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, *&c.* granted by the Pope; and that the People should use the *English* Tongue. That Marchers should dwell upon their March Lands: That certain Religious Houses there should be supprest: Against alliance with the Rebels; for establishing Succession; for the First-Fruits and twentieth part of Spiritual Promotions; that those who took part with *Kildare* might be pardon'd, when they fin'd for it, *&c.* of which more may be seen in the *Irish* Statutes.

Several Irish Acts pass'd.

This Year, at *Hampton-Court*, Prince *Edward* was born, *October* 12. 1537. who (to use *Polydore's* words) was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; yet was not the happiness entire; for Queen *Jane*, two days after her delivery, died, and was buried in the Quire at *Windsor*; whose loss much afflicted the King, as having found her always Discreet, Humble, and Loyal; for which reason also, he was not so forward to match again. Insomuch that notwithstanding some good offers made him, he continued a Widower more than two Years; which in his declining Age and Corpulence (for he grew now very unweildy) was a long space. The Prince yet not being above six Days old, was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*: Sir *Edward Seymour* also, Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*. And Sir *William Fitz-Williams* (made Admiral of *England* lately) Earl of *Southampton*. And in *March* following Sir *William Paulet*, Treasurer of the King's House, was made Lord St. *John*; and Sir *John Russel* Comptroller, Lord *Russel*.

Octob. 12. — *Nov. 8. Prince Edward born and the Queen dies in Childbed.* — *Holinshead. Octob. 8. 1536. Aug. 16. 1536.*

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen *Margaret* hearing of this Princes Birth, Congratulates it, and together complains of some unkindness in her Son, desiring she might end her Days (being now about forty-nine) in quietness; but if our King could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that she understood how (upon the Death of the Lord *Thomas Howard*) her Daughter was at this time releas'd out of the *Tower*.

Octob. 31.

I shall conclude this Year with a prodigious effect of Mount *Ætna*, the flames whereof lifting up a huge mass of burning Sulphur, by slow degrees, to a great height, sustain'd it there, till at length it scatter'd over all the Country, and kill'd (as my Author *Sandoval* hath it) innumerable Men and Beasts.

Sandoval.

In *March* 1538, the Protestants meeting at *Brunswick*, our King sent thither *Christopher Mount*, with Instructions, First, *To see who were the Confederates.* Secondly, *Whether their League was for General Defence, or limited to matter of Religion only.* Thirdly, *To require a final Answer, whether they would send a great Legation with* Melancthon, *as they had promised.* But they desiring King *Henry* should first declare what Points he disliked in their Confession, lest the Ambassador should after so great expecta-

1538. March. Mount sent with Instructions to the Protestants in Germany.

1538.

expectation return without Effect, excused themselves in this last Point, pretending that they had present Use of their learned Men, *&c.* And as to the other two Articles, they declared, that their League was only in the Cause of Religion, and sent the Names of their Confederates, being

May 12.

(as the Record shews) twenty six Cities, and twenty four Princes; among whom the King of *Denmark* was newly admitted. Nevertheless, to ripen Matters for a further Treaty, they gave Commission to their Agents now sent (being *Francis Burgrat*, and two other Men not unlearned) to dispute with the *English* Divines about Religion, which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved Dismission of the King, leaving with them

August 5. The Protestant Princes object against *Henry's* Reformation.

their Remonstrance touching divers Abuses in *England*: As, I. *The Administrations of the Eucharist in one Kind only.* II. *Private Mass.* III. *Celibate of Priests.* Against which they urged Scripture, and the ancient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the same; and that it belongs to his Majesty to restore the Purity of Religion, as did the Kings, *David*, *Josias*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Ezekias*, &c. This, though commended to the King and *Cromwel* by Archbishop *Cranmer*, was yet opposed by divers others, and particularly by *Cutbert* Bishop of *Duresme*, (who extracted the said Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments against it.) So that the King for all, Answer to the said Orators, defended the Points they would have reformed. Info-

Sept.

much, that they return'd unsatisfy'd and frustrate. King *Henry* the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Protestants in *Germany* would be drawn to him. And because he had been often importuned to authorize a Translation

A Translation of the Bible printed by Authority. *Fox.*

of the Bible, he committed the Care thereof to *Cromwel*, and the Printing to *Richard Grafton*; who pretending the want of good Paper here, got out King's and *Francis's* License to print it at *Paris*, both in *Latin* and *English*, in a large Volume: Which therefore by *Cromwel* the Vicegerent's Injunctions this Year (1538) was to be set in every Church for the People to read; yet so, as the King by Proclamation gave them to understand, that this was not his Duty, but his Goodness and Liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the Increase of Virtue, not of Strife. And therefore no Man should read it aloud to disturb the Priest while he sang Mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without Advice from the Learned.

The King having Issue Male, proceeded more confidently in his Designs: And because he knew that the pretended and false Miracles of Priests had seduced many ignorant People to a superstitious Obedience to the *Romish* See, and Reverence of Monasteries, he resolv'd to detect them, at least, as many as he could; for divers were so cunningly represented, as they had kept their Credit for some Ages; the manner of these Times being, if a Man were restor'd to his Health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he desir'd upon a Vow to some Saint, never to study other Cause.

A Catalogue of ridiculous Relicks.

And here, out of our Records, I shall mention some of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of these Times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Lady's Girdle, shew'd in eleven several Places, and her Milk in eight; the Bell of St. *Gutblac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, both Remedies for the Head-ach; the Pen-knife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a piece of his Shirt, much reverenc'd by Great-belly'd Women; the Coals that roasted St. *Lawrence*; two or three Heads of St. *Ursula*; *Malchus's* Ear, and the paring of St. *Edmond's* Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierc'd Christ's Side; an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine Years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out; and was now found to be but a piece of Wood; our Lady of *Worcester*, from which certain Veils and Dressings being taken, there appear'd the Statue of a Bishop ten Foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great Ostentation shew'd to the People; among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; one was the *Rood of Grace*, at *Boxley* in *Kent*, which being made with divers Vices to turn the Eyes and move the Lips, was shew'd publickly at *Paul's*-Cross, by *John* Bi- Feb. 24.
shop of *Rochester*, and there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at *Hales* in *Glocestershire*, where the Blood of *Jesus Christ* brought from *Jerusalem*, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great Offerings to it from remote Places: And it was said to have this Property, That if a Man were in mortal Sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise, very well: Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle, confess'd himself first to a Priest there, and then offering something to the Altar, was directed to a Chapel where the Relick was shew'd; the Priest who confess'd him (in the mean while) retiring himself to the back part of the said Chapel, and putting forth upon the Altar a Cabinet or Tabernacle of Crystal, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen thorow it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly: For if a rich and devout Man enter'd, they would shew the thick side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great Joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the Blood. Which yet (as my Author, a Clerk of the Council to *Edward* VI. *Will. Thomas.*
and living in those times, affirms) was proved to be the Blood of a Duck every Week renew'd Nov. 24.
by two Priests, who kept the Secret betwixt them. Besides which, the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, of *Penrise*, of *Islington*, and St. *John* of *Osulston* (called otherwise Mr. *John Shorne*) who was said to shut up the Devil in a Boot; and divers others were publickly burnt: May 22.
Insomuch, that a huge Image call'd *Darvel Gadern* being fetch'd out of *Wales* serv'd to burn Frier *Forrest*, (Condemn'd for Counselling People in Confession not to believe the King's Supremacy) and to elude I know not what old blind Prophecy.

And by this means the Monasteries grew infamous where most of these Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who before held a reverend Opinion of these pretended Relicks and Miracles; yet, as this way, there was Danger lest the People should not believe those Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a Hand over his Subjects, and found means to humble them; for they were taught, that howsoever the Miracles of those later times proved counterfeit and false, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his Glory and Service; and that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the Memory of his Saints, he permitted them sometimes, where the People were not withdrawn thereby from his Worship, to the Worship of the Creature.

Upon the Cessation of Arms betwixt the Emperor and *French* King formerly mention'd, the Pope endeavour'd a further Peace and good Correspondence, as thinking them capable both of making War with the *Turk*, and revenging his Quarrel on our King, against whom he was much

1538. much incentive to join them. But there are many Difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the same Enterprize, when it was for nothing else, but that they can never agree who should have the Advantage of it. Nevertheless, both of them were disaffected to our King at this time, not yet so much for their particular Interests, as that his overthrowing of Religious Houses, and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects, had given ill Impressions of him; which our King understanding, procures to hold his Treaty with *Francis*. And therefore recalling from *Spain Edmond Bonner*, Elect Bishop of *Hereford*, and his Ambassador then with the Emperor, he imploy'd him in *France*, in the Place of *Stephen Gardiner*, who had soured all things; since, being one who both dislik'd the King's late Proceedings, and secretly favour'd the Emperor, he did his Master little Service in that Court. *Bonner* being now come, was roughly received by *Gardiner*, and coldly by the *French* King (as I find by an Original;) yet he obtained at first that the Old and New Testament in *English* might be printed at *Paris* in the largest Volume, whereof yet Complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Press was stay'd, and as much as was already printed, publickly burnt, save some few Copies, that being gotten for Waste-paper, were recover'd and sent into *England*, whither also the Printers themselves follow'd shortly after, and finished their Work. Howbeit, as *Bonner* had in his other Affairs here but little Satisfaction, he was repeal'd at last on this Occasion; being commanded by our King, to deliver a high Message, concerning his Pension, now four Years detain'd, as also touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was receiv'd and favour'd by *Francis*, he utter'd it in so haughty a manner (as was thought) that *Francis* return'd both to our King and him some harsh Language; nevertheless, as he fear'd lest it shou'd cause War, he sent to *England* an express Messenger both to interpret and excuse himself, and to desire *Bonner* might be recall'd; which the King did, (as thinking him henceforth an unuseful Servant in that place) yet so as he forgot not to bestow the Bishoprick of *London* on him for his Reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as *Francis* (having about this time made a Ten Years Truce with the Emperor, as shall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with *Scotland*) talked louder than before; so the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries*, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, shew'd Disaffection to our State, without that our King in his present Condition knew well how to repair himself, since being resolved to take order about his Home businesses, not yet fully settled, he thought of Foreign Affairs no otherwise, than to attend the Occasion, and confederate himself where it might be for his best Advantage. For which at last divers Overtures were made. The first it seems came from the Emperor, whose Ambassador here signified to *Cromwel* Lord Privy-Seal, his Master's Desire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and *Christiana* the Dutchess of *Milan*, being a beautiful Lady, and at that present lately come into the *Low-Countries*. *Cromwel* answer'd, that he would first see her Picture, and then speak to the King; which being granted, one *Hans Holin* (or *Holbin* I believe) being the King's Servant, was sent over, and in three Hours space (as *John Hutton* our Agent there hath it) shew'd what a Master he was in his Science. Our King hereupon seem'd inclinable, giving charge to *Hutton* to treat of the Business. But the Lady Regent (though said to have sufficient Power) referr'd all to the Emperor, who having appointed an Interview with *Francis*, was so slow in returning an Answer, that our King understood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the Business a while: And he had reason; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt *Francis* and the Emperor, for his Son the Duke of *Orleans* and her, and the place nominated at *Comptean*, where *Francis* (now return'd from the Interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen *Mary* Regent of *Flanders*: Whereof our King being advertis'd, sent some privately thither, to inform him of that which passed; but *Milan* being refused as Dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was suspended. This made our King proceed again, imploying *Thomas Wriothesly*, and some others, to the Lady Regent for this purpose; but this Treaty produced others, so that a Match was propos'd betwixt *Don Lewis* of *Portugal* and our Princess *Mary*, in the Terms she then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all Claim to the Succession, except such as the King shall give her: As also a strict Confederation and Amity. The Conditions our King requir'd with the Dutchess of *Milan* were great; for though she was but the second Daughter of *Denmark*, *Dorothea* the Elder being married to *Frederick* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavier*, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdom of *Denmark*, (there being no Issue Male now alive of *Christiern* II.) desiring for this purpose the Emperor's Assistance, which also the Emperor seem'd to promise, as offering to treat with Duke *Frederick* about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the *German* Affairs, than that the Emperor desir'd to greaten him, by such an Accession. And with *Don Louis* the Emperor offer'd *Milan*, when the King would shew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand Crowns; promising further, if the *French* King, upon this Occasion, deny'd the Pension usually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; he offer'd also to endeavour a Reconciliation with the Pope, if our King so pleased. Nevertheless, divers Jealousies and Cavils arising (especially after the Interview) betwixt the Emperor and *Francis*, (whereof presently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting sometimes that our King treated of a Match in *France* with the Daughter of *Guise*; another while saying, that in regard of the Dutchess's nearness of Blood to the late Queen *Katharine*, there needed a Dispensation from the Pope, which she knew the King would hardly accept; but these Answers were taken as illusory, the Treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruel War was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; especially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*, which follow'd. But *Francis* omitted not likewise to make his Propositions, offering our King what Lady he pleased in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter; neither ought their Motions of Alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever Causes of Jealousy betwixt these great Princes, and as they knew well, our King had settled his Affairs at home.

While things past thus, the Truce expiring in *February* betwixt the *French* King and Emperor, the Pope obtain'd yet that it should be continued for six Months; hoping in the Interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good Intentions might concur, so his particular Interests wanted not; he imploying the Cardinal *Carpi* to the Emperor, and Cardinal *Jacobaccio* to the *French* King for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-child *Ottavio Farnese* and *Margarita* Relict of the Duke of *Florence*, natural Daughter of the Emperor; The other betwixt *Vittoria*

Farnese

Margin notes (left): July 7. 1537. — *Bonner* sent Ambassador to *France*. — Au. 1537. *Fox*. — Dec. 17. — *Fox*. — But is recall'd at the *French* King's desire. — Octob. 20. 1531. — March. — *Hans Holbin* sent to take the Dutchess of *Milan*'s Picture for the King.

Margin notes (right): 1538. — Octob. — Match propos'd between *Don Lewis* of *Portugal* and the Princess *Mary*. — Records. — Treaty of Marriage between K. *Henry* and *Anne* of *Cleves*. — Feb. 22. $1538\frac{9}{}$ — *Sandal.* 24.

1538. *Farnese* and *Antoine de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the Time and Place of meeting appointed at *Nizza* about the beginning of *June*, 1538. where they all came; but so as the Emperor being lodg'd in *Villa-Franca*, and the *French* King in *Villa-Nova*, they neither saw one another in their several Courts, nor at the Pope's at *Nizza*: Insomuch, that notwithstanding the Pope's Solicitation, their mutual Jealousies of the Pope's Affection, the number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third Persons interven'd, their late Defies, and greatness of Businesses to be determin'd betwixt them, permitted no safe Terms of meeting. Nevertheless, the Pope (after he had in vain desir'd them to send

June. June 18. some Bishops to the Council now at *Vicenza*) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten Years, and so the Meeting dissolv'd. The Pope presently recalling his Legates from *Vicenza*, and deferring the Council till *Easter* the next Year.

July 28. And now the Emperor and *Francis* being near each other, and, for the rest, Princes of so great Courage, as they heard with some Indignation the Difficulties their Counsellors had represented about an Interview, resolved betwixt themselves to meet. *Francis* sent an Invitation to him to repose at *Aiguesmortes* and *Marseilles*, in his way to *Spain*; and *Charles* accepted it; who coming thereupon near the Shore, *Francis*, attended with *Montmorency* (now *Constable*) and few others, without all Difficulty passed in a Shallop to the Emperor's Galley; and after an Hour's stay, and some Complements in *French*, (which Language both spake) *Francis* return'd to Land. And now the Emperor was pensative and doubtful whether he should go on Shore; many of his Council oppos'd it; but the Duke of *Alva* said generously,

July 15. He should go; which Council the Emperor follow'd: And thereupon landing, the *French* King and his Queen, the *Dauphine*, and a huge Train, receiv'd him with Demonstration of Joy: And two Meals they did eat together, at which the Dutchess of *Estampes* (much regarded by *Francis*) was present. But the next Day after, (being the

Emperor and *French* King have an Interview.

July 16. sixteenth of *July*) rich Gifts having pass'd on both sides, the Emperor departed for *Spain*.

And now it was disputed at *Rome*, Whether these two Princes should join in a War against the *Turk*, or bring our King to Reason? The former took place; the *Turk*, as being much animated against the Christians, having made great Preparatives: And when he had not, our King being a Person with whom they would not easily have fought in the Pope's Quarrel: Which also is the more probable, for that *Francis* would not so much as concur with him in a War against the *Turk*, though solicited by the Pope, Emperor and *Venetians*, no more than our King: Tho' (as I find by our Records) intreated by the said *Venetians*, as having a particular War with the *Turk* at this time in *Morea* and *Sclavonia*; so that they above-named only join'd, according to a League made at *Rome*, *Feb.* 8. the Pope furnishing thirty six Galleys, the Emperor eighty two, and the *Venetians* as many; who yet being led by *Andrea Doria*, and coming to fight with the *Turkish* Fleet of 130 Vessels, under *Barbarossa*, were on the Coast of *Epiro*, towards Night, *September* 24 defeated; when such a huge Tempest of Thunder and Lightning arose, as scatter'd them every way: Yet few Days after they took from the *Turk* *Castel Novo*, a Fort in the Gulf of *Cataro*, and leaving a Garison there, return'd.

All which Engagements of War, though in effect they were so many Diversions of it from us, could not secure our King from Suspicion either of Treachery at home, or Invasion from abroad. 1538. Therefore he took especial Care of the Sea-Coasts, and particularly had an Eye to the Actions of those who might stir in Favour of Cardinal *Pool*; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little Intelligence from our Kingdom. Notwithstanding all which Attention, divers Messages passed betwixt the said Cardinal and his Friends and Kindred; which cost some of them their Lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any superstitious Worship reigned here, the Friers and Priests would oppose his Reformation, especially as long as such were accounted Saints, who had resisted their Prince, resolved, after he had burned so many Images, to burn the Bones of *Thomas* Becket, Achbishop of *Canterbury* in the Time of *Henry* II. (though others mention not the burning; and one living in those Times, affirms only, that his Bones were scatter'd amongst so many dead Mens, that they could not be found again without some great Miracle.) Together with which, our King seized on that immense Treasure and Jewels which were offer'd to his Shrine; there being few since *Henry* the Second's Time, which passed to *Canterbury*, that did not both visit his Tomb, and bring rich Presents to it. Among which, there being one Stone eminent, which it was said, *Louis* the Seventh coming hither on Pilgrimage from *France*, *Anno Dom.* 1179. bestow'd; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards. For which Reasons, as also for being so great an Example of Contumacy against his King, he was (as *Sanders* hath it) constrain'd *Causam iterum ad Tribunal dicere*; that is to say, his Life and Actions being examin'd, it was declar'd by our King that he deserved no Canonization; and proved, besides, that the Skull which the People did so much venerate (and which was now burnt as an Imposture) was not his own, (it, together with his Bones, being found in his Tomb) and scatter'd, as aforesaid) and that there was Forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King being not content, caus'd his Name to be raz'd out of the Calendar, and forbad the keeping of his Holiday. But that it may appear what a kind of Saint this Man was, I will repeat some part of his Life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polidore Virgil*, who most fabulously affirms, that certain Men of *Kent* for cutting off *Becket's* Horse-Tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remain'd, had Tails like Beasts; but out of a Book of the said Clerk of the Council, formerly mention'd, leaving to every Man yet the choice of believing what relation he pleaseth.

Bones of *Thomas Becket* burnt. *Will. Thom. II. Pel. Ing.*

Treasures of his Shrine seiz'd.

Aug. 23. 1179.

Sand. Schi. Angl.

Kentish long Tails.

This Man (as my Author hath it) being born of an *English* Merchant, and a Woman of *Barbary*, having been brought up in Learning, and promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, contested with King *Henry* II. for the Pope's Authority: Insomuch, that in his *Pontificalibus*, with his Mitre upon his Head, and gilt Cross born before him, he publickly excommunicated all those who opposed the Church; wherewith the King being offended, *Becket* fled to the Pope; 1155. who cherished him so much, as in Contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and Kingdom; so that for about four Year's space, neither Mass, nor other publick Service was used in the Church. But by the Intercession of the *French* King, *Becket* and the Mass being restor'd, and 1170. our King and Kingdom absolv'd, all things seem'd quiet, till he began new Quarrels: At which the King being displeased, said, If he had faithful Servants, he should not be so wronged; which some Gentlemen that served him hearing, went to *Canterbury*, and taking their time, upon some

Wil. Thom. II. Pel. Ing. Becket's Life.

1538. ill Language given, kill'd him in the Cloister of his Cathedral Church, and so fled. Whereupon the Monks shut their Gates, and persuaded the People that the Bells rung of themselves; nor content herewith, they cast a certain Composition into a Well adjoining, and made the People believe that it appeared bloody by Miracle, for that holy Martyr; which at last obtain'd such Credit, that *Henry* II. came in Person, together

1179. Aug. 23. with *Louis* of *France*, to visit that holy Place, and give many rich Possessions to the Monastery; for further Testimony of his Favour to them, refusing ever to receive again, or pardon the Murtherers; yet these Wonders ended at last, for our King, on some Occasion, coming to *Canterbury*, discovered the Fraud of the Well, and abolished the Miracles.

Pope excommunicates King Henry in Flanders, Scotland, and France.

But what Pretext soever our King had to proceed thus with *Becket*, nothing was taken to be a greater Cruelty and Rapine: Insomuch, that upon News hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publish his Bull of Excommunication (formerly decreed 1535) against our King; wherein he also mentions this Fact with much Horror and

Dec. 17. Detestation; sending also his Agents abroad with the said Bull, who set it up in divers Places of *Flanders*, *France* and *Scotland*; being such a Bull (saith the Writer of the *Council of Trent*) as neither his Predecessors left him Example for, or his Successors ever imitated. But the Pope gain'd little hereby; for all his Rigours were but so many Incentives to King *Henry* to oppose him;

April 8. May. therefore as he had sent publick Protestations every where, against the Council to be assembled at *Vicenza*, affirming, the same Difficulties would be about holding of it there, which must have been at *Mantua*; so having made way by the

More Monasteries suppressed.

discovery of the former Impostures, he suppress'd more Monasteries, and every Day more and more divested the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other side, he oppos'd all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two *Dutch* Anabaptists, and by a Dispute he

Nov. 19. publickly held in *Westminster-Hall*, with one *John Nicholson* alias *Lambert*, a Priest; against whom

Two Dutch Anabaptists and one Popish Priest executed.

he maintained the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, after the manner he set down in his Articles: concluding, that he should have Mercy if he recanted; otherwise, that he should be burnt. But *Lambert* despising Mercy on those Terms, the Sentence was executed. So deep a tincture doth Religion give to the Soul, as being

Nov. 22. once throughly enter'd, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

The King having thus made it appear, that howsoever he rejected the Papal Authority, he concurred not every where with the Reformers, though he might with more reason now con-

Several executed for holding traiterous Correspondence with Cardinal Pool.

front the Report which Cardinal *Pool* and his Friends had rais'd, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which number, because *Henry Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter* (the King's Cousin-german, as being Son of *Katharine*, Daughter to *Edward* IV.) and *Henry Pool* Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, and Sir *Jeffery Pool*, Kt. were eminent; he took occasion (upon secret Information given by Sir *Jeffery*) to cause them to be indicted, for devising to maintain, promote, and advance one *Reginald Pool* late Dean of *Exeter*, Enemy to the King, beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before *Thomas* Lord *Audley* (for the present sitting, as his High Stew-

Dec. 31. Jan. 3. 153⅞. ard of *England*) were found Guilty: Not long after which, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Jeffery Pool*, two Priests, and a Mariner, were arraign'd, and found Guilty also, and Judgment given accordingly. The two Lords and *Nevil* were beheaded, the two Priests and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd 153[illegible]

Jan. 9. at *Tyburn*, and Sir *Jeffery* pardon'd: Sir *Nicholas Carew* also (Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King) for being of Council with the said Marquis, was beheaded. The par- March 3.
ticular Offences yet of these Great Persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Only I find among our Records, that *Thomas Wriothesly* Secretary (then at *Bruxels*) wri- Novemb.
ting of their Apprehension to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, (his Highness's Ambassador in *Spain*) said, that the Accusations were Great, and duly Proved. And in another place I read, that they sent the *Vinc. Heral.*
Cardinal Money.

I find little more of this Year for our parts, save that notwithstanding all these Severities, neither was one *Connesby*, Groom of the King's Chamber, deterr'd from counterfeiting the King's Seal Manuel; nor one *Clifford* from counterfeiting his Privy Signet; both which therefore suffer'd Death.

The Emperor, now in *Spain*, among his Home-businesses, thought none more requisite, than to take order for Money: Therefore he assembled at *Sand.l.24.*
Toledo a *Cortes* or Parliament of both States; so Nov. 1.
that the Grandees of *Castilla* and *Leon* on the one side, and Cardinal of *Toledo* and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: Where the Emperor's Necessities being represented by occasion of his late Wars, it was declared, That neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the *Indies*, nor the *Cruzades*, Tenths and other Helps granted by the Pope, did suffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the Emperor desir'd, that at their Charge all his Estate and Dominions every where might be preserv'd and secur'd, both by Sea and Land; so as he might have the ordinary Rent of *Castilla* and the *Indies* for paying his Debts, and Spending-Money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, That their most ready and equal Way for supplying the Emperor's Wants, was to grant a *Sisa* or Tax for a certain Time, with a limitation to what it should extend; since less Corruption and Extortion would follow this way than any other: Only they desir'd the Emperor, That he should procure a License and Commandment from his Holiness to this Purpose. But the Grandees and Nobles, who had immediate Power in their hands to consent unto the Emperor's Demand, would yet resolve nothing suddenly in their own Name, or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the Business to twelve elect Persons among them; among which the *Constable* being chief, spake much against Impositions, desiring rather to supply the Emperor some other way: And that they might confer with the Burgesses or *Procuradors* of the chief Cities hereof; beseeching his Majesty withal, that he would stay at home and study Peace, as having made eighteen Years of continual War both by Sea and Land: Which Answer being brought the Emperor, it was reply'd on his part, That he demanded Money, and not Advice. Hereupon, certain amongst them propos'd to lay Imposition upon Commodities exported; but the rest agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinal of *Toledo* came and told them, in his Majesty's Name, That he assembled them to the Feb. 1.
Intent he might communicate his own and his Kingdom's Necessities; it seeming reasonable, that as they were General, so should the Remedy be: But by as much as is done, he conceiveth there is no Cause to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

Constable of Castile's Saying to Charles V.

The *Cortes* being thus dissolv'd, the Emperor upon Occasion, told the *Constable*, *He had done ill, and deserv'd to be thrown out of a* Corredor *or open Gallery, where they were.* To which he answer'd, *Your Majesty will please to advise; for though I am*

little,

1539. *little, I weigh much.* But it seems the Emperor spake neither in earnest, nor the *Conestable* as one that resented; so that nothing follow'd.

The Emperor affronted by the Grandees. Howsoever, the Grandees and Nobles of *Spain* behav'd themselves insolently at this time to the Emperor; who having commanded a Joust or Tourney, wherein all the principal Persons were to meet: It happen'd as they rode in their Equipage and Order to the place, an *Alguazil* strook the Duke of *Infantados* Horse, on some occasion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded, *Do you know me?* And the *Alguazil* saying, *yea:* He with his Sword cut him on his Head; who with Blood about his Ears coming to the Emperor (then on Horseback,) incens'd him so much, as he sent presently to apprehend the Duke; but the *Conestable* being present, said to the Officer, *You have no Authority as long as I am in place*; and so forc'd him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all these *Aerevemiences* were done in his Presence, sends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grandees and others were so displeas'd, that they all rode away in a Troop; so that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forc'd to desist and return; both to his own great Scandal, and those who came to be Spectators. But the Emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how sensible he was of this Contempt.

The *German* Protestants, this while, being solicited for Aid against the *Turk*, and denying it, unless the Emperor first granted them such a solid and intire Peace in the Cause of Religion, as might comprehend both the present and future Confederates; the adverse Party enter'd a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and stipulating mutual Defence, if they were

Nov. 25. 1538. molested for the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor notwithstanding giving Commission to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the said Protestants of an Accomodation; which yet took no effect,

Feb. 12. though there were a meeting held at *Francfort*, to this purpose. Howsoever, our King omitted not to send his Agents (*Christopher Mount* and

Records. *Thomas Paynel*) thither, shewing, he took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his knowledge, desiring to understand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be constant to their profess'd Doctrine: To which

April 23. *Burgart*, and others in their Name, *April* 23. coming to *England*, brought Instructions to this effect, That their manifold Troubles suffer'd them

Records. not hitherto to signify the said Pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no Conditions being so much as propos'd. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Augustane* Confession; so that there needed be no doubt of their Constancy: But they are inform'd, that His Majesty had set forth a Proclamation, injoining rigidly, and under heavy Censures, those Points which the last Year their Ambassadors desir'd, as Abuses, might be reform'd; which, unless His Majesty pleas'd to mitigate, they could determine nothing of the Legation of Learned Men, which he expected. For we have, say they, disputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching Private Mass, Communion in one kind, and Celibate of Priests. And unless we understood that our Doctrine herein were prescrib'd by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the said Doctrines, or send any of our Divines into *England*,

April 1. to give approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melancthon* sent a Letter to the King (superscrib'd *Ser^mo &c. Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ, post Christum Supremo,*) exhorting him *to* 1539. *perfect the Reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely Ceremonies and Things indifferent; wherefore, he desires his Majesty to mitigate the late Proclamation.* Melancthon's Letter to K. Henry. What Answer our King gave to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtain'd a Confirmation of the said Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consulted to strengthen himself at home, by inriching his Treasury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the consent 1535. of his Parliament, for dissolving all Religious Houses under 200 *l.* Yearly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the Visitors had heretofore petition'd, that some might be spar'd, both for the vertue of the Persons in them, and the benefit of the Country (the Poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their Children;) and though *La-* Records. *timer* mention'd, that some two or three might be left in every Shire for pious uses, *Cromwel* yet (by the King's Permission) invaded all; while betwixt Threats, Gifts, Persuasions, Promises, and whatsoever might make Man obnoxious, he obtain'd of the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, *&c.* that their Houses might be given up. Among The great Monasteries suppress'd by Surrender, Purchase or Forfeiture. which, those that offer'd their Monasteries freely, got best Conditions of the King, for if they stood upon their Right, the Oath of Supremacy, and some other Statutes and Injunctions brought them in danger, or their Crimes at least made them guilty of the Law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbots of *Glassenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, who more than any else resisted.

In conclusion, the Title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by Statute, or claim of Right, but was some voluntary Surrender, Purchase, or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirm'd by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he summon'd it to begin *April* 28. 1539. In the mean while, rumours were every where dispers'd, that Cardinal *Pool* labour'd with divers Princes, to procure Forces against the Kingdom, and that an Invasion was threatned. And this again seem'd more credible, in that the Truce concluded between the Emperor and the *French* King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an Army hither. This also was seconded by a sudden journey of the King unto the Sea-coast; into divers parts whereof he had formerly sent sundry Nobles and expert Persons to visit the Ports, and places of Danger, who fail'd not for their discharge upon all events, to affirm the peril in each place so great, as one would have thought every place had needed Fortification; besides he caus'd his Navy forthwith to be in a readiness, and Musters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which preparatives being made against a danger which was believ'd imminent, seem'd so to excuse the King suppressing of Abbies, as the People (willing to spare their own Purses) began to suffer it easily; especially when they saw order taken for building divers Forts and Forts built. Bulwarks upon the Sea-coast; many, if not most of these we have at this Day, being thought not so exact as the modern, yet of his raising. And that they suspected the discontented Religious Orders (sooner than any else) would assist an Enemy. But if the reasons of these Proceedings were held by some as current, by others they were taken to be no more than Palliation, and by the Clergy but Rapine, who divulg'd beyond Seas the miserable ruines of themselves,

1539. and Houses, in such terms, as the Christian World was astonish'd; for though their excessive number excus'd the King in some part for the first Suppression, this latter (they said) had no such specious pretext, when yet surrender, purchase, or the like were urg'd; So that notwithstanding the King's necessities, no little occasion of scandal and obloquy was given.

645 Monasteries suppress. *Cam. Brit.*

The number of Monasteries first and last suppress'd in *England* and *Wales* were (as *Cambden* accounts them) six hundred forty five; whereof these had voices among the Peers: The Abbot of St *Albans* (being as I take it declar'd the first Abbey of *England* (whether in favour of Pope *Adrian* IV. his Father, call'd *Breakspear*, who upon his Wives Death rendred himself a Monk there, or S. *Alban* himself Protomartyr of *England*) St. *Peters* in *Westminster*, S. *Edmondsbury*, S. *Bennets* of *Holm*, *Bradsey*, *Shrewsbury*, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Evesham*, *Gloucester*, *Rumsey*, S. *Maries* in *York*, *Tewxbury*, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, *Hide* by *Winchester*, *Cirencester*, *Waltham*, *Malmesbury*, *Thorney*, S. *Augustine* in *Canterbury*, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, S. *Johns* in *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Tavestock*.

90 Colleges demolish'd. *Speed.* Chantries 2374. Hospitals 110. In value 161100 *l.*

Of Colleges were demolish'd in divers Shires, ninety. Of Chantries, and free-Chappels, 2374. And Hospitals 110. The Yearly value of all which were, as I find it cast up, 161100 *l.* being above a third part of all our Spiritual Revenues; besides the Money made of the present stock of Cattel and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bells, *&c.* and lastly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church-Ornaments; which I find not valued, but may be conjectured by that one Monastery of S. *Edmondsbury*, whence was taken (as our Records shew) five thousand Marks of Gold and Silver, besides divers Stones of great value. All which being by some openly call'd Rapine, and Sacriledge, I will no way excuse: Though I may say truly, that notwithstanding so many Religious Houses were destroy'd, there are yet in every kind (the suppreft Abbies and Chantries only excepted) left standing so many, as give no little increase to Learning, splendor to Religion, and testimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of so many pious Foundations, as affording a singular conveniency to those who desir'd to retire to a holy, private, and contemplative Life, when abuses were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention these Particulars, that it may appear to foreign Nations, we are not destitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which also our King had such regard, that he did not imploy all the Profits arising from the aforesaid Dissolutions, on Fortifications or the like; for he not only augmented the number of the Colleges and Professors in his Universities, but erected (as he had promis'd) out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Bishopricks; whereof one at *Westminster*, one at *Oxford*, one at *Peterborough*, one at *Bristol*, one at *Chester*, and one at *Gloucester*; all remaining at this Day, save that of *Westminster*, which being revok'd to its first Institution by Queen *Mary*, and *Benedictines* plac'd in it, was by Queen *Elizabeth* afterward converted to a Collegiate Church, and a School for the teaching and maintenance of young Scholars: Besides, many of the ancient Cathedral Churches formerly possess'd by Monks only, were now supplied with Canons, and some new ones erected and endow'd; the Revenues allotted by the King to those new Bishopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 *l. per Annum.* So that Religion seem'd not so much to suffer hereby, as some of the Clergy of those times and ours would have it believ'd: Our Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwel* projected it) instead of divers supernumerary and idle Persons, Men fit for Imployment, either in War or Peace, maintain'd at the cost of the foresaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Desolations (appearing in their stately Foundations at this day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompenc'd. Besides, the King in the demolishing of them, had so tender a care of Learning, that he not only preferr'd divers able Persons which he found there, but took special care to preserve the choicest Books of their well-furnish'd Libraries: Wherein I find *John Leland* (a curious searcher of Antiquities) was imploy'd. But hereof enough, since I do not intend to exceed the Terms of an Historian, and therefore shall come now to the Parliament, which being compos'd of Persons well-affected to the King's Service, (as his manner was always with great Industry to procure such,) these Statutes, among others, were enacted:

Six new Bishopricks erected.

1539.

April 28.

New Laws made.

That Religious Persons being put at liberty, might purchase, sue and be su'd; but not claim any Inheritance, as descending on them: And that if they had made a Vow of Chastity after One and Twenty, they should not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no sufficient amends for the loss of their present Maintenance.

That the King, by the advice of his Council, or the more part of them, might set forth Proclamations under such penalties and pains as to him or them shall seem necessary, which should be observ'd as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this should not be prejudicial to any Person's Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels or Life, *&c.* But this was repeal'd 1 *Edw.* 6 12.

That the King might nominate such number of Bishops, Sees for Bishops, Cathedral Churches, and endow them with such Possessions, as he will. [which, though repeal'd 1 & 2 *Phil. & Mar.* yet order was taken therein again 8 *Eliz.* 1.]

It was declar'd also how Lords in the Parliament should be plac'd.

That Leases made of Manors belonging to Monasteries dissolv'd, or to be dissolv'd, and assur'd to the King, should take effect: Wherein is express'd, that the King should hold, possess, and enjoy to him, his Heirs and Successors for ever, all Monasteries, Abbacies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friers, or other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, which since the fourth of *February* 27 *Hen.* 8. have been dissolv'd, suppress'd, renounc'd, relinquish'd, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highness; or which shall be dissolv'd, *&c.* As also all Mannors, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, *&c.* belonging to them. All which (except such as came by attainder of Treason) should be under survey and governance of the King's Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other Men's Titles yet sav'd.

It was also particularly enacted, that whereas *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* by the King's assent had purchased of one *William Flatbury*, late Abbot of the Monastery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the said Monastery, with all, *&c.* And whereas *George* Lord *Cobham* had likewise purchas'd the College or Chantry of *Cobham* in *Kent*, it was enacted, that the Act above-written should not be prejudicial to the said Duke, or Lord *Cobham.* Whereby it appears, the King's intention was to unite all the Abby Lands, *&c.* to the Crown, save these so specified.

The famous Six Articles establish'd

The Six Articles, call'd by some the Bloody Statute, were also enacted this Parliament: Being,

I. *If*

1539. I. *If any Person, by Word, Writing, Printing, Cyphering, or any otherwise, do Preach, Teach, Dispute, or hold Opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the Consecration thereof) there is not present really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceiv'd of the Virgin* Mary; *Or, that after the said Consecration there remaineth any substance of Bread and Wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and Man; or that the Flesh under form of Bread, is not the very Blood of Christ; or that with the Blood, under the form of Wine, is not the very Flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or affirm the said Sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed Sacrament: Then he shall be adjudg'd an Heretick, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the King all Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, as in case of High-Treason.*

by Act of Parliament.

II. *And if any Person preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the blessed Sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of Man's Soul, or ought or should be ministred in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be receiv'd by any Person, other than Priest, being at Mass, and Consecrating the same.*

III. *Or that any Man, after the Order of Priesthood receiv'd, may marry, or contract Matrimony.*

IV. *Or that any Man or Woman which advisedly hath Vow'd or Profess'd, or should Vow or Profess Chastity or Widowhood, may marry or contract Marriage.*

V. *Or that private Masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be us'd, or be not agreeable to the Laws of God.*

VI. *Or that Auricular Confession is not expedient and necessary to be us'd in the Church of God: He shall be adjudg'd to suffer death, or forfeit Lands and Goods as a Felon.*

If any Priest, or other Man or Woman which advisedly hath vow'd Chastity or Widowhood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another or any Man which is, or hath been a Priest, do carnally use any Woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be conversant or familiar with any such Woman, both the Man and the Woman shall be adjudg'd Felons, Commissions also shall be awarded to the Bishop of the Diocess, his Chancellor, Commissary, and others, to enquire of the Heresies, Felonies, and Offences aforesaid. And also Justices of Peace in their Sessions, and every Steward, Under-Steward, and Deputy-Steward, in their Leet or Law-day, by the Oaths of twelve Men, have Authority to inquire of all the Heresies, Felonies, and Offences aforesaid.

Margaret Countess of *Salisbury*, Cardinal *Pool* and others attainted

In this Parliament also *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury* (being Grandchild of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward* IV. and Mother of Cardinal *Pool*, as also the Cardinal himself, and *Gertrude* Wife to the late Marquis of *Exeter*, Sir *Adrian Fortescue* and *Thomas Dingley* Knight of S. *Johns*, were attainted of Treason. Against *Margaret* and *Gertrude* it was alledg'd, that they were complices with the Marquis of *Exeter*, and other Traitors: Our Records also tell us, that certain Bulls granted by the Bishop of *Rome* were found at *Cowdrey*, being then (as I take it) the Countess of *Salisbury*'s House; and that the Parson of *Warblington* convey'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinal; and that she forbad all her Tenants to have the New Testament in *English*, or any other new Book the King had priviledg'd. But whatsoever the cause was (for our Parliament Records are short in the Particulars) I find by a Letter from the Earl of *Southampton*, and Bishop of *Ely* to *Cromwel*, That (though she were seventy Years old) her behaviour yet was Masculine and Vehement, and that she would confess nothing. Howsoever, the Testimonies brought convincing her, she was condemn'd. 1539.

Against Cardinal *Pool* it was alledg'd, that he had conspir'd against the King with the Bishop of *Rome*, and taken preferment of him.

Against the rest, I find no more, but in general, that they were Complices. Howsoever, *Fortescue* and *Dingley* suffer'd first; for *Margaret*'s Execution was deferr'd for two Years, as shall be told hereafter; and *Gertrude* died a Natural Death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I find our King requir'd him earnestly of all those Princes that receiv'd him in their Dominions. July 10. 1557.

The six Articles being now publish'd, gave no little occasion of Murmur, since to revoke the Conscience not only from its own Court, but from the ordinary ways of resolving Controversies, to such an abrupt decision of the common Law (as is there set down) was thought to be a diverting of Religion from its right and usual course; since the Conscience must be taught, not forc'd; without that it should at any time be handled roughly, as being of so delicate a temper, as though it suffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminisheth or breaks it. Besides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be Capital, before they be fully prov'd, is prejudicial to that Liberty, without which no Man can justifie himself before God or Man. For if it be death to believe otherwise than we are commanded, how unsafe will it be to make exact enquiry? And without it who can say his Religion is best? Besides, the example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their People in Obedience) should do the like, who would ever turn Christian? Therefore *Cranmer* for three Days together in the open Assembly oppos'd these Articles boldly; though yet it appears not what Arguments he us'd. Only I find the King sent to him for a Copy of them, and mislik'd not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere Intention; though some thought he had a private Interest, as being himself a married Man, though fearing of this Law, he sent away his Wife for the present into *Germany*, she being Kinswoman to *Hosiander* the Divine of *Noremberg*, whom he married during his Ambassade with the Emperor about *Anno* 1532. Fox.

But that it may seem less strange why the King, who before was much dispos'd to favour the Reformers, did on a sudden so much vary from them, I have thought fit to set down some of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the Objections of *Stephen Gardiner* formerly mention'd may have place, while speaking against the Treaty with the Protestants in *Germany*, he alledg'd that they would not allow the King's Supremacy, lest they should infer an investing of the same Authority in the Emperor, whose absolute Power they seem'd to fear more than that of the Pope himself: And as this suspicion alienated secretly the mind of our King, who saw that if he embrac'd their Reformation, they would abridge his Power; so they not only deny'd to approve his Divorce, but lately (as is shew'd) in a peremptory manner refus'd all Accommodation, unless our King yielded wholly to the *Augustan* Confession. Again, the Duke of *Saxony* about this time particularly shew'd some disaffection to him in the overture of his Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Lastly, As Affairs then stood, the King was both in that danger of Rebellion at home, and

1539. Invaſion from abroad, as he thought it not ſafe
to reform any further in Religion; for which
reaſon alſo he was ſevere againſt all new Secta-
ries, eſpecially *Anabaptiſts*; ſo when occaſion was
given, he ſtill teſtified his deſire as far as was
poſſible to keep an unity with the *Roman* Church,
affirming that the Pope had ſlanderouſly call'd
him Heretick. Inſomuch that the ſame time he
publickly diſputed with *Lambert* in *Weſtminſter-*
Hall, he declar'd his Reſolution to continue in
the Religion he had openly profeſs'd. For theſe
Reaſons therefore (for I ſhall not here inter-
meddle with thoſe of Conſcience) it ſeems our
King was the more diſpos'd to keep him to the
ancient Forms of the Church. And now the
Proteſtants in *Germany* deſpairing of accord with
the Emperor, aſſembled at *Arnſtet* in *Thuringia*,
Nov. 9. to conſult about mutual defence. To
which purpoſe, they ſent Ambaſſadors to our
King; who told them, (as I find in our Re-
cords) that he would make a League with them
1540. in honeſt Cauſes, as he had done with the Duke
of *Juliers*, and after that he would treat of an
Accord and League in Religion. Though
Sleiden (a little differing herein) writes that King
Henry told them plainly, he thought their Do-
ctrine touching Communion in both kinds, pri-
vate Maſs, and Prieſts Marriage, erroneous, and
that his Learned Men ſhould diſpute herein. And
that *Cromwel* thereupon told them, the beſt way
was to ſend an honourable Ambaſſade, and *Me-*
Sleid. 12. *lancthon* aſſuring them if they came to any rea-
ſonable agreement of Doctrine with our King,
he would not only furniſh them with a vaſt Sum
of Money for their occaſions, but enter into a
ſtrict League with them for defence in general.
But they ſtanding firm to the *Auguſtan* Confeſſi-
on, and intending no League but in caſe of
Religion, the buſineſs ended for the preſent, in
a reſolution to anſwer the King's Arguments
concerning the ſix Articles in writing, and ſend
1540. it in a Book to him, and to deſire an abolition of
April 13. them.

And now the ſix Articles caus'd no little ap-
prehenſion in all the Reformers; yet I do not
find the Law was us'd with much rigour till
Cromwel's Death. Nevertheleſs, the terror of it
made *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Shaxton*
July 1. Biſhop of *Saliſbury* (being committed to Priſon)
Two Biſhops reſign their Biſhopricks rather than conſent to the ſix Articles.
to reſign their Biſhopricks to the King, they be-
ing unwilling it ſeems to have a hand in the
approbation or execution of them. So that if
Sir *Thomas More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had
their ſcruples about the Supremacy; theſe Men
were as conſcientious about the ſix Articles.

This Year the Emperor glad to repoſe himſelf
a while from War, attended his pleaſure in *Spain*,
while *Barbaroſſa* with a ſtrong Fleet keeping the
Seas, and landing his Men, did miſchief in ma-
Auguſt 7. ny places. Recovering ſo after a brave reſiſtance
by *Sarmiento* a *Spaniard*, the place of *Caſtel-novo*
in the Gulf of *Cataro*; which though it exci-
ted the Emperor to proceed in War againſt the
Turk, yet a Mutiny ariſing in *Gaunt* (his native
Town) made him reſolve in Perſon to go and
May 21. appeaſe it. And the rather, that having now
loſt his Empreſs, and check'd a little the great-
neſs of ſome principal Perſons in *Spain*, he
thought himſelf more free and diſengag'd. All
the difficulty was what way to take; for if the
Sea were full of hazard, there was no ready
Land-way, but by *France*; which though beſt,
when it could be handſomly procur'd, yet (the
buſineſs being brought to his Council) was
judg'd impoſſible; nevertheleſs, an overture
thereof being ſecretly given to *Francis*, and a
Bellay. promiſe of *Milan* to one of his Sons (as the
French write) he both gladly embrac'd the occa-
ſion, and offer'd his two Sons for Hoſtages of 1539.
his ſafe paſſage. This was thankfully receiv'd by
the Emperor, but as the Age was full of anci-
ent honour, (which I never found intermitted
but in barbarous times) the Emperor would have
no ſecurity, but only a ſafe conduct under the
Hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that pledge
only for his Life and the Empire, while *Francis*
that he might exempt his magnanimous Gueſt
from jealouſie, ſent his two Sons and *Anne de*
Montmorency the Coneſtable to receive him at *Bay-* The Emperor paſſes thro' *France* to *Flanders*.
onne, whither in his mourning Weeds, he came
with twenty ſix Perſons only, (as our Records
have it) in the end of *November*, 1539. And ſo
like Knight Errant following his journey, he e-
very where (as *Francis* had permitted) deliver'd
all Priſoners. Coming thus to *C[illegible] le Herand*, 1540.
the King (though troubled with an Ulcer in his January.
ſecret parts) and the Queen and Dutcheſs of *Dupleix.*
Eſtampes his Favourite, and a great train of Noble
Perſons welcom'd the Emperor with all demon-
ſtrations of Love. This confident paſſage having
(it ſeem'd) aboliſh'd all memory of their former
Rancour; holding their way thus to *Amboiſe*;
the Emperor was there almoſt ſtifled by a thick
and ſudden ſmoak, which (though the *French* re-
port it to have been the caſual burning of ſome
Hangings near his Chamber, and alſo might be Record.
true, yet one *Style*, imploy'd there by our King
to write him the ſucceſs of this Journey, ſaid)
came thus. They who had charge from *Francis*
to make the Emperor's Reception, had hung a
long Iron Chain from the top of the Caſtle to
the bottom, cover'd all over with Pitch, Tar,
and Roſin in very great Quantity, which being
lighted at the Emperors coming (ſomewhat in
Night) did afterwards upon ſome accident, go
out in that ſnuff and ill ſavour, as the Empe-
ror ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe to choak
him; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon clear'd,
Succours not only coming in quickly, but *Fran-*
cis commanding the Authors of this diſturbance
to be hang'd, had not the Emperor interceeded
for them. And here, during ſome ſtay, both
Princes (who formerly would have us'd their
Arms againſt each other) ending their emulati-
on in ſhooting a Stag, which they both hit at
the ſame time with their Hand-guns, (as *Style* his Reception at *Paris*.
relates) departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of
Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and
Officers of the City met him, with a brave E-
quipage, which yet the Emperor ſeem'd not
much to affect, his black Cloth Suit, and pri-
vate Train being not proper, as he thought, for
ſuch Shews; ſo that he wiſh'd they had been
ſpar'd. Nevertheleſs *Francis* would not omit any
thing which might ſerve either for Oſtentation
or Magnificence, ſo that in the ſplendor there-
of, all note of their former diſſention ſeem'd
hidden or effac'd. Howbeit, there wanted not
ſome who perſuaded *Francis* to cancel the Trea-
ty of *Madrid*, and make a new one at *Paris*, and
that *Milan* ſhould be reſtor'd into the bargain.
But as the Coneſtable *Montmorency* (a Perſon of
great worth) oppos'd this Advice, ſo *Francis* ab-
horr'd it. Beſides, the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes*
(who at firſt ſeem'd averſe) being gain'd by a
Diamond, which the Emperor having purpoſely
let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it
up) chang'd her Language, and now began to
ſerve the Emperor. Seven Days thus being paſt,
either in Masks, Tilts, Tourneys, and other Roy-
al Diſports and Triumphs, or in friendly and
private Communication, the Emperor thought
fit to depart, giving by way of ſatisfaction for
his good Entertainment, many aſſurances of his
love to *Francis*, who alſo for making it more en-
tire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our
King

1539. King, had discover'd some Secrets (formerly past betwixt them) which diverted the Emperor much from making any new Alliance in our Parts. But as this, at last, was disclos'd again to our King, the unkind usage he receiv'd herein, made him attend an Occasion to resent it. And now the Emperor and *Francis* leaving *Paris*, the Conestable entertain'd them both at his Goodly Palace of *Chantilly*: The admirable situation whereof, and variety of Country Pleasures about it, was such, as it made the Emperor wish, that he had such another Place, when it had cost him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to St. *Quintin*, bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing to be admir'd, in all the Passages betwixt them, than that they never spake of any particular Difference, but by way of gentle Discourse, or urg'd it further, than either of them pleas'd to give Ear; so much did Civility prevail with them over all other Considerations: And thus at length, in *February*, the Emperor came to
February. *Valenciennes*: whither *Francis* his Children having accompanied him, and receiv'd both from him, and his Sister *Mary*, Lady Regent there, all kind and regal Usage (excepting an absolute Promise to restore *Milan*) they departed and left the Emperor to attend his great Occasions in those Countries. Where being happy in nothing more than that his Adventure of passing thro *France*, (which nothing could justify but the Event) had succeeded so well, he compos'd the Stirs there shortly after.

The Passages of this Interview being advertis'd to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Alliance: Or when that could not be done, to prevent the Consequences. Therefore, immediately upon the Departure of the Emperor from *Paris*, he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to treat with *Francis* to this Effect: To offer him
Records. Assistance for Recovery of *Milan*. And for this purpose, that the Arrearages of the Pensions due to our King, and Salt-money, should be remitted: Furthermore, that with all Industry he should make him jealous of the Emperor's Ambition. And lastly, to propose a strict League with him, even to the Exclusion of the Pope from their Dominions, as he said: He said he had already contracted with the Duke of *Cleves*, and in a manner with the Duke of *Saxe*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *John* Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and the Marquis *Joachim* Elector, and other Princes of *Germany*. The Duke coming thus to *Paris*, had Audience of *Francis*; but finding him resolute not to break with the Emperor, if he perform'd his part, he return'd before the end of *February*.

Having thus deliver'd together the whole Business of the Interview, and Success thereof, lest the Reader should be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I shall look back on some other Affairs which pass'd this while.

Our King having found that neither the Marriage propos'd betwixt himself and the Dutchess of *Milan*, was like to take Effect, nor any other
1539. in *France*, consider'd now where he might bestow himself with most Advantage: Whereupon *Cromwel* advis'd him to a Treaty with *Cleves*; and the rather, that he might oppose the Emperor, who did still retain such a Grudge against him for disinheriting the Princess *Mary*, as it was thought he would endeavour to execute the Pope's Sentence: So that hereunto certain Considerations of State, rather than Beauty or Riches, did conduce. For as *John* Duke of *Cleves* was next Neighbour to the Emperor's Dominions in the *Low-Countries*, and Father-in-Law to the Duke of *Saxony*, he seem'd most proper to 1539.
join with in League to this purpose. But the old Duke *John* dying shortly after, the Treaty April 1539.
was renew'd with Duke *William* his Son, to whom May
also the Princess *Mary* was propos'd, when he 1539.
demanded her upon fitting Terms. But Difficulties appear'd in either of these Affairs; for the Lady *Anne* having been demanded by the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, the old Duke of *Cleves* had in great part accorded it: And for the other Match, it was much cross'd by the Emperor, who offer'd Duke *William* the Dutchess of *Milan*, not without some Hope that he would release *Guelders*, which the said Duke claim'd by the Gift of *Charles* of *Egmond*, late Duke thereof. How- 1538.
beit, the Treaties with our King went on; but so as they were by the *Clevois* cunningly delay'd, till a Meeting with the Emperor's Deputies at *Bruxels* had past, and Advice was taken with the Duke of *Saxony*: Yet were not these the only Impediments; for the Lady *Anne* understood no Language but *Dutch*; so that all Communion of Speech betwixt our King and her was intercluded. Yet, as our Ambassador, *Nicholas Wotton*, Doctor of Law, employ'd in this Business, hath it, she could both write and read in her own Language, and Sew very well; only for Musick, he said, it was not the manner of the Country to learn it. But for her better Description, *Hans Holbin*, the King's Servant, took her Picture, and her younger Sister *Amelies*, and sent them An. 1539.
hither; upon whose excellent Representation of the Lady *Anne*, the Match being resolv'd on, was fully concluded at the coming over of *Frederic* Duke of *Bavaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the several Ambassadors of the Dukes of Decemb.
Saxony and *Cleves*; and shortly after the Lady, with a brave Equipage, was sent into *England*. The other Treaty yet succeeded not; for the young Duke of *Cleves* finding no Disposition in the Emperor to release *Guelders*, concluded a Marriage with the only Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margarita* the *French* King's Sister, the Year following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her way now as far as 1539.
Rochester, the King came disguis'd to her on New- Dec. 31.
Years-Day: But the Sight so dislik'd him, that he Jan. 1.
was glad (as his own Words were afterwards) that *he had kept himself from making any Pact of Bond with her, and that he was Woe that ever she came into* England; *and that he thereupon deliberated with himself how to break it off; though, as he consider'd it would make a Ruffle in the World, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperor or* French *King's Hands, he said, it was too far gone.* The Truth of all which is so declar'd by our Records, that I make no Question, but if her coming had happned at any other Time than when the Emperor and *French* King were together in *France*, as is before related, he would have sent her back. Howsoever, he thought fit to discover himself at last to her; who thereupon fell on her Knees, but he taking her up, lovingly kiss'd her, without making shew of any inward Discontent, which also he had so at length digested, that he resolv'd to marry her, when the Ensurance made by her to the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son were clear'd; which business being committed to *Cromwel*'s Care, who was a special Counsellor of the Match, he said (as the King afterwards charg'd him under his Hand) that a sufficient Instrument for this purpose was brought: But whether *Cromwel* did forget himself herein, or his Master, it is hard out of our Records to determine; for I find in an Original written by *Cromwel*, 25 of *June*, to June.
the King, out of the *Tower*, that *Olesleger* and *Hobsteden* (the Duke of *Cleves*'s Commissioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed

Princess *Mary* propos'd in Marriage to the D. of *Cleves*.

Anne of *Cleves* comes into *England*.

The King dislikes her.

no

1539. no ſuch Inſtrument, nor any Diſcharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son; nevertheleſs, that *Oleſleger* offer'd to remain here as Priſoner, till a Revocation of all the aforeſaid Covenants

Jan. 4. and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him ſay, he was not well handled in this Buſineſs. Howſoever, all was remitted to the Council-Table, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſaid, if nothing but Sponſals had paſt betwixt them, ſuch a Renunciation as was offer'd would ſerve; and that then ſhe making a Proteſtation in an honourable Preſence before certain Notaries, ſhould be a ſufficient Diſcharge in Law: And now the procuring of the ſaid Inſtrument in Writing being undertook by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, the King requir'd the Lady to make a Proteſtation before the Lords to this effect: Which being done, he ſaid to

Jan. 5. *Cromwel*, that *there was no Remedy now, and therefore he muſt put his Neck in the Yoke*, (as the Words

Jan. 6. under his Hands are:) Whereupon, the next Day after he ſolemnly married her at *Greenwich*, reſolving to confederate himſelf with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to ſome moderate Accord in Doctrine. But in the Morning, *Cromwel* coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better than before, he anſwer'd, *Nay, much worſe; for that he having found by ſome Signs that ſhe was no Maid, he had no Diſpoſition to meddle with her:* Nevertheleſs, he outwardly cheriſh'd her; without making any publick Demonſtration of Diſfavour towards her, or Neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and elſewhere. All which made the greater Shew,

Dec. 1539. that the King remembring what Enemies he had abroad, and diſcontented Perſons at home, had renew'd his Guard of Fifty Penſioners, intermitted ſince the firſt Year of his Reign.

Scots Aff[airs]. It is formerly related, how not only *James* King of *Scotland* deſir'd in Marriage *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a touch given that our King had ſome Inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* choſe rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that leſs States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equal for the moſt part live in Jealouſy with their Neighbours:

Jan. 10. 1538. *Leſl.* Therefore the Match being concluded, ſhe was brought to *Scotland*, and ſoon after with Child, which being a Son, the Grandmother *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, and Siſter to our King, having Chriſten'd, ſhortly after died, Aged about Fifty Years, and was buried in the *Carthuſians* Church

1540. in *Perth*. But neither that Child, nor another born the Year following, liv'd long; they (tho' in ſeveral Places) ending their Lives within ſix Hours one after the other, the ſame Day (as the

Leſl. Buch. *Scottiſh* Hiſtory hath it.) I find little elſe by our Records, of *Scotland*, for this Year; ſave that ſome Libels and Propheſies being divulg'd in *Scotland* againſt our King, the Authors were pu-

Feb. 24. 1540. niſhed by *James*. The Year following, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Secretary, was diſpatch'd thither, about the Time that the Emperor and *French* King were together; for our King knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent Danger. The Inſtructions given to *Sadler* were, (after preſenting the King's Love, and ſome Horſes) Firſt, *To bring* David Beton, *Cardinal and Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews, *into Suſpicion with that King, as having written to* Rome, *in other Terms than he ſhould; which Letters being intercepted in* England, *were now to be ſhewn. But King* James *did not much weigh this.*

Secondly, *To perſuade him, for augmenting his Eſtate, to take into his Hands the Abbeys*; which *James* likewiſe refus'd, ſaying, *What need I take them into my Hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them? And if there be Abuſes in them, I will reform them; for there be a great many good.* 1539.

Thirdly, *To diſcover his Affection, by telling him how Rumours were diſpers'd* (which the aforeſaid Interview made probable) *that the Emperor,* French *King, and Biſhop of* Rome *would invade* England; *and that it was ſaid, King* James *would do the ſame.* But he proteſted with many Oaths againſt it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how near he was to the *Engliſh* Crown; and that he ſhould eſteem his Uncle's Friendſhip above any others, deſiring again there might be an Interview; which *James* approv'd, when the *French* King might be preſent; but afterward by a particular Meſſage excus'd it: So that ſome Jealouſies paſs'd betwixt them; which alſo appear'd by certain Fortifications rais'd about this time upon the Borders by our King, and a Navy of fifteen Ships, and 2000 Men made in readineſs by *James*: Who wanted not Money, his Clergy giving great Sums only that their Houſes might not be diſſolv'd. What the Occaſion of theſe Preparations yet was, I cannot tell; but I gather out of our Records, that about this Time certain *Iriſh* Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promiſing to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* ſhould come over to do him Homage. How this Offer was accepted, appears not; but the Preparatives came to nothing, by the good Order which our King gave; who both by frequent and kind Meſſages, and ſecuring his Borders, kept his Nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remain'd undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, that our King took it ill, that *James* aſſum'd to himſelf his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, only adding the word *Chriſtian* unto it, as if, ſaid he, there were any other Faith.

The Iriſh invite the K. of Scots to be their King.

That Beauty and Attractive which ſhould take the King's Eye in *Anne* of *Cleves*, not appearing, nor that Converſation which ſhould pleaſe his Ear; and her Brother, beſides, excuſing himſelf in the Performance of ſome Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly think of a Divorce; for which Purpoſe, the Precontract with the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son was chiefly pretended. For though *Oleſleger*, Chancellor of *Cleves*, had, according to his Promiſe, 26. *Feb.* 1540. procured an Inſtrument in Writing out of the Records of *Duſſeldorp*, dated *Feb.* 15. 1535. teſtifying the *Sponſalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain*'s Son, and the *Lady Anne*, ſhould not take effect: Yet this, it ſeems, either was not ſhew'd, or did not ſatisfy our King. Howſoever, it was not depoſited *in Archivis Regiis*, but found among *Cromwel*'s Papers after his Apprehenſion. And now although all Scruples ſeem'd the more conſiderable, in that ſo many Doubts had been already caſt concerning the King's former Marriages, yet the King determined, at what price ſoever, to ſeparate himſelf from *Anne* of *Cleves*, and together to ruin *Cromwel*. For though he had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Eſſex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by reaſon of his low Birth, to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner*, and the *Roman* Catholicks, for having operated ſo much in the Diſſolution of Abbeys; and that the Reformers themſelves found he could not protect them from Burning; and laſtly, that beſides a Subſidy that the Clergy gave, of four Shillings in the Pound, he had gotten in the preſent Parliament, not without much Reluctation, one Tenth, and one Fifteen parts of all Laymens Goods; he was univerſally hated: Which our King conſidering, and having beſides divers Articles brought

April 1[?]. *The King thinks of a Divorce from Anne of Cleves.*

Cromwel made Earl of Eſſex and Lord Chamberlain. Aug. 26. 1537. April 18. April 12. *Is generally hated.*

1540. Reg. 32.

brought against him, he now judg'd him no longer necessary: Therefore he gave way to all his Enemies Accusations; which could not but be material; it being impossible that any Man, who medled so much in Great and Publick Affairs, should not in divers Kinds so mistake, forget, and err, as to incur the Note of a Criminal, when severe Inquisition were made against him. And now the King having gotten sufficient Proof against *Cromwel*, caus'd him to be Arrested at the Council-Table, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, when he least suspected it: To which *Cromwel* obey'd, though judging his Perdition more certain, that the Duke was Unkle to the Lady *Katharine Howard*, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his Commitment to the *Tower* being divulg'd, the People with many Acclamations witnessed their Joy; so impatient are they usually of the Good Fortune of Favourites arising from mean Place, and insolent over the Ill: Whereof the King being inform'd, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament-business, and the Divorce; and the rather, that all former Faults being now imputed to *Cromwel*, every body began to hope of a better Age. But *Cromwel* (if we may believe some of our Authors) foresaw his Fall two Years before, and therefore provided for his Family, neither did the late Honours give him much Comfort or Security, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater Sacrifice. It cannot be deny'd yet, but the Crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the General Terms, Great and Enormous, and such as deserv'd the most capital Punishment; tho' as some of the Accusations were conceal'd two Years after they were alledg'd, and the Particulars of some others not specified; and lastly, as he was not permitted to answer for himself, the Proceedings against him were thought rigorous; but so few pitied him, that all was easily pass'd over: Nevertheless, I find by an Original, that *Cranmer* writ to the King in his Behalf boldly, considering the Times; *for though* (as is in his Letter) *he heard Yesterday in his Grace's Council, that he is a Traitor; yet, he saith, Who cannot be sorrowful, and amaz'd that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanc'd by your Majesty, he whose Surety was only by your Majesty, he who lov'd your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he who studied Always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesty's Will and Pleasure; he that car'd for no Man's Displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a Servant, in my Judgment, in Wisdom, Diligence, Faithfulness, and Experience as no Prince in this Realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceiv'd, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the Noble Princes of Memory, King* John, Henry II. *and* Richard II. *had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, and overthrown, as those good Princes were*; After which he says again, *I lov'd him as my Friend, for so I took him to be, but I chiefly lov'd him for the Love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace, singularly above all others. But now, if he be a Traitor, I am sorry that ever I lov'd him, or trusted him, and I am very glad that his Treason is discover'd in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's Chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually Night and Day to send such a Counsellor in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his Qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much Sollicitude and Care to preserve your Grace from all Dangers, as I ever thought he had.* All which, as being a Character of *Cromwel* in *Cranmer's* Opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the Original. Not yet that I will pretend Excuses for him, whom the Laws have condemn'd; (though *Fox* doubts not to say, *That as General Councils have sometimes been observ'd to err, so Princes and Parliaments may be sometimes inform'd by sinister Heads*;) But that his Punishment may serve as a Caution for those that serve severe Princes, to procure sufficient Warrant for all that they do. The Crimes objected to *Cromwel* seeming to be chiefly an Usurpation of Power, to set at liberty certain Persons not capable of it, and granting certain Licences, and making certain Commissions in high Affairs, without the King's Knowledge: For which, though *Cromwel* in his Discretion might have found due Motives; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the Danger of the Law. Furthermore, he was accus'd for being an Heretick, and favouring them: (But then, that the Head of the Church's Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, should be an Heretick, and favourer of them, to some seem'd strange, to others gave an Occasion of Merriment.) As for his speaking certain high presumptuous Words concerning the King, and sundry of the Nobility, many thought it proceeded rather out of mistaking and rashness, than any ill Intention. *Cromwel*, thus unheard, and almost unpitied, being condemn'd while he was in the *Tower*, omitted not yet to write unto the King, whereof hereafter. The Context of my History requiring, that I come to the Proceedings of the King's Divorce.

June 23. Is arrested by the D. of *Norfolk*.

Stow p. 514.

June 14.

Records. *Cranmer's* Letter to the King in his Favour.

Cromwel's Accusation.

Sanders Schism. Angl.

His Confinement.

I find by an Original, that *John Clark* Bishop of *Bath*, was sent to the Duke of *Cleves* at the end of *June*, to tell him, That the King never consented heartily to the Matrimony with his Sister; and that he never did, nor intended to consummate the same; especially since he could not but take Notice of the Precontract with *Lorain*: Besides which, that there were secret Causes, which the King without great Necessity would not have disclos'd, because they touch'd the Honour of the Lady; yet that all her Jewels should be restor'd, with an honourable Augmentation in Revenue, *&c.* And so that she should be transported into her Country. Besides, that Assurance should be given the Duke of the King's Love, in all his Occasions with the Emperor. After which, if the Duke should remain perverse, to tell him, That the Matter is already so debated by his Majesty, and the whole Realm, (as the Reader will see hereafter) the Parliament now sitting, that they be utterly resolv'd to proceed to Justice. But these Instructions again were check'd by others of *July* 3. and he commanded to persist only in the Point of Precontract with *Lorain*, which was upon Remonstrance of the Lords in the Upper-house, to be debated in Parliament, since they found the Instrument for Revocation thereof was of no Value: And that certain Persons were appointed of both Houses, who should repair to the King, to beseech him, by way of humble Petition, that it would please him, both to grant, that the Bishops and the Clergy of the Realm, might examine the matter, and thereupon declare their Judgment, and Sentence; and also to abstain from her Company, till the Case were decided: Whereunto his Majesty condescending and agreeing, upon *Thursday* next it should be opened to the Parliament, and brought to the King, and from thence, remitted to the Bishops and Clergy; and also notified to her. All which tending only to an Examination, his Majesty could not deny, not doubting but the said Duke considering that it is the general Motion of the whole

June. Records. The King's Divorce from *Anne* of *Cleves* pursu'd.

July 3.

July 6.

1540.

whole Realm, and remembring the Effusion of Blood which hath been in the same, by Uncertainty of Titles, will think it reasonable, that this last Matrimony, for their more Certainty, and the King's Discharge, should be examin'd. These second Instructions (sign'd by the King as the former were,) yet did not please: He being finally commanded to urge for his best Argument *Authoritatem rei judicatæ*: All which Instructions were sent the Bishop in his way, and before he came to *Bruges*, where the Emperor was; whom he was commanded to salute on his Majesty's part, and to deliver him certain Letters. The Particulars whereof, though not extant in our Records, yet (as I gather by some Circumstances) tended to a Reconciliation with the Emperor, whom the King in this Match had disoblig'd. Of the Delivery whereof also, the Bishop (being not yet come to the Duke of *Cleves*) advertis'd our King, who this while commanded the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesly*, to acquaint the said Lady therewith; (who, upon pretence of better Air, was lately remov'd to *Richmond*.) But the News struck her into a sudden Weakness and Fainting, till at last recovering her self, she was by little and little persuaded, First, To refer the Matter to the Clergy: Secondly, To relinquish her Title of Queen; instead whereof, the King had devis'd another, which he thought might content her: And this was (as I find by our Records) that she should have the Name and Dignity thenceforth of his Adopted Sister; which Stile yet, afterwards gave some Subject of Discourse: Howsoever, she accepted it, and subscrib'd (in these Terms) a Letter to the King. Besides, she sent another to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, acknowledging the Justice of the Proceedings; and that she was untouch'd by the King, and that she was well intreated in *England*, and therefore desir'd to stay: Lastly, she promis'd to shew the King all Letters receiv'd from her Brother, Mother, or any else. Whereupon, the Officers which before attended her as Queen, were discharg'd, and others appointed to wait on her in the Quality of the King's Adopted Sister.

July 6. June 25. She is acquainted with the King's designs herein. July 11.

And now the Duke understanding by the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Nicolas Wotton* Resident there, that our Clergy assisted by the Court of Arches, had declar'd, (upon her Testimony that she was untouch'd by our King) That the Marriage was void, and that either part might marry freely; and that the whole Parliament had confirm'd the Sentence, and she accepted it, remain'd much perplex'd, as with Tears he witnessed; yet finding it a Business publickly resolv'd, he said little; especially after he heard that *Richmond*-House, and other fair Lands, were allotted her for Maintenance; and that she should have Precedence before all, save the Queen, and the King's Children. Howbeit, he would never consent to the disannulling of the Match; so that the Bishop return'd, leaving the Duke no otherwise satisfied, than that his Sister had sped no worse. Thus at length the Law pass'd, declaring the Marriage void, both by the Judgment of the Clergy of *England*, and also by her own Consent, and that it was High Treason to judge or believe otherwise.

July 20. July 10. July 12. July 12. Their Marriage declar'd void.

Another Act also was made, shewing, what Marriages were lawful, and what not. Wherein is ordain'd, that all Marriages (without the Degrees prohibited by God's Law) made and consummate by carnal Knowledge, shall be firm and good. Notwithstanding any Precontract, which hath not been so consummate. But this Law was repeal'd, 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mar.* and 1 *Eliz.* 1.

Several other Acts pass'd.

Other Acts also pass'd this Session of Parliament, which began *April* 12. Among which I thought fit to remember these: 1540. April 12. Pag. 31.

An Act declaring in what Cases a Man may dispose all his Lands by his last Will in Writing; and in what, but part thereof. And in what Cases the King, and other Lords, shall have their Wardships.

That no Person should sell or buy any Right or Title, or maintain it, or procure Maintenance in any Suit

The Punishment also by Death of Priests married, or unmarried; and of Women offending with them by Incontinency, was Repeal'd. For as the Clergy of these Times thought it (though one of the Six Articles) too severe; the Punishment (upon their Remonstrance) was laid on their Goods, Chattels, and Spiritual Promotions; and this also better pleas'd the King.

Sanctuaries also, and priviledg'd Places were reduc'd to a few, and certain Rules prescrib'd to them.

That Horses feeding on Commons, not being of a lawful Height, (that is to say, not being fifteen Hands high, at two Years old) should be seiz'd on by any Man for his own Use.

That Forests, Heaths, Commons, &c. should be driven once in the Year, and unlikely Tits in them to be kill'd. Nevertheless, that Horses of small Height might be put where Mares were not kept.

The Statutes also of 5 *Rich.* 2. 3. 6 *Rich.* 2. 8. 4. 4 *Hen.* 7. 10. and 23 *Hen.* 8. 7. touching fraighting in *English* Ships, were only rehears'd and confirm'd, and a Rate set down what should be paid for the Fraight, or Portage of the several sorts of Merchandizes, from the Port of *London* to other Places, and from thence to *London*.

That no Alien nor Denizon shall set up any Trade in the King's Dominions, and they who are Denizons should be bound by and unto, all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, particularly those of 14 *Hen.* 8. and 21 *Hen.* 8. abovementioned.

That *Trinity*-Term, in regard of Impediment of Harvest, and Danger of Infection, should be abbreviated. Certain Privileges also were granted to Physicians in *London*; as that they should not keep Watch and Ward, nor be Constables; and that they might practice Chirurgery: Barbers and Chirurgeons were also made one Company, and certain Privileges given them; as not to bear Armour, or to be put in any Watches or Inquests.

A Court also of the First-Fruits, and Tenths, granted to the King, was erected.

The Court of the King's Ward also, and the Names and several Duties and Offices thereof was erected.

It was enacted also, That the Lands and Goods of St. *John's* in *Jerusalem*, should be in the King's Disposition; for which these Reasons chiefly were pretended: Because the Knights of *Rhodes* or Saint *John*, otherwise call'd Friers of the Religion of Saint *John*, drew yearly great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom; that they maintain'd the usurp'd Power of the Bishop of *Rome*; that they defam'd and slander'd the King and his Subjects; that the Isle of *Rhodes*, whence the said Religion took its Name, was surpriz'd by the *Turks*; that the Revenues might be better imploy'd for Defence of the Realm; nevertheless, certain Pensions were allow'd unto the Prior, and others of the said Order, that were dutiful Subjects. But all their Lands, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, were granted to the King's Majesty, to be in the Survey, Rule, and Governance of the Chancellor, and others, Officers of the Court

of

1540. of Augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious Order, not without much Scandal abroad, both to the King and Government. Tho' yet, the envious Disrespect shew'd unto the *English* being such, as they never attained higher Dignity than the *Turcoplier* or Captain's Place of the Light-Horse in the Isle of *Rhodes*, did (in the opinion of some) extenuate this Proceeding: The King yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great Portions of the said Lands to divers of our Noblemen and Cavaliers, who

May 1. *Hall.* lately had held a solemn Jousts, Tourney, and Barriers in *Westminster*, and feasted sumptuously both the King and Court.

Act of Indemnity. Lastly, a general and free Pardon was granted of all Heresies, Treasons, Felonies, and Offences, (some particular Persons and Matters only excepted) in which number *Cromwel* was not yet

June 25. included. For, though divers Letters and Messages passed from him to the King; and one particularly written after his Condemnation, and extant in our Records, wherein he much excus'd

Cromwel writes to the King after Condemnation. himself, saying, That *if his Medlings under his Majesty were great, so his Majesty's Authority was great; and that he protested, besides, under many Execrations, that he was innocent in his Intentions; and, lastly, utterly deny'd all Treason and Heresy, as that he was no Sacramentary*, &c. yet he could not prevail. And

July 28. thus the twenty eight of *July* (being four Days after the Dissolution of the Parliament) he was brought to the *Tower-Hill*, where, after Profession

Is beheaded. that he would die in the Catholick Faith, his Head was cut off.

His Descent and Fortune. And to this End came *Cromwel*, who from being but a Blacksmith's Son, found means to travel into divers foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars, (being a Soldier of *Bourbon* at the sacking of *Rome*); whence returning, he was receiv'd into the Cardinal *Woolsey*'s Service: To whom he so approv'd himself by his Fidelity and Diligence, that the King after his Fall voluntary took him for his Servant; in which place he became a special Instrument for dissolving the Abbies, and other Religious Houses, and keeping down the Clergy; whom in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he usually term'd the King's half Subjects: And for expelling the Monks, he said it was no more than a restoring them to the first Institution of being lay and labouring Persons: Neither did it move him, that so much Strictness and Austerity of Life was injoin'd them in their several Orders, since he said they might keep it in any Condition. But as these Reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able Persons, so he got him many Enemies, who at last procur'd his Fall; but not before he had obtain'd successively the Dig-

(a) July 9. 1536. nities of Master of the Rolls, (a) Baron, (b) Lord

(b) Privy-Seal, (c) Vicegerent to the King in Spiri-

(c) Jul. 18. 1536. tualities, (d) Knight of the Garter, (e) Earl of *Essex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. He

(d) Au. 26. 1537. was noted in the Exercise of his Places of Judi-

(e) Ap. 14. 1540. cature to have us'd much Moderation; and in his greatest Pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean Persons of his old acquaintance, and therein had a Virtue which his Master the Cardinal wanted: As for his other Descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of *Cranmer's* Letter formerly mention'd, with some deduction; for it seems written to the King in more than ordinary favour of his ancient Service.

At the same time with *Cromwel*, *Walter*, Lord *Hungerford* suffer'd. The Crimes objected to him were, For taking into his House as Chaplain one *William Bird*, who had called the King Heretick, *&c.* That he had procur'd certain Persons to conjure, to know how long the King should live; also, That he had used the Sin of Buggery.

Shortly after which, divers great Persons from 1540. *Italy*, and other Places, came to see the King, whom he very courteously receiv'd, and being richly rewarded, dismiss'd them. July 22. *Hollinsh.*

The King continued yet his Rigor to those that disputed either his Authority, or Articles; insomuch, that both the Reformers and Maintainers of the Pope's Authority suffer'd so frequently, that his Enemies said, While he admitted neither side, he seem'd to be of no Religion. *Sanders.* Howbeit, this was but Calumny, for he stood firmly to his own Reformation.

And now the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* contenting her self with the stile of the King's adopted Sister, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Daughter to *Edmund* the third Son of *Thomas*, first Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the present Duke, was married to the King, and presently after shewed publickly as Queen. The King marries the Lady *Katharine Howard.* Aug. 8.

Our Historians say, That in *August*, this Year, there was so great a Drought, that the Springs failing, the Salt-water flow'd above *London*-Bridge. I find also, that *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of *Bavaria* was in *England*, to obtain Aid of the King, for the restitution of his Father-in-Law the King of *Denmark*. But as our Records do not set down the time exactly, so I know not whether to place him in this Year, or the Year preceeding. Howsoever, he found some Difficulty in his Business, and the rather, that he asked so great a Sum as six hundred thousand Ducats, when the King had so much use of Money, for the fortifying of his Kingdom. August.

Let us look a while upon foreign business: The memory of those Courtesies which were done the Emperor, being yet fresh, *Francis* thought fit to send the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and Conestable *Montmorency*, to treat concerning the Restitution of *Milan*: But the Emperor, resolute at what price soever not to quit it, made them at length this Answer:

There is nothing I desire so much, as the Peace and Quiet of the World, which that it may be firm and true, I am content to give unto the King, more than ever he meant to ask, or I to grant. Of two Daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, *and with her for Dowry the State of* Flanders, *with the Stile and Title of a King; so shall* Francis *have two Sons, both Kings and Neighbours: Besides, if his eldest Son and mine die, he and my Daughter shall be the greatest Princes in the World; for they shall have* Spain *and all my other Dominions. As for* Milan, *let them not think I will ever part with it; since it were nothing else than to disjoint* (the *Spanish* is more elegant *Descabecar*) *all my Estates. And let it not grieve the King; for I had it by good and lawful Succession, and possess it as belonging to the Empire. Take* Milan *from me, and you take away my Passage between* Flanders *and* Spain, Italy, Sicily, *and* Germany. *This is that I had to say to you. And if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business.* The Emperor's final Answer to Francis about *Milan.* *Sanders.*

The Cardinal and *Montmorency* hereupon advertis'd this good Offer; but *Francis*, as a Man passionate, and affronted, returned this Answer.

That since he might not have his Inheritance, he would have nothing else; neither would he care to speak any more of Peace. The Fr. King's Reply.

And thus the Treaty brake off; yet so, as it was thought that *Francis* herein shew'd some Wilfulness; he being not further off from *Milan* for having *Flanders*, nor to be bound so by any Confederation, as he might not easily find occasion to dissolve it, the Causes both of War and Peace betwixt great Princes being perpetual. And now the Emperor, glad of this refusal, prosecutes his Business in *Germany*, without care of giving *Francis* any further satisfaction.

 In

1540. In *France*, where all was now quiet, little past this Year, save that *Francis* being desirous to enlarge his Borders, built a Fortress at *Ardres*, and made a Bridge over to the *English* Pale; which our Garison hearing, beat down. The *French* yet re-edify'd it; but our Garisons overthrew it again. Whereupon the *French* raising some Forces under *Monsieur de Biez*, our King commanded *Henry Arundel* Lord *Matrevers* (lately made Deputy of *Calais* in the place of *Arthur Plantagenet*) to put the Town into defence by Fortifying and Victualling it; and shortly after sent over the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Edward Kerne*, who disputed the Right of the Borders with *Monsieur de Biez*, and other Commissioners from *Francis*. But as no effect follow'd hereon, and *Francis* besides took occasion to complain, that our King in the late Parliament hath made the *French* liable to Subsidies, and other new Impositions, contrary to the ancient Treaties: Our King on the other side, remonstrating that those Acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the said Treaties; both Princes remain'd unsatisfy'd of the others Actions, Therefore on the *French* Party *Monsieur de Vendosme* was commanded to raise Forces in *Picardy*; and from *England* were sent *William* Earl of *Southampton*, lately made Lord Privy-Seal, and *John* Lord *Russel*, newly constitute High Admiral, with a few Troops of *Northern* Horse: Without yet that any thing was attempted on either side for the present.

[Margin: Sept. 7. Octob. 13. June. Nov. 14. Jan. 1541. Records. Octob. Records. Hall 1541 April. Octob. 27. July 28.]

[Margin: Order of the Jesuits founded. Life of Ignatius Loyola.]

I will conclude this Year with a Narration of the first beginning which the *Jesuitical Order* took from *Inigo de Loyola* of *Guipuscoa* in *Spain*. This *Inigo* or *Ignatius* being born 1492. (that is to say, in the Year that the *Indies* were discover'd, and *Granada* taken in by *Ferdinand*) seems the third great effect of that unparallel'd Ascendent which *Spain* had at that time: He lived yet obscurely till he came to twenty nine Years of Age, but then turn'd Soldier in the Wars of *Navarre*, 1521. where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof seems to have waken'd Devotion in him to a Religious Life; for assoon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Montserrat*, to whom he offer'd his Sword and Dagger, which being done, he gave his Clothes away to a Poor Man, and took upon him a Shirt and miserable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Rushes: And in these Arms (for so are *Sandoval's* Words) he watch'd one whole Night before our Lady, and so went to an Hospital three Leagues off, and there attended the sick Persons, whence he travell'd after to the *Holy Land*; being return'd thence, and now in his Age of thirty three, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attain'd. And being desirous to make further progress, he went to the University of *Alcala*, and so to *Salamanca*, where being oppos'd and persecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there studied till he had found at last divers others, with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and *Jerusalem*. Thus about 1536, going first to *Venice*, he staid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he follow'd them; and obtain'd of *Paul* III. the Foundation of the *Jesuitical Order*, 27. *Sept.* 1540. The decay of Religious Houses in *England*, and the Progress of the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, authorizing (it seems) their Institution, who sithence have so dilated themselves, as their Disciples fear not to say, That for advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to farther Countries than the Apostles ever reach'd; and that God reserv'd the intire Discoveries both of *East* and *West Indies* until the latter times, only that those Holy Fathers might have the Honour of their Conversion. Of the Devotion and Miracles which this *Ignatius* is said to have exhibited in his Journeys, I affirm nothing, as contenting my self to have taken the more historical part out of *Sandoval*, (who seems to be a great Extoller of him.) Sundry Reformers on the other side, instead of confessing him to be a good Man, or a Miracle-worker, said, he was an Incendiary, and haunted with Evil Spirits. Which latter part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them *Jesuits*) confirm; moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hospinian* hath it) that he dy'd in much Fear and Trembling, and that his Face was strangely black; *Hasenmullerus* besides (once a *Jesuit*) adds that no Bones were found in his Body, and that all the *Jesuits* at his Burial were Witnesses thereof. Concerning which therefore no little Dispute is on both sides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers sober Men think neither: But that we may pretermit the Contentions of Men passionate on the one or the other side, as unfit to establish that Peace in which God is best serv'd, there is little occasion to say more of the *Jesuits* in this place, than that they are generally held such Ministers of the King of *Spain*, that they have more advanc'd (by the secret Operations of their Confessions, and Intelligence, which is admirable) the Designs of the House of *Austria*, than either the Continent of *Spain*, made intire by the Union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touch'd) or the *Indies* themselves. By which means, as also that their Doctrine and Learning is so exact in all things, save where they overmuch study the Pope and *Spaniards* Ends, they have made themselves the most considerable among all the Religious Orders.

[Margin: Sandov. This Order founded by Pope Paul III. Sept. 27.]

[Margin: 1540.]

[Margin: 1541. Persecutions in England concerning the six Articles.]

And now a cruel time did pass in *England*; for as few durst protect those who refus'd to subscribe to the six Articles, so they suffer'd daily, whereof *Fox* hath many Examples; neither was it easy for any Man to escape, (Commissioners being appointed in every Shire to search out and examine those who were refractory;) nevertheless these Punishments did but advance their Religion; for as they were notify'd abroad, and together their Constancy presented, who were burnt, it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoice in the midst of their Torments, and triumph over the most cruel Death. Therefore not only the learned and better affected sort, but even all Christian Princes endeavour'd some consent of Opinion: The Pope himself not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow some degrees of Latitude in Religion, only when their several Authorities might be conserv'd, than to hazard a general Schism and Distraction. Hereunto also it conduced not a little, that the *Turk* taking notice of these Divisions, prepared to invade *Germany*. Therefore the Emperor appointed a Meeting at *Worms*, where divers learned and able Men on both Sides should dispute, hoping so an end would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themselves, the business was referr'd to a Diet, shortly to be held at *Ratisbone*, whither the Pope sent Cardinal *Gasper Contareni*. And here the Emperor being present, requires both Sides to permit the choice of the Delegates to him, which they granted; whereupon he appointed on the one Side, *Julius Pflug*, *John Eccius*, *John Gropper*; on the other, *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*; gravely advising them to handle the business sincerely; these Men, after a modest Excuse, accept the Charge, desiring only certain Assessors who might testifie their Proceedings; whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederick* Count Palatine, and Ni-

[Margin: Octob. 28. 1540. Jan. 1. April 5. Sleid. A Dispute in Germany between the Protestant and Popish Divines. April 22. Ap[...]]

1540. *Nicholas Perenot*, Seigneur *de Granvile*, and some others; offering them further a Book to consider, some Passages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of some others the Protestants writ their Opinion apart; so the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he (it seem'd) well contented therewith; nevertheless, because the Pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd, *Contareni* alledging, that all agreement in this kind wou'd be vain, unless the Holy See confirm'd it; whereupon the Emperor referring the Protestants Confession to him, he

July 7. again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd Time, so the Emperor desirous his Endeavours should take some effect, demands whether those Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be receiv'd, until a Council were had. The

July 12. Protestants desir'd it; but the Legat and Catholick Princes oppos'd it, saying, They were not the most material, and therefore to be pretermitted till the rest were determin'd, *&c.* Concluding with a Desire, that all might be deferr'd to the General Council now intended.

The Emperor finding all Reconciliation at this time to be hopeless, and that the *Turk* still approach'd, took this way, promising himself to go to *Rome*, and sollicit the Pope herein; advising

July 28. the Protestants in the mean time, First, to insist in the reconciled Points. Secondly, The *Roman* Catholick Bishops to reform their own particular Churches, and so make way for a general Reformation; taking order withal, that Religious Houses should not be thrown down, nor People drawn from one Country to another upon pretence of converting them: Yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promising further, if a General Council could not be obtain'd, to procure a Provincial; or if neither, that within eighteen Months another Diet should be called, whither he would intreat a Legat from the Pope to come; suspending, in the

1530. mean time, that rigid Decree at *Augsburg* against the Protestants; whereupon, they also promis'd him their Assistance against the *Turk*. And thus

July 28. *Sanders Schis. Ang.* ended the Diet; to which our King sent *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Knevet*, by whom (if we may believe *Sanders*) he held a doubtful part; sometimes excusing himself to the Protestants, sometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperor's means, when Penance and Restitution should not be requir'd. But as neither our Histories nor Records, nor the diligent **Sleidan** make mention hereof, that I can find, so I leave the credit thereof to the Reader's discretion.

Francis not satisfy'd with the Answer formerly mention'd, nor the Negotiation of *Montmorency*, did resent both. Against the Emperor he took offence for not restoring *Milan* according to his Promise (as he alledg'd) to *Montmorency*: Against him again, he shew'd no little displeasure (as some affirm) for disswading him to seize on the Emperor at that time: Though I rather believe it was on occasion of some private quarrel betwixt the Admiral *Brion* and him; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutchess of *Estampes*, lately ally'd to *Brion*'s Kindred: Howsoever, *Montmorency* was confin'd to a private life; neither would the

The K. of *France* sends an Ambassador to the *Turk*. June. King ever after see him. And now *Francis*, resolv'd when occasion was offer'd to break with the Emperor, sends *Anthony Rincon*, a revolted *Spaniard*, in Ambassage to the *Turk*, and one *Cæsar Fregoso*, a *Genouese*, to the *Venetians*: Both these meeting in *Piedmont* with Seigneur *du Bellay*, the King's Lieutenant there, were advertis'd that the Marquis of *Guasto*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Milan*, laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether trusting to their Quality, or Address, they agreed to pass by Water along the *Po*; sending yet their 1540. Commission and Dispatches by another way into *Venice*; for the rest, hoping betwixt changing their Habit, and Diligence, to escape: But (as it falls out very often, that they who hide not themselves cunningly, give but the more occasion to discover themselves, so) they were prevented, and by certain Persons with Visors assa- July 3. ssin'd upon the Water. *Francis* hearing hereof, said it was done by the Emperor or the Marquis of *Guasto*'s procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other side, disclaim'd the Fact, offering to put the suspected Persons into the Pope's hands, to be there examin'd; protesting, nevertheless, that the killing of *Rincon* was only a chastisement due to a treacherous Subject. *Francis* hearing this, surpriseth *George* of *Austria* (natural Son to *Maximilian* late Emperor) in his Journey from *Spain* to *Flanders* through *France*, and commits him to Prison. Some other Passages also happen'd about this time, which increas'd the Jealousie betwixt them: For as *Francis* had given in Marriage *Joan* Daughter of *Navarre* to the Duke of *Cleves*, and therein strengthen'd himself against the Emperor; so he again by giving the Dutchess of *Milan* to the Son of the Duke of *Lorain*, got the same advantage of Alliance against *Francis*.

A little Rebellion now appearing in *Yorkshire*, April. in which Sir *John Nevil* was a Complice, the King took order to suppress it betimes; commanding the said Sir *John Nevil* to be put to death at *York*. Shortly after which follow'd the Countess of *Salisbury*'s Execution; which, whe- May 27. ther occasion'd by the late Rebellion, (as being thought of Cardinal *Pool*'s Instigation) or that she gave some new offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (set up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but she (as a Person of great Quality assur'd me) refus'd, saying, So should Traytors do, and I am none: Neither did it serve that the Executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her gray Head every way, she bid him if he would have her Head, to get it as he could: So that he was constrain'd to fetch it off slovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors say) the last of the right Line of the *Plantagenets*. Countess of *Salisbury* the last of the *Plantagenet* Line, executed.

And now the King resolved to go in Progress to *Yorkshire*; not yet so much to extinguish the relicks of the last Commotion, as those of Superstition, Miracles and Pilgrimages: Besides, he was in hope to meet his Nephew of *Scotland*, who being solicited again for Interview, had (it seems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he caus'd two Lords and divers others to be put to death: One was the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who having been (the Year precedent) recall'd from his Deputy's place in *Ireland*, was then committed upon Suggestions ministred by the Council there, with whom (I find by our Records) he often wrangled; who furnish'd therefore divers Articles of High-Treason against him: So that though he had (the Year 1539) repulsed *O Donel* and *O Neal* (who invaded the *English* Pale) and render'd the King divers good Services heretofore in *France*, *Ireland*, and other places, he could not escape. The chief Points objected against him (extant in our Records) were, his readiness to join with Cardinal *Pool*, and other the King's Enemies, he having for that purpose (as was alledg'd) left the King's Ordnance in *Galloway*; and that he consented to the escape of his Nephew *Gerald*, formerly mention'd; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if *Hall* say true) being brought to a Jury of Knights, *Hall.* (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be June 25. judged

1541.

Lord *Gray* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord *Dacres* executed.

judged by his Peers) he ſaved them the labour of condemning him, and without more ado confeſſed all; which, whether this Lord (who was of great Courage) did out of Deſperation or Guilt, ſome Circumſtances make doubtful: And the rather, that the Articles being ſo many, he neither deny'd, nor extenuated any of them; though his continual fighting with the King's Enemies (where occaſion was) pleaded much on his part: Howſoever, he had his Head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, who ſuffer'd for committing a Murther in company of ſome light Perſons (who were with him a Deer-ſtealing.) All things being now ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompany'd with his Queen, paſſed thro *Lincolnſhire*, where the People (thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon) preſented him with divers Sums of Money; which the *Yorkſhire* Men alſo imitated. And now being come to *York*, he cauſed Proclamation to be made (as I find in our Records) that if any Man in thoſe Parts found himſelf wronged for lack of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, by any whom his Majeſty hath put in truſt, or other, he ſhall have free acceſs to the King and his Council for Redreſs. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: So that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was fruſtrated. This fill'd the King with Indignation; yet he conceal'd it for the preſent, though reſolving in himſelf to reſent it in the higheſt degree. Therefore departing from *York*, *September* 26. towards *London*, he was on the way encounter'd by the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, deſiring a Licenſe for the Tranſportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great need thereof. To which was anſwer'd, That if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, ſome *Engliſhmen* of our King's appointment to adventure there for providing this Realm with Spices, he ſhould have his Requeſt. But of this, although the ſaid Ambaſſador undertook to write to his Maſter, I find no further mention. Our King being now return'd, prepar'd for War. Which *James* hearing, ſent Ambaſſadors hither to excuſe himſelf, and renew their former Correſpondence, which King *Henry* refuſing, *James* alſo levies Men, (as ſhall be told the Year following.)

June 28. June 29. Auguſt. Sept. 16. Sept. 20. Council Book.

Buch. Leſl.

Scots King refuſes to meet K. *Henry* at *York*.

Oct. 14.

Decemb. Preparations for War with *Scotland*.

But our King encounter'd after this Journey a greater Vexation; for the Queen was ſuppos'd to offend in Incontinency; ſome Particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to tranſcribe, rather than to make other Narration; the Family of which ſhe came being ſo Noble and Illuſtrious, and the Honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concern'd therein.

Nov. 2.

The Letter ſent from divers of the Council to *William Pagett*, our Ambaſſador then in *France*, was this:

Nov. 12.

A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris* concerning K. *Howard's* lewd Courſes.

After our hearty Commendations, by theſe our Letters, we be commanded to ſignifie unto you, a moſt miſerable Caſe, which came lately to Revelation, to the intent that if you ſhall hear the ſame ſpoken of, you may declare the Truth as followeth:

Where the King's Majeſty upon the Sentence given of the Invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highneſs and the Lady Anne *of* Cleve, *was earneſtly and humbly ſolicited by his Council, and the Nobles of this Realm, to frame his moſt noble Heart to the Love and Favour of ſome noble Perſonage to be join'd with him in lawful Matrimony, by whom his Majeſty might have ſome more ſtore of Fruit, and Succeſſion, to the comfort of this Realm; it pleas'd his Highneſs upon a notable appearance of Honour, Cleanneſs and maidenly Behaviour, to bend his Affection towards Miſtreſs* Katharine Howard, *Daughter to the late Lord* Edmond Howard, *Brother to me the Duke of* Norfolk, *inſomuch as his Highneſs was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old Days, after ſundry Troubles of Mind, which have happen'd unto him by Marriages, to have obtain'd ſuch a Jewel for Womanhood, and very perfect Love towards him, as ſhould not only have been to his Quietneſs, but alſo brought forth the deſir'd Fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the ſemblable, and in reſpect of the Virtue and good Behaviour which ſhe ſhew'd outwardly, did her all Honour accordingly. But this Joy is turn'd into extream Sorrow; for when the King's Majeſty receiving his Maker on* Alhallows *Day laſt paſt, then gave him moſt humble and hearty Thanks for the good life he led and truſted to lead with her, and alſo deſir'd the Biſhop of* Lincoln, *his Ghoſtly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like Thanks with him; on All-Souls Day being at Maſs, the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *having a little before heard, that the ſame Miſtreſs* Katharine Howard *was not indeed a Woman of that Pureneſs and Cleanneſs that ſhe was eſteem'd; but a Woman, who before ſhe was joined with the King's Majeſty, had liv'd moſt corruptly and ſenſually; for the diſcharge of his Duty open'd the ſame moſt ſorrowfully to his Majeſty, and how it was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.*

1541.

While the King's Majeſty was in his Progreſs, one John Loſſels *came to the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and declar'd unto him, that he had been with a Siſter of his married in* Suſſex, *which ſometimes had been Servant with the old Dutcheſs of* Norfolk, *who did alſo bring up the ſaid Miſtriſs* Katharine, *and being with his ſaid Siſter, chanced to fall in communication with her of the Queen, wherein he adviſed her (becauſe ſhe was of the Queen's old Acquaintance) ſue to be her Woman: whereunto his Siſter anſwer'd, that ſhe would not ſo do: but ſhe was very ſorry for the Queen; Why, quoth* Loſſels? *Marry, quoth ſhe, for ſhe is light both in living and Condition: How ſo, quoth* Loſſels? *Marry, quoth ſhe, there is one* Francis Dertham, *who was Servant alſo in my Lady of* Norfolk*'s Houſe, which hath lien in bed with her in his Doublet and Hoſe between the Sheets an hundred Nights. And there hath been ſuch puffing and blowing between them, that once in the Houſe a Maid which lay in the Houſe with her, ſaid to me, She would lie no longer with her, becauſe ſhe knew not what Matrimony meant. And further ſhe ſaid unto him, that one* Mannock, *ſometimes alſo Servant to the ſaid Dutcheſs, knew a privy Mark of her Body. When the ſaid* Loſſels *had declared this to the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *he conſidering the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellouſly perplex'd therewith, conſulted in the ſame with the Lord Chancellor of* England, *and the Earl of* Hertford, *whom the King's Majeſty going in his Progreſs left to reſide at* London, *to order his Affairs in thoſe parts; who having weigh'd the matter, and deeply ponder'd the Gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted, reſolved finally, that the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould reveal the ſame to the King's Majeſty; which becauſe the matter was ſuch, as he hath ſorrowfully lamented, and alſo could not find in his heart to expreſs the ſame to the King's Majeſty by word of mouth, he declar'd the Information thereof to his Highneſs in Writing. When the King's Majeſty had read this Information thus deliver'd unto him, his Grace being much perplex'd therewith, yet nevertheleſs ſo tenderly loved the Woman, and had conceiv'd ſuch a conſtant Opinion of her Honeſty; that he ſuppos'd it rather to be a forged matter, than of Truth. Whereupon it pleas'd him ſecretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admiral, Sir* Anthony Brown, *and Sir* Thomas Wriotheſly, *to whom he open'd the Caſe, ſaying, He could not believe it to be true: And yet ſeeing the Information was made, he could not be ſatisfy'd till the Certainty thereof was known;*

1541.

known; but he would not in any wise, that in the Inquisition any spark of Scandal should rise towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majesty resolv'd, that the Lord Privy-Seal should go strait to London, *where the said* Lossels *that gave the Information was secretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would stand to his Saying: Who being so examin'd, answer'd, That his Sister so told him, and that he had declar'd it for the discharge of his Duty, and for none other respect; adding, that he knew what Danger was in it; nevertheless, he had rather die in declaration of the Truth, as it came to him, seeing it touch'd the* King's *Majesty so nearly, than live with the Concealment of the same: Which Asseveration being thus made by the said* Lossels, *the King's Majesty being inform'd thereof, sent the Lord Privy-Seal into* Sussex, *to examine the Woman, making a Pretence to the Woman's Husband of Hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and sent the said Sir* Thomas Wriothesly *to* London *at the same instant, both to examine* Mannock, *and also to take the said* Derrham *upon a Pretence of Pyracy, because he had been before in* Ireland, *and hath been noted before with that Offence; making these Pretences, to the Intent no spark of Suspicion should rise of these Examinations. The said Lord Privy-Seal found the Woman in her Examination constant in her former Sayings: And Sir* Thomas Wriothesly *found by the Confession of* Mannock, *that he had commonly us'd to feel the Secrets and other Parts of her Body, e're ever* Derrham *was so familiar with her; and* Derrham *confess'd that he had known her carnally many times, both in his Doublet and his Hose, between the Sheets, and in naked Bed, alledging such Witnesses, of three sundry Women, one after another, that had lien in the same Bed with them, when he did the Acts, that the Matter seem'd most apparent. But what inward Sorrow the King's Majesty took when he perceiv'd the Information true, as it was the most woful Thing that ever came to our Hearts, to see it; so it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his Heart was so pierc'd with Pensiveness, that long it was before His Majesty could speak, and utter the Sorrow of his Heart unto us: And finally, with plenty of Tears, (which was strange in his Courage) open'd the same. Which done, she was spoken withal in it by the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of* Norfolk, *the Lord Great Chamberlain of* England, *and the Bishop of* Winchester; *to whom, at the first, she constantly deny'd it; but the Matter being so declar'd unto her, that she perceiv'd it to be wholly disclosed, the same Night she disclosed the whole to the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *who took the Confession of the same in Writing, subscribed with her Hand: Then were the rest of the Number, being eight or nine, Men and Women, which knew of their Doings, examin'd, who all agreed in one Tale.*

Now may you see what was done before the Marriage; God knoweth what hath been done sithence: But she had already gotten this Derrham *into her Service, and trained him upon Occasions, as sending of Errands, and writing of Letters, when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privy Chamber. And she had gotten also into her Privy-Chamber, to be one of her Chamberers, one of the Women which had before lien in the Bed with her and* Derrham: *What this portended is easy to be conjectur'd. Thus much we know for the beginning; whereof we thought meet to advertise you, to the Intent afore specify'd: And what shall further succeed and follow of this Matter, we shall not fail to advertise you thereof accordingly.*

You shall also receive herein inclosed a Pacquet of Letters, directed unto Sir Henry Knevet, *his Grace's Ambassador with the Emperor, which his Highness's Pleasure is you shall see convey'd unto him by the next Post that passeth from thence into the Emperor's Court. Thus fare you right heartily well.*

From the King's Palace at *Westminster* the twelfth of *November*.

Your Loving Friends,

Thomas Audley, *Chancellor*.
. . . . . . E. Hertford.
. . . . . . William Southampton.
Robert Sussex.
Stephen Winton.
Anthony Wingfield.

1541. Here were other Names, which are now defac'd in the Original, but D. *Norfolk* may, by the Contents of the Letter, be suppos'd one.

Besides the Persons specified in this Letter, one *Thomas Culpeper* (being of the same Name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the same Fault (as our Histories have it,) which he and *Derrham* at their Arraignment confessing, *Culpeper* had his Head cut off, and *Derrham* was hang'd and quarter'd. Nov. 31; Dec. 10. But it rested not here; for the Lord *William Howard* (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambassage in *France*) and his Wife, Dec. 7. and the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and divers of the Queen's and the said Dutchess's Kindred and Servants, and a Butter-wife, were indicted of Misprision of Treason (as concealing this Fact,) and condemn'd to perpetual Prison; Dec. 10. though yet by the King's Favour some of them at length were released. The King yet not satisfy'd thus, Dec. 22. for more authorising his Proceeding, referr'd the Business to the Parliament sitting the sixteenth of *January* 1541. Jan. 16. Where upon Petition of both Houses, that he would not vex himself, but give his Royal Assent to what they should do, they had leave to proceed, and together Thanks given him that they took his Sorrow to be theirs. Regn. 33. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the Lady *Jane Rochfort*, as also *Culpeper*, *Derrham*, &c. And so the Queen and Lady *Jane Rochfort* (Wife to the late Lord *Rochfort*, and noted to be a particular Instrument in the Death of Queen *Anne*) were brought to the *Tower*, and after Confession of their Faults, had their Heads cut off. Feb. 13.

Kath. Howard attainted and beheaded, with others.

An Act also pass'd, declaring, that it shall be lawful for any of the King's Subjects, if themselves do perfectly know, or by vehement Presumption do perceive any Will, Act or Condition of Lightness of Body in her which shall be the Queen of this Realm, to disclose the same to the King, or some of his Council; but they shall not openly blow it abroad, or whisper it, until it be divulg'd by the King or his Council. If the King, or any of his Successors shall marry a Woman which was before incontinent, if she conceal the same, it shall be High-Treason, *&c.* But this Act was repeal'd, 1 *Edward* VI. 12. and 1 *Mary* 1.

Hall. Several Acts pass'd.

Divers other Acts also pass'd, whereof I have thought fit to set down these: That they who under Colour of a false Token or Counterfeit-Letter got other Men's Money into their Hands, should be punish'd at the Discretion of those before whom they were Convicted, any way but Death.

It was declar'd also, how many Ston'd-Horses every Man should keep according to his Degree. But this was afterwards repeal'd; though yet of special Use in Defence of the Kingdom, when due Regard of the Persons were had.

Further it was declared, who might also shoot in Guns and Cross-bows.

Moreover, That shooting with Bow and Arrows should be used, and unlawful Games debarr'd.

The Order also for Punishment of Murder and Blood-shed in the King's Court, with all the Ceremonies thereof, was set down; the oc-

casion

1541.

June 10. 1541.

casion, it seems, being given by Sir *Edmond Knevet*, who being lately condemn'd to lose his Hand for this Fault, was yet pardon'd.

The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was set down.

That in certain Cases there should be Trial of Treason in any Country where the King by Commission will appoint; and this saved much Trouble and Charges: For as divers things were made Treason in this King's Time, which yet were repeal'd afterwards, so the Lords of the Council were not only continually vexed with these Businesses, but the King at great Charges in remanding the Prisoners.

That none should be Justice of Assize in his own Country.

The Court of Surveyors of the King's Lands, the Names of the Officers there, and their Authority, was set down.

All Practice of Conjuration, Witchcraft and false Prophecy, was made Felony.

K. *Henry* takes to himself the Stile of King of *Ireland*.

The Kings of *England* for a long time rul'd *Ireland* by no other Name than Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Stile, and honour a populous and Warlike Kingdom with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave order to be declar'd King of *Ireland*; which was proclaim'd here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35 *Henry* VIII. 3. This being notify'd to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of Emulation for his assuming the Title, or that himself had any Design on this Country, (as by his laying Claim to divers Parts thereof, and by former Passages may be suspected) is uncertain. Howbeit, understanding that *Mac-Connel* and some *Scots*, who held part thereof, (as *Lesleus* hath it) were not disturb'd in their Possession, he more patiently suffer'd it. Our King on the other side, finding none contested with him for the Sovereignty of the Island, did not so much regard their particular Right: Though yet, as there were divers Commotions about this Time, he had occasion to hold a Hand over the disaffected Persons: But by the Diligence of Sir *Anthony Saintleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly compos'd.

Jan. 25.

Lesl. de Reb. Gest. Scotorum.

July 7. 1540.

March 28. *Hall. Stow.*

During this Session of Parliament some Wrong was offer'd (as our Histories say) to their ancient Privileges; a Burgess of theirs being Arrested: Whereof the King understanding, not only gave way to their releasing him, but Punishment of the Offenders; insomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the *Tower*, and one Delinquent to a place call'd *Little-ease*, others to *Newgate*. By which means the King (whose Masterpiece it was to make use of his Parliaments) not only let Foreign Princes see the good Intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his Devotion: Which also he so industriously procur'd, that rather than he would seem to require more at this time than they had lately given, he borrow'd divers Sums of Money of Men, above fifty Pound yearly in his Books (which he look'd on often) giving them in lieu thereof, Privy Seals, as Security for their Repayment in two Years; by this means suffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his Wants, than to supply them; which yet serv'd to prepare them for his next occasion. The *Irish* Nobility also being well inform'd of these Proceedings, and collecting thereby the Absoluteness of the King's Power every where, the Chief of them this Year submitted themselves, and acknowledg'd him now their King; among whom *Eustace* the great *O Neal* presented himself, and was made Earl of *Tyrone*.

Sheriffs of *London* committed for arresting a Parliament-Man.

Octob.

July 28.

The Diet of *Ratisbonne* being ended, the Emperor from thence sent to the Pope, desiring him to permit an Interview to *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor passing thro' *Milan*, came by Land to *Genoua*, and thence taking Water to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many things were to be determin'd: For first, the Emperor (as he had engag'd himself to the Protestants of the last Diet) urged a Council, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was last indicted: But the *Venetians* oppos'd it, as fearing lest the *Turk*, with whom they had lately made a Peace, should think it was call'd to confederate all Christian Princes against him. Thus was the Council again frustrated: Other Affairs being also interrupted by the Ambassador of *Francis*, who made divers Instances, that at least the Bodies of *Rincon* and *Fergose* might be restor'd; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Burial. But the Emperor still protesting himself to be no way conscious of this Fact, omitted Answer to the rest. This while the *Turk* having gotten some Places of Importance in *Hungary*, and overthrown the Army of *Ferdinand* (led by *Roccandolph*) the Pope endeavour'd a Reconciliation of all the present Differences; desiring the Emperor to give to *Francis* the Estate of *Milan*, and him to restore all he had in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperor resolute not to leave *Milan*, broke off the Treaty; for the rest, preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet consisting of 64 Gallies, 200 Ships, 100 Frigots, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, besides Voluntiers and Seamen. Setting sail with these from *Majorca*, and other Places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two Days to the Coast of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga*, and about 800 *Turks* (being Cavalry for the most part) and about 5000 *Moors*, Renegadoes. It was now *October* 23. 1541. when his Men landed without much Resistance. The first thing done was to require *Azan-Aga* to yield the Place, and turn Christian, as being the Son of Christian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he answer'd, that he desir'd no more Honour than to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the Hands of so excellent an Emperor. But as the Season of the Year was far advanced, foul Weather began, so that they fought neither often, nor with much Advantage on either side. At last, a huge Tempest arose, which finally destroy'd 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, save some Horses, and a few Men: And now the Tempest still increasing, the Emperor, who between Noise and Danger could not sleep, demanded of some Seamen then with him, How long the rest of the Fleet might live, if the Tempest continu'd? They answer'd, At most two Hours: He demanded then, What a Clock it was? They told him, Half an Hour past Eleven: Whereupon he said to them, Comfort your selves; at Twelve the Friers and Nuns rise, and will pray for us. But the Tempest continu'd till far in the next Day, when the miserable Carcasses of Ships and Men, swimming in some Places, and drowning in others, made an hideous Spectacle; while if any got to Land the *Arabs* and *Moors* without Mercy kill'd them. And now, besides the above-mentioned Ships, fourteen or fifteen Gallies were cast away; by which means not only the Artillery and Victuals fail'd, but even the Desire to continue the Siege: For one such another Tempest would have destroy'd all. Yet there was much Difficulty in embarking of the Soldiers, for the Ships did not suffice to carry them: Therefore they were forc'd to cast overboard their most generous Horses, who swimming from one Ship to another, were drowned at

1541.

Sand.l.25. August.

Conc. Trid. lib. 1.

Charles V's Expedition to *Algier*.

October.

His Fleet ruined.

1541. at laſt, not without much Compaſſion of all, and eſpecially their Maſters. The reſt of the Navigation homewards yet was not proſperous, many Ships periſhing. At laſt, the Emperor came to *Calari* in *Sardigna*, where, through contrary Winds, he was conſtrain'd to paſs his *Chriſtmas*; at length fair Weather appearing, he arriv'd in
He returns unſucceſsful. *Spain*: And this was the third unfortunate Voyage to *Algier*, it having been twice before attempted in vain.

1542. A Rupture with *Scotland* being now ſecretly reſolv'd, our King thought fit to aſſure *Francis*, ſending for this purpoſe to Sir *William Paget* his Ambaſſador there, Inſtructions, which were chiefly to hold *Francis* to his Treaties of perpetual Peace. But *Francis* ſaying it was made upon certain Conditions, which were broken by our King, it was anſwer'd, the Treaty was *ſans* Condition, and when it were not, that he had
Feb. 1540. broken none. But *Francis* requiring then Aſſi-
1536. ſtance for *Milan*, as was promis'd; it was reply'd, that both by the Treaty laſt offer'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and another formely by *Pommeray*, this was ſpoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another Condition, that he ſhould forſake the Biſhop of *Rome*, which he refus'd to do, but as this was interrupted with ſome wrangling, ſo there was no little Debate about Ships detain'd on either ſide, our Officers having with-held ſome, under pretence they were Pirates, and they again ſeizing on ours by way of Repriſal; ſo that Matters were breaking forth to an open War. Which being advertis'd to our King, gave him little hope of Amity on that part, and conſequently made him not only deſiſt from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, propos'd for-
1536. merly by *Pommeray* and now renew'd, but ſeek Friends elſewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refuſing in the mean time to enter into League with him againſt the Emperor.

Though the right Line of the *Plantagenets* were extinct in the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, and conſe-
March. quently no fear of pretence to Succeſſion, on that part, there remain'd yet a natural Son of *Edward* IV. call'd Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* (created,
April 26. by King *Henry* VIII. Viſcount *Liſle*) who came
1523. to his End on this Occaſion: This Lord, during his Lieutenancy in *Calais*, being ſuſpected, as conſenting to a Practice of ſome of his Servants,
April 17. (whereby they conſpir'd to deliver that Town
1540. to the *French*,) was thereupon ſent for, and committed to the *Tower*; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this time, not only gave Order to releaſe him, but for his more Comfort, ſent him a Diamond Ring,
The Lord *Liſle* dies of Joy. and a Gracious Meſſage; which ſo overjoy'd and dilated his Spirits, that the Night following
March 3. he dy'd.

Feb. The Emperor being now in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* holds a Diet at *Spire*, where he requires Aid againſt the *Turk*, whereof *Francis* being advertis'd, ſends *Francis Olivier* thither with Charge to repreſent, Firſt, the Aſſaſſinate of *Rincon* and *Fregoſe*, pretending it to be the more heinous, in that *Rincon*'s Imployment was to hinder the *Turk* from invading *Hungary*. Secondly, to diſſuade them from taking Arms againſt the *Turks*, till their own Differences were compos'd. Laſtly, to repreſent both the Levity of the *Hungarians*, and their Diſaffection to the *German* Nation: And therefore, that they ſhould fortify their ſtrong Places betwixt *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, and the other Confines, without taking much Regard to the reſt. As for Pacification in Religion, that they ſhould conform themſelves on all ſides to the Confeſſion of our Faith, left us by the *Nicene* Council. And for other Points, if they could not agree in them, they ſhould not yet be Occa- 1541.
ſion of Hate or Diviſion. But the wiſer ſort, who believ'd that *Rincon*'s Diſpatches, (when they were to be ſeen) would have told another Tale, did not much believe the firſt part of his Speech: As for the ſecond, ſince it tended only to give *Hungary* into the *Turks* Hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the laſt, they regarded it little, (though a wiſe and charitable Advice) as being reſolv'd already of their Religion. After him, the Bi- Mar. 23.
ſhop of *Modena*, the Pope's Legate, tells them, that the Pope deſir'd Peace in Chriſtendom, and Proviſion for Wars againſt the *Turk*. As for the Council which had been ſuſpended hitherto by the Emperor's Conſent, to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in *Germany*, that it was Reaſon to call it. Only that *Germany* could be no fit Place for holding thereof, ſince his Holineſs reſolving to be preſent, could not endure ſo long a Journey; or ſuch a Change of Air, beſides, he fear'd it would be turbulent. Nevertheleſs, for A Council
ſatisfying them, he was content the ſame ſhould deſign'd
be aſſembled at *Trent*, (that is to ſay) in the to meet at
Borders of *Germany*. *Ferdinand* and the Catho- Trent.
licks accept this Place with Thanks, (when it might not be held at *Ratiſbonne* or *Colen*.) But the Proteſtants wholly diſlik'd it. And now the *French* Ambaſſadors finding themſelves but ſlighted, go thence diſcontented. And ſo the Diet broke up (after War had been decreed againſt the *Turk*, and Peace eſtabliſh'd in the Empire.) April 11.
And *May* 22. the Council was indicted to begin May 22.
in *November* following.

Francis being now inform'd by his Ambaſſadors that the *Germans* were ſo far from receiving his Advice, that they thought him to be a Perturber of the Peace of Chriſtendom, is not yet diſcourag'd. Therefore, after a Proceſſion made in *Paris*, for Succeſs in his War, and a Preſent *Francis*
ſent to the *Turk* of ſix hundred Marks of Silver, ſends rich
curiouſly wrought, and five hundred Veſtments, Preſents
for thoſe that attended him, together with a Re- to the *Turk*.
queſt that he would ſend his Fleet againſt the Emperor, and a publick Defiance ſent to *Charles*, he invades his Territories in five ſeveral Places; July.
againſt them in *Brabant* he imploys the Duke of His great
Longueville, who was to join with *Martin Roſſem*, Preparations againſt
General for the Duke of *Cleves*, to invade that the Empe-
part: Againſt *Artois*, the Duke of *Vendoſme*: A- ror.
gainſt *Luxemburgh*, the Duke of *Orleans*: In *Piedmont* Monſieur *du Bellay* his Lieutenant there: And againſt *Perpignan*, (the chief Town of *Rouſſillon*, and the Barrier of *Spain*, to the *Southward*) the *Daulphin*, promiſing to ſecond him in Perſon.

He began firſt in *Piedmont*, as being the immediate Way to his deſir'd *Milan*: In which he held theſe Places, *Turino*, *Montcalier*, *Savillan*, *Montdevis*, *Pignarola*, &c. For the Emperor ſtood, *Aſti*, *Vercelli*, *Ulpian*, *Foſſan*, *Quitraſco*, and *Alba*; among which *Quitraſco* was firſt attempted and yielded: *Vendoſme* in *Artois* taking and razing *Tournehem*: The Duke of *Orleans* (aſſiſted with five hundred Horſe from *Chriſtiern* the third King of *Denmark*) took *Luxemburgh*, and other Places; which yet *Rene* Prince of *Orange* and Count of *Naſſaw* recover'd ſhortly after. Nevertheleſs, *Roſſem* deceiv'd him with a plain Trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Champian Field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of *Orange*, who did not imagine he was ſo ſtrong, charg'd him; but the Foot riſing, they and their Horſe together defeated him. Whereupon *Roſſem* and *Longueville* being about thirty five thouſand Men, beſieg'd *Antwerp*; but it was ſtoutly defended, not only by the Natives, but by foreign Merchants, and particularly the *Engliſh*; whereupon, *Roſſem* raiſing Siege, and going to *Lovain*, demands

1541. demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovain* accorded in part, commanding thereupon ſome Wine to be carried in Carts to the Gate. But the Scholars, unwilling both to let it go, and ſuſpecting beſides that when the Gates were ſo embarraſs'd, the Enemy behind the Hogſhead might get into the Town, cut off the Harneſs from the Horſes, and went to the Artillery planted upon the Wall, and diſcharg'd it upon the Enemy: Whereupon *Roſſen* departing, ſpoil'd the Country round about. This while, the *Dauphin* brought an Army of forty thouſand Men, whereof fourteen thouſand *Switz*, and four thouſand Horſe to *Perpignan*, which he beſieg'd, hoping *Barbaroſſa* and the *Turkiſh* Fleet would ſecond him, according to his Requeſt by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employ'd in thoſe Parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor beſides preparing to relieve it, he rais'd the Siege, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope, of *Francis*, proteſting, that he both diſturb'd the Peace of Chriſtendom and the Council, and hindred him from oppoſing the *Turk*. Whereupon, the Pope deſiring to reconcile them, the Emperor anſwer'd, *It was in vain to make Treaties with thoſe who did hold none*; deſiring him therefore rather to take Arms againſt him, as a Confederate with the common Enemy of Chriſtendom.

Decemb. 1541. The Excuſe from *James*, formerly mentioned, being not held ſatisfactory, our King prepares for War; nevertheleſs, he thought not fit to diſcover himſelf, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James*'s Requeſt, he appoints Commiſſioners to examine Buſineſſes betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy Men; of which *James* being advertis'd, rais'd Forces likewiſe (as is before ſet down.) During this Treaty, ſome Inroads being made into *Scotland*, and Ports attempted, I find by *Leſleus* twenty-eight *Scotiſh* Aug. 24. Ships were taken. Whereupon, the *Scots* entring the *Engliſh* Marches, Sir *Robert Bowes* (who reſiſted them) with divers others were taken Priſoners; without being permitted yet to ranſom themſelves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the King's Army march'd forward, but upon a ſecond Motion of Peace ſtays at *York*: And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, treats with certain *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who having variety of Inſtructions, (which they ſhew'd one after another and finally propoſing an Interview, were thought to be ſent thither only to gain Time, Winter now coming on, and the *French* King having ſo much to do at home, as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together publiſhed a Declaration of the Cauſes of this War. Which being extant in our Records, and ſet forth at large by *Hall*, I ſhall not need to inſert here, though yet for Satisfaction of the Reader, I ſhall extract ſome Particularities from thence.

A War with *Scotland*. Octob. 21. *Hall*.

The chief Cauſes, I conceive, were, that *James* entertain'd ſome of the chief Rebels of the *North*. That he denied ſome Grounds, (though of very ſmall Value) for which good Evidences were produc'd. That he fruſtrated our King, after a Promiſe of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inroad while the Treaty was on foot. Beſides all which, King *Henry* claim'd Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; the Demand whereof he ſaid he had neglected a great while, becauſe of his Nephew's Minority, and other kind Reaſons, his Title being by lineal Succeſſion, and recogniz'd for many Ages by the King's of *Scotland*, to the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth: Which he prov'd, Firſt, by Hiſtory: Secondly, by Inſtruments of Homage, by the ſeveral Kings, and divers great Perſons, ſeal'd with their Seals, and remaining in his Treaſury. Thirdly, by Regiſters and Records, judicially and authentically made. The Hiſtorical Part, he began chiefly, (that I may omit the Relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900. (being 642 Years paſt) ſhewing that *Edward*, Son of *Alured*, had it under his Dominion. *Athelſtane* made one *Conſtantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took Homage of *Iriſe* [or *Ericus*] King of *Scots*, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* [or *Kenneth*.] That this was interrupted yet in *Edward King* and *Martyr* his Time. But *Malcolm* did Homage to *Knute*, and *Edward* the Confeſſor making War againſt *Malcolm*, overthrew him, and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his Son, who made him Homage and Fealty; that *Malcolm* did Homage to *William* the Conqueror, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his Duty, was depoſed; and *Edgar*, Brother to the laſt *Malcolm*, and Son to the firſt, ordain'd in that Eſtate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did Homage to *Henry* the Firſt, *David* did Homage to *Matild* the Empreſs, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his Death, *David*'s Son made his Homage to *Stephen*. *William*, King of *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland*, made Homage to *Henry* the Second, his Son, with Reſervation of their Duty to his Father. This *William*, after much Rebellion and Reſiſtance, during the Abſence of *Henry* the Second, made his Peace and Compoſition with his Homage and Fealty; he alſo came to *Canterbury*, and there did Homage to *Richard* the Firſt. *William* did Homage to *John*, on a Hill beſide *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the Croſs of *Hubert*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander* King of *Scots* married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edward* I. and did his Duty: *John Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. *Robert Bruce* made War againſt the *Baliols*, which interrupted the Buſineſs of forty four Years: But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing, made Homage to *Edward* III. After this, *David Bruce*, though on the contrary Faction, made Homage to *Edward* III. *Edward Baliol*, who had the clear Title, ſurrendred the Crown to *Edward* III. at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon caus'd himſelf to be Crown'd, and for a Time entertain'd and enjoyed it as Proprietaray and Owner of the Crown, both by Confiſcation and voluntary Surrender. In *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. their Times, ſome Interruption happen'd by reaſon of inward Diſſentions in this Kingdom; yet *Henry* V. commanded the *Scots* to attend him in his Journey to *France*. And in this time the Realm of *Scotland* being deſcended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart* King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windſor*. All which Homages (though interrupted ſometimes for more than ſixty Years) were II.
yet within the Memory of Man. Of which therefore, Inſtruments made and ſealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; ſo that it was not for the Earldom of *Huntingdon*, (as the *Scots* pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As for Records and Regiſters, that he had divers III.
which were authentical, and among others, that of *Edward* I. in diſcuſſion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challeng'd by twelve Competitors. And that Sentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly injoy'd the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the Superiority of the King of *England*, and enſuing their Determination, did particularly, and ſeverally

1541. Homage due from the King of *Scots* to the King of *England*.

make

1541. make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himself from doing his Duty therein, should be reputed as a Rebel; and so all made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. That during this discussion, the Realm was rul'd by Guardians deputed by him, and all Castles and Holds surrendred to him as to the Superior Lord. And in the time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions, pass'd as in the right of this Crown of *England*; Sheriffs also nam'd and appointed, Writs and Precepts made, obey'd and executed. And that at this time, the Bishops of St. *Andrews* and *Glasco* were not Archbishops, but recogniz'd the Archbishop of *York*, whose Authority extended over all their Country. That sithence the time of *Henry* VI. this Kingdom was lacerated and torn by diversity of Titles till his time. So that though *Edward* IV. after great Travels, having attain'd quietness in this Realm, finally made preparation of War against *Scotland*, yet he was prevented by Death. As for *Richard* III. that he usurp'd the Kingdom till *Henry* VII. his Father overthrew him. (which *Henry* VII. by reason of his Estate not fully setled at home, forbare to compel the *Scots* to do their Duty.) And for his own time, that twenty-one Years past of it in his Nephews Minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a King, than to receive of him Homage when he had full possession of the same.

The conclusion of this Declaration yet seem'd to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to insist upon the Claim, though he saith, that such be the Works of God Superior over all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due Superiority may be known, demanded, and required.

How the *Scots* endeavour to evade it.

The *Scottish* Writers tell the business otherwise: Not denying yet but *Athelstan* was King of the whole Island by the testimony of divers of our *Brittain* Writers. Nevertheless, that their Words were so to be understood, as the further parts of *Scotland* were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, that it was for the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (though as there was no Investure thereof in the King of *Scots*, till the time of our *Henry* I. when *David* married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northumberland*, it reaches not to Homages formerly made.) Again, among those who did Homage, some were reputed Kings of *Northumberland*, rather than *Scotland*. And for *Baliol's* resigning the Crown, they say, the Nobles did not consent to it: And many other things, which for avoiding prolixity, I omit; desiring the Reader to believe that I am so far from undertaking to define the Point, as (in an Historical way) I have only produc'd such Notes as my leisure would suffer me to gather at this time: Professing, for the rest, that I should not in any wise have intermedled therewith, but that *Hall* by setting forth the Declaration, gave the occasion.

Lesley. August.

These proceedings from time to time being advertis'd to *France*, caus'd him to send Monsieur *de Morvillier* to congratulate the constancy of *James* in refusing an Interview, which he attributed to his resolution not to forsake the *Roman* Church: Advising him for the rest, to stand upon his Guard; and for that purpose, sending him Money and Artillery.

Stow.

And now the Army being ready to march on, *William Fitz-Williams*, Earl of *Southampton*, Captain of the Foreward, died at *New-Castle*; a brave Lord, and so much esteem'd, that for the honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Foreward in all this Expedition. The Year thus being far spent, the Duke of *Norfolk* Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Rutland*, and other Lords of the Northern parts; Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the King's Horse, and Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of his House, and above twenty thousand Men (the Earl of *Angus* also being there present) enter *Scotland* 21 of *October*, and finding no resistance, burnt in eight Days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Bishop of *Orkney* and *James Leirmouth* came on their Kings part to require Peace; but the Conditions not pleasing, the Treaty was dissolv'd. Nevertheless, our Army retreated presently to *Berwick*, as being betwixt the rigour of the season and want of Victuals, constrain'd thereunto. So that though *Lesley* saith, the *English* retir'd upon hearing that the *Scottish* Army approach'd; this yet by others is thought improbable, because they invaded not *England* till three weeks after the Duke of *Norfolk* was at *Berwick*, and had licens'd many of his Soldiers. About which time therefore the *Scottish* Army being assembled, they entred *England* on the West Marches with an Army of fifteen thousand, or (as some say) a greater number. But *Thomas* the Bastard *Dacres* and *Musgrave*, having first sent to Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Warden of the Marches, to come to their Aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambush on a Hill side, came forwards with an hundred light Horse, which being charg'd by some of the *Scots*, retir'd towards their Stale, and to *Wharton* now appearing, who had not yet above three hundred Men (as our Writers say.) But whatsoever the Stratagem was, the *Scots* believing (it seems) the Duke of *Norfolk* was there with all his power, suddenly, as Men amaz'd, fled. The *English*-men pursu'd, and took the Earls of *Cassilis* and *Glencairne*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Somervel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the King's Minion (as our Historians term him,) and divers others of Note, to the number of two hundred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner sort (so that some had two or three Prisoners,) and twenty-four pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

English Army enter *Scotland*. Octob. 21.

But return without Action.

Nov. 24. *Scots* Army invade *England*.

Sir *Thomas Wharton* with 300 Men routs them.

Hall.

The *Scottish* Writers tell the business a little otherwise; confessing yet the foresaid Prisoners to be taken, and that their Men ran away, and were defeated. But some say, the reason of it, was, that Sir *Oliver Sinclere* being suddenly declar'd their General, when the *English* appear'd, the Nobles took it so ill, that they car'd not to fight. They say also, that the King was at *Solway* (where this encounter hap'ned) a little before, and no further off than *Carlaverock*, when the blow was given; which, perhaps made some think that he was present at the Fight, and receiv'd a wound, of which presently after he died, and not of Sorrow.

Lesley.

Hall.

James being now return'd, had in recompence of his Misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterward call'd *Mary*; which yet, together with the many Entertainments his Servants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented also (as the *Scottish* and our Writers say) by the sudden Murder of an *English* Herald, whom our King sent thither to ransom Prisoners (though yet none of his Subjects, but *Leech* a *Lincolnshire* Rebel, kill'd him:) All which made that impression in him, that he died within few Days after, and was buried near his first Wife *Magdalene*, in the Abby of *Holy-Rood*. He was of a middle Stature, yet well compact and strong, given much in his youth to the love of Women, to which his Governors gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hindered

Dec. 7. The *Scots* King dies of grief.

Lesl. Stow. Hall.

Dec. 14.

1541. *Keith.* His Character. him not yet to be active in all State Affairs, and frugal in his own; Qualities rarely found in Princes so much addicted to their Pleasure. No Man endur'd Labour, Cold, Hunger, better (as his many Expeditions, in Person, against Rebels, shew'd.) Under Pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his Nobility, which made them less ready when he had Occasion to use them. Insomuch, that (as *Buchanan* hath it) he could not persuade them to come to Battle with the Duke of *Norfolk*.

The Murder of our *English* Herald being related to our King, mightily incens'd him: And therefore he not only requir'd *Leech*, (who yet was not demanded till after the Death of King Dec. 4. *James*, nor executed till *May* following;) but sent to his Ambassador *Paget* in *France*, both to acquaint *Francis* therewith, (whom he lately knew had suffer'd in the like Kind,) and to desire him not to assist *James*. But the Answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter.

Dec. 12. The News of the King's Death, and the Princess Birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counsels: So that instead of pursuing War against *Scotland*, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, Dec. 26. and match his Son *Edward* to her. To which also he was so intentive, that he sent a Dispatch to his Ambassador *Paget*, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt *France* and *Scotland*, as being jealous lest *Francis* should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, *Francis* having by the Intervention of the Queen and Cardinal *Beton*, a great Party there. Nevertheless, as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation, that all Causes of Hostility should be taken away, and both Kingdoms united: So he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him.

And now in *Scotland* two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, seconded by Cardinal *Beton* forges a Will of the *Scots* King. Cardinal *Beton*, who (as the *Scottish* Writers say) forg'd a Will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerful Nobility, should govern the State, and with him all the *French* Faction join'd. *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a Lover of Quiet) was yet encourag'd by his Followers to assume that Dignity; as being so near of Blood, and the Princess so young, that many Occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself: Which Reasons also inclin'd him to depend on our King.

While these Things past in *Scotland*, the Prisoners taken in the last Battle, were by Sir *Henry Savil* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, conducted from Dec. 19. *Stow.* Records. *York* to *London*, whither they came *Decemb.* 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a Cognizance, a red St. *Andrew's* Cross, and were presently sent to the *Tower*, whence shortly after, King *Henry*, for more Ostentation, com-Dec. 21. manded Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of his Houshold, to bring them by two and two together, in new Gowns of black Damask, and other Apparel suitable (all at his Cost) from the *Tower* to the Star-Chamber, where *Thomas* Lord *Audley*, the Lord Chancellor, was to tell them, what Cause King *Henry* had of War against them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance; and keeping his Subjects without suffering them to make Ransom, contrary to the Laws of the Marches. Nevertheless, that such was his Benignity, that he would shew them Kindness for Unkindness, and Records. Right for Wrong: And thereupon (after their Promise to remain true Prisoners) commanded that they should be no more return'd to Prison, but brought to divers Noble Houses, there to be regal'd and made much of. Thus the Archbi-1541. The *Scots* Lords taken lately Prisoners, committed to Custody. shop of *Canterbury* had the Earl of *Cassilis* commended to him; the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Glencarne*; Sir *Anthony Brown*, the Lord *Maxwell*; the Lord Chancellor, the Lord *Somerwell*; Sir *Thomas Lee*, the Lord *Oliphant*; the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*; *Thomas Thurleby* (lately made first Bishop of *Westminster*) *Robert Erskin*; Dec. 1540. and many others, were with divers of our chief Nobility, where having past some Time with as much Contentment as the News of their King's Death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to express how glad they would be that a Match might succeed betwixt our Prince and their Princess, promising also their Furtherance therein; which being related to our King, was taken so Dec. 26. well, as they were not only dismiss'd upon Hostages to be given for their Return (when they were not able to effect this Match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being Feasted, they kept their Journey towards *Scotland*, till they came to the Duke of *Suffolk*, (the King's Lieutenant in the *Northern* Parts) being then at *Newcastle*, where their Hostages being receiv'd, they had Licence to go Home; and with them also went the Earl of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George Dowglesse*, (now fifteen Years absent from their Country) who, during their long Stay in these Parts, had a liberal Pension bestow'd on them by our King, for which also they promis'd their best Assistance on all Occasions. Cardinal *Beton*, who this while (by pretext of his Counterfeit Will) had made himself Viceroy, was now (upon Detection of the Forgery) depos'd, and *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, chosen in his Place: A Nobleman follow'd by many, *Buchan.* both for his Nearness of Blood to the Crown, and that the Cardinals Cruelty and Ambition had made him so hated. Besides, there was found after the King's Death, certain Papers, in which the Names of above three hundred of the principal Nobility and Gentry (and among them *James Hamilton*) were accus'd as Criminals: And this again made them more confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the Controversies of Religion, and gave Hope of a mild and temperate Disposition. His first publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in *March* following; whereof our March. King being advertis'd, sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* (his Secretary) thither, to procure the Marriage for-*Buchan.* Marriage propos'd between Prince *Edward* and the young Q. of *Scots*, May 6. merly mentioned, and a perpetual Peace: *Scottish* Ambassadors being also deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir *Ralph Sadler's* first Instructions were, appears not by our Records, more than is formerly related out of the *Scottish* Writers: But by a subsequent Dispatch, dated *May* 6. I find that our King, in Reward of some Business that the Viceroy should effect, had promis'd his Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, in Marriage to his Son: And because our King passionately desir'd to have the young Princess into his Hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince *Edward*, and that he fear'd the *French* would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the Affair intimated betwixt them. Our April. Records also tell us, that *George Dowglesse*, and the other Lords who were sent home, excus'd themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their Promises; so that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get some Holds into their Hands, where they might with more Advantage set forth our King's Purposes, they declin'd it; alledging, among other Difficulties, a certain Fickleness in the Viceroy's Disposition, and that the *French* Party was so

great.

1543. great. Howbeit, upon further debate of the business, certain *Scottish* Ambassadors were sent hither, being Sir *William Hamilton* and Sir *James Lermouth*; but their Negotiation not pleasing, as being unwilling to admit other Governour than the Earl of *Arrain*, during the Queen's Minority, or to deliver the Holds of *Scotland*, till she had Issue by Prince *Edward*, or to put her into our King's custody, with some other Demands which were distasted by them, it was thought fit to send the Earl of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Dowglasse*; who, I find, seconded the overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms: Yet not so, but that Sir *George Dowglasse* was dispatch'd Post to *Scotland*, to bring a more satisfactory Answer; which was obtain'd: Insomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage sign'd and seal'd, was brought back by those *Scottish* Ambassadors in *August*, 1543. (as *Lesleus* hath it.) And because I find among our Records this following Treaty of *June* 29. I shall enquire for no other.

April 14. May. August. Lesleus. June 29. [Lib. Conc.]

Articles of the Marriage.

First, *That the Lords of* Scotland *shall have the Education of the Princess for a time: Yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a Nobleman and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Persons to wait on her.*

That at ten Years of Age she should be brought into England, *the Contract being first finished by a Proxy in* Scotland.

That within two Months after the date hereof, six Noble Scots *should be given as Hostages for the performance of the foresaid Conditions on their part: And that if any of them died the number of them should be supplied.*

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of Scotland *(by that name) should preserve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace should be made for as long time as was desir'd, the* French *being excluded.*

Buchanan. Nevertheless, the Queen, Cardinal, and all the Clergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal so particularly, that he was remov'd to a Chamber apart, or (as others have it) into a Prison, till the main Question of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hostages promis'd for performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found means to corrupt his Keeper, so he escap'd; and then began again to trouble all, using for this purpose the help of the Queen-Mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the *Dowglasses*, being wholly devoted to the *English*, should from a long Banishment be admitted to the Supream Council concerning publick Affairs. Besides, he got huge Sums of Money from the Clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themselves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he perswaded that the Hostages should not be sent into *England*; he procur'd also that our Ambassador should be contumeliously us'd; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Answer, but that the Cardinal had so discompos'd all things, that he could give no remedy for the present. The Question was then, what course they should take about the Hostages left in *England*, upon Condition that the late Nobles who were Prisoners should return, in case the Marriage and Peace took no effect. But the Cardinal answer'd, *That Kindred, Friends, Children, and all should be sacrific'd for the good of their Country*. Howbeit, *Gilbert Kenneth* Earl of *Cassilles* could not be perswaded to stay; for having left two Brothers his Pledges, he said he would redeem their Lives with his own: And thereupon, though many dehorted him, he went into *England*. Which generous Counsel succeeded so well, that after a large commendation given him by our King, he was dismiss'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On the other side, he was so offended with the rest, that he detain'd all the *Scottish* Shipping in his Ports, and resolv'd to denounce War against them. Whereupon the Cardinal and Queen-Mother inform'd the *French* King thereof, and that the Factions were such, as there was danger both Kingdoms should be united; desiring him further, to send over *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, as being of great power in that Country, and noted then to be adverse to the *Hamiltons*: Besides, it added to his Reputation, that it was thought the last King, if he had died without Issue Male, would have design'd him his Heir and Successor, and gotten it confirm'd by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was some secret hope given, he might marry the Queen-Mother, and divers other things set down by *Buchanan*. These Motives, together with the *French* King's approbation and promise of assistance, made this young Lord to resolve to repair to *Scotland*; whereof the Viceroy being informed, endeavours to get the young Princess out of her Mothers Hands, hoping thereby not only to govern all, but to draw the *English* on his side; but the design being vented to the Cardinal, a Guard was given to the young Queen. 1543. Buchanan.

In the mean while the Earl of *Lenox* arrives out of *France*, without discovering yet any thing of his Intentions; only he tells his Friends in private the Promises made him, and what help he might expect from the *French* King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his strength, he gather'd four thousand Men and advances; whereof *Hamilton* being advertiz'd, and finding himself inferior in Power, sent to treat of Peace, which follow'd, and an agreement for the present that the Queen should be brought to *Sterling*, and four principal Persons should have care of her Education: And the rather, that it was suspected that the Earl of *Arrain* would have deliver'd her to the *English*. Whereupon she was conducted by *Lenox* unto the place appointed, and committed unto the tuition of *Grames*, *Erskin*, *Lindsey*, and *Leviston*, and shortly after Crown'd. The Viceroy being thus frustrate, and for the rest, not much favour'd by the People, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he shew'd himself so obsequious, as he seem'd to hold the Name rather than the Power of a Viceroy. Insomuch, that the Cardinal, who a little before was in danger of suffering for a notable Forgery, now absolutely govern'd all. Whereof our King being advertis'd, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the help of the Viceroy, but resolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being convey'd into *France*; and in case of refusal, to denounce War. The Message hereupon being brought, the *Scots* utterly denied him, so that provision for War mas made by our King. All things yet pass'd not so quietly in *Scotland* as was desir'd by that State; for as the Cardinal being of immoderate Ambition, could not indure the Earl of *Lenox*'s Power, so he endeavour'd to suppress him; which he did also with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a Marriage with the Queen, he advertis'd her to entertain him fairly till he had receiv'd an answer of the *French* King of a Letter, wherein, though he made Honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the said Earl should be recal'd. It being not likely otherwise that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as *Lenox* was young, handsom, and gentile, and brought up in all exercises of a Cavalier, he past his time in Tiltings, Masks, and other noble Disports; in which, though he had the Earl of *Bothwell* for Rival, this Lord yet appear'd

April. The French Faction in Scotland prevail. Aug. 20.

1543. appear'd so inferior to him, as he retir'd home: Buchan. Nevertheless, *Lenox* finding himself at last deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinal, to have the more leisure to ruine him, he protested he would be reveng'd; neither wanted there an opportunity: For thirty Thousand Crowns being sent by the *French* King to him, in the disposing whereof, yet he was wish'd to use the advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he distributed the Money amongst his Friends; but the Cardinal alledging that the Money was sent to himself, and to be employ'd in Wars against the *English*, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it against all right, rais'd an Army to seize on him and the Money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of these Preparatives, he gather'd in a short space an Army of ten thousand Men, saying, he would prevent the Cardinal; who being now desirous to gain time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this Expence, entertain'd him with frequent Sollicitations and Messages; *Lenox* also doubting lest some of his followers might forsake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edinburgh*, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that some Treachery was intended, he conveys himself by Night to *Glasco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton*; after which, hearing both, that the *Douglasses* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his Adversaries, the *French* King was alienated from him, he seem'd much troubled, and the rather, that some noble Persons who desir'd to end these Controversies, were suddenly committed. But as our King prepar'd now to invade *Scotland*, this business had another end than he could easily imagine.

And now if just causes of competition to the young Queen of *Scotland* hapned, no less just causes for War against *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief, or at least the most recent, were these:

Causes of a War with France. *That he with-held divers of our Ships, and seiz'd upon our Merchants Goods.*

That he detain'd the Pension due Yearly to King Henry.

That he had fortified Ardres *to the prejudice of our* English *Pale, on which also he had incroach'd. Moreover divers ancient unkindnesses not sufficiently concocted remain'd in our King's Breast: As that he had given his Daughter* Magdalen *to* James, *and afterward the Daughter of* Guise, *contrary to his Promise and Treaty.*

That he had not deserted the Bishop of Rome, *and consented to a Reformation, as he once promis'd.*

That whereas with much freedom and confidence he had reveal'd divers Secrets to him, they had been disclosed again unto the Emperor, while he was at Aignes Mortes, *and after at* Paris. Besides which, there was a common quarrel taken betwixt the Empeperor and our King, for having confederated himself with the *Turk*, &c. as is in the following Treaty. But to these *Francis* answer'd, *That our King had fail'd also in not assisting him against the Emperor*. Our King replied, that *Francis* had violated the Treaty first. Besides, he could not be ignorant of the Wars against his Rebels at that time; howsoever these businesses were so roughly contested, that the Ambassadors were stay'd on both sides, though at length dismiss'd, and March. an open Rupture resolv'd. The consequence whereof having a good while since been presaged by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament.

K. *Henry's* League with the Emperor. The League with the Emperor was to this effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there should be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourse. 1543.

III. A perpetual Peace.

IV. That they should aid or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives should not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obey'd not, to be banish'd and proscrib'd.

VI. He shall be taken for a common Enemy who shall invade *England, Guisnes, Calais, Berwick, Wight, Jersey, Garnsey, Man, Spain, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Hainault, Artois; Limburgh, Luxemburgh, Namours, Frise, Overyssell, Utrecht, Mechlin.*

VII. And if he invade with ten thousand Men, the Prince invaded shall require Aid of the other, who shall send him within forty Days, at his own charges, in this proportion, *viz.*

That if the Enemy fall on *Calais*, or the Castle and County of *Guisnes*, the Emperor shall send at least as many Soldiers, Horse and Foot, as may be paid for seven hundred Crowns the Day, each Crown valued at forty five Sol' *Tournois.*

If on *Wight, Jersey, Garnsey, Man*, or *England*, the Emperor shall send for Aid, such a number of Foot as can be paid for seven hundred Crowns a Day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his Countries above-mentioned, the King of *England* shall send him for Aid, such a number of Foot at least, whose pay, considering their Cloaths, Diet and Weapons, comes to seven hundred Crowns a Day, each Crown worth forty Sol' *Tournois.*

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth Aid, whether he will have Men or Money, which Money shall be paid by the Month, consisting of twenty-eight Days.

And whether Men or Money be requir'd, the Prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above four Months in one Year. But if the Prince in whose Aid they are sent, will retain them longer, he may, at his own charge.

Neither Prince is bound to Aid the other in divers places at once: And if both shall be invaded at the same time by the King of *France*, the one shall not be bound to Aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a false rumour, and the Enemy shall neither besiege any City or Fort, nor make Spoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the said Demandant is to repay the Money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, it is agreed, they shall Aid one another by sending Horse and Foot, or Ships at the cost of the Demandant: And concerning these two Kingdoms, the Number and Costs of the Aid shall be as the time, and occasion, and strength of the Prince, of whom it was demanded, will suffer: which thing shall be referr'd to the conscience of the Prince so call'd upon.

And for the pay of the Soldiers, it shall be rated according to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they shall be punish'd, and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Merque shall be given without due warning, to the end the losses and wrongs may be otherwise repair'd by the Prince.

X. That because many scandalous and heretical Books are spread abroad by Translations, it is agreed that no Book written in *English* shall be Printed or Sold in *Germany*, or the Emperor's Dominions; Nor any Book written in *Dutch*, in

15$\frac{42}{43}$. in *England*, under Pain of Imprisonment to the Sellers and Printers, and burning of the said Books.

XI. That there shall be Intercourse of Traffick according to the Treaty made 1520. and confirm'd and order'd in the Treaty of *Cambry*, 5 *August*, 1529.

XII. That if there be any Damnification of the Subjects on either side, the wronged Party upon Requisition may have the Cause heard, and due Reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invasion (as aforesaid) War is denounced, no Truce shall be made by either Prince without the Consent of the other, except there be Danger of Siege from the Enemy: In which Case there may be Truce made (apart) for two Months, within which Time he is to give Notice to the other.

XIV. That no Peace shall be made, nor any Treaty severally with the *French* King, or any other to the Prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty, but by common Consent; as also no Enemy to either, nor in whose Dominions the other hath any Pretence.

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the two Princes, under their Princely Word and Oath, and under Pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and Man, and under Pledge of their Goods, so that it shall be lawful to invade the Realm and Dominions of the Infractor, to take Persons and Goods and carry them away, till Satisfaction be made: *Provided*, that they come not to this Extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been requir'd, and Justice deny'd or delay'd.

XVII. This Treaty to be understood according to the simple and plain Tenor of the Words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwise.

XVIII. It is also covenanted and agreed, that, as soon as may be, the two Princes shall by their Ambassadors declare to the King of *France* (requiring his Answer thereto) *viz.*

1. They shall complain, that the *Turk* (Enemy to Christian Faith) had taken Boldness, by his Friendship, to invade Christendom.

2. That he renounce his Correspondence with the said *Turk*, recalling his Orators that are now resident with him.

3. That he satisfy for the Loss and Prejudice done by the *Turk*, through his Occasion and Procurement, to *Christendom*, *viz.* First, That he restore the Town of *Maram* to the King of the *Romans*. And, Secondly, That he content the Emperor for the Costs and Damages sustain'd in the Loss of *Castle-Nuovo*, which the *Turk*, with the Aid of twelve Galleys of the King of *France*, took.

Maramic. Orig.

An. 1539. 4. That he cease from War with the Emperor, that he may more commodiously and safely take upon him the Defence of the Christian Commonwealth.

5. That he repay to the *Germans* the Loss by them sustain'd, in defending themselves against the *Turk*.

6. That he pay the King of *England* all Arrearages, and that he give him some Lands and Possessions to secure the Satisfaction of the perpetual Pension. And if there be any thing else which each of these two Princes will require from the *French* King, it shall be lawful for him to do it, so that he declare his Intent therein in open and plain Terms, before the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XIX. If the *French* King, either for Terror of Conscience, or Fear of Revenge, shall desire to come to Agreement for Peace; neither of these two Princes may treat with him apart, until the King of *France* hath given them Satisfaction, *viz.* Till he hath paid the King of *England* all that is in Arrear due to him by Bargain. Also, for Security for the Payment of the annual Pension due for ever, he shall surrender into the Possession of the King of *England*, the whole Country of *Ponthieu*, with the Town of *Bologne*, and Territories of *Monstrueil*, *Therouenne*, and *Ardr*, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoining, as far as the Borders of the said County of *Ponthieu*, &c. On Condition, that the King of *England* and his Successors shall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feod. On this Condition yet, that they hold themselves fully satisfy'd with the Profits arising out of these Lands for the annual and perpetual Pension. To the Emperor he shall restore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. 15$\frac{42}{43}$.

XX. If the King of *France* will not accept Peace on these Conditions, or delay it forty Days after Proposition, the two Princes shall denounce War against him. Wherein

The King of *England* shall challenge to himself the Kingdom of *France*, Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Aquitain* and *Guienne*. The Emperor, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Cities and Towns of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, *Corby*, *Bray*, *Peronne*, *Hannere*, and St. *Quintin*, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes shall desist from Hostility, but by Consent of the other, and for the good of *Christendom*.

XXI. They shall have each a Fleet at Sea, to secure Traffick: Which Ships bearing two thousand, or (if need be) three thousand Soldiers, shall be set to Sea within a Month after War denounced to the *French* King, and shall remain there on the Coasts of *France*, infesting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor shall they licence their Soldiers, or diminish the Number of Ships or Men, but by Consent. And if there be any Loss by Tempest or Fight, they shall supply it. For the Designs, they shall be ruled by the Admirals and the Councils of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforesaid, denounced by common Consent, in Time and Place agreed on, (so it exceed not the space of two Years) the two Princes shall either in Person, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of *France* with a compleat Army; that is to say, Twenty thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, or less; nor shall desist within four Months, unless he be beaten, or receive some Disaster, except by mutual Consent.

XXIII. When King *Henry* shall with Twenty thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, invade the Dominions of the *French* King, the Emperor shall at his own Costs, lend him Two thousand Lansquenets, and Two thousand of able Horsemen, to serve under him, till he licence his Troops.

XXIV. When the King of *England* shall pass the Sea to invade *France*, and pass through any of the Dominions of *Charles*, the said Emperor shall give him free Passage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals, and Ammunition, so he pay for them at a fair and reasonable Price.

XXV. This Treaty to be ratify'd and sworn by both Princes within fifteen Days after Requisition.

Commissioners for our King were *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Westminster*, Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* Principal Secretary: For the Emperor, *Eustachius Chappuis*, Doctor of both Laws, Counsellor and Master of Requests to the Emperor, and his Lieger Ambassador here in *England*.

This League minuted and agreed in *February* 15$\frac{42}{43}$. was sworn to by *Charles*, *April* 8. at *Molin*

del

15 42/43. Feb. 11.

del Rey near *Barcelona*, in the Presence of *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, our King's Ambassador, and publish'd in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the Expences thereof.

In this Parliament, a Book intituled, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, receiving its Approbation, was in *May* following printed and publish'd in *English* by the King's Command; wherein he departs not from his Articles set forth *Anno* 1536. except in admitting Seven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious manner: For here at large, out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and Good-works: Lastly, adds Prayer for the Dead; all with much Moderation; as chusing rather to resolve high and obscure Questions in general Terms, than by any peremptory and particular Determination to make his People obnoxious; a Fault noted by some Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*; both which about these Times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without Explication or Proof, under the greatest Penalties. But King *Henry* having labour'd first to make Tenets understood, took Order in the next place to have them observ'd on these Conditions. Therefore among other Laws enacted in this Session, beginning the twenty second of *January* 15 42/43, and lasting till the twelfth of *May* following, this is the first:

A Book publish'd by the King's Command.

Sleid.l.15.

Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the Decision of Controversies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Testament in *English*, being of *Tindal*'s false Translation, or comprizing any Matter of Christian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine set forth *Anno Domini* 1540. or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolish'd. No Printer or Bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid Books: No Persons shall play in Interludes, sing or rhime contrary to the said Doctrine: No Person shall retain any *English* Books, or Writings concerning Matter against the Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the Maintenance of the Anabaptists, or other Books abolished by the King's Proclamation. There shall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in *English*, the Bible shall not be read in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Prentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, of the Degrees of Yeomen, or under Husband-men, nor Labourers, shall read the New Testament in *English*. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's Instructions. And if any spiritual Person preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the King's Instructions or Determinations made, or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first Offence recant; for his second, abjure, and bear a Faggot; and for his third, shall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burned, and lose all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a Qualification of the six Articles, which imposed Death upon the first Offence in this Kind: And as the King was now in good Terms with the Emperor, he might the better moderate them.

Jan. 22. Regn. 34.

The too free use of English in any Church. The English Bible forbad.

That the Lords authorized by the Statute of 28 *Hen.* VIII. 14. to set the Prices of Wine in Gross, may mitigate or enhance the Prices of Wine by Retail, as Time and Occasion shall require. Which Act, though expired before our times, had yet this Use, that Vintners then were very much restrain'd from couzening; and the extraordinary Number of them diminished.

Several Laws enacted.

15 42/43.

That any Person, being no common Chirurgion, may administer outward Medicines.

That Bishops new erected, shall pay their Tenths into the Courts of the First-Fruits.

That Pensions, *&c.* granted out of Abbeys, *&c.* should be paid still as they were before.

That Laws especially should be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Council in the Principality of *Wales* and Marches was confirmed, and divers other Orders establish'd, too long to be recited here. Only I must not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore us'd in *Wales*, did so divide and subdivide the Lands of the ancient Nobles and Gentry there, that at last every Man's Part came to very little; and so disabled them to keep the Dignity of their Houses) was here taken away and extinguished.

Hollinsh. Stow.

In this Parliament also, a Subsidy was granted to the King, to be paid in three Years, after this Rate; They who were in Goods worth twenty Shillings and upwards to five Pound, paid Four-pence of every Pound; from five Pound to ten Pound, Eight-pence; from ten Pound to twenty Pound, Sixteen-pence; from Twenty and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum: Strangers, not Inhabitants, that were sixteen Years old and upwards, paid Four-pence for every Head or Poll. As for Lands, Fees and Annuities, every Native paid Eight-pence in the Pound, from twenty Shillings to five Pounds; from five Pounds to ten Pounds, Sixteen-pence; from ten Pounds to twenty Pounds, two Shillings; from twenty Pounds and upwards, three Shillings. Strangers still after all these Rates doubling the Sum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid of their Benefices in perpetuity, in three Years following: And every Priest having no Perpetuity, but an annual Stipend, paid Yearly during the said three Years six Shillings Eight-pence. Besides which, I find, upon occasion of a Dearth of Victuals, a Sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, as also the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houses, were limited to a certain number of Dishes: They were forbidden also to buy certain kinds of Fowl. Nevertheless, in regard of the great Confluence of People in this Parliament time, and the Scarcity of Fish, the King by Proclamation dispensed eating of White-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the eating of Flesh so strictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, were imprisoned for offending herein.

Feb. 5.

And now the *Irish* finding by *O-Neal*, that the use our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their several Merits and Services; *O Brian*, *Mac-William-a-burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick*, came hither, and upon notice taken of their Desert, *O Brian* was created Earl of *Thomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanriccard*; some others had also Honours given them, and received therein an Obligation to continue firm to the *English* Crown: Of which likewise the Successors of the aforesaid Lords have given ample Testimony.

Irish Nobility submit to the King.

June 3. July 1.

The Separation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* now standing uncontroverted, and Queen *Catharine* beheaded, our King bethought himself of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found some Difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mention'd, it was declared Death for any whom the King should marry, to conceal her Incontinency in former time, so few durst hazard to venture into those Bonds with a King, who had (as they thought)

1543. though:) so much Facility in dissolving them: Therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery Estate they were, if the King, after his receiving them to Bed, should, through any Mistake, declare them no Maids: So that now he fix'd upon the Lady *Katharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*; who, as she was esteem'd ever a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and some Maturity of Years, so the King after Marriage liv'd apparently well with her for the most part.

The King marries the Lady *Kath. Parr* the Lord *Latimer's* Widow.

July 12. The publishing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperor, and denouncing War to *Francis*: For which purpose, two Kings of Arms on the Emperor and our King's Part, were dispatched to him; while for more authorizing their Message, they were to require Performance of certain Conditions before mention'd.

June. But *Francis* not suffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they return'd; and both Princes, without more Ceremony, prepar'd for War: The beginning and progress whereof, that I may be the better understood, I shall look a while on Foreign History.

Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur *de Langey*, one of the compleatest Gentlemen of his Time, to whom the Charge of all Affairs in *Piedmont* was chiefly committed, finding himself declining in Health, desires leave to return home, but too late; for

Jan. 9. being intercepted by Death in his Way, he desir'd the King his Master to accept thereof, as a Testimony that he had served his Majesty to the uttermost of his Force: Whose Loss, I find, happen'd the more unseasonably, in that *Francis* had now need of his best Strength against two so puissant Princes as resolved to invade his Dominions in Person. The Emperor set out first, as having divers Businesses to determine by the way; leaving for Governour of *Spain*, his Son *Philip*, assisted by *Fernando de Toledo Duc de Alva* as Captain General, and *Francisco de los Covos* for other Dispatches during his Absence. His chief Design was to draw the Pope from the *French* King: To which, though the Pope was sufficiently dispos'd,

San. 2. Tom. I. 25. yet he durst not (saith *Sandoval*) lest *Francis* should renounce his Authority, as our King had done, and give Ear to the *Lutherans*. Which being certified to the Emperor by his Ambassadors at *Rome*, made him withdraw some Revenues which he had given with *Margaret* his natural Daughter to *Octavio Farnese*, the Pope's Grandchild. And now the Emperor having all Things ready for his Voyage, arrives from *Barcelona* at

May 25. *Genoua* about the end of *May*, 1543, as our Records say, or *June*, according to *Sandoval*. His Necessities yet were great; insomuch, that as he was forced, before his leaving *Spain*, to pawn the *Moluccas* to *John* King of *Portugal*, (and the rather, because some Revolt happening in the *West-Indies* about this Time, he was disfurnish'd of the Revenues usually receiv'd from thence:) so in *Italy* he was constrain'd to sell the Fortresses of *Florence* and *Leghorn* to *Cosmo de Medices* Duke of *Florence*, for an Hundred and fifty thousand Ducats; though yet he wanted not so many Reasons to retain these Places, as (unless a most urgent Necessity did excuse him) it cannot but seem most strange, both as he lost so principal an Access to *Italy* by Sea, and such a great means of conserving the *Florentines* at his Devotion: Nevertheless, I find he would not part with *Siena*, though as being an Inland Town, and without means to be easily relieved, it could not so aptly serve for to make good his Authority in those Parts. To which yet I find *Diego de Mendoza* Go-

Sand. I. 25. vernour thereof so encouraged him, as he seem'd rather to invite an Attempt against *Rome*. The Emperor reposing a while at *Genoua*, was desir'd by the Pope to permit an Interview; which at

1543. last was accorded at *Busseto*, between *Parma* and *Cremona*, where the Pope and Emperor did meet,

Sand. Sep. June 21. *June* 21. Their different Ends yet did not permit them to speak principally of a Council, nor at all, till their other Businesses were determined:

An Interview between the Pope and Emperor.

For the Emperor, desirous to incite him against the *French* King, and (howsoever) to get Money of him, bent his chief Discourses that way. The Pope, on the other side, ambitious to get *Milan* for his Grand-child *Octavio Farnese*, who had married *Margaret*, natural Daughter to the Emperor, (as is before recited) intended little else; offering for this purpose, to make what Cardinals the Emperor desir'd, to give an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns for some Years, towards his War against *France*, and yet to leave the Castle of *Milan* and *Cremona* in his Hands. Others say, the Pope would neatly have bought *Milan* for his Grand-child, when the Emperor could give him good Assurance for his Purchase, and that the Emperor would not part with the Fortress of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But to leave these Things to the several Authors, I find, that the Emperor requiring more Money, the Business was suspended, and the Conclusion referr'd to Commissioners, who should treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his Journey thro' *Germany*: Who, for all Advantage and Satisfaction in this Interview, had no Account to give at his coming thither, but that he could protest, he had made some Overture of a Council. The Pope finding thus no certain Resolution given to his Request, inclined to *Francis*; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperor being publish'd, he was highly incens'd against him, as having join'd himself in League with one who was so lately excommunicated, anathematiz'd, curs'd, depriv'd, and made incapable of all Confederation: Which yet so little moved the Emperor, as when it was represented, that the Popes Proceeding here was passionate, and for his proper Interest only, and that Religion stood upon firmer Principles than that it could be personated in any one Man, he did not relinquish his former Intention: For more Confirmation whereof also, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his assisting of *Francis*; saying, He might with much more Reason prevail himself of our King's Assistance, than *Francis* could do of the *Turks*.

The Pope breaks with the Emperor, for making a League with the King of *England*.

The Emperor being now come into the *Low-Countries*, resolves to chastise the Duke of *Cleve*; the chief Places of whose Country he took in fifteen Days. Nevertheless, upon his Submission, he restor'd all but *Gueldre* and *Zutphen*; of which yet he gave him some Hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

August

Sept. 7.

This being advertis'd to *Francis*, made him detain *Jane* of *Navarre*; but for her the Emperor afterwards gave the Duke in Marriage (the Pope dispensing with the former Contract) *Mary* Daughter of *Ferdinand*. This prosperous Exploit yet was check'd by the Success of *Francis*, who this while had taken *Landrecy*, *Bapaumes*, and *Maubeuge*, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houses, which yet are not so bound to any Vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an Academy for their Sex.) Afterwards he took almost all *Luxemburg*: Therefore the Emperor prepar'd Forces to withstand him, and recover the said Places. To which purpose Sir *John Wallop*, with six thousand Men, being lent by our King, (who failed not to assist the Emperor) Landed at *Calais*, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, did much Spoil upon the *French*, till he joined with the Emperor's Forces before *Landrecy*, which

1548.

the

1543. the Emperor beſieg'd: Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd, reſolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two Great Armies being near each other, it was thought a Blow would follow. The Emperor, who deſir'd much to fight, puts his Men in Order; which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, ſhewing withal the Imperial Standard, which one *Quixada* carry'd, ſaying, *If this ſhould fall, and my ſelf too, I charge you to take it up before me.* *Francis* alſo drew out into the Field, not omitting in the mean time to ſend Men, Victuals and Ammunition, into the Town: The two Armies thus confronting one another, Night came on, through the Benefit whereof *Francis* diſlodging ſecretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialiſts finding this, follow; but as *Francis* had laid an Ambuſcado, he took divers of the more forward, among whom, it was the Fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other *Engliſh*, to be taken Priſoners. The Emperor yet continued the Siege for ſome four or five Days: But as it was now towards the

Novemb. midſt of *November*, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, perſuading the Inhabitants that the *French* had a Deſign upon them, he counſell'd them to build a Citadel; which they approving, he found means to poſſeſs himſelf thereof. He alſo ſent *Hernando Gonzaga* and *Juan Baptiſta Gaſtaldo* to our King, to treat further of a War againſt *France* the next Year; he omitted not alſo to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with Deſire (as much as ſafely he might) to oblige the Proteſtants to him; and the rather, that the *Turks* had at this time not only taken *Strigonium*, and other Places in *Hungary*, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, in this manner: *Antoine Polin* (afterwards Baron *de la Garde*) had now made two Voyages from *France* to *Solyman* the *Turk*, to ſolicit him to ſend his Sea-Forces againſt the Emperor. Whereupon *Barbaroſſa* was diſpatch'd with Commiſſion to join with him: He taking Freſh-water at *Oſtia*, within five Leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm, that the Inhabitants began to fly; but *Polin* aſſur'd them by his Letters: From thence coming to *Marſeilles*, *Francis de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, encounter'd them, having Charge to command the Naval Army of the King, which was two and twenty Galleys, and eighteen other Ships:

Aug. 20. The *Turks* in Confederacy with the *French* take *Nizza*. Whereupon they beſieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Caſtle, which being ſtronger than it could be won eaſily, they, carrying ſome of the Inhabitants with them, retir'd to their Shipping; and the rather, that they heard the Marquis *de Guaſt* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them; who (I find) recover'd it ſhortly after. And thus ended the two Years Negotiation of *Polin* with the *Turk*, with ſmall preſent Effect, and no Conſequence but the carrying away of a few Slaves by *Barbaroſſa*, who winter'd at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marſeilles*.

To the great Scandal of the Court at *Rome*. Howſoever, I find by *Sandoval*, that it was ſo heinouſly taken in *Rome*, that ſome Cardinals in a publick Conſiſtory mov'd to deprive *Francis* from the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimus*.

I ſhall draw this Year to a Concluſion, with a Beginning given to the Council of *Trent*, now appearing in ſome Rudiments. Many Years had paſs'd without any manifeſt Neceſſity of calling a Council. Thoſe few Separatiſts which remain'd of the *Waldenſes*, *Picards*, and *Huſſites*, being diſarm'd, illiterate, and obſcure; and theſe later not much differing from the *Roman* Church, but in the Uſe of the Cup in the Euchariſt: But

1517. *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and divers others, of late appearing, though not ſufficiently united among themſelves, gave yet the *Roman* Catholicks ſo little Cauſe to glory therein, that their greateſt Diſſention ſeem'd to be who ſhould be furtheſt off from them: Every Reformer in his Turn pretended both to diſcover new Errors, and to ſhew himſelf more averſe. This made the Pope reſolve at laſt on a Council; and the rather, that all Chriſtian Princes deſir'd upon any reaſonable Terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concern'd them to ſettle that Affair: Neither did they think there would be much Difficulty, when all Sides came prepared thereunto, moſt of the Points in Difference being to be reconcil'd in middle and indifferent Terms, or to be rejected as doubtful, (upon the Grounds taken on either ſide) or at leaſt not tending to much Edification. The Meeting was (as is above ſhew'd) deſign'd at *Mantua* firſt, by Pope *Clement* the Seventh, 1533. then by *Paulus* the Third, 1537. but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there ſuſpended during his Pleaſure, at laſt it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of *Germany*; which alſo was haſten'd by the Pope, as fearing the Conſequence of a National Council in *Germany*, whereof the Emperor had lately given hope; ſo that he was (at what Price ſoever) determin'd to prevent it, as knowing well what Prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the Defection of *Francis*; who knowing he ſhould loſe the Pope in his Intereſts of *Milan*, and elſewhere, if he triſl'd any longer with the Proteſtants, had made ſevere Edicts againſt them. Whereupon Bulls alſo were diſpatched every where abroad, notifying the ſaid Convention to begin *November* the firſt following: Which yet was in ſuch Terms as ſcandaliz'd the Emperor, ſuppoſing that *Francis* was us'd therein with more Reſpect than he deſerv'd; ſince, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having ſecretly offer'd his Aſſiſtance both to the Proteſtant and *Roman* Catholick Party in *Germany*, he had declar'd his Intentions were only to foment Diviſion; and beſides, had colleagu'd himſelf with the *Turk*. But for compoſing theſe Differences, the Pope having appointed the Cardinal *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sadolet* to *Francis*; *Contareni* dying in the Way, he imploy'd Cardinal *Viſeo* in his Place; one ſo openly diſaffected by the Emperor, that it was thought no good Effect would follow. Howſoever, to make it appear, that this univerſally deſir'd Council was not retarded by him, he ſent at the ſame Time unto *Trent*, the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Pariſio*, a good Canoniſt, *Giovanni Morone*, an expert Stateſman, and *Reginald Pool*, oppoſite to our King, and ſo eminent as might give Authority to Proceedings againſt him. Their ſecret Inſtructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambaſſadors and Prelates which ſhould be there aſſembl'd, than to treat of any thing material without further Direction. The Emperor ſent hither *Diego de Mendoza*, his Ambaſſador reſident at *Venice*, and *Nicolas Perenot*, Seigneur *de Granville*, together with *Antonio* Biſhop of *Arras* (his Son) and ſome few Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who, together with ſome few Prelates, (of the moſt affected to the Pope) being commanded to be preſent, were all that could give Name and Reputation to this General Council: So far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. Howſoever, the Imperial Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, Inſtance was made that the Council ſhould open, and a Beginning be given, at leaſt, to a Reformation in Diſcipline. But the Papal Legates interpos'd a Delay, ſaying, It was not convenient to begin an univerſal Council with ſo little a Number: Whereupon the Buſineſs came to Proteſts on both ſides; and ſo the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon

Margin notes (right column, in order): 1543. — 1533. — 1537. — 1538. — 1542. — 1541. — May 22. 1542. — 1542. — August 1542. — Aug. 26. 1542. — Council of Trent. — Nov. 1. 1542.

1543. upon, the Imperialists departed, whom also the *Neapolitan* Bishops follow'd, and finally the Legates themselves, after having been there seven *Months* without more than this ostentation of a Council.

Little else happened this Year of foreign Affairs, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that *Philip* Prince of *Spain* (though very young) had given him in Marriage *Donna Maria*, Infanta of *Portugal*, by *John* III, and *Donna Catalina* Sister to the Emperor.

Information being made to our King, that divers this Year were burnt for Religion at *Windsor*, it appears by our Histories, that he was nothing pleas'd; which yet, whether it proceeded from some better impression he might have taken of the Protestant Reformation; or that he grew weary of the too many severe Executions, which had made his Government thought in foreign Countries to be rigorous, cannot easily be determined. Howsoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though some of his Courtiers, as Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the danger of the Six Articles, he voluntarily gave them his Pardon; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was reported more than any to persecute them, and suspected to dislike secretly the King's Proceedings: Which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary *German Gardiner* was executed for denying the King's Supremacy. And perchance, as King *Henry* intended shortly to go in Person to the Wars in *France*, the many punishments he had inflicted on others might have begot some apprehensions in him: Yet not such as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great preparations of Soldiers and Habiliments of War, and particularly of Iron Pieces and Granades, which I find this Year were first cast in *England*: While for the more contenting the Queen in his absence, he conferr'd certain Honours on *William* Lord *Parr*, her Brother, who was made Earl of *Essex*: And her Uncle Sir *William Parr*, who was made Lord *Parr* of *Horton*, and Chamberlain to the Queen. All which yet seem'd nothing to him, unless he parted in good terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his most Loyal Spouse: And not without reason, since there was nothing I know desir'd by him, which they perform'd not. This Session (being the third) began the 14th of *January*, in the thirty-fifth Year of his Reign, and continued till the 29th of *March* 1544.

July 28.

March 7. 1544. Gardiner's Secretary hang'd for denying the K's Supremacy.

Dec. 23.

1543/4. The Succession again settled in Parliament.

The first Act was concerning the Succession: And herein, as I find, he endeavour'd to close with the Emperor, in giving the Princess *Mary* a possibility of Succession; so he settled that business among his Children in such sort, that all cause of competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

Reg 25. Jan. 14.

The beginning of the Act is a recital of a former, 28 *Hen.* 8. touching the Succession; to which reference must be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect, (as I conceive it.)

Forasmuch as His Majesty sithence the death of Queen *Jane*, hath taken to Wife the Lady *Katharine*, late Wife of *John Nevil* Knight, Lord *Latimer*, deceas'd, by whom as yet His Majesty hath none Issue, but may have full well, when it shall please God: And forasmuch as our said most dread Sovereign intendeth, by God's Grace, to make a Voyage-Royal in his most Royal Person into the Realm of *France*, against the *French* King; His Highness most prudently considering how this Realm standeth at this time in the case of Succession: And albeit, for default of such Heirs as be inheritable by the said Act, he might by the Authority of the said Act, give and dispose the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premisses, by his Letters Patents under his Great-Seal, or by his last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand, to any Person or Persons of such Estate therein as should please His Highness to limit and appoint: Yet, to the intent His Majesty's Disposition and Mind should be openly declar'd to the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the intent that their assent and consent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of His Majesty's Declaration in this behalf; His Majesty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond Seas, that it be enacted by His Highness and Parliament: And therefore be it enacted, That in case the King's Majesty and his only Son Prince *Edward* should decease without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, so that there be no such Heir Male or Female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the said Imperial Crown, and other his Dominions, according, and in such manner and form as in the aforesaid Act, and now in this is declar'd, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all other the Premisses, shall be to the Lady *Mary*, the King's Highness Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with such Conditions as by His Highness shall be limited by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by His Majesty's last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand. And for default of such Issue, the said Imperial Crown and other the Premisses shall be to the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's second Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with such Conditions as is aforesaid. Any thing in the Act made 28 *Hen.* 8. to the contrary notwithstanding.

1544.

First on Prince Edward.

On the Lady Mary.

On the Lady Elizabeth.

Provided, nevertheless, that if the said Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform such Conditions as the King shall declare and limit in manner aforesaid; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the King's Majesty and Prince *Edward*, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premisses, shall be and come to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in such like manner and form, as tho' the said Lady *Mary* were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten.

And be it further enacted, That if the said Lady *Mary* do keep and perform such Conditions which the King's Majesty shall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforesaid; and that the said Lady *Elizabeth* for her part do not keep and perform such Conditions which the King's Majesty shall declare and limit, in form aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the King's Majesty, and the said Lord Prince, and the said Lady *Mary* lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premisses shall be and come to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the King's Highness, in form aforesaid, shall limit and appoint.

Provided, that if the Lady *Mary* do not keep and perform such Conditions which shall be limited and appointed as aforesaid, and the said *Elizabeth* being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the King's Majesty, and the said Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown and other the Premisses, shall be, come, and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the King's Highness by his

1544. Letters Patents ſeal'd under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſign'd with his Hand, ſhall limit and appoint.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that in caſe the King's Majeſty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will, in form as is aforeſaid, any Conditions to the Eſtates and Intereſts afore-limited to the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, nor to the Eſtate or Intereſt of any of them; that then every ſuch of the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, to whoſe Eſtate or Intereſt no condition ſhall be limited by the King's Majeſty in form aforeſaid, ſhall have and enjoy ſuch Intereſt, Eſtate, and Remainder in the ſaid Imperial Crown and other the Premiſſes, as is before limited by this Act, without any manner of Condition. Any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch as it ſtandeth in the only pleaſure and will of Almighty God, whether the King's Majeſty ſhall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highneſs and his moſt entirely belov'd Wife Queen *Katharine*, or by any other his lawful Wife; or whether the ſaid Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, or any other, ſhall have any Iſſue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if ſuch Heirs ſhould fail, and no proviſion made, this Realm after the King's tranſitory Life ſhould be deſtitute of a lawful Governor to order and rule the ſame: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the King's Highneſs ſhall have full power and authority to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſign, declare, and limit by his gracious Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his Highneſs laſt Will made in Writing, and ſign'd with his moſt gracious Hand, at his only pleaſure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premiſſes, to be, remain, ſucceed and come after his Deceaſe, and for lack of lawful Heirs of either of the Bodies of the King's Highneſs and Prince *Edward* begotten, and alſo for lack of lawful Heirs of the Bodies of the ſaid Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*, to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to ſuch Perſon and Perſons in Remainder or Reverſion, as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs, and according to ſuch Eſtate, and after ſuch manner and form, faſhion or condition as ſhall be expreſs'd, declar'd, nam'd and limited in his Highneſs's Letters Patents, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſign'd with his moſt gracious Hand (as is aforeſaid.) Any thing contain'd in this preſent Act, or in the ſaid former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The King impower'd to diſpoſe of the Crown by Will.

There followeth alſo in the ſaid Act a new form of Oath againſt the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the penalty on thoſe who refus'd to take the Oath, or did interrupt this Act, or any Eſtate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom, Treaſons committed out of the Realm ſhould be tryed. That the King's Stile alſo, of King of *England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *in Earth the Supreme Head*, ſhall be united and annex'd for ever unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm of *England*.

That no Perſon ſhould be put to his Trial upon an Accuſation concerning any of the offences compris'd in the Statute of the Six Articles 31 *Hen.* 8. but only upon ſuch as ſhall be made by the Oath of twelve Men before Commiſſioners authoriſed: And the Preſentment ſhall be made within one Year after the offence committed. That no Perſon ſhould be arreſted or committed to Ward for any ſuch offence before he be indicted. That if any Preacher or Reader ſhall ſpeak any thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any matter contain'd in the Six Articles, he ſhall be accus'd or indicted thereof within forty Days, or elſe ſhall be diſcharg'd of the ſaid offence. And this alſo qualified a little the puniſhment of the Six Articles. 1544.

That the Lords and Commons ſhall remit unto the King all ſuch Sums of Money as he had borrow'd of them ſince the firſt of *January*, *Anno* 33 of his Reign.

That certain Tenures ſhall be reſerv'd (at the King's pleaſure) upon Houſes and Lands, being ſometimes Abbey Lands, under forty Shillings a Year.

That all Perſons which have any Houſes, Lands, Gardens and other Grounds in the Town of *Cambridge*, adjoyning upon every High-way Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, or, *&c.* ſhall cauſe the ſame to be pav'd with paving Stone unto the middle of the ſame ways, and in length as their grounds do extend, and ſo ſhall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit ſix pence for every yard ſquare not ſufficiently pav'd, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of *England*, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of Paſſengers.

That the King ſhall have Authority during his Life to name two and thirty Perſons, *viz.* ſixteen Spiritual and ſixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances Provincial and Synodal, and to eſtabliſh all ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſtical as ſhall be thought by the King and them convenient to be us'd in all Spiritual Courts. But this (it ſeems) expir'd with the King's Life.

High-Commiſſion Court.

An Ordinance alſo (never ſufficiently commended) was made for preſervation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearſe, I ſhall deſire the Reader to peruſe in his place: There being no Law either more uſeful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navy and otherwiſe,) or whereof the Infraction can with more difficulty be repair'd; ſo many Years, if not Ages, being requir'd before they can come to that growth, which any raſh Hand may cut down in a very ſhort ſpace.

Some other Acts alſo paſs'd, which the Reader may ſee in their Place.

And now the Parliament ending *March* 29. 1544. That War which was denounc'd by our King againſt *Scotland* for the Treaty broken in ſome Particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the Lord *Edward Seymor* Earl of *Hertford* was ſhortly after conſtituted by our King, Lieutenant General of the North, and ſent thither with a well-furniſh'd Army: For as it was only a Quarrel of unkindneſs with the *Scots* for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of marrying his Son Prince *Edward* with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compoſe the Buſineſs, than the Princes Uncle. Beſides, the Duke of *Norfolk* (whoſe Service he had heretofore us'd in thoſe Parts) was appointed to attend him in his Journey to *France*. And now Conſultation being had which way to invade *Scotland*, it was reſolv'd, by Sea; yet ſo, as the King's Land-Army might make a diverſion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail,) Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle* (newly made Admiral of *England*) was appointed to conduct it; who ſetting Sail, ſhortly afterwards came to *Newcaſtle*.

March 29. War with *Scotland*.

Buchan.

Earl of *Hertford* ſent with an Army into *Scotland*.

1543. *Castle*, where the Earl of *Hertford*, *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other principal Persons with the King's Army attend him. These being speedily shipped, came to *Grantham-Crag* near *Leith*, the fourth of *May*, where spending some three or four Days in disembarking their Men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews* made provision to receive them: Our Army march'd in three Battels, whereof the Lord Admiral had the Van, the Earl of *Hertford* the middle, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountred six thousand Horse, besides many Foot, led (as our Histories have it) by the Cardinal and divers Noble Persons: But as they judg'd themselves too weak, and consequently offer'd not much Resistance, they were quickly discomfited, and their Ordnance taken: Whereupon our Men entring *Leith*, found more Riches there (they said) than they could have easily imagin'd. Marching thence to *Edenburgh*, the Townsmen offer'd to yield themselves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepar'd for Defence. Nevertheless, our Men both forc'd the Town, and burnt it for three Days together: At which time *William* Lord *Ever* Warden of the East-Marches, and Governor of *Berwick* making his way by Land, did (notwithstanding all opposition) joyn his Forces with the rest. The Army thus greatned, burnt and spoil'd all places about *Edenburgh* in a crueller manner than became such as would obtain the favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Nevertheless, as they could not take the Castle of *Edenburgh*, they retir'd to *Leith*, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they shipped their great Artillery, and among them some fair Pieces, gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships also were taken by them. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of *Leith*, and the Peer of the Haven; and so on the fifteenth of *May* the Fleet set Sail, while the Land-Army, desirous to commit further Spoil, march'd to *Seton*, and so to *Hadington*, and *Dunbar*, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait (which our Historians call the *Pease*) and a great Mist happening, they made a Halt, being advertis'd that the *Scottish* Army would fall on them: But the Mist breaking up, they marched on without resistance, and so came to *Ranton*, within eight miles of the *English* Borders, which having ruin'd and burnt, they upon the 18th of *May* enter'd *Berwick*, without having lost in all this Journey above forty Persons. Our Navy in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the *Scottish* Coasts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

May 4.

Edenburgh taken and plunder'd.

May 15. Other Towns in *Scotland* taken and burnt.

May 18.

The Expedition thus gloriously ended, the King found his business nothing advanc'd; he had done more than became a Suitor for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conquest. Neither had this Invasion other event than a general detestation of a Marriage sought for in such rough and unusual Terms: But our King, who understood the business otherwise, said, *That since he could not obtain, he would strive to chastise.* Howbeit, he omitted not to advise how he might raise a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himself. And because the Earl of *Lenox*, now deserted by the *French*, seem'd most proper for this purpose, he resolv'd to admit a Treaty with him: Which Affair also upon his Misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of *Glencarne* and his Brother at *Carlisle*, *May* 17. 1545. (as I find in our Records:) Which again was seconded in that manner, that our Army now returning, he came by Sea to *Westchester*, and so to the Court, where he was well receiv'd by our King: And at last this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Thomas Wriothesly* (lately made * Baron and † Chancellor upon *Audley's* Death;) the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *William Paget* by way of Indenture, *June* 26. 1544. It is to this effect.

May 17.

1544.

* Jan. 1.

† May 14.

June 26.

Treaty between the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly*.

That for the security of the said Earl of Lenox *against the power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of* Arrain, *and the safety of the Realm of* Scotland, *it is agreed, that the said Earl will observe the Articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of* Glencarne *and others at* Carlisle, May 17. 1544.

That he will be the King's Servant and Subject, and serve him against all that shall impugn his Graces Title and Authority in Scotland, *or elsewhere.*

That he will surrender into his Majesty's hand the Castle of Dumbritton, *as also the Isle of* Bute, *and help him to win the Castle of* Ross *therein.*

That when the King, having the Direction of the Realm, shall have made him Governor, the said Earl shall never call a Parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the King's Advice.

That he shall foresee that the King's Prompt be not convey'd out of Scotland, *but strive to get her Person into his custody, and to deliver her into the King's hands.*

That because the King hath upon his earnest suit given him leave to marry his Grace's Niece the Lady Margaret Dowglas, *the said Earl bindeth himself to endow her with the Yearly value of* 500 *Marks Sterling.*

That the King, in consideration of the loss which the said Earl shall sustain in France *by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs, Possessions in* England *of* 1700 *Marks Sterling.*

That the King will aid the said Earl in Scotland *for two or three Months with* 500 *Men; besides such Men as his Grace will send to take and keep* Dumbritton.

That the King having obtain'd direction of that Kingdom, will constitute the said Earl Governor.

The Earl marries the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*.

In which Treaty, though our King bestowed the Lady *Margaret Dowglas* upon him, and that there wanted not some, who thought it best she should be reserv'd upon all events, when the young Queen through any accident should die, he chose rather yet to gratifie this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetual obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an Ancestor of that happy Off-spring which hath followed since.

August.

Lesleus.

The Earl now possess'd of his Lady, was sent shortly after into *Scotland* with twelve or fourteen Ships, and about six hundred Men, under the command of certain *English* Knights: These coming to the Castle of *Dumbritton*, were receiv'd with great joy, and feasted by *Striveling*, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when *Lenox* had privately told him that the Castle was promis'd our King, he seem'd suspended betwixt Affection and Duty. Though at last, considering that it neither stood with his Honour, nor the safety of the Country, to surrender into any foreign hands, he took Arms, and forc'd *Lenox*, and a few of the *English* who were with him, to their Ships, whence they set sail for the Isle of *Arrain*, and burnt all the Houses there; and after to the Isle of *Bute*. Some say yet that *Striveling* would have seiz'd on the Person of *Lenox*, had he not foreseen the danger, and escap'd; and that he landed in the Earl of *Argiles* Country, near the Castle of *Dunvin*, and afterwards burnt it; and took *Caintyr* and spoil'd it; and all this with the help only of one hundred and forty Men more he had out of his own Country: Concerning which

Hollinshead

1544. which Exploits, he advertis'd our King then at *Boulogne*, himself returning in the mean time to *Bristol* (whence he had his Ships) and staying there till the King's arrival in *England*, who soon after commanded him, with some Ships, to scour the *Scottish* Coast.

Among the King's Preparatives for War, that of Money was the most difficult: For though he had much enrich'd himself with the Revenues of the supprest Abbies; and besides, receiv'd great Subsidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Provisions had exhausted his Treasure. Besides, he found the Money of his Kingdom much drain'd away by his crafty Neighbours, while they cry'd it up in their Country. For remedy of which Inconveniences, he both enhaunced our Gold from forty-five Shillings to fortyeight Shillings the Ounce; and Silver from three Shillings and nine pence to four Shillings: And together caus'd certain base Moneys newly coyn'd to be made currant; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cry'd down in *Edward* the VI his time, and call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*. Howsoever, it serv'd for the present to exchange both for Commodities at home and abroad. Though about two Years after our Records mention, that the *Low-Country*-men finding the Allays (it seems) rejected it.

Adulterated Money made currant by K. *Henry*.

Men and Money being now provided, there remain'd yet not a few difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the King's absence. Among which, because the greatest was difference in Religion, he endeavour'd to quiet all parts, as finding it impossible to unite them. That of the *Roman* Catholicks he had already so curb'd, as they could hardly make head again: And for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time scarce more than pretenders. Therefore he caus'd a Litany or Procession to be set forth in *English*, which much satisfied them, as hoping the rest of Divine Service might follow in the same Tongue. And indeed, our Records tells us, that another *English* Procession for Festival Days was afterwards added. As for the Civil Administration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus: The Queen was constituted General Regent of the Realm: Not yet so much, that her soft Sex was thought less capable of Ambition, as that the *Roman*-Catholicks (whom he thought only could stir) would take no dependance from her, she being observ'd to incline a little to the Reform'd. To direct her Counsels yet, the King appointed the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurleby* Bishop of *Westminster*, and Sir *William Peter* Doctor of Law, one of the Principal Secretaries, to be joyn'd in Commission for those Affairs, and on some occasions *William* Lord *Parre* of *Horton* to be call'd to them. It being provided further, if occasion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* should be the King's Lieutenant or principal Captain. Besides which general order for Affairs in his absence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who should stay there and observe all Motions: And for this purpose, the Bishop of the Diocess in every County (for the most part) and six or seven other Noblemen, or Justices of the Peace, were nominated; *Francis Talbot*, also Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was made Lieutenant of the North. And now assurance being given that the Imperial Forces were in readiness, he commanded his Army (which consisted of thirty thousand Men, was divided into three Battails) to pass the Seas. The Vanguard apparell'd in blue Coats, garded with red, with Caps and Hose party-colour'd and suitable (their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull) were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like Habit, by the Lord *Russel*, lately made Lord Privy-Seal, with whom went *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* Marshal of the Field, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others, not a few *Welsh* and *Irish* filling up the numbers. These landing at *Calais* about *Whitsontide*, march'd directly to *Monstreuil*, where the Count *de Bures* Admiral of *Flanders* with ten thousand Foot, and about three or four thousand Horse joyning with them, they laid Siege to the Town which Monsieur *de Biez* Mareschal of *France* defended; while, at the same time, the Battel apparell'd in the like Bizarre fashion, (the Colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the Conduct of *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* the King's Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, Marshal of the Field, *William Pawlet* Lord St. *John*, *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the King's Horse, and others, expected the King's coming; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and, see what the Emperor did.

Litany publish'd in *English* by his Authority.

July 9. The Qappointed Regent while the King goes for *France*.

30000 Men transported to *Calais*.

1544. Dec. 6. 1542. June.

The Emperors Ambassadors formerly mentioned, being return'd from our King with good Satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in Person did meet: The Emperor's chief business was, to require Aid against the *Turk* and *French* their Confederate: Which *Francis* also suspecting, sent an Herald to require a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors to come thither: But he was rejected with ill words. And now the Emperor endeavouring to divide the Protestants, propos'd so fair and advantagious a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approv'd by the rest of the Confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a Contribution by Poll throughout all *Germany*, for a War against the *Turk*, and half a Years pay for four thousand Horse, and four and twenty thousand Foot against the *French*. In regard whereof the Emperor promis'd to commit the business of Religion to certain good Learned Men, who should write some pious Reformation, wishing the Princes also to do the same: To the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observ'd till a General Council were held in *Germany*, or at least a National: And that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augsburg* suspended, and the Anabaptists punish'd. There was an agreement also to meet again (which follow'd at *Wormes*) and so the Diet ended *June* 10.

Feb. 20. June 10. 1545.

The Pope being advertis'd of these passages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being resolv'd to tolerate no Reformation whereof himself was not Author. Therefore he wrote a sharp Letter to the Emperor, *Dat.* 25. *Aug.* wherein he remonstrateth the Inconveniences would follow, if any thing were establisht in Religion without his Intervention: Excluding further the Protestants wholly from having any voice therein.

This while the *French*, under the conduct of *Francois de Bourbon Duc d' Anguien*, obtain'd at *Serisoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory against the *Spaniard*, commanded by the Marquis of *Guasto*; wherein, as the *Spaniards* conceiv'd, was some fatality;

April 11. *die Pasch. Sandov.*

1544. tality; their Writers obſerving, that the Battel of
Ravenna and *Gelves* were loſt upon the ſame
Day. Howſoever, the *French* were not a little
glorious; yet, as *Francis* knew the League be-
twixt our King and the Emperor, was directed
chiefly againſt him, he prepar'd for Defence:
And the rather, that he had heard of a ſecond
Treaty, (which was at *Gonzaga*'s coming over
into *England*, as I take it) wherein both Princes
had agreed to march ſtrait on to *Paris*, without
July. beſieging any Town, or ſtaying by the Way.
Beſides, the Emperor had now recover'd *Lux-
emburg*. This made *Francis* reſort to the extream
Remedy in Caſe of Invaſion, call'd the *Ban* and
Arriereban, by which, all Men holding under cer-
tain Tenures, are bound, for a certain Time, at
their own Coſt and Charges, to ſerve in Perſon,
or at leaſt to provide (according to their De-
gree) Horſe and Foot againſt the Enemy: Which
Francis yet converted to a Foot only, and thus
he got together an Army of about forty thou-
ſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. As this
yet could not ſecure him againſt two ſuch pu-
iſſant Adverſaries, he diſpatched ſeveral Ambaſ-
ſadors to both Princes, with Power to offer great
and advantageous Conditions of Peace, when
either of them might be taken off. This while
the Emperor (who promis'd our King to march
directly to *Paris* with a great Army) had taken
divers Towns in *Champagne*, as the Way unto it,
though loſing unfortunately *René* Prince of *O-
range* at S. *Diſier*, who was the ſecond of that
Family that had died in his Quarrel, his Mo-
1530. ther's Brother *Philibert de Chaalon* having been ſlain
at the Siege of *Florence*. And now both Armies
marching ſo, as the Imperialiſts held the one
ſide, and the *French* the other ſide of the River
of *Marne*, News was brought to either Camp,
that our Army was landed in *France*, and had
beſieg'd *Boulogne*. The Particularities whereof,
out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought
fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

July 14. Our King, who paſs'd the Seas in a Ship with
July 15. Sails of Cloth of Gold, arriv'd at *Calais* the 14th
K. *Henry* goes over-Sea to *Calais*. of *July*, with a Royal Train. The next Day the
Emperor's High-Admiral attended him, and gave
account in what Eſtate and Forwardneſs his Ma-
ſter's Army and Affairs were about that Time:
He adviſ'd our King alſo to proceed to *Paris*,
without amuſing himſelf about any thing by
the Way. But he who knew well what Towns
the Emperor had taken in his Way, would not
be diſſuaded from the ſame Liberty: There-
fore he ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with Forces to
inveſt *Boulogne*, in which Monſieur *de Vervin* a
young Gentleman, but aſſiſted by *Philip Corſe*,
a brave and old Soldier, Commanded. His For-
ces conſiſted of a Gariſon of about two thouſand
five hundred paid, and as many more able
July 21. Townſmen. The Duke, in a ſhort Space, took
(notwithſtanding Reſiſtance) the lower Town,
lying on the River of *Pont-de-bricq*, and the
July 22. Watch-Tower before *Boulogne*, (call'd the *Old
Man*, or the *Tour de ordre*, thought to be built by
Julius Cæſar;) this haſtened the King's Coming;
ſo that diſpatching the Emperor's Admiral, he
July 25. march'd forward in this Equipage, *July* 25. firſt,
the Drums, Viffeurs, Trumpeters, and Officers at
Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-
Herald next before the King's Banner, after
which follow'd *Don Bertran de la Cueva*, Duke of
Albuquerque (Commander of the Emperor's Aux-
iliary Forces;) next whom came the King's
Majeſty, arm'd at all Pieces, upon a Great Cour-
ſer; then the Lord *Herbert*, bearing the King's
Head-piece and Spear, follow'd by the Hench-
men, bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching
thus out of *Calais* with a Princely Train, an
hundred Horſe of *Albuquerque*'s Company (where- 1544.
of ſix were barded with Cloth of Gold) met
him: Alſo the Earl of *Eſſex* (chief Captain of
the Men at Arms,) and Sir *Thomas Darcy*, with
many other Horſemen (who ſet themſelves in
Parade) ſo that the Light Horſe and Demy-
Lance went firſt, then the Guard on Foot, af-
ter them the Pike men, amongſt whom the King
rode before the Men at Arms; for the Wings,
fifty Archers on Hoſeback, and as many Har-
quebuſiers were appointed, and ſo they came to
Marquiſe, where the Army then encamp'd that
Night. The next Day (being the 26.) marching July 26.
towards *Boulogne*, the Duke of *Suffolk* met the He ſets
King, who took his Quarter on the North-ſide down be-
of the Town, near the Sea; divers Skirmiſhes fore *Boulogne* and
paſſing in the mean time. beſiegeſ it.

The 28th *John* Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, July 28.
the Lord *Clinton*, and about 900 Men, who had
ſcowr'd the Seas towards *Scotland*, Landed in the
Haven at *Boulogne*.

The 29th Sir *Thomas Poynings* came to give the July 29.
King Account of all that paſs'd at *Monſtruel*, and
in his Return took *Hardelot*-Caſtle.

The 3^{d} of *Auguſt* our Battery began on the Aug. 3.
Eaſt-ſide of the Town, two Batteries more being
afterwards planted againſt it.

The 6th of *Auguſt* Monſieur *de Bures* came from Aug. 6.
Monſtreul; to whom our King gave a brave Cour-
ſer richly furniſh'd.

The 13th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Hertford* came Aug. 13.
to the Camp; and divers Companies of *Al-
maines* and *Flemings* join'd with our Men: Ma-
ny Sallies and Skirmiſhes (in which the *French*
ſtill had the worſe) paſſing in the mean while.
Certain *French* Troops alſo endeavouring early Aug. 19.
in the Morning to get into the Town, were
defeated and kill'd; ſome, nevertheleſs eſcaping
into it. Certain Troops of *German* Horſe came
now alſo to the Camp, who were muſter'd be-
fore the King the next Day.

The 24th of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, from Aug. 24.
before *Monſtreul* came and advertis'd the King
how the Affairs paſs'd there.

The 27th, Alarm was given upon diſcovering Aug. 27.
of ſome *French* Troops.

The 29th and 30th, our Men approaching ſtill Au. 29,30.
to the Walls, ſhort Skirmiſhes paſs'd.

Septemb. 1. our Men got the *Bray*, not yet with- Sept. 1.
out Loſs of Brave Men on both Sides.

The 2^{d} of *September*, ſome of our Men giving Sept. 2.
a falſe Alarm to the Caſtle, at the Breach which
our Canon had made, other of our Men break
up certain Doors into the Caſtle; but they being
barricado'd within, and well defended, we retir'd
with Loſs.

The 3^{d}, Sir *Chriſtopher Morris*, Maſter of the Sept. 3.
Ordnance, and chief Director of the Batteries,
was hurt with a Shot from the Caſtle. While
Things paſs'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy
of Victuals (being ſent from St. *Omer* to the
Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Im-
perialiſts kill'd. Nevertheleſs, our *Engliſh* ſav'd
and reſcu'd ſome part.

The 4th of *Sept.* the Pioneers having brought Sept. 4.
their Work to the Counter-mure of the Caſtle,
two Mines were ſprung, which ſhiver'd the Wall;
but made no great Overture.

The 5th, our Men ſapping the Walls, the *French* Sept. 5.
kill'd certain Pioneers.

The 6th another Salley was made, and ſome Sept. 6.
Workmen were kill'd.

The 9th, the Town being brought almoſt to Sept. 9.
terms of yielding, certain Ambaſſadors from *Fran-
cis*, being *John* Cardinal *du Bellay*, *Pierre Raymond
premier* Preſident of *Rouen*, and others deman-
ded Audience, their Buſineſs being to treat of a
General Accord; concerning which the Earl of

Hertford,

1544. *Hertford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *William Paget*, and Sir *Richard Rich*, were appointed to negotiate with them at *Hardelot* Castle: Our King not doubting in the mean time to carry the Town.

Sept. 11. *September* 11. Fire was given to the Mine under the Castle, the Effect whereof the King went to see, not without some Danger, the Stones flying very far off: Whereupon, our Men presently giving on, many were slain on both parts.

Sept. 13. The 13th Monsieur *de S. Bliment*, and Monsieur *de Aix* came out of the Town, and treated of surrendring it.

Sept. 14. The 14th, it was yielded upon Condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Victuals and Artillery behind them. It was thought yet the Place might have held out longer, but that *Philip Corse* was kill'd, with whom (it seem'd) both their Courage and Good Fortune ended. And so, about two thousand Soldiers, and as many others, going out of the Town, pass'd towards *Monstreul*, in our King's Sight, besides divers that escap'd another Way. And thus *Boulogne* was taken, without any mention in our Diary, of Cannon of Wood colour'd like Brass, which should be planted against the Castle, as Tradition hath it. And now an horrible Tempest arising, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and Shipwreck'd some part of our Navy in the Haven. Nevertheless, the *French* Ambassadors came to the Camp that Night; but as their Tents were blown down likewise over their Heads, the King courteously permitted them to lodge in the Town.

Boulogne taken.

Sept. 14.

Sept. 18. The King enters the Town in Triumph. *September* 18, the King (attended by *Albuquerque*) entred *Boulogne* Triumphantly, the Duke of *Suffolk* (the Great Master, who was sent before to take Possession thereof,) meeting him at the Gate, and presenting the Keys of the Town, where, after he had viewed the Places that needed Fortification, he gave Audience to the *French* Ambassadors: But they hearing the Emperor had condescended to a Peace (which was publish'd about this Time) did less insist upon a Treaty with us, and so return'd by the Way of *Hesdin*.

Sept. 25. *Septemb.* 25. Some of the *Spanish* Writers yet use much Art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they say, that our King fail'd in his not going directly to *Paris*, (as was agreed.) Never considering, in the mean while, that the Emperor (though having a much clearer Way) had taken divers Towns in his Passage: Besides, they alledg'd, that our King would keep *Boulogne* for himself, not regarding the common Interest. All yet were but Pretexts: Whereas the real Causes were,

First, That *Charles* had by this means taken off *Francis* from his League with the *Turk*.

Secondly, That he had engag'd our King in a War against *France*, and thereby made himself the freer to pursue his own Designs in *Germany*, where he knew the Protestants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War elsewhere.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of *Germany*, which he now intended, he thought the *French* King could more hurt him, than our King do him good.

Sept. 19. *The Articles of Peace concluded by these two Princes, were;*

Articles of Peace between the Emperor and the French King. I. That betwixt the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Francis* the *French* King, and the rest that will enter into this League, there be a firm and perpetual Peace.

II. That the Subjects of both Princes pay Tributes, Rights, and Customs of Merchandize that they were wont to pay. 1544.

III. That all Places which have been taken on one Part or other since the Truce of *Nizza*, shall be restor'd: And that neither part may take thence more than their Victuals or Ordnance.

IV. That the Duke of *Arescbot* shall enjoy his Right in the County of *Ligny*, &c.

V. That all Places and Fortresses that have been taken from the Duke of *Savoy* by either of the Parties, or from the Marquis of *Montferat*, or the Duke of *Mantua*, Duke of *Lorain*, Duke of *Stenay* in *Luxemburg*, shall be restored.

VI. That the King of *France* shall leave and restore the Abbey and Lands of *Garagona* in the Emperor's Hands; as also certain Hostages for Performance thereof, and that he shall give unto the Emperor the County of *Charolois* to him and his Heirs for ever.

VII. That the Emperor and *French* King join together in a War against the *Turk*; and that the King shall furnish for this Purpose, six hundred Lances, and ten thousand Foot.

VIII. That *Francis* shall renounce all the Right he pretends to hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, the Contado of *Asti*, as also the Right of Sovereignty he had in *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *Tournay*, *Mortaigne*, and *S. Amand*. Moreover, that the King leave unto the Emperor and his Successors, all the Right that he can pretend in the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and County of *Zutphen*.

IX. That the Emperor likewise shall yield and pass over all Action and Right that he may pretend unto in any State or Seignory of the King, except the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Aussone*, the Sovereignty of *S. Lawrence*, the County of *Mascon*, *Auxerre* and *Bar* upon the River *Seine*. That he should renounce also that Right he held in the Cities upon the Border *Some*, *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, and *Roye*; as also the Counties of *Boulogne*, *Guyenne*, *Ponthieu*; excepting *Theroüenne*, *Hen*, and other Places mentioned in *Sandoval*, and whatsoever in the Estate and Limits of *Arras*.

X. That the Vassals of either Prince shall be fully restor'd unto all that they had, altho' they had serv'd on the contrary Side.

XI. That the *Flemings* may enjoy the Heritage that their Fathers leave them, tho' themselves have not been born in *France*: And that the Custom call'd, *Droit D'aubene*, shall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern Privileges on both Parts, shall remain in their Force and Vigour. To which Purpose the Emperor shall renounce (in Favour of the King) the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Vicounty of *Aussone*, Sovereignty of *S. Lawrence*, the County of *Auxerre*, *Mascon*, and *Bar sur Seine*; and within four Months after the Publication of this Peace, he shall procure, that his Son *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*, shall confirm the same.

XIII. That the Emperor, in Favour and Confirmation of the Peace, shall give his Daughter, the Infanta *Donna Maria*, or (in Case he do give her) the second Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, that she may match with *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to the King: And that he declare his Mind therein within the Term of four Months after the publishing of this Peace. And that if the Emperor will marry his Daughter with Duke *Charles*, then he shall give them the Estate of *Flanders*, which at this present is under his Obedience, and moreover, the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* in Dowry; and that they

1544. they shall enter into the Possession of these Estates after the Emperor's Death, to descend upon Duke *Charles* and his Heirs Males; and that the Emperor yet living, these States shall swear to the said *Charles*; and that *Philip* Prince of *Spain* shall swear, confirm, and approve it.

XIV. That the Marriage being made, the Emperor shall constitute Duke *Charles* in the Government of *Flanders*.

XV. That *Francis*, and his Son the Dauphin, shall renounce for ever, and depart from any Right that they held, or may pretend to hold, to the Dutchy of *Milan* or the County of *Asti*; and that they shall procure, within eight Days after the Publication hereof, the Dauphin's Brother *Charles*, and Madam *Marguerite* to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if *Mary*, Daughter to the Emperor, shall dye without Issue Male, the Estate of *Flanders* shall revert to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, and to his Heirs: And that the Duke of *Orleans*, in this Case, may revive his Right to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and Contado of *Asti*: And that in this Case, the Emperor likewise may revive his Right to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and the rest formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke *Charles* shall marry with the second Daughter of King *Ferdinando*, he shall give with her the Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Contado of *Asti*, and all belonging unto them; the Emperor in the mean while retaining in his Power the Fortresses of *Milan* and *Cremona*: And that the Emperor shall give to them and their Heirs Males, the Title and Imperial Collation of the State thereof. And that if the Duke of *Orleans* should have no Heirs Males by this Marriage, nevertheless, that the said Title and Estate shall remain to Duke *Charles*, and to his Heirs Males by a second Marriage. Provided, that the second Marriage be made with the Good Will and Consent of the Emperor and his Brother *Ferdinand*.

XVIII. That the Mariage with the Duke of *Orleans* shall not be deferr'd more than one Year after the Day of Publication of these Presents.

XIX. That *Francis* shall give unto his Son the Duke in Dote the Dutchy of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, *Chastelerand*, and the County of *Angoulesme*; and if these Estates mount not to the yearly Revenue of 100000 *livres Tournois*, that they shall be made up out of the Dutchy of *Alanzon*.

XX. That if the Duke of *Orleans* shall have only Heirs Females, each of them shall have for their Portion in Marriage 100000 *livres Tournois*: And if there shall be but one only Daughter Heir, they shall give her 100000 *livres* in ready Pay; and that if the Duke shall die first, the Emperor's Daughter shall have for her Life 50000 *livres Tournois* yearly; but if it be *Ferdinand* the King of the *Romans* Daughter, 30000 only.

XXI. That the King of *France* shall restore to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* all the Lands that he hath taken from him (except *Montmelion* and *Piquerole*) in which the King may hold Garison all the Time that the Emperor shall retain the Castles of *Cremona* and *Milan*.

XXII. That the Duke of *Vendosme* shall hold the County of St. *Paul* with the same Right that he possess'd it before the War.

XXIII. That the King of *France* shall hold *Hesdin* till it be determined whose Right it is.

XXIV. That in the Cause of *Henry de la Britt*, pretended King of *Navarre*, *Francis* shall not interpose himself otherwise than a Pacifier; nor in the War that shall be for this Cause betwixt them; nor that he shall take any part.

XXV. That the King shall give unto the Emperor a Writing in due Form, in which shall be declar'd, that Madam *Jane*, Daughter to *Henry de la Britt*, doth swear that she will not consent unto the Marriage agreed with *William* Duke of *Cleve*; and that she never consented to it. 1544.

XXVI. That the King of *Romans* (that was the principal Person in composing this Peace) shall enter into, and be comprehended in it; as likewise all other Christian Princes and Republicks that will, keeping the Obedience and Submission that of Right they owe unto the Emperor. This being Sign'd and Seal'd by the Emperor and *French* King, and the other abovenamed, these following Articles were added:

XXVII. That *Francis* should restore to the Heir of *René* Prince of *Orange*, the Principality thereof in that manner that *Philibert Chaalon* enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areschot*, entire Satisfaction should be made for all his Pretensions, according to the last Treaty of *Cambray*.

XXIX. That the King shall restore to the Duke all the Goods, that on his Father's and Mother's side belong'd to him in *France*.

XXX. That if *Maximilian* of *Burgundy* gain his Suit in Law, the Places belonging to him shall be restor'd.

XXXI. That the Ransom which *George* of *Austria* promis'd, shall be annull'd and made void.

And this was the Substance of the League concluded at *Crespie*, 19 of *September*, 1544. Besides which Articles, I find by some that it was agreed, they should defend the ancient Religion, and reform the Court at *Rome*: Whereof the Pope being advertis'd, was not yet much troubled; as knowing their Interests so diverse, that they could not long concur. Nevertheless, he hastened the intended Council at *Trent*, both as the Emperor desir'd it, and as he thought it safer to Reform himself, than to be Reform'd. Therefore, having understood that both the Emperor had commanded the Divines of *Lovain* to reduce Religion into some Method and Articles; and *Francis* also had enjoin'd the like to the *Sorbonists*; he without more Delay appointed the Council to begin *March* 15. 1545. and his Legates there to be, *Giovanni Maria di Monte*, Bishop-Cardinal *di Palestina*, *Marcello Cervino* Priest-Cardinal *di Santa Croce*, *Reginald Poole* Deacon-Cardinal *di Santa Maria*, (all faithful to him, but *Marcello* most vers'd in Affairs,) with Instruction at first, only to observe the Emperor's Motions, and Govern themselves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at *Worms* would shortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous lest the Emperor, *French* King, and Protestants should agree upon some Form of settling Religion among themselves, and not a little fearful also lest our King should intervene: Besides, it troubled him much how to comport himself with the Assembly at *Worms*, as doubting, that if he sent a Legate thither, he might be neglected: Wherefore he commanded the Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* (his Grand-child) to take that place, as in his Way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio resident with *Ferdinand*, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to shew he proceeded really in calling a Council, he gives his Legates Order to repair to *Trent*, with Authority (according to a Bull fram'd for that Purpose) to propose, determine, and conclude all that was necessary for Extirpation of Heresie, to reform the

Sept. 19.

Pope's Legates go again to *Trent*.

1544. the Church, to settle Peace among Christian Princes, &c. by the Consent of the Council. Besides which he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transfer, or dissolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrement: Nor made he Difficulty to begin with a few *Italian* Bishops only of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepar'd when the rest came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he sent to *Spain* to be resolv'd by the Prince and his Council, which of the two Marriages were most convenient. But all came to nothing by the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, within Sep. 1545. eight Months following: Howbeit, some Places taken on either side were restor'd, and the Emperor's Auxiliary Forces before *Monstruel* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went shortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Sister the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expostulating the matter with the Emperor; he, for excusing himself, as well as satisfying our King, pretended to make some Overture concerning the receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet so, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the *Germans* being now departed (but not the Duke of *Albuquerque* and some *Spaniards*, who (against the Emperor's Will) remain'd in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* (who had made Sept. 25. Inrodes into the Country with good Success) to raise the Siege from before *Monstruel*, and retire to him. And now finding the Season to be far advanc'd, and little else to be done, our King (after he had Knighted certain Persons of Worth) prepar'd to be gone, leaving the Lord *Lisle* to command *Boulogne* with sufficient Forces, and Directions what to do upon all Occasions. Sept. 30. And thus, the 30th of *September*, he took Shipping at *Boulogne*, and return'd: The News whereof, being brought to the *Dauphin*, (who a good while since had rais'd a puissant Army) made him to advance. But the Avant-Coureurs were Octob. 1. no sooner descried near the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord Privy-Seal (who were left behind with the Army) made ready to fight, sending first yet some to offer Skirmish; but the Octob. 3. *French*-men fled. Our Army hereupon march-Octob. 9. ing in good Order to *Calais*, (where Shipping attended them) the *Dauphin*, six Days after, attempted between Force and Stratagem, to surprise *Boulogne*. For, being advertis'd by a Spy that our Approaches were not yet slighted or levelled, nor any of the three Breaches in the upper Town repair'd, and that the lower Town in many Places lay open, he doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there. (Stratagem of the *Fr.* to surprise *Boulogne*.) Octob. 9. Thus, coming near with all his Forces, about Midnight he commanded *Fouquesolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, *d' Andelot*, *Noailles*, and certain *French* and *Italian* Troops under *P. de Maria* and others, in sufficient Number, to give on. These, with their Shirts over their Armour, coming suddenly near the lower Town, sent some before, who (as if in Favour of us they would have given the Alarm) cry'd, *Bowes, Bowes*: Hoping thus, that our Men, suspecting nothing, would open the Gates, and thereby give them Means to seize on it till the rest did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handsomly pursu'd, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the *Italians* entring the lower Town in greater Number than that they could be suppos'd People in their Shirts, that rose to give their Fellows Warning, Alarm was given. Nevertheless, they so surpris'd our Centinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the Houses without much Opposition, because the Pioneers (chiefly) and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themselves) were Quarter'd there; our Soldiers scarce sufficing to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our Men escaping, ran to the Gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themselves; which therefore were cast to them over the Walls in such Quantity, as now taking Courage, they fell on the *French* and *Italians* with that Fury, as they kill'd Monsieur *de Fouquesolles*, and divers others, who resisted, and chas'd the rest, wounding Monsieur *de Tais*, and taking divers Prisoners: And this was the Success of the Attempt on the upper-Parts of low *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook, not without Hope (it seems) to fire some of our Ships, the *French* prosper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great Number: Only for *Monluc* himself, it may be doubted where he was in either of these Fights, since he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good Account of his Person. For though he saith, he came to the *Italians*, that made a Stand near the Church, it must be before our Men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that some of the *English* ran away, they were no other than some part of the *Corps de Gard*, which went to advertise the rest; and for his telling the Colours of our Pioneers Clothes, (for Testimony that he saw them in the dark) it makes little for him, since with more Honour he might have told the Colours of our Soldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he seen them. Howsoever, he might stay safely in the lower Town after the Slaughter committed by *Tais* and the *Italians*, till our Men (as is before-mentioned) returning with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the Chase; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not those of the upper Town sallied forth of their Breaches at last, to second them. A little before which Time, *Monluc*, suspecting, it seems, that the *English* (upon the Alarm given) would fall on him, desir'd (as he confess'd himself) the *Italians* to make good their Stand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being possess'd by the *English*. But our *English* now charging *Monluc*, went further than it or the Town. Howbeit, to shew his Care, he saith that he sent an Horseman back, to know what was become of the *Italians*. But he returning answer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and some other *French* provided for themselves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings*, with a fresh Troop of *English* out of the upper Town, had charg'd them. *D' Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were advis'd by *Monluc* to save themselves; as also certain Ensigns, who following his Council, got up the Hill towards their Army, while himself and a few with him, pass'd a shallow Water, and so escap'd by a longer, but a safer Way. And thus the *Dauphin*, who prepar'd to send Succours, meeting the Run-aways, desisted, and the Town was sav'd. But *Monluc*, to defend himself, saith, that for all the Fear, he kept his Wits still about him, or else he had been in Danger never to have been Mareschal of *France*. And to commend (it seems) his Direction in running away, he shews how necessary it is for a Man in Danger not to be afraid; and says, that all the Ensigns had been lost, had he not advis'd them to be gone; and that his Counsel preserv'd all: And such Rodomontades as these, did this *Gascon* use, who (it seems) was a Braver Man

(They are repuls'd.)

(*Comment. de Monluc.*)

(Reflections on *Monluc* in his History.)

by

1544. by Day, than by Night. All which I have more particularly observ'd out of our Histories and Records, because, notwithstanding his shameful flight, he strives so much to vilifie our Nation. But how he behav'd himself in this Action, may appear by the *Dauphin's* jearing him at his return, as himself confesseth; it being certain, that though he came in later than his Fellows, it was not because he stay'd longer there, but that he went a further way about. But *Monluc* to excuse himself, said, it was the *Dauphin's* fault, that he came not in with his whole Army: And therein he spoke rationally; for had the first Attempt been well seconded, he must have carry'd the Town in all likelihood, our Breaches being open, and Men surpris'd. Nor had he better fortune at *Guisnes*, and other places which the *French* hop'd to take in; for being beaten thence, he was constrain'd with his Army to retire, without doing more for this Year. Nevertheless, *Francis* had recourse to those wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms, he always advantaged himself: Therefore he desired that his Ambassadors and the Emperors might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *William Paget*

Octob. 12. were sent thither: But their desire being, that *Boulogne* might be first restor'd, the Earl of *Hertford* reply'd, he had no such Commission, and so broke off the Treaty: The Imperialists seeming nothing scandaliz'd, that it had no better effect.

The death of the Pyrate Barbarossa.

While Affairs pass'd thus in *France*, *Barbarossa* did much spoil on the Coasts of *Italy*, taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seigneur at *Constantinople*, where he shortly after died of a *Calenture*, being above eighty Years old: A great Age for such a Pirate as spent almost all his time in fighting either with Men, or the fiercest Elements. There happen'd also in *July*, this Year, upon the Coasts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the *Spanish* and *French*, in which the *Spaniards*, under the command of Don *Alvaro Bazan* (Father of the famous Marquis *de Santa Cruz*) was Superiour, three thousand *French* (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

July 25. The Spaniards beat the French at Sea.

The Emperor now in his wonted necessity for Money, was advis'd by his Council to seize

Sand.l.26. on the Revenues of the Church: For which

Sand.l.26. also he obtain'd a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as he would hear what the Religious Persons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who said, *the right of the Church Goods was rather Divine than Humane; that the Church was Christ's Spouse, and should be deck'd gloriously; that ancient* Rome *was Mistriss of the World heretofore, by* S. Augustine's *Confession, because the People*

L.5. de Civit. Dei. *were so devout to their Gods, and so much honour'd Religion*: Which reasons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had he not found other ways to have supply'd his wants. Nevertheless, his Son, *Philip* the Second, seised on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be restor'd.

The glorious return of our King from *Boulogne* gave much satisfaction to his Subjects: Yet, as he had drawn a puissant Enemy against him, he took order to fortifie his Kingdom. And because the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be secur'd, he caus'd some Fortifications to be rais'd at *Gravesend*, as also at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and many other places: He took also an exact account of all his Ordnance, which he distributed in the most necessary places, left upon an Invasion, his Magazine being in the Tower of *London* only, the remedy should come too late. I find also by our Records, that there were certain small Pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, 1544. for defence of his Waggons, of his own Invention, as also certain forms of Bulwarks; for he was a great Soldier, and besides, of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new Devices which in these kinds now daily appear'd: The Pistol, among others, coming this Year first in request among the *French* Horse; but not the *Spanish*, whose manner is, not to leave their ancient forms easily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Pistols first us'd by the Fr. Horse.

Let us look a while on *Scotland*.

Affairs of Scotland. June.

About the time that *Lenox*, on our King's part, invaded the West of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our Men on the other side entred the Country, and took *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, and other places, and then *Coldingham*: Which being advertis'd to the Governor and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about eight thousand, and some Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governor suspecting (as it was thought) some treachery among his Men, posted away suddenly: which caus'd such a consternation in the *Scots*, that they likewise were ready to Disband, and leave the Artillery then planted in battery against the Steeple, had not the Earl of *Arguis* staid some, and with their help conducted it safe to *Dunbar*. This news was brought to our King at his return from *Boulogne*; at which time also the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland*: Whereupon, the said Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were dispatch'd thither with competent Forces. For, though at the request of the *Scots* by Sir *George Meldre* (sent to him when he was before *Boulogne*) King *Henry* had granted Truce for a time; yet being newly provok'd, he resolv'd a War. These entring *Scotland* on the West Border, took *Dunfrise*, and brought home great Spoils; constraining also the People of those parts to condescend to a Treaty, and give Hostages for the observing thereof. Our Men puff'd up with this good Success, resolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralph Evers* (now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the East-Marches) and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter spoiling *Tiviot-dale*, and other places, and afterward returning to *London*, requir'd a reward for their Service: Which, by the Duke of *Norfolk's* Advice, being as much ground as they could win from the *Scots*, they entred the next Spring (1545) but were defeated, and slain in great number at *Ancram*; and among them *Evers* himself, a brave Lord: Divers also were taken Prisoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell the occasion: Our King, for supply of his wants, having appointed certain Commissioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; among whom, *Read* refusing to pay his share, was sent in this Expedition, with so ill success to it and himself, as at last, he paid more than the Money impos'd on him, in a Ransom. As for others, they excus'd themselves by their Penury, in regard the King had taken up so much Corn from them for his use this Year, without repaying the price as yet; so that in effect this Benevolence pass'd with much grudging.

English invade Scotland.

And are defeated. Mar. 1545.

January.

Alderman Read sent to the Wars for refusing to pay the benevolence.

The *Dauphin* and *French* Army being retir'd, as is formerly related, Monsieur *de Biez* Mareschal of *France*, having gather'd some fourteen thousand Men together, encamp'd the 26th of *January*, 154$\frac{4}{5}$, near *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a Mile from *Boulogne*; yet as he had the River of *Pont-de-Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not easie to dislodge him. His Design was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Boulogne* in Subjection: Which the Earl of *Hertford*

Jan. 26.

1544.

Hollinshead

ford underſtanding, aſſembled four thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe out of the Gariſons adjoyning, and with theſe conſtrained *Biez* to retire to *Hardelot*, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two Braſs Pieces, and five Iron, and much Baggage, and with it ſome of Monſieur *de Biez* his Armour.

Francis ſends forces to the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*.

And now *Francis* finding that theſe Enterpriſes ſucceeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the Town; hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulſe the *Engliſh* from thoſe parts. Therefore he ſent to *Scotland* Monſieur *de la Broſſe*, and afterwards the Seigneur *de Lorges*, with an Army to join with the *Scots* for invading our Northern Parts. On the other ſide, that he might ſhew how ſtrong he was by Sea, he commanded a great Fleet to be equipp'd; for which purpoſe *Paulin* (his old Negotiator in *Turkey*) brought with him five and twenty Gallies from the *Levant*:

His Power at Sea.

The Pope not omitting alſo to furniſh his part: So that he had in all an hundred and fifty great Ships, and ſixty of the leſſer ſort, beſides Gallies; his deſign being to keep *Boulogne* from being relieved by Sea, while the Land-Forces beſieg'd it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Boulogne*, which being to be finiſh'd (as was promiſ'd him) by Monſieur *de Biez*, before mid-*Auguſt*, he meant with a puiſſant Army to entrench himſelf before the Town: Having for this purpoſe ſent to levy twelve thouſand Landskenets, and ſix thouſand *Italians*; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the places we held in *France*. Laſtly, for the more encouraging his Men, he reſolv'd in Perſon to be in, or at leaſt, not far from his Army. Coming thus to *Havre de Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to ſet Sail, his faireſt Ship (being of eight hundred Tun) taking fire, ſuddenly was burnt; yet the reſt went on, under the command of Monſieur *d' Annebault* Admiral of *France*. Coming thus to S. *Hellens* Point, on our Coaſt, *Paulin*, with four Gallies was ſent to diſcover the Iſle of *Wight* and the countenance of our Men: Whereupon, ſixty of our Ships coming out of the Haven of *Portſmouth* in good order, exchang'd ſome ſhot with the *French*, till night parted them.

The *French* land in the Iſle of *Wight*.

July 18. The next Day, the Ship which carried their Money, ſank, the Money being hardly ſav'd. But one of our Ships through accident was loſt. Our King this while being come to *Portſmouth*, as knowing of what conſequence the place was, aſſembles Men from all parts under the command of his Lieutenant the Duke of *Suffolk*: The *French* yet landed in three ſeveral places in the Iſle of *Wight*; but were as ſoon repuls'd: Whereupon, *d' Annebault* having the Wind fair, adviſ'd concerning fighting with us in the Haven at *Portſmouth*: But the Channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they conſulted of taking the Iſle of *Wight*: But as it was requiſite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both Men and time would be wanting. Howſoever, they reſolv'd to take in freſh Water; which the Chevalier *d' Auxe* with ſome Men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed; as alſo ſome others who landed afterwards in *Suſſex*.

And are routed.

Theſe bad ſucceſſes made the *French* croſs over to *Portet* near *Boulogne*, where they landed four thouſand Soldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie thoſe places they ſhould have taken in *England*. And now the wind blowing from the Land, they ſet ſail again for our Coaſt; which our King underſtanding, commanded his Fleet (being an hundred Sail) to offer fight to them; which the *French* alſo had charge to accept; their King not fearing to loſe his hired Ships, as long as he had Money to procure others: The only difficulty was, in regard of the Currents, how to uſe both Ships and Gallies together; for in Calms, when the Gallies made way, the Ships could not ſtir; and without them they durſt not encounter us.

1544.

Auguſt.

And now the *French* Fleet having gotten a ſmall wind, and their Gallies coming on, made toward us, but the wind ſlackning again, their Gallies fell off; wherewith the wind coming about, and our Fleet inveſting them, an hot fight of two hours paſs'd betwixt them: But the night parting them, the *French* retir'd ſuddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appear'd no more.

Sea-fight between the *Engliſh* and *French* who were worſted.

Our Admiral yet went to *Treport* in *Normandy*, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took divers Barks out of the Haven, and ſo return'd. *D' Annebault*, as ſoon as he came on ſhoar, went to the King at *Arques* the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, expecting the Fort ſhould be finiſh'd before *Boulogne*; but it was begun eight Days only before, and in another place, call'd *Outreau*, near low *Boulogne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but not command the entry into the Haven.

Aug. 16.

But Monſieur *de Biez* aſſuring the King yet it would be put in defence within eight Days more, the *French* Army march'd on, being four and thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, who ſhortly after encamp'd upon Mount *Lambert*, being ſo near *Boulogne*, as they could ſhoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor nearer than the Abby of *Forreſt Monſtier*, which was eleven Leagues off, whither his Son *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* coming, died (as is before touch'd) of a Peſtilent Fever. This made him ſend ſhortly after *Claude de Annebault*, and others, to the Emperor, to renew his Alliance ſome other way. But the Emperor, who had now engag'd our King and *Francis* to a War, and therein reveng'd himſelf on both, thought it ſafer to be Neuter, than to declare himſelf either way: Howbeit, he told the *French* Ambaſſadors, that he would not begin with their Maſter.

Sept. 9. Nov. 1.

In the mean while, the *Engliſh* Gariſon in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, making continual Inrodes, kill'd Monſieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his Men; which together with the dry anſwer receiv'd from the Emperor, made *Francis* to retire to an Abbey near *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Boulogne*, without adventuring to lay cloſe Siege unto it. Only, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the *French* Court came thither, divers Skirmiſhes paſs'd; in one of which, *Francis* Duke *d' Aumale*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, receiv'd a blow with a Lance between the Eye and the Noſe, which entered (as the *French* Writers have it) half a foot into his Head, and there broke: Nevertheleſs, he coming off, endur'd the taking it out, and was recover'd; divers others of their principal Perſons yet being kill'd.

Octob.

K. of *England* hires 14000 *Germans*.

And now our King reſolving to diſlodge them, ſent into *Germany* to levy ten thouſand Landskenets, and four thouſand Horſe: Who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the County of *Liege*, requir'd their pay, as was promis'd; but it not coming at the time appointed, they ſeiſed on our Commiſſioners, and return'd, without permitting them to depart till they were ſatisfied. This while Monſieur *de Biez*, being commanded to enter *Terre d' Oye*, took a little piece of fortified ground; which our Men coming to recover, were encountred by his Horſe, and defeated: Yet ſo, as (though far leſs in number) they kill'd many of their Enemies.

The Gariſon of *Boulogne* finding the *French* Army thus departed, enterpris'd the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with ſome loſs conſtrain'd to retire. The *French* Army alſo, through the much rain that fell, was forc'd to leave *Terre d' Oye*, being a marſhy ground, and full of deep Ditches: Beſides, our Men gathered towards them. And now this puiſſant Army re-

turning

1544. turning toward *Boulogne*, did not think fit to besiege it: Which may seem the stranger, in that we neither had Forces in a readiness to fight with them, nor so strong a place to defend, but that half their Army (according to reason of War) might have carry'd it in a short space: Therefore they encamp'd themselves only before *Portet*, until the Fortification were finish'd. This slackness made our Men so adventrous, that an Enterprise of theirs succeeded ill, as shall be told the Year following.

Monsieur *de Lorges* (formerly mentioned) having brought his Auxillary Forces (being five thousand Men) *July* 2. 1545. into *Scotland*, many Incursions were made. Their Army yet incamped no nearer on the *English* side than *Twede*; yet as they pass'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon the King sent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve thousand Men to *Scotland*; who destroying all the Towns on the middle Marches, pass'd thence to the West, and committed great spoils: In requital whereof, the *Scots* shortly after attempted to enter *England* on the East Borders; but were defeated, and many made Prisoners, and among them the Lord *Humes* his Son, and a *French* Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwel's* Son: But they had their revenge, for five hundred *English* attempting the West Borders of *Scotland*, for the most part were taken or slain.

[Margin: July 2. — August. Hostilities between England and Scotland. — Septemb.]

While our King was thus in War with *France* and *Scotland*, he and the Emperor were not in very good terms; Ships being arrested on either side; upon occasion (as I gather) that a *Spanish* Ship, coming from St. *Domingo* in the *West-Indies*, was taken by the *English*. But we had likewise our complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; also about taking certain Imposts rais'd by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more than to get Money. Which the Protestants understanding, and fearing he would make use thereof to invade them, did easily accept an intimate request from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they sent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Bambach* and *John Sleidan* the Historian, who at length obtaining that Commissioners on both sides should meet near *Ardres*, two Months were spent in unuseful Propositions; so that they return'd without effecting any thing. Our King, besides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Pension, being neither willing to restore *Boulogne*, nor to suffer the *Scots* to be comprehended in the Treaty.

[Margin: Ju. 1495. — Novemb. — Jan. 1546.]

And now the Emperor fearing lest a Peace should be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at least in appearance) an Accord, on this occasion; King *Henry* having sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*, and Sir *Edward Carne* to clear some Articles of the Treaty of 1543. with *Charles*, *Francis* about the same time had sent the Admiral *d' Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he propos'd a General Treaty, though faintly, and in such terms that it took no effect.

[Margin: Novemb. — Feb. 11. 1545.]

This while, Archbishop *Cranmer* making his advantage of *Winchesters* absence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which also our King once condescended to, and gave order for in great part: But before it was brought into Act, the King receiv'd Letters from him, that the League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he suffer'd any Innovation; and so nothing was done. Little more happen'd this Year worth relation (for home events) besides the Parliament business (whereof hereafter) but the Death of *Charles* *Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, Great Master of the King's Houshold, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Historians term him;) yet withal so discreet and affable, as he was belov'd of all sorts, and his Death much lamented. Our King, for his more Honour, causing him (at his own charge) to be honourable bury'd at *Windsor*.

[Margin: Fox. — Aug. — 1545. Death of C. Brandon D. of Suffolk.]

I shall return now to declare the Proceedings in matter of Religion among the Germans, *and in the Council of* Trent.

The Emperor with much industry and cunning having procur'd a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in *Germany*; his designs there being much facilitated by the recession of the *Turk*, who leaving the pursuit of his Conquests in these Northern Parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer Climes of *Asia*: So that the Emperor having no more business, accounted this Year the most quiet of many that had preceeded: Though yet he were not exempt from sundry Cares, some Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of Religion, many Offices were pass'd with the Pope for advancing the Council; which had its beginning and progress after this manner:

The thirteenth of *March* 1545. the Cardinal *del Monte* and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being receiv'd by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick Entry into the City: But no Prelate being yet come, they sent to *Rome*, to desire that their restriction in the Bull (to the consent of the Council) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, *&c.* as is before recited: Which the Pope granted. The place chosen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 Persons. Ten Days after, *Diego de Mendoza* the Emperor's Ambassador in *Venice* * came, and † shew'd his Instructions; being, First, to promise that the *Spanish* Bishops should shortly be present: Secondly, to procure, that Reformation in discipline and Manners should be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legates hereupon sent to the Pope to have publick Dispatches (when occasion were) to shew *Mendoza*, and other private Letters to follow. The eight of *April*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors came, the number of Bishops yet being very few. The first Controversie was concerning the *Spanish* Ambassadors pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: But the business was order'd so as advantage appear'd. This preparative for a Council being divulg'd, produced divers and contrary effects; some resolving to believe all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleas'd them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the Diet of *Worms* protested against it, as partial and factious: While *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceed with Arms against the few *Waldenses* that remain'd in his Kingdom, in that violent manner, as without other warning or Instruction, he permitted his Soldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards *Provence* and *Languedoc*) to destroy more than four thousand Persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more security of his City, desir'd a Garison from the Pope: But was answer'd, that the Council could not then seem free; which more imported him, than the safety of the City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanc'd, Cardinal *Pool* came, and speech was had of opening the Council. But as the Pope's designs tended another way, he sent the Cardinal *Alessandro Farnese*, his Grandchild, to the Emperor now at *Worms*, to offer a

*[Margin: Proceedings of the Council of Trent. — * Mar. 23. † Mar. 27. — April 8. — The Protestants protest against them at the Diet of Worms. Mar. 24. — Stave.]*

1545. large contribution of Men and Money for ſuppreſſing of Hereticks; promiſing alſo to procure help from other *Italian* Princes; and to proceed with Spiritual and Temporal Arms. He repreſented alſo how ill the Pope took the late Speech of a National Council, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promis'd another for the ſettling of Religion, in caſe the Council of *Trent* took no order therein; in the mean while proteſting, that he would ſooner yield up his Keys to Saint *Peter*, than ſuffer ſuch an Affront. Beſides which, he had private Inſtructions to procure that the right of Inheritance of *Parma* and *Piacenza* might be inveſted in his Brother *Ottavio*, Son to *Pietro Aloyſio Farneſe* (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the ſaid *Ottavio* had married *Marguerite* natural Daughter to the Emperor: Which at laſt alſo, upon the exchange of *Camerino*, was

May. granted. And now towards the end of *May*, there were twenty Biſhops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor *de la Ruota* aſſembled; yet as the Council began not, the Pope being deſirous firſt to ſee the ſucceſs of the Diet at *Worms*, the Biſhops deſir'd to be gone, but were not permitted. Neverthele*ſ*s, *Mendoza* return'd to his former Ambaſſage at *Venice*, deſiring nothing might be done in his abſence. The Biſhops alſo weary of their ſtay, or expence, reſolv'd at laſt to depart: Which the Pope taking notice of, diſtributed ſome Mo-

1543. Archbiſhop of *Cologn* begins a Reformation. ney among them. This while *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, having made a private Reformation of Religion in his Dominions, by the means of *Martin Bucer* and *Philip Melancthon*, his Clergy oppugning it, complain'd to the Emperor, who cited the Archbiſhop: With which, though the

1544. June. July 18. Pope was offended, yet he did not ſo much expoſtulate the matter with the Emperor, as deſire to conſerve his own Authority: Therefore he cited the Archbiſhop too.

And now in the Diet at *Worms* the Emperor requir'd aid againſt the *Turk*; which the Proteſtants refus'd (as fearing it would be imploy'd againſt them) unleſs firſt good ſecurity were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Council at

Sleid. *Trent* ſhould be no prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor anſwer'd, that he could not exempt them from the authority of the Council (eſpecially, being call'd for their ſakes;) yet if they had any juſt objections againſt it, that they ſhould come and produce them openly in the Council, and they ſhould have an equal hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except againſt it, proteſted thoſe were not to judge of their Cauſe, who had already condemn'd it: Therefore, if a Council were had, they ſhould make one part, and Pope and Roman Catholicks the other: And as for the manner and order, that the Emperor and Princes ſhould be Judges; but for the merit of the Cauſe, that it ſhould be determined only by the word of God. The Emperor finding thus no likelihood of Peace, diſſembled his diſpleaſure till he had made Peace with the *Turk*, (which he did by the means of *Francis*, this Year, in *October*.) And ſo the Diet ended the

August 4. fourth of *Auguſt*, with a Decree to hold another at *Ratisbonne* in *January* following. For which purpoſe there ſhould be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either part, in *December*, to

Sleid. *Conc. Trid.* Arguments of the Proteſtants againſt the Council of *Trent*. prepare matters of Religion againſt that time. And now the Proteſtants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Council, ſaying, it was not aſſembled in *Germany* (as was promis'd) but in *Trent*, and by the Popes power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in *Germany*, than becauſe the Biſhop of *Trent* was a Prince of the Empire: Beſides, that the Pope (being a Party) ſhould not preſide in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding a Council ſhould be firſt diſcuſs'd, and whence it had its Authority. But this reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it diſpleas'd the Pope and his Legates, ſince the Council was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controverſies; ſo it made the Biſhops again take leave to be gone: And in effect, by the end of *September* few re- Septemb. main'd. The Pope finding theſe Difficulties, knew not well what to reſolve; yet when motion was made for holding it in *Germany*, he refus'd, but ſent to the Emperor to adviſe with him concerning the opening the Council, or ſuſpending it, or transferring it to *Italy*. The Emperor (as Affairs then ſtood) not much approving any of theſe Propoſitions, at laſt (in *October*) gave conſent the Council ſhould open: Yet ſo, as they ſhould treat of matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Proteſtants. This, again, gave the Pope no little jealouſie, leſt the Emperor would make his Eccleſiaſtical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference. Howbeit, he commanded the Council ſhould be-

Octob. 31. gin the thirteenth of *December*: The *French* Prelates, being but three, having written to their King moſt of theſe Paſſages, were ſent for home; yet, at the interceſſion of the other Biſhops, two remain'd. The thirteenth of *December* being come, Dec. 13. the Legates (after a ſolemn Feaſt and Proceſſion) meeting in the Cathedral, open'd the Council, The Council open'd. declaring, that it was aſſembled for three Cauſes: 1. Deſtroying Hereſies. 2. Reforming Diſcipline. 3. Setling Peace: Exhorting the Biſhops to labour ſeriouſly herein. After which, the Emperors Inſtructions to *Mendoza* (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the Legates ſaid, they would adviſe thereof: And ſo appointing the next Seſſion to be held *January* ſeventh following, they aroſe, and preſently ſent to the Pope, declaring what was done, and deſiring to know how they ſhould begin; whether with Hereſies, and if ſo, whether they ſhould touch the Hereſies, or Perſons, or both? Whether they ſhould ſend forth a Declaration that the Council was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? Whether they ſhou'd haſten or delay their Proceedings: In what manner the Suffrages were to be collected? *&c.* The eighteenth of *December* Dec. 18. they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, *&c.* The Pope hearing thus the Council was open'd, writes, that concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet reſolv'd; in the mean time, that they ſhould inſiſt on the uſual Preambles: That they ſhould follow in their manner of Suffrages, the laſt *Lateran* Council: That they ſhould invite no Prince or Prelate, ſince the Indiction of the Council was ſufficient: As for the Charges of the Biſhops, ſome exemption from payment of Tenths was granted, and ſome other Benefits, and Money given to the poorer ſort: All which I have ſet down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a ſlow and uncertain beginning this great Council had, and what a different end it took, from that it now ſeem'd to promiſe.

I will conclude this Year with the buſineſs of our Parliament; which began the 23 of *November*, 1545. Which, as it was the laſt the King Novemb. Parliament meets. call'd; ſo, ſupply of Money being the principal Affair, it ſeem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at leaſt of other Mens; neither was there other excuſe than the King's Neceſſities, which every Man muſt think violent, when they trench'd upon the reverend Foundations of Colleges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hoſpitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and ſtipendiary Prieſts which had continuance in Perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands, and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the King's diſpoſe,

1545. dispose, and that they should be in the Order and Survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet sav'd, and divers Provisions made. For Motive whereof, the King's great Charges in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland* were alledg'd; as also the Abuses of the Rulers and Governors of the said Colleges, *&c.* Upon which therefore, and his solemn Promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the Glory of God, and common Profit of the Realm, the Act pass'd.

Several Acts pass. In another Act it was declar'd, how Offenders in Usury should be punish'd; and a certain Proportion of ten in the hundred was limitted. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy Way of thriving being more opposite than any thing else to that Industry by which all Kingdoms subsist and flourish.

That Doctors of the Civil Law, although Laymen, whether Married or Unmarried, might exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to which they shall be deputed.

That two Churches, being not above a Mile distant, and one of them not above the yearly Value of six Pound, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a *Tales* might be granted *de Circumstantibus*: And this was much for the Expedition of Justice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the King's Council, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two Chief Justices, or five, or four, or three of them, should have Power by their Discretions to set the Prizes of all kind of Wines, as by the Act 28 *Hen.* 8. 14. appeareth: The Time was now specified to be betwixt the twentieth of *November* and last of *December*: And that if any Wine-seller should sell his Wine in Gross at any other Price, that the Mayor, Bailiffs, Aldermen, *&c.* may enter into his House, and sell it according to the rate set down.

A Subsidy also was granted by the Spirituality of six Shillings the Pound, and by the Temporality, of two Shillings eight Pence the Pound in Goods, and four Shillings the Pound in Lands, to be paid all within two Years. And so the twenty-fourth

Dec. 24. of *December* the Parliament was prorogu'd: At which time, the Speaker of the Lower-House making an eloquent Oration, the King in Person made this ensuing Answer; being the more memorable, for that it was both full of good Intention and Advice, and the last he ever spake in that Place.

The King's last Speech to his Parliament.

ALthough my Chancellor for the Time being, hath before this Time us'd very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Orations as have been set forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my Mind and Meaning, and the Secrets of my Heart, in so plain and ample Manner, as I my self am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon me to answer your eloquent Oration, (Mr. Speaker) say, that where you, in the Name of our well-belov'd Commons, have both prais'd and extoll'd me for the notable Qualities that you have conceiv'd to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you have put me in Remembrance of my Duty, which is to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent Qualities, and necessary Virtues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have; of which Gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren: But of such small Qualities as God hath indued me withal, I render to his Goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my Wit and Diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable Virtues, and Princely Qualities, as you have alledg'd to be incorporated in my Person. These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembred; I oftsoons thank you again, because that you considering our great Charge, (not for our Pleasure, but for your defence; not for our Gain, but to our great cost, which we have lately sustain'd, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortress which was to this Realm most displeasant and noysome, and shall be (by God's Grace) hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant,) have freely of your own Minds granted to us a certain Subsidy, here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your Kindness, than the Profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving Hearts, than by your Substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have put in me, as Men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good doing and just proceedings for you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Chantries, Colleges, Hospitals, and other Places, specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the Glory of God, and to the Profit of the Commonwealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your Expectation) should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is so great a Jewel) to be minished, or poor and miserable People to be unrelieved, you might say, that I being put into so special a Trust as I am, in this Case, were no trusty Friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Christian, neither a Lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be serv'd more godly and goodly, than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive. Now, sith I find such kindness in your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you; affirming, that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects, than I do you; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do; for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor (if necessity require) my Person shall not be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me to be in this perfect love and concord; this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss, and far out of order; to the which I most heartily require you: Which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongst you, but Discord and Dissention beareth rule in every place, St. Paul *saith to the* Corinthians, *the thirteenth Chapter,* Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, *and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then, what love and Charity is amongst you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee? Be these tokens of Charity amongst you? Are these signs of fraternal love betwixt you? No, no, I assure you, that this lack of Charity among your selves, will be the hindrance and asswaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I said before) except this wound be salv'd and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spirituality: For if I know a Man which liveth in Adultery, I must judge him a Lecherous and Carnal Person: If I see a Man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud Man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one against another, without charity or discretion; some be too stiff in their old* Mumpsimus, *others be too busie and curious in their new* Sumpsimus: *Thus all Men, almost, be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable Persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do: Alas, how can the poor Souls live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them, in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these Crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's Word both by true Preaching, and good Example-giving: Or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Minister here, will see these Divisions extinct, and these*

Enormi-

1545. *Enormities corrected according to my very Duty, or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and untrue Officer. Although, I say, the Spiritual Men be in some fault that Charity is not kept amongst them: Yet the Temporality be not clear and unspotted of Malice and Envy. For you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good Order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse Doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order such Causes and Behaviours: And be not Judges of your selves, of your phantastical Opinions and vain Expositions. In such high Causes you may lightly err; and although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own Consciences, and to instruct your Children and Families; and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and taunting-stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear, how unreverently that most precious Jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhim'd, sung, and jangled in every Alehouse and Tavern, contrary to the true Meaning and Doctrine of the same: And yet I am even as much sorry, that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and so coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godly Living was never less us'd, nor God himself among Christians was never less reverenc'd, honour'd or serv'd. Therefore, as I said before, be in Charity one with another, like Brother and Brother; love, dread, and serve God, to the which, I, as your Supream Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: And then I doubt not but that Love and League that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolv'd or broken betwixt us.*

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in Execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the same; or else your Labour shall be in vain, and your Commonwealth nothing reliev'd. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Assent to be given to such Acts as have pass'd both Houses, they shall be read openly, that you may hear them. And so they being read, the King assented, and rose.

1545/6. Feb. 14. Records. Feb. 19. Oct. 1546. The Universities have notice that all their Colleges are at his Majesty's Disposal.

The Parliament thus ended, and notice given to both Universities, that the Colleges were at the King's Dispose, that of *Cambridge* first implor'd his Favour, beseeching him to defend their Possessions from the covetous and greedy minds of those who knew not Learning. That of *Oxford* also petitioned to this Purpose; and Dr. *Richard Cox* Dean of *Oxford*, the Prince's Tutor, writ to Secretary *Paget*, to represent the lack of Schools, Preachers, Houses of Livings for Orphans. And since the Disposition of Chantries, *&c.* was in the King's Hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honestly, lest Beggary should drive them to Flattery, Superstition and old Idolatry: Which (saith he) I speak not, as if I distrusted the King's Goodness, but because there are such a Number of importune Wolves as are able to devour Chantries, Cathedral Churches, Universities, and a thousand times as much: Adding in Conclusion, that Posterity will wonder at us. Which Particulars being in an Original from Cox, I have the rather inserted, that it may be gather'd what he was, to whom the Tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much Intreaty needed not for the Universities; for in

Oct. 1546. But not with design to take away their Lands.

our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Universities did humbly thank his Highness for the Continuance of their Houses with their Lands; which though, I believe, the King never meant to take away, yet I find two of the Professions were in Danger of being remov'd, the King having advis'd once of placing all the Civilians in *Oxford* in one College, and the Physicians and Chirurgeons in another. Howsoever, nothing was stirr'd or alter'd, that I can find; the King being so far from diminishing those famous Nurseries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increase and augment them. Though yet foreign Parts were astonish'd not a little, why our Parliament should put them in this Hazard, they being useful on any part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without singular Prejudice to their Founders; who having separated them for the Service of God, and publick Education, laid heavy Imprecations on any which should divert them from that Use; as appears in the ancient Charters. 1544.

The Earl of *Surrey* (who now commanded in *Boulogne*) hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at *Oultreau*, resolves to intercept it: But as the *Rhingrave* with four thousand Lanskeneets, together with many *French* under the Mareschal *de Biez*, stood firm, our Men, not able to break them, were discomfited, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, with divers brave Gentlemen slain; the Earl himself also being constrain'd to save himself as he could. Nevertheless, by a Letter of his to the King, *Jan.* 8. 1546. it appears there were many kill'd on the other side; which yet did so little satisfy our King (who lov'd no noise but of Victory) that he ever after disaffected him: For which Cause also he was shortly remov'd, and the Earl of *Hertford* appointed to succeed. Whereupon Sir *William Paget* omitted not by Letter to admonish him to seek some eminent Place in the Army, under the said Earl's Command, lest (as he said) he should be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl desirous in the mean time to regain his former Favour with the King, Skirmishes with the *French*, and puts them to the worst: But when together he certified that the *French* had made Cannon of a greater Calivre than had been yet seen, wherewith they hop'd to beat the Town to Powder, and that it was worthy Consideration, whether low *Boulogne* should stand, as being not defensible, the King's Council wish'd him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning these Points.

Jan. 8. Earl of *Surrey* falls into Disgrace. Feb. Records. March.

Whereupon the Earl of *Hertford* and Lord Admiral were sent over with an Army of nine thousand and three hundred Men; whereof one thousand five hundred were *Spaniards*, two hundred were *Italians*, three hundred *Clevois*, and three thousand Lanskeneets, under *Conrad Pfenning*; a greater Number of foreign Soldiers certainly than stood with exact Reason of War, where there is no assured ground of a vertuous Emulation. With these the Earl encamp'd at *Hambleteuse*, betwixt *Calais* and *Boulogne*: For as the *French* intended to intercept all Intercourse betwixt both Places, they would have fortified there; but our Men got it two Days only before they came, and built two Forts on that Coast. Some Fights pass'd at Sea this while, whereof one is memorable, of seven or eight *English* in a small Vessel, who being master'd by a far greater Number of *French*, entred their Ship, as pretending to save themselves out of their own Barque, which now began to sink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by casting Water on them, rais'd such a Smoak, as, through their continual throwing of them, blinded the *French*, and at last made them run under Hatches, where at length being shut up, their Ship was brought away. Much Fighting also pass'd betwixt our Ships and the *French* Galleys, in Calms, while through the Benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleas'd. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take Head, the Lanskeneets mutined, not without Shew of

falling

1546. falling on the *English*; but the *Spaniards* standing firm to our side, all was compos'd.

May 21. The 21st of *May* the *French* Army came and encamp'd beyond *Boulogne*, near the Church on the Hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of *Hertford* come up and Skir-

May 23. mish with them. The 23d he fought again, and took divers Prisoners of Note. And now each side attending his Advantage to fight, a Surseance of War for five or six Days was concluded, and af-

May 24. ter it a Peace: Which, that it may seem less strange, I shall not so much alledge (for reason) that our King's Treasure was exhausted (which the *French* pretend,) as that the Consideration of the imminent Council gave all Christian Princes Occasion to desire good Intelligence among themselves, and our King particularly; who was advertis'd, that Cardinal *Poole* and others would labour to procure a Decree against him and his Posterity: Which, though our King regarded not otherwise than became a Prince of his Courage; yet he thought it more considerable than the Pope's single Bull; therefore he endeavour'd to get him Friends: And because he was in good Terms already with the Emperor, who for the settling of Religion eachwhere mediated a General Peace, he thought fit also to take in *Francis*; and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, *Francis* had promis'd his assistance on all occasions: And thus the Peace took Effect. Which I find was so politickly handled by our King, that had his Predecessors observ'd the Rule he now held, the *French* Writers could never have so much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight Years next ensuing, he got the present Advantage: which as the eternal Maxim in matter of Treaties, to frame Counsels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; since by the Practice thereof only, I dare say, the *French* have usurped and won so much upon us; as knowing it impossible, but that betwixt neighbouring Princes, in a little space, those occasions may be found or urg'd, which will help them to come off whensoever they are dispos'd. There will be no Danger therefore to retort this Maxim: Not yet that I approve a Facility in dissolving Leagues, which should be inviolably kept, especially while the Causes remain; but that they being dissolv'd, we may prevail our selves of the present Occasion; not omitting yet any Circumstances, to which in point of Oath and Honour we are oblig'd. This present Treaty (concluded the seventh of *June*, 1546, at *Campe*, a Place betwixt *Ardres* and *Guisnes*) was of this Tenor:

Treaty concluded between Henry and Francis.

I. That all Injuries and Affronts since the beginning of the last War, should be forgotten, and Peace and Friendship re-establish'd.

II. That neither should invade, nor procure, nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions, or Lands, or Cities which are now in the Hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one shall have free Commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free Passage without safe Conduct, so they exceed not the Number of an hundred arm'd Persons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impositions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other, within twenty Years last past, shall be releas'd, and no new ones impos'd.

V, VI. That Rebels and Traitors shall not be entertain'd or protected: But deliver'd to their Sovereign within 20 Days after Requisition.

VII. That no Letters of Reprisals or Merque, or counter-Merque should be granted but upon and against the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in case of open Denial of Justice; which shall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requisition. And if any thing during this Peace, should be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the Offenders to be punish'd, and the Peace to remain. 1547.

VIII. That the Christian King shall pay the King of *England* all Pensions due to him during his Life, and also to his Successors for ever, according to the Treaty at *More*, 30 *August* 1525. As also that Pension of Salt agreed on the 30th of *April*, 1527. and afterwards reduc'd to a certain Sum of Money, (*viz.*) 10000 Crowns, which is to be paid yearly at two Payments, during the natural Life of *Henry* VIII. if the said Payment appear not to be perpetual: But if it be found to be perpetual, then the *French* King and his Heirs and Successors shall continue the said Pension for ever.

IX. The *French* King shall pay to the King of *England* on the Feast of St. *Michael* (or within ten Days after that Day) which shall be *Anno Domini* 1554. for Arrearages, as well of Pensions not paid, as for his Charges in Fortifications within the Town and Country of *Boulogne*, since the beginning of the last War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this Time and the said 1554. the Sum of two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; upon the Payment whereof the said most Christian King shall be free from all former Arrearages whatsoever.

X. Because the King of *England*, by Vertue of certain Letters of the *French* King, dated 29 *Jan.* 1529. claims as due unto him, the Sum of 500000 Crowns *de Soleil*, 22 Sols and 6 Deniers: It is agreed that there shall be Commissioners appointed on both sides (within three Months hence) to hear and end that cause; which sum the King of *France* (if it be so adjudg'd) shall pay when he pays the two Millions aforesaid. But if the Commissioners conclude nothing, the Matter shall be devolv'd to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be chosen by them, and that shall stand, which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of *France* shall suffer the King of *England* quietly to enjoy the Town of *Boulogne*, and the Castles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: *viz.* The Haven of *Boulogne*, with the farther Shoar, as far as the highest Water comes; and the Land in length as far as *Pont de Bricque*, which shall be the Limit on that Part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within these Bounds the King of *England* shall quietly possess, until the King of *France* hath fully paid the aforesaid two Millions (as also the Sums express'd Article X.) in the time, place, and manner limited.

XII. That when the said Sums are paid, at the same time the King of *England* shall surrender *Boulogne*, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him since the taking thereof, so that no Fortification shall be impair'd. Neither shall the King of *England* be bound hereby in the restoring of the said Places, to leave behind him any Moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof, to the day of St. *Michael*, 1554. neither of the two Princes shall raise any new Fortification within the County of *Boulogne*; but those that have been begun already they may perfect.

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The *Scots* are comprehended in this Treaty, against whom the King of *England* shall not wage War, unless new Occasion be given; in which Case, this present Comprehension of the *Scots* shall receive that Interpretation which is contain'd in the Treaty of the Date of *April* the fifth, 1515. with this Alteration, that although by the said

1546. said Treaty of 1515. fifteen Days only were prescrib'd to the *French* King to intimate the said Comprehension to the *Scots*, yet now, by reason of the distance of Place, there is allow'd the space of thirty Days, next following the Conclusion hereof.

XVI. This Treaty shall be ratified within forty Days after the Date hereof.

Commissioners for our King were,
John Viscount *Lisle*, Admiral;
Sir *William Paget*, Secretary; and
Doctor *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*.

And on Francis *his part,*
Claude d' Annebault Mareschal and Admiral of *France*;
Pierre Raymond, premier President de Rouen; and *Guillaume Bouchetel*, Secretary.

This Peace being proclaim'd in *London* upon the thirteenth of *June*, a general Procession was there made, and all the richest silver Crosses out of the several Parish-Churches carried, and the bravest Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity: But our Historians note it as fatal, it being the last time they were publickly us'd, since our King call'd them in shortly after, together with the Church-Plate, into his Treasury and Wardrobe, without that other Cause appear'd thereof, than that he suspected the War would break out again betwixt him and *Francis*, of which also this Overture was given.

The Earl of *Hertford* being certified (during the Treaty) that the Clause of not making any
May 25. new Fortification, would be prejudicial, was commanded by our King immediately to raise a Fort according to a Plot given; but such was the prevention of this diligent Earl, that he had already begun it about the thirteenth of *May*. Our King in the mean while protesting that he liked not the Article. But the *French* as little liking our Fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to restore *Boulogne*) some Difficulty was interpos'd. Though as our King answer'd, he could not so much as hope to keep the Town for the term agreed, unless he had Means to secure it, the Treaty held in the manner above-mentioned, and both Armies were dissolv'd; the *French* yet first, as our King requir'd, retiring. And so he remain'd in quiet Possession thereof, after the Expence (as I find in our Records) of 586718 *li.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* [illegible] in the winning thereof. The Charges in keeping thereof being 755833 *li.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* [illegible] In all 1342552 *li.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* [illegible] An excessive Sum, especially to reap no Benefit thence, but a Landing-place in *France*, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This Peace was seconded by a kind Invitation of *Francis* to our King to Christen the *Dauphin*'s Daughter, which being as lovingly accept-
July. ed, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* was sent over, and the Child
August. call'd *Elizabeth*. The two Admirals also were sent by their several Kings, to receive the Oaths requir'd for observance of this Treaty; and, being richly rewarded, return'd. Howbeit, this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceiv'd it lawful to finish the Fort he had begun before the Treaty, the *French* wanted not Pretexts for the like; therefore, when upon their erecting a Fort at *Portet*, near the entry to the Haven (which they call'd *Chastillons Garden*) our Men took Exceptions thereat, the *French* for their best Title alledg'd that Monsieur *de Biez* had formerly begun it by entrenching his Men there; yet as this did not satisfy our King, who knew well the Difference betwixt a *Trench* and *Fortification*, he commanded Sir *William Paget* to write thus to *William*
Sept. 5. Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, who now Commanded in *Boulogne*.

After our most hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, this shall be to signifie unto the same, that the King's Majesty being inform'd that the Frenchmen *begin to fortifie at* Portet, *which by their Treaty with his Majesty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordship to speak with the doers of the said Works, and to tell them it shall be best for them to stay working any further, until they shall hear from their Master; which without doubt, is like to be very shortly; for that his Majesty's Ambassador hath Charge to speak with him in the same immediately. And in case they shall answer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monsieur* de Biez, *or (peradventure) of such other whom they shall name to have the Charge of the Works; and so go forwards still in their Works: Then his Majesty pleaseth, that if you shall find your selves able enough for the Feat, you shall in the Night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in case you shall find your selves not able enough for the same Enterprize; then to forbear the doing of it until such time as a stronger Force come to you from hence, which shall be sent over with all diligence possible.* 1546.

This 5th of *Septemb.* 1546.

This also was sign'd by the King. Neverthe- Sept. 5.
less, upon better Advice, the King thought fit to send Sir *Thomas Palmer*, with a Message to the Lord *Grey*, commanding him immediately to demolish the Fort; who thereupon made that haste, as before the Letters came, he arriv'd at *Boulogne*, being the very Day of his Dispatch; and presently, (Lord *Grey* order'd to demolish the *French* Fort building at *Portet*.)
by the Assistance of the Lord *Grey*, Mr. *Poynings*, Sept. 6.
and some others, the *French*-mens Work was levelled: And so *Palmer* return'd to certify what was
done. And now the King's Letters being deli- Sept. 7.
ver'd, the Lord *Grey* writes, that before the receit of his Letters, he had (upon such Relation of his Majesty's Pleasure, as was made by Sir *Thomas Palmer*) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore desires his Majesty's Pardon. Which Passage I have related more particularly out of our Records, that I might correct the Error of some of our Historians, who would have our King deliver *Palmer* a Message and Letter that were contradictory: Whereas it appears by our Records, that the Message was first deliver'd, and the Business done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny, but the Lords of the Council, knowing the Letter was sent, but not (perchance) any thing of the Message, might have occasion to think the Lord *Grey* more forward, than that he could well justify it. Howsoever, Monsieur *de Biez* complains hereof to the Lord *Grey*, and desires to know whether it were done by his Majesty's Command. What he answer'd, I find not: Records.
But it appears by the Instructions given to *Nicholas Wotton* the King's Ambassador with *Francis*, that he had charge to palliate the business as handsomly as he could; which also so prevail'd, that no new Fortification was erected by the *French*, during our King's Time. Besides, our Records tell us, Hope was now given, that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority in his Kingdom: Which, though much entertain'd at first by our King, and judg'd the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Council, was not yet so throughly embrac'd, lest (perchance) by Confiscations, Suppressions, *&c.* *Francis* might grow greater than stood with the Interest of State or Neighbourhood: And for *Paget*, he said openly, it was but a Trick to get *Boulogne* again; *Francis* being not able to give any Security for Performance of this Offer, which might countervail the immediate surrendring of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earnest, both as he treated of a Confe- (Hopes that *Francis* would renounce the Pope's Authority.)

deration

1546. deration with the Protestants at this time; who yet (as I find by our Records) rejected it, unless he relinquished the Papal Authority: And as he lived in such Jealousie of State with the Emperor; which together with the apprehension of the Assembly at *Trent*, now daily increasing, might for more than one reason dispose him to seek Friends elsewhere, as well for defending himself against his Enemies, as establishing an absolute Power and Jurisdiction at home. And with this concurs that which *Fox* relates: That during the stay of *d' Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Mass in their Realms unto a Communion: And that both were so throughly and firmly resolved therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or else to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Archbishop *Cranmer* (as himself confessed) to pen a Form to be sent to the *French* King to consider of. But through the death of both Princes successively not long after, these and all other their Designs ended: Though yet for the time which remained, their former Love and Correspondence was so reviv'd, as *Francis* is said (by the *French* Writers) never to have rejoiced heartily after the News of our King's Death was brought him. But I leave the censure of these Passages free to the Reader's Judgment, without delivering any Opinion, otherwise than as the Collections out of our Records seem to infer.

Fox August.

Cranmer compiles a Form of Divine Worship for the French King.

Thuanus Hist.

Let us now see what was done by the Emperor, and the Council of Trent.

THE Emperor in the latter end of 1545 being in *Flanders*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster* (formerly mention'd) resided with him on our King's part: And because one of the businesses of the *French* about this time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Winchester* to hinder it, and propose the Lady *Elizabeth*. Also Speech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand*'s Daughters: But because neither of these took effect, I shall mention them no otherwise. Yet the Bishop of *Westminster* return'd not home, as being imploy'd by our King into *Germany*, to give intelligence of that which pass'd. For now in *January*, 1546, the Protestants met at *Frankfort*; and as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they consulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword should be drawn against them.

The Lady *Elizabeth* propos'd in marriage to the Prince of *Spain*.

Jan.

This while the Assembly at *Trent* holding, the *Breve* for exempting the Bishops from payment of their Tenths came: Yet as this did rather accommodate than secure them, 300 Foot and some Horse, being gather'd out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they pass'd to Church, being now, besides the Legates and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Archbishops, twenty eight Bishops, three Abbots, and four Generals, (in all forty three;) among which was *Richard Pace*, heretofore Ambassador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him stil'd Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Robert Venant*, titular Archbishop of *Armagh*; together with *Olaus Magnus*, Archbishop of *Upsaile*; all which had been some Years entertain'd with Pensions from the Pope: Besides, they were about twenty Divines, which though they had no Seat in the Council, were admitted to stand there; as also ten Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent*'s Election:

Jan. 5.

The Council of *Trent* consists only of 43 Persons.

And moreover a Seat was particularly appointed for the Ambassadors which should assist there. And now question being of the Stile of the Council, the few *French* which were there, requir'd, that to *Sancro-Sancta Synodus* should be added *Universalem Ecclesiam representans*; but this was rejected; both to exclude the Protestants admittance under this Title, as also all Laicks; and as it might be thought in some sort prejudicial to the Pope's Supream Authority. And so, *Jan.* 7. (being the second Session) they decreed an Exhortation to the Priests and People to serve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, *&c.* The thirteenth of *January* it was moved, that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Heresy, Reformation of Discipline, and Establishing of Peace. And concerning this, there were four Opinions.

1546.

Jan. 5.

Jan. 7.

Jan. 13.

Jan. 18.

The Imperialists said, before they touch'd matter of Doctrine, it was necessary to take away those Transgressions whence Heresies have sprung.

The second Opinion was, To begin with Doctrine, since Faith being the Basis of Religion, it was a greater Sin to err therein, than in Manners: And therefore that the Pope had placed it first in his Bull.

The third was, That the two Points of Reformation and Faith should not be dis-join'd, there being no Doctrine which had not its Abuse, nor Abuse that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of some Doctrine. And that this was the best way to give a speedy and happy conclusion to the Council, which they should chiefly endeavour; there being no Advantage likely to ensue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth sort (and among them the *French* particularly) would have had the Point of Peace first treated of, and that other Princes might be requir'd to send their Ambassadors and Prelates thither: And that the *Lutherans* might be invited to come and unite themselves to the rest of *Christendom*. The Legates having heard their Opinions, and commended their Wisdom, said, that because the Hour was late, the Deliberation important, and the Opinions various, they would think upon it. Order also was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on *Mondays* and *Fridays*. The Legates hereupon advertis'd the Pope of that which passed, desiring his Advice, and that he would take order for supporting of the poorer Bishops; it being better they should not be there, than ill satisfy'd. Howbeit, the Pope delay'd his Reply, as having his Mind wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farnese* had with the Emperor the Year preceding. This much perplex'd the Legates, as not knowing how to proceed: Nevertheless, upon private Conference among themselves, they agreed to treat of Matter of Faith and Reformation together; but withal, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many Prelates were on their way. Cardinal *Pool* proposed, that since in all ancient Councils some Symbol of Faith was published, they should do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of Faith there was some difficulty; since to recite the old, would not convince the *Lutherans*, who believ'd it as well as the Catholicks: Besides, that it were to confess, that they durst not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further dispute hereof, it was resolved by the major part for the Affirmative; and in the third Session (*Feb.* 4.) the Creed was barely recited: The Cardinal *de Monte* disliking that any Point should be added afterwards, lest some Inconvenience should follow. The next Session was adjourn'd to *April*

Jan. 22.

Cardinal *Poole* proposes making a New Creed.

Feb. 4. *Sess.* III.

1546 the eighth, upon the aforesaid pretence, that many Prelates were on their Journey.

Conc. Trid. lib. 2.

The Court of *Rome*, who now understood of that which pass'd (tho' heretofore much startl'd at the Name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally lik'd this late Decree, as being worthy the Proceeding of a General Council: Others yet approving it only as it was dilatory, while there wanted not some, who took occasion to pasquil it.

This while the Emperor being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratisbonne*, and as the Council of *Trent* did hold: Yet, lest he should alarm the Protestants, he took with him only his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horse. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propo-

Jan. 27.

sitions being made on the Emperor's part, the Affair insisted on was matter of Religion; where the Point of Justification being brought in question, took up much time, without having other conclusion, yet, than perplex'd and abrupt: Insomuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recall'd his Di-

Mar. 29.

vines, and *Martin Bucer* return'd to the Landtgrave of *Hesse*; which, whether it were that the Protestants foresaw the Emperor's Intention was to amuse them with Conferences, while himself prepar'd for War; or that otherwise they found no hope of coming to an agreement, is uncertain: Howsoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, seem'd much offended at their de-

April. *Luther's* Death.

parture; though, as during these Conferences *Martin Luther* died in the LXIII Year of his Age, he doubted not more easily to appease Controversies, as believing *Luther* to be of so violent a Spirit, as would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an Affront, in case the Protestants should come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made preparations for War; which yet he could not keep so secret but the Protestants understood it, and fortify'd themselves. Whereupon also *Philip* Count Palatine, Nephew to *Frederic* the Elector, was di-

March.

Philip Count Palatine desires the Princess *Mary* in marriage.

spatch'd into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had besides, his private business; which (as our Records tells us) was to obtain the Princess *Mary*, our King's Daughter. Neither did our King seem averse, when *Frederick* the Elector would perform certain Conditions requir'd of him: But as this took no effect, I shall come to the particular of his publick business, treated chiefly by *John Bruno*; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Protestants. The Conditions propos'd by our King were to this effect:

Records. Conditions of Confederation proposed to the Protestant Princes in *Germany* by King *Henry*.

That if the said Princes would send some wise and discreet Agents fully instructed, and with them the Names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what cases, and whether they will stand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majesty shall enter the League; his Majesty would be pleased to enter a League with them defensive against all Men, and for all Causes, and will be bound to such a rate of Aid as may besit his Honour and Quality: So that he may have the first place in the League, which for more Honour should be called, The League Christen: *With such Conditions likewise, that no other should be admitted to this League, but such as are already enter'd into the same, without his Majesty's Consent. And because they would look for a greater Aid at his Majesty's Hands than of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majesty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voices to two of any other Prince. Concerning the Union of the said Princes together, and of his Majesty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majesty thanks them that they are content to follow the Advice of his Majesty upon such Considerations and Conferences as their learned Men and his shall have together in his Majesty's Presence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the Primitive Church, or General Councils had before five or six hundred Years: For which purpose his Majesty promiseth to take pains to be present himself, and trusteth (such Men being sent from them as be learned, and Men of upright Judgments, without Affection, and of good Conformity) to be the Causer of such a Conjunction in Religion in all* Christendom, *as shall tend to the Glory of God. For the which purpose his Majesty requireth them now when they shall send Commissioners to conclude the League Defensive, to send also the Names of ten or twelve Men, to the intent his Majesty may chuse four, five, or six out of the same; which his Majesty requireth to have sent hither according to the Promise already made, as soon as may be.* 1546.

To which the Protestants finally answer'd, *That if our King would deposite an hundred thousand Crowns in some part of* Germany, *where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would prefer his Friendship before the* French, *who now treated with them.* But this again was rejected by our King, since for a bold Demand they offer'd nothing equivolent; yet he continu'd his Treaty with the Palatine, so far forth as he might detain the Protestants from suffering the *French* to gather Men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Boulogne*, and from submitting themselves to the Council of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he said, was the true Rule. But the *Germans*, who knew at what distance our King liv'd, did not much regard any Advices which were not seconded with Money: Therefore they trusted to themselves, and our King (as aforesaid) made Peace with the *French*.

March 27. Their Answer. April 10.

On the other side, as the Emperor's Presence operated much in *Germany*, so the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little strengthen his Party. *Sleid. l.* 17. Beside, the Pope offer'd him *twelve* thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, and 300000 Ducats in Money (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him assistance from others, without omitting particularly to promise his best assistance in a spiritual way; while, to make the Protestants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he sent to his Legates in the Council of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new Difficulties) in matter of Faith; and to make no haste in point of Reformation, tho' urged by the Emperor. Hereupon the Legates commanded certain Fryars and Divines to extract those Articles out of the *Lutherans* Books, which seemed contrary to their Faith. Where (among others) the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was first examined. And here their Divines differ'd; some affirming they were all one, the Scripture it self being deriv'd unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, St. *Austin's* Words were urged, *That he should not believe the Scriptures, but for the Authority of the Church.* Which therefore should first be settled, and then used for deciding of Controversies, and convincing the *Lutherans*. But then the Question was, Which, and What was the Church? And whether the Hierachy, and more properly the Council, whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought safe to call these things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to pass that it being all taught, some part was not put in writing: Some holding, that the Church had its Perfection before any of the Apostles writ, and would have continu'd so, if nothing had been set down in Writing. But that this Question and

The Pope orders his Legates not to hasten too much in Reforming. Feb. 22. I.

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1546. the like being not formerly propos'd by the *Lutherans*, might well be omitted for Peace sake; which clause was check'd by Cardinal *Pool*, who said, *It was fitter for a Conference in* Germany, *than a Council*: Adding, that *one of two things was to be done, that is, either the* Lutherans *brought to receive all the Roman Doctrine; or when they would not, that all their Errors should be discover'd, to shew the World how impossible it was to come to an Agreement.*

II. The Canon of Scripture determined.

Then it was resolv'd, that a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture should be made as they are accepted by the Roman Church, without regarding whether the *Jews* receiv'd them or not. But here some difficulties were urg'd; some of those Scriptures having been always receiv'd, others (though doubtful) having by use yet obtain'd Canonical Authority: That is to say, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that of St. *James*, the second of St. *Peter*, the second and third of St. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Apocalypse*, and some particles of the Evangelists. Besides which, there were in the Old Testament seven Books never averr'd, and some Chapters of *Daniel* and *Hester*, and especially the Book of *Baruch*, as wanting his beginning; though some

March 8. esteem'd it a part of *Jeremiah*. At length, all the Books usually put in the Latin Bible were

Tradition made equal to Scripture.

judg'd Canonical, and Traditions to be of equal Authority with the Scripture: Nevertheless, doubts were rais'd concerning putting the Books of the Scripture into order. This while *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, Bishop of *Justinopolis* in *Istria*, coming to the Council, was repuls'd: For, as he had been imploy'd in *Germany* against the *Lutherans* with so little advantage to the Pope, as while he labour'd to confute the Protestants, himself became one; so they would not admit him, though he pretended his business was only to purge himself, but remanded him to the Pope, who shortly after depriv'd him of his Bishoprick.

III. And now that being declar'd without more ado to be holy Scripture, which the *Roman* Church had receiv'd, question arose concerning the Translation of it. Some saying, that to understand only the Latin Text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the Translator; and therefore that the Originals should be viewed, and a Translation made which the Council should declare Authentick. But if this should seem a long work, it were good (at least) to verifie their Latin Translation with the Original Text: Howbeit, the greater part said, it was necessary to hold the Latin Translation to be Divine and Authentick, since otherwise they would be obnoxious to the *Lutherans*, and a gate

The Bible not to be translated.

open'd to innumerable Heresies: For if Men might examine Translations, all would be reduc'd to Pedantism, and new Grammarians would give the Law. Besides that, Inquisitors could not convince Hereticks without knowledge of the Original Tongues. Many other Points coincident hereunto, were likewise handled, too long to be here rehears'd.

IV. Then they came to the Exposition of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers were declar'd as the Rule thereof.

V. *Seß.* IV. April 8.

In conclusion, it was requir'd, whether all these determinations were to be enacted under the *Anathema*: In which, after much doubt, a middle course was held. So that the eighth of *April*, Session IV. two Decrees were read; one to authorize the Scriptures read in the *Roman* Church, and the Traditions receiv'd there, both concerning Faith and Manners: The second to declare the vulgar Translation to be Authentick, and that it should not be expounded contrary to the sense deliver'd by the Church, and unanimous consent of the Fathers: The Penalty in the first Decree being *Anathema*, in the second such as pleas'd the Ordinary. And so the next Session was deferr'd till the seventeenth of *June*, and these Decrees Printed: which at length, being publish'd in *Germany*, it was thought strange, that five Cardinals, and XLVIII Bishops only, should so easily determine these great Points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary. 1546.

About this time our King was certified by *Edmund Harvel*, his Ambassador at *Venice*, that the *French* labour'd to procure a Censure against him in the Council. But as the Peace formerly mentioned between King *Henry* and *Francis*, was shortly after concluded, so this took no effect.

And now the Pope thought fit to add divers to the number of those Cardinals and Prelates at *Rome* he us'd to advise with concerning the Council; admonishing the Legates together at *Trent*, First, Not to publish any Decree henceforth, without approbation from *Rome*. Secondly, Not to spend time in Points not controverted. Thirdly, Above all things to take heed of disputing the Papal Authority. Which being done, he requir'd the Bishops and Abbots of the *Swiss* to come to the Council: He also proceeded against the Archbishop of *Cologne*, Condemning, Excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the *Lutherans*: Furthermore, he intreated the Emperor to execute the Sentence. But he conceiving the Archbishop was at his Devotion; and besides, knowing that such a rigorous proceeding would but alarm the Protestants, and force the Archbishop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this request: And the rather, that the Duke of *Saxe* had signified unto him, that he saw clearly the Popes intentions were wholly bent to establish his own Authority: And therefore, that it was time to assemble a National Council in *Germany*, or to treat seriously of matter of Religion in the Diet.

The Popes Instructions to his Legates. April 11. April 16.

And now the Council in Congregation propos'd the Point of Original Sin: But the *Spanish* Prelates desir'd rather a Reformation of the abuses in Preaching and Lectures: Adding, that they had express Letters from the Emperor, not to enter yet into matters of Doctrine: Which also the intelligence found in our Records, doth particularly affirm. The Legates, (on the other side) urg'd the Pope's Bull. In conclusion, both Points were resolv'd, and the *Theologians* enjoyn'd to handle matter of Faith among themselves, and with the assistance of some Canonists to treat of a Reformation. According to which order, Lectures and Preaching being first spoken of, some dissention appear'd: The Bishops desiring the ordering of these things should immediately depend on them: But the Legates contending to maintain the Pontifical Authority, by which these duties were committed to Fryars Mendicants, *&c.* This Controversie finding no Issue, the Pope writ unto the Council, that they should begin with Original Sin; observing yet a due respect unto the Emperor. Notwithstanding, the Legates thought fit the business of Reading and Preaching should first be dispatch'd, which was not without some contention: For as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum Imperii* among the Popes for conserving their Jurisdiction, to exempt Bishops from their Archbishops, and Abbots and Fryars again from Bishops, *&c.* so some wrangling pass'd; while each part strove to maintain its Authority: The Bishops complaining of the vanity and covetousness of the Preaching Fryars; and these again objecting the negligence of Bishops and idleness of Parish-Priests. But all at last, was (in a sort) reconciled, the Bishops being

Conc. Trid. May 2. Original Sin debated. May. Concerning Reading and Preaching.

1546. being allow'd Authority over the Regulars, only when they would hold it as from the Pope. After which, the Point of Original Sin being brought into Examination, Cardinal *Pacceo* a *Spaniard*, said, it was not yet time, nor until the business of *Germany* were riper. Nevertheless, the question was urg'd; yet so as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the Diet at *Ratisbonne*; which beginning towards the end of *May*, made the Prelates intentive to its Proceedings. Our King not omitting also to inform himself of what should pass by the Bishop of *Westminster*'s means, whom he had imploy'd thither. But little good follow'd of this Diet: For while the *Roman*-Catholicks would not allow that Controversies of Religion should be decided in a National Council (as the Protestants desir'd;) nor they again submit to the Council of *Trent*, being, in their Opinion, a most partial and factious Assembly, the Emperor knew not what well to resolve: He would have been glad of such a Peace as might have conserv'd his Authority, without caring much to hear of Errors discover'd in either of the opposite Parts; or that they had found out some witty and new distinction. But there is not any thing more hard than to devise how a free and equal Council may be held, or who should be a competent Judge of the emergent differences; since, as any of those who are Parties in the business, cannot properly exercise that Function; so, to appeal to any other that were of a different Religion, should be not only to call the parts, but the whole into question. Nevertheless, it may be demonstrated, that a more even course may be kept herein than hath been hitherto practis'd, and a more indifferent for all Mankind: Which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid Decrees of Religion, so in some sort or other should intervene; in which case, certainly the Spirit of God would preside.

Diet held at *Ratisbonne*. May.

The Emperor this while having made many secret Provisions for War, certain notice thereof came to the Protestants at the Diet, who because he had made Peace with *France*, and Truce for one Year with the *Turk*, did easily conjecture it was intended against them; especially it being related that the Pope and *Ferdinand* did arm; so that every thing was in confusion. The Emperor us'd much industry to draw all those Protestants who were not Colleagu'd with the rest at *Smalcald*, unto his Party, telling them this War was only against Rebels, and promising them the exercise of their Religion.

June. Emperor prepares War against the Protestants.

The Protestants, on the other side, declar'd in a publick Remonstrance, that the Emperor's intentions were far other than he pretended; exhorting therefore both them and one another to stand firm.

This while the Council held the Fifth Session, and two Decrees pass'd: 1. Concerning *Original Sin*, and the *Benefit of Baptism*, &c. 2. Concerning *Lectures and Preaching*; wherein the Bishops and Clergy were commanded to be diligent and careful. This being done, the *French* Ambassador *Petrus Danesius* made a long and eloquent Oration, shewing the affection their Kings had ever born to the Christian Religion: And how that *Gregory* the First had for this cause given the Title of *Catholique* to *Childebert*; and that his King had therefore sent him Ambassador thither, desiring first, that some determination might be made in Religion; then, that those Priviledges should be conserv'd, of which *Lodovicus Pius* was in Possession, and all the sequent Kings; and that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church of *France* might be confirm'd. To whom no Answer was given but a Compliment.

Sess. V. Two Decrees pass the Council of *Trent*.

The Decrees being now Printed and Published in *Germany*, gave much occasion of discourse and unsatisfaction. The Emperor himself not liking that in the business of Reformation, the smaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controversies in matter of Faith had been thus stirred, and especially that of Original Sin, as being almost reconciled in some former Conferences in *Germany*. And now the Cardinal of *Trent* having absolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants, and those which refus'd the Council of *Trent* (which by the Cardinal *Farnese* his means, was formerly treated of) all sides prepar'd for War: The Pope also sending Men and Money in that proportion which is abovementioned, or (as some will have it) besides the twelve thousand Foot, only five hundred Horse, to be maintain'd for six Months at his Charge, and 200000 Crowns in Money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the present Year) the half of all the Revenues of the Churches of *Spain*, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monasteries of these Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thousand Crowns, upon condition that during the said six Months, the Emperor might make no accord with the Protestants without him; and that of all which was gotten, he should have a certain Portion: And that when the time was expir'd, if the War did continue, they should treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Protestants to submit to this Council: For which end also he treated with them, professing that he did not undertake this War for cause of Religion, but respects of State, and because some deny to obey his Laws, and had confederated themselves mutually, with Strangers against him, and usurp'd other Mens Possessions, and chiefly Ecclesiastical, procuring to make Bishopricks and Abbys hereditary to their Families; and that having divers ways endeavour'd to reduce them, they were still more insolent. The Protestants, on the other side, did strive to clear themselves unto the World from imputation of Rebellion, shewing, that Religion only was cause of this War, which the Pope and Council of *Trent* had kindled against them: Requiring from the Emperor performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his Dignity in *Francfort*, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of War. They sent also to *England* and *France* (being now newly reconcil'd) to borrow Mony. But our King answer'd, that the course of things being now alter'd, he could not resolve on any thing without better information. Nevertheless, that upon their standing firm together, he might furnish some Money upon fitting Conditions. This caus'd the Protestants to make new Levies at home: And the rather, that the Pope had about this time by Bull publish'd, that the War was for Religion.

1546. July 26. *Sleid.l.*17. *Sleid. Conc. Trid.* The Pope joins with the Emperor against the Protestants. *Sleid.l.*17. July 4. July.

And now *Philip* Landtgrave of *Hesse* having his Forces ready, comes into the Field, and the Duke of *Saxe* after; whereupon they both were proscrib'd by the Emperor (then being at *Ratisbonne*) who breaking up the Diet, commanded another to be held the first of *Feb.* 1547.

July 11. July 20. The Landtgrave of *Hesse* and D. of *Saxony* take the Field and are proscrib'd.

This while the Council of *Trent* sitting, the Secretary declar'd (in the name of the Legates) that the next point to be examin'd, was that of *Divine Grace*; and they shall the rather follow this Order, because it was us'd in the *Augustan* Confession, which they intended to condemn. Nevertheless, the Imperialists urg'd still a Reformation: But being over-rul'd, certain Theologi-

June 18.

ans

1546. ans were appointed to gather the *Lutherans* Opinions.

Decision concerning Justification, Faith and Works. That of Justification, Faith and Works was propos'd in XXV. Articles. But when the point of Justification by Faith was urg'd, the word FAITH was found ambiguous yet at last all agreeing, that Justifying Faith was an assent to all things reveal'd by God, and propos'd by the Church as necessary. It was further distinguish'd into a solitary, dead, meerly Historical Faith, and a lively one working by Charity. Then was disputed which of these did justify; and some affirm'd both: The first whereof was to be understood yet as the Basis and Ground of the latter: And here many School-subtilties arising, were hotly pursu'd by the *Dominicans* on the one side, and *Franciscans* on the other; the former holding (with *Luther*) that all our Works without Faith are Sin; the *Franciscans* opposing, that Man by his natural free-will may observe the Law, and do good, and thereby prepare himself, *ex congruo*, for Grace, since God fails not him who doth what he can. After this they fell to examine the nature of Grace, of Justification, of Imputation, *&c.* Concerning which the Reader may find more *in Concilio Tridentino*. Only I shall observe (as conducing to my History) that these Disputes were thus purposely spun out, partly by the procurement of the Emperor, who still desir'd that nothing should yet be decreed in matter of Faith; and partly by the industry of the Court of *Rome*, who studied to hinder the reformation in Discipline.

Maurice D. of *Saxony*, a Protestant, sides with the Emperor. The Emperor now, that he might divide the Protestants, encourageth *Maurice* Duke of *Saxe*, Cosen-German to the Elector, and Son-in-Law to the Landtgrave, to invade the States of these proscrib'd Princes: To which also he was sufficiently dispos'd. This while the Pope did a little temporize: For though he knew the Emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was so manifest an use of his Assistance; yet withal, he did not desire *Charles* should be too absolute in *Germany*, lest afterwards he should turn his Arms upon *Italy*, and give the Law to his Country and Religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conserve Peace. Neither were the Catholicks themselves in *Germany* overforward to take his part, lest under colour of reducing Religion to its former state by Arms, he would overthrow their Liberty. For preventing, whereof, as well as divers other suspicions among the Protestants (that the Council of *Trent* was assembled only to condemn them) he sent again to the Pope, to desire that the Council might continue, and the Legates might treat only of a Reformation. To which, because he knew some were averse, he directed a particular Message unto the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, telling him, that if he offer'd to dissolve the Council, he would cause him to be thrown into the River *Adige*. The Pope finding the Emperor thus in earnest, continues the Council; writing yet to the Legates, that they should entertain the Time: And for this purpose Fastings, Prayers, and a Jubilee (now publish'd for the good Success of this War) did serve. Neither was it without Cause; the Protestants Army being now drawn near *Tirol*, to hinder the *Italians* from joining with the Imperialists. The Danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous sort of Bishops, many were desirous to retire, while some fled from the Council. But the Cardinal of *Trent* newly return'd from *Rome*, comforted those which remain'd. And now the Popes and other the *Italian* Auxiliary Forces passing by *Trent* into *Germany*, another way than the Protestants expected, they at last at *Landshut* in *Bavaria* join'd with the Emperor;

The Protestant Army draws near *Tirol*. July 10.

Aug. 15.

who bestow'd upon *Ottavio Farnese* (their General) the Order of the *Toison*, and took a Muster of his Men: The Protestant Army being at *Donawert*, which they had newly taken, and in that readiness, that they attended only their Advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this Posture a while, to tell a notable Accident which happen'd at *Malines* in *Brabant*, 7 *August*, 1546. certain Barrels of Powder, to the number of seven hundred, being stow'd in the bottom of a great Tower, Lightning falling thereon and kindling it, the Tower was rais'd from his Foundations on high, and scatter'd in the Air; the Stones whereof flying every way, threw down two hundred Houses in the City, and as many in the Suburbs, kill'd five hundred Men, and hurt two thousand; the Wind whereof broke Glass-windows every where, and open'd many Locks. Besides which, it had this prodigious Effect, that it dry'd up all the Water in a Ditch adjoining, being a Pike deep, and levell'd the Earth, rooting up together many Trees; of which kind, it was observ'd, that those which lost only their Leaves and Fruit, budded again, and bore in Autumn. Aug. 7. 700 Barrels of Powder blown up at *Malines*.

But it seems more strange which *Stow* relates, that in *England* this Year a Potter falling asleep, *April* 27. could not be awaken'd in fourteen Days and Nights, finding himself yet afterwards as if he had taken but one Night's Rest. *Stow*. One sleeps fourteen Days and Nights.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Landtgrave of *Hesse*, who commanded the Protestant Army, being compos'd of seventy or eighty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and an hundred Canon, thought it unjust to begin the War till they had sent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that Name; but as a Pretender to be Emperor. He on the other side, little regarding the Language, endeavour'd one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole Passage whereof may be seen in *Luys d' Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Nassau*, did recommend the Book to me more than once, as a Master-piece in its Kind.

While these Armies coast each other, the Legates in *Trent* (now free from the Soldatesque) advis'd how to delay the Time, admitting new Matters, which also their intemperate Disputes did furnish. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* projecting also, that the former Controversies should be renew'd of Preparatory Works, Observance of the Law, *&c.* Whereupon the Point of Freewill was brought into question, and certain Opinions of the Reformers, therein odiously propos'd. From whence arose a Question, whether believing and not believing were in our Power? And many things were said thereupon, (it seeming at last equally absurd to believe all things to be in our Power, and nothing.) These Points again begot Distinctions, and at last brought in the Article of Predestination, which with the Consequences was so heard, as being disputed by the Prelates and Divines in a hundred Congregations, and afterward reduc'd into a Form of Decree by the Cardinal *Santa Croce*: Yet he had so much ado to content all sides, that from the beginning of *September*, to the end of *November*, each Day some words therein were alter'd; yet so, as at length it past, and was sent to the Pope, who remitted it to the learned Men at *Rome*, by whom it was approv'd, as being conceiv'd in such Terms, that all parts might fit and apply it to their own Opinions. In the point of Reformation, the Qualities requir'd for the Promotion of Prelates was handled, and many good things said, but the means how to observe them were as little found, as how to bind their Superiours

Aug. 20. The Council continue their Debates on Freewill.

Predestination.

Reformation.

to

1546. to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers Discourses, it was thought fit to leave off this Point. Much was said also, concerning

Residency.

Matters of Residency: The Particulars whereof produc'd that Controversy, as in the Year 1562, and 1563. came to a great height. The present Contention was between the *Spanish* Prelates; who for the magnifying of the Episcopal Dignity, held that Residence was *Ex jure Divino*; and the *Italian* Bishops, who for sustaining the Pope's Authority, said, it was commanded by him only, and therefore might be dispens'd with, *&c.* But this Dispute being put off by the Legates, the Ancient Canons for Residency were reviv'd, and some new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the Abuse of Exemptions of Regular and Secular Priests from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, was moderated.

Septemb.

The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Protestants, expostulated the matter with him. But the King deny'd he intended any Aid to the Protestants; saying yet, that if he sought Friendship abroad he was not to be blam'd, since the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Bishop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on those that refus'd the Bishops Authority, and

Records.

the Council of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly nam'd, yet that he was taken for a *Lutheran*. Neverthelefs, that he treated not with the Protestants, and therefore wish'd the Emperor to have a better Opinion of him, since if he would have given Credit to his Advice, he needed not to have entred those Dan-

Octob.

gers he was in. And now the Pope hearing how Things pass'd, commanded the Cardinal *Farnese* to return. For though the Emperor by secret fomenting the Emulation for Command which pass'd between the Duke of *Saxe* and Landtgrave, was in a good way to compass his Ends; yet because he made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recall'd the Cardinal, and permitted some of the *Italian* Gentry to come with him. Neverthelefs, about the midst of

Octob. 13.

October, the two Armies met so near together about *Giengen* in *Suabe*, that only a little River parted them. Where also the Protestants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialists; some Blows yet pass'd, and *Donawert* was regain'd by *Ottavio Farnese*: Shortly after which, the Duke of *Saxe* was constrain'd to retire to his own Country, for the Defence thereof, against

Nov. 23.

Ferdinand and *Maurice* who invaded it; and the Landtgrave, to his. Of which our King was particularly advertis'd by *Somerset* his Herald, who accompanying *Bruno*, (now returning from *England* to the Protestant Army) observ'd all Occurrences. The Protestant Forces now being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor when they might have some honest Caution for the exercising of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by Writing, though otherwise Promise was made by the Imperial Ministers, that they should not be molested. And

The Emperor too hard for the Protestants.

thus the Emperor recover'd much great Ordnance, and huge Sums of Money from some Cities, by way of Reparation for their Faults, and rested absolute Sovereign of the upper and greater part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the rest, and to constrain *Herman*

Nov. 4.

Archbishop of *Cologne* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawful Council in *Germany*)

Jan. 25. 1547. October.

to surrender his Archbishoprick. Which State of things being advertis'd hither, our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this Purpose also acquainting him with some Passages, which might give him just Occasion to be jealous of *Francis*. For though (by the Advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*) to make his Authority at home more entire, he had lately condemn'd to the Fire certain Citizens of *Meaux*, who combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet he treated with the Protestants at this time. *Sleidan.*

The Pope also hearing of that which pass'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduc'd to the Emperor's Obedience: Insomuch, that though his Forces were much diminish'd, (between those that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that run away) he yet recall'd the rest about the middle of *December*, upon pretence that they had stay'd the six Months which he had promis'd; alledging for further Excuse, that he was not able to sustain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, since the Heads of the Rebellion (as he term'd them) were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Justification, reply'd, that he was not made partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the Prejudice of the Catholick Faith, in tolerating Heresy, which might have been exterminated. Besides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he should have participated of the Profits and Spoils of the War. And not content herewith he deny'd the Emperor the further Revenues of the *Spanish* Clergy. So that tho' the Imperial Ministers at *Rome* told him, he had done nothing unless he perfected his Work, they could not prevail. For further Testimony also of his Displeasure to the Emperor, raising a Faction in *Genoua* against the *Doreses*, being the Emperor's Friends.

Decemb.

The Pope and Emperor differ.

Neither did he (as some have it) fear, that the Emperor (having so much to do in *Germany*) could hastily invade him, or trouble him, otherwise than by according with the Protestants, and causing them to repair to the Council of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to dissolve, though seven Months had past, without publishing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithstanding he knew that the Emperor would be discontented at his rigid Proceedings in Matters of Doctrine, he us'd the Florentine Motto, *Cosa fatta capo ha*: And thereupon writ to the Legates, that they should hold a Session, and publish the Decrees already made; which also was done, the Protestants yet questioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that submitted, *Ulme* was one; where also the Emperor winter'd, with Intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Protestants understanding, thought fit (though once suing for Peace) to send several Ambassadors into *England* and *France* to demand Succours (tho' in vain) both Kings dying shortly after.

Jan. 13.

July 8.

Translation of the Bible forbid by K. *Henry*. Regn. 37.

While Business of Religion was thus treated of abroad, our King by Proclamation did severely forbid the Translation of the New Testament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other than is permitted by Parliament: As also the *English* Book of *Frith*, *Wickliff*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King most studiously supprest; both because he would have his Subjects decline the bitter Language and Doctrine to be found in some of them, and that he would introduce his own, or at least a more sober Reformation. Whereof also he was the more sensible, in that Women began now ordinarily to dispute Controversies, and urge the Text: Insomuch, that *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman, defended herself therewith against her Persecutors; though not so, but that she was burnt for it. Besides, the Queen her self did this Year run no little Danger: For as she began about this time to give ear unto those who declaim'd against the Abuses of the *Roman* Church, she

July 15.

Anne Askew burnt.

thought

1546. thought her ſelf ſo well inſtructed in Religion, that ſhe would debate with the King thereof: Which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the Anguiſh of a ſore Leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he lov'd not to be contradicted in his Opinions, eſpecially, as he ſaid, in his Old Age, and by his Wiſe. This again was exaggerated by *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, ſo far, that by repreſenting the Hazard ſhe incurr'd by contravening the Six Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading of forbidden Books, and teaching openly her Doctrine, the King gave *Winchester* and *Wriothesley* the Chancellor, and others, leave to conſult about the drawing of Articles againſt her, which they fail'd not to preſent unto the King, who ſubſcrib'd them: Inſomuch, that her Enemies expected only a Warrant for carrying her by Night to the *Tower*. Which the Queen accidentally having Notice of, fell into that Paſſion, and bitter bewailing her Misfortune, that the King hearing the Perplexity ſhe was in, ſent his Phyſicians, and after came himſelf to her Chamber, where compaſſionating her Eſtate, he us'd ſuch kind Words as did help to recover her. Inſomuch, that the next Night, being attended by the Lady *Anne* her Siſter, Wife to Sir *William Herbert*, after Earl of *Pembroke*, ſhe went unto the King's Bed-chamber, where he courteouſly welcomed her, and began to talk of Religion.

Articles againſt the Q. drawn up and ſubſcrib'd by the King.

She wittily excuſes her ſelf as to her Opinion in Religion.

But ſhe wittily excuſing her ſelf by the Weakneſs of her Sex and Judgment, ſaid, *She would refer her ſelf in this and all other Cauſes to his Majeſty's Wiſdom. Not ſo (by Saint* Mary) quoth the King, *you are become a Doctor,* Kate, *to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not ſo be inſtructed or directed by us.* But the Queen replying, that *what ſhe ſaid was rather to paſs away the Time and pain of his Infirmity, than to hold Argument; and that ſhe hop'd by hearing his Majeſty's learned Diſcourſe, to receive ſome Profit thereby.* The King anſwer'd, *And is it even ſo (Sweet-heart?) then are we perfect Friends again:* Which alſo he confirm'd by divers Teſtimonies. But as her Maligners knew nothing of this Reconcilement, they prepar'd the next Day to carry her to the *Tower*, at a Time limitted by the King's Warrant. This being come, and ſhe happening to be merrily talking with him in his Garden, the Lord *Wriothesley*, with forty of the Guard, comes in; whom the King ſternly beholding, and after calling to him, (at ſome Diſtance from the Queen) ſo expoſtulated the matter, as at laſt he reviled, and commanded him out of his Sight and Preſence. Nevertheleſs, at the King's Return, ſhe was an humble Suiter for his Pardon. But the King anſwer'd no otherwiſe, than that *ſhe (poor Soul) did not know how evil he deſerv'd this Grace at her Hands.* And thus, by her opportune Submiſſion ſhe eſcap'd: Tho' yet ſome believe it was not ſo much the King's Intention herein to uſe the Rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howſoever, if he were not in earneſt, it was thought a terrible Jeſt, eſpecially to a Queen, that had the Reputation of a vertuous, humble, and obſervant Wife. But *Winchester*, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her Ruin, did himſelf, not long after, fall into the King's Disfavour, as by his Submiſſion extant in our Records, doth appear: Though whether on this Occaſion, or that he was a ſpecial Friend to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was now alſo in diſgrace with the King (as ſhall be told hereafter,) or any other Cauſe, is not there determined. Howſoever, the King excluded him out of the Number of thoſe whom he appointed his Executors, and Counſellors to his Son and Succeſſor, *Edward* VI.

Gardiner, who aim'd at her ruin, falls into diſgrace. Dec. 2.

Concerning *Scottish* Buſineſs this Year, little paſs'd worth the writing, that I can find, ſave only that King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Lenox* into *Ireland* with Command, that he together with the Earl of *Ormond*, and a certain Lord out of the *Scottish* Iſles (as he term'd himſelf) who had adhered to our King, ſhould fall upon *Scotland*: But as the Enterprize was diſcover'd, they were forc'd to retire to *Dublin*, where the ſaid *Scottish* Lord, who brought three Galleys with him for this Enterprize, died. 1546.

May 19. Cardinal *Beton* ſlain at St. *Andrews*.

This while Cardinal *Beton* perſecuting thoſe of the reform'd Religion in that Country, was himſelf ſlain at St. *Andrews* in his Caſtle, by certain Gentlemen who ſurpriz'd the Place; and after defended it, until the Governour beſieg'd, and (at laſt) took it by the help of ſome Succour which the *French* ſent them in their Galleys. That kind of Shipping being ſo built in thoſe Days, that they brook'd our Seas with no little Advantage, when the Times were fair.

D. of *Norfolk* and his Son the E. of *Surrey's* troubles.

I ſhall conclude this Year with the diſaſter of the renown'd Lord the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the execution of his Son *Henry* the Earl of *Surrey*, which paſs'd in this manner, as our Records tell us.

*The Dutcheſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, having for many Years entertain'd ſo violent Jealouſies of the Duke her Husband's Matrimonial Affection and Loyalty, as it broke out at laſt to open Rancour, divers occaſions of Scandal were given: Inſomuch, that not being content with having ſurmized a long while ſince two Articles againſt him, ſhe again, in ſundry Letters to the Lord Privy-Seal, both avert'd the Articles, and manifeſtly accus'd ſome of his Minions, repeated divers hard uſages, ſhe pretended to receive from them, and briefly diſcover'd all the ordinary Paſſions of her offended Sex. This again being urg'd in a Time when the King was in his declining Age, and for the reſt, diſquieted with Scruples, that the Duke's Greatneſs or Intereſt in ſequent Times might interrupt the Order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithſtanding his many important and faithful Services, both in War and Peace, at Home and Abroad, he and his Son *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, were expos'd to the malignity and detraction of their Accuſers. This again fell out in an unfortunate Time: For beſides that the Lady his Dutcheſs had now for above four Years been ſeparated from him; his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was but newly, and perchance, ſcarce reconcil'd with him; his Daughter *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Richmond* not only inclined to the Proteſtant Party, (which lov'd not the Duke) but grown an extream Enemy of her Brother: So that there was not only a kind of inteſtine diviſion in his Family, but this again many ſecret ways fomented.

He is accus'd by his Dutcheſs.

He is hated by the Proteſtants.

Among which, the Induſtry of one Mrs. *Holland*, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appear'd not a little, as deſirous (at what price ſoever) to conſerve her ſelf. Beſides, divers at the King's Council diſaffected him, and particularly the Earl of *Holland*, as knowing that after the King's death (now thought to be imminent) none was ſo capable to oppoſe him in the Place he aſpir'd to of Protector. All which Circumſtances concurring, and being voiced abroad, incouraged divers of his Adverſaries to declare themſelves: And the rather, becauſe it was notorious, how the King had not only withdrawn much of his wonted Favour, but promiſed Impunity to ſuch as could diſcover any thing concerning him.

The firſt that manifeſted himſelf was Sir *Richard Southwel*, who ſaid that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellor Dec. 2.

Wriothesley,

1546. *Wriothesley*, the Lord St. *John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himself a true Man, desiring to be try'd by Justice, or else offering himself to fight in his Shirt with *Southwel*: But the Lords for the present only committed them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in Trouble, sends to divers of his Friends to know the Cause, and particularly to the Bishop of *Winchester*: Those Letters yet (it is probable) fell into the King's Council's Hands; but could not preserve him from being involved in his Son's Fortune: So that he was sent for, and the same Day, not long after his Son, committed to the *Tower*. Divers Persons also were examined concerning his Affairs. Mrs. *Elizabeth Holland* being dispofed, confess'd, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Council loved him, because they were no Noblemen born themselves; as also because he believ'd too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, because he was too much lov'd in his Country; but that he would follow his Father's Lesson, which was, That the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself. As also, that the Duke complain'd that he was not of the most secret (or, as it is there term'd, the Privy) Council. And that the King was much grown of his Body, and that he could not go up and down the Stairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majesty was sickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill Case thro' Diversity of Opinions. And that if he were a young Man, and the Realm in quiet, he would ask leave to see the *Vernacle*; which he said, was the Picture of Christ given to Women by himself as he went to Death. As touching his Arms, that she had not heard the Duke speak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gather'd them, himself knew not from whence; and that he placed the *Norfolk's* Arms wrong, and had found fault with him: And therefore that she should take no Pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her Needle in his House, but as he gave them. Furthermore, she confess'd that the Earl of *Surrey* lov'd her not, nor the Dutchess of *Richmond* him; and that she addicted her self much to the said Dutchess.

Dec. 2.

Dec. 3. 4.

Dec. 12. He and his Son committed to the Tower.

Depositions against him.

Mary Dutchess of *Richmond* being examin'd, confess'd, That the Duke her Father wou'd have had her marry Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother also desir'd, wishing her withal to endear her self so into the King's Favour, as she might the better rule here as others had done; and that she refused: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford's* Daughter, which her Brother likewise heard of (and that this was the Cause of his Father's Displeasure) as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was so much incens'd against the said Earl, as the Duke his Father said thereupon, His Son would lose as much as he had gather'd together.

Moreover, That the Earl her Brother should say, These new Men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they should smart for it. And that her Brother hated them all since his being in Custody in *Windsor*-Castle; but that her Father seemed not to care for their ill Will, saying, His Truth should bear him out. Concerning Arms, she said, that she thought that her Brother had more than seven Rolls; and that some, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelott Du-lac*. And that her Father since the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham* (who bare the King's Arms) where the Arms of her Mother (Daughter to the said Duke) were rayned in his Coat, had put a Blank-quarter in the place, but that her Brother had reassum'd them. 1546. Also that instead of the Duke's Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of Maintenance Purple, with powdred Furr, and with a Crown, to her Judgment, much like to a close Crown; and underneath the Arms was a Cipher, which she took to be the King's Cipher, *HR*. As also that her Father never said that the King hated him, but his Counsellors; but that her Brother said, the King was displeased with him (as he thought) for the Loss of the great Journey. Which Displeasure, he conceiv'd, was set forward by them who hated him, for setting up an Altar in the Church at *Boulogne*. And that her Brother should say, God long save my Father's Life; for if he were dead, they would shortly have my Head. And that he reviled some of the present Council, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Also that he dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some passionate Words of her Brother she likewise repeated, as also some circumstantial Speeches, little for his Advantage; yet so, as they seemed much to clear her Father.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* being examined, said, he knew no Untruth directly by the Earl of *Surrey*, but suspected him of Dissimulation and Vanity: And that a Servant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was receiv'd again at his Return. Moreover, that he kept one *Pasquil* an *Italian* as a Jester, but more likely a Spy, and so reputed. He mentioned also one *Peregrine* an *Italian* entertain'd by the said Earl; adding that he lov'd to converse with Strangers, and to conform his Behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein some great ill Device.

One *Thomas Pope* also informed the Council, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the Time of the Commotion of the *North*) should say, in the Presence of an hundred Persons, that the Act of Uses was the worst Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirm'd those Words before the Lord *Audeley*, late Lord Chancellor. These Depositions, together with others (as it seems) being brought to the King's Judges at *Norwich*, they signified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Council, dated *Jan.* 7. that the King's Solicitor and Mr. *Stamford* had brought the Indictments, and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indicted thereupon of High Treason; and that they made haste to bring the said Indictment to *London*; desiring further to know whether Sir *Thomas Paston*, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, Sir *John Peer*, and others, should be of the same Jury. Upon the thirteenth (the King being now dangerously sick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraign'd in *Guild-Hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other Commissioners. Where the Earl, as he was of a deep Understanding, sharp Wit, and deep Courage, defended himself many ways: Sometimes denying their Accusations as false, and together weakning the Credit of his Adversaries; sometimes interpreting the Words he said, in a far other Sense than that in which they were represented. For the Point of bearing his Arms (among which those of *Edmund* the Confessor are related) alledging that he had the Opinion of Heralds therein. And finally, when a Witness was brought against him *viva voce*, who pretended to repeat some high Words of the Earl's by way of Discourse, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the said Witness should return a braving Answer; the Earl reply'd no otherwise to the Jury, than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this Man should speak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not strike him

The Earl of *Surrey* try'd.

Makes a good defence.

1546. him again. In Conclusion, he pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inquest, not of the Peers, because the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon also Judgment of Death was given, and he beheaded at *Tower-hill*. And thus ended the Earl; a Man learned, and of an excellent Wit, as his Compositions shew.

Yet is beheaded.

This while the King (though his Sickness increased) omitted not to give Order to seize on the Duke's Goods, and together to inform himself of all which might be material against him. Not forgetting also to cause *Wriothesley* to advertise the King's Ambassadors in foreign Parts, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conspir'd to take upon them the Government of the King, during his Majesty's Life, as also after his Death to get into their Hands the Lord Prince; but that their Devices were revealed, and they committed to the *Tower*. And that for preventing uncertain Bruits, they were willing to communicate the Premisses. But the Duke, who had now as much Merit of ancient Service to plead for him, as any Subject of his Time could pretend to, thought fit, from the *Tower*, to write unto the King in this Manner.

The Duke's Goods seiz'd.

Jan. 19.

His Letter to the King.

Most Gracious and most Sovereign Lord,

I Your most humble Subject prostitute at your Feet, do most humbly beseech your Highness to be my good and gracious Lord. I am sure some great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majesty of some untrue matter against me. Sir, God doth know, in all my Life, I never thought one untrue Thought against you, or your Succession, nor can no more judge or cast in my mind what should be laid to my Charge, than the Child that was born this Night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majesty in any point of Untruth, I would declare the same to your Highness. But (as God help me) I cannot accuse my self so much as in Thought. Most noble and merciful Sovereign Lord, For all the old Service I have done you in my Life, be so good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accusers and I together may be brought before your Royal Majesty; or if your Pleasure shall not be to take that Pains, then before your Council: Then if I shall not make it apparent that I am wrongfully accus'd, let me, without more respite, have Punishment according to my Deserts: Alas! most merciful Prince, I have no Refuge but only at your Hands, and therefore at the Reverence of Christ's Passion have Pity of me, and let me not be cast away by false Enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any Man, or that any Man was offended with me, unless it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries. And as for all Causes of Religion, I say now, and have said to your Majesty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of such Virtue and Knowledge, that whatsoever Laws you have in times past made, or hereafter shall make, I shall to the extremity of my Power stick unto them as long as my Life shall last. So that if any Man be angry with me for these Causes, they do me wrong. Other Cause I know not why any Man should bear me any ill-will: And for this Cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting Libels abroad against me. Finally, (most gracious Sovereign Lord) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to have Pity of me, and let me recover your gracious Favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaseth your Highness to take, leaving me what it shall please you to appoint; and that according as is before-written, I may know what is laid to my Charge, and that I may hear some comfortable Word from your Majesty. And I shall during my Life, pray for your prosperous Estate long to endure.

Your most sorrowful Subject,

THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

1546.

His Petition to the Lords

Item, *Most humbly to beseech, my Lords, That I might have some of the Books that are at* Lambeth; *for unless I may have Books to read e're I fall on sleep, and after I wake again, I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen Years.*

Also to desire that I might have a Ghostly Father sent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Also that I might have Mass, and to be bound upon my Life to speak no Word to him that shall say Mass, which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, *To have License in the Day-time to walk in the Chamber without, and in the Night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming I had a Chamber without a-days. I would gladly have License to send to* London, *to buy one Book of St.* Augustin's, De Civitate Dei; *and of* Josephus, De Antiquitatibus; *and another of* Sabellicus; *who doth declare most of any Book that I have read, how the Bishop of* Rome *from Time to Time hath usurp'd his Power against all Princes, by their unwise Sufferance.*

Item, *For Sheets.*

Nevertheless, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetual Prison, without that his great Services formerly render'd, or his Submission on this Occasion could restore him; which was in these Words, as I find by our Records in an Original.

His Confession.

I *THOMAS* Duke of *Norfolk*, do confess and acknowledge my self most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegiance, to have offended the King's most Excellent Majesty, in the disclosing and opening of his privy and secret Counsel, at divers and sundry Times, to divers and sundry Persons, to the great peril of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and regal Affairs.

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That I have concealed High Treason, in keeping secret the false and traiterous Act, most presumptuously committed by my Son *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, against the King's Majesty and his Laws, in the putting and using the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confessor, King of the Realm of *England* before the Conquest, in his Scutchion or Arms: Which said Arms of St. *Edward* appertain only to the King of this Realm, and to none other Person or Persons; whereunto the said Earl by no means or way could make any Claim or Title, by me, or any of mine or his Ancestors.

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That to the Peril, Slander, and Disinherison of the King's Majesty, and his noble Son Prince *Edward*, his Son and Heir apparent, I have against all right, unjustly, and without Authority, born in the first Quarter of my Arms, ever since the Death of my Father, the Arms of *England*, with a Difference of the *Labels* of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my said Prince, to be born for this Realm of *England* only; whereby I have not only done Prejudice to the King's Majesty, and the said Lord the Prince, but also given occasion that his High-

1546. Highneſs might be diſturb'd or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my ſaid Lord Prince might be deſtroy'd, diſturb'd, and interrupted in Fame, Body, and Title of the Inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confeſs, by the Laws of the Realm to be High Treaſon.

T. N.

For the which my ſaid heinous Offences, I have worthily deſerv'd, by the Laws of the Realm, to be attainted of High Treaſon, and to ſuffer the Puniſhment, Loſſes and Forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the King's Majeſty's Clemency and Mercy to be extended to me, conſidering the great and manifold Benefits that I and mine have received of his Highneſs: Yet I moſt humbly, and with a moſt ſorrowful and repentant Heart, do beſeech his Highneſs to have Mercy, Pity, and Compaſſion on me. And I ſhall moſt devoutly and heartily make my daily Prayer to God for the Preſervation of his moſt noble Soceeſſion, as long as Life and Breath ſhall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the twelfth Day of the Month of *January*, in the Year of our Lord God 1546. after the Computation of the Church of *England*, and in the thirty eighth Year of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* VIII. by the Grace of God King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland* the Supream Head. In witneſs of all the Premiſſes, I the ſaid Duke have ſubſcribed my Name with my own Hand, in the preſence of the Lord *Wriotheſley*, Lord Chancellor; the Lord St. *John*, Lord Preſident of the Council; the Earl of *Hertford*, Lord Great Chamberlain; the Viſcount *Liſle*, Lord High Admiral; Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the Horſe; Sir *William Paget*, Secretary; Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, of our ſaid Sovereign Lord's Privy-Council; Sir *Richard Liſter*, Sir *Edward Mountague*, the two Chief Juſtices.

Without Compulſion, without Force, without Advice or Counſel, I have and do ſubſcribe the Premiſſes, ſubmitting me only to the King's moſt gracious Pity and Mercy, moſt humbly beſeeching his Highneſs to extend the ſame unto me his moſt ſorrowful Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK.

Thomas Wriotheſley, Chancellor.	*E. Hertford*,
William St. John,	*Anth. Brown*,
John Liſle,	*Rich. Rich*,
William Paget,	*Rich. Liſter*,
John Baker,	*Edward Montague.*

The K's Illneſs puts off his Puniſhment. Notwithſtanding all which Submiſſion, joined with the Merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly eſcape, had not the King's Death, following ſhortly after, reſerved him to more merciful Times. For our King having long labour'd under the Burden of an extream fat and unweildy Body, and together being afflicted with a ſore Leg, took (at the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in *January*, this Year) his Death-bed; being for the reſt not without Senſe of his preſent Condition. For he both cauſed a Church of the Franciſcans in *London* (lately ſuppreſs'd) to be open'd again, and made a Pariſh-Church, endowing it with 500 Marks *per annum*; and beſtow'd both the Ground and Buildings of the ſaid Convent, as alſo the adjoining Hoſpital of St. *Bartholomew*, on the City, for the Relief of the Poor: Where now is the fair Hoſpital called *Chriſt-Church*: Suppreſs'd the Stews on the Bank-ſide, and made his laſt Will and Teſtament, the Original whereof yet having not ſeen, I ſhall mention no otherwiſe. 1547. March. 1546. He refounds St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital.

As for *Sanders*'s Affirmation, that he was not deſirous to be reconciled to the *Roman* Church; and that his Courtiers (eſpecially thoſe who had profited themſelves of Abbies) did divert him; and that the Biſhops reſted doubtful what to anſwer, leſt they ſhould be entrapped; and how *Wincheſter* did cunningly evade the Danger, I leave to his Credit. Others affirming, that he deſir'd to ſpeak with *Cranmer*, who yet not coming ſooner than that the King was ſpeechleſs (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him; and that thereupon *Cranmer* beſought him to give ſome Sign of his Truſt in God by Chriſt, and that the King ſhould ſtrain his Hand. However, it may be collected that he died religiouſly and penitently, when he had reign'd ſeven and thirty Years, nine Months, and ſix Days; and after he had lived five and fifty Years and ſeven Months; and was carried to *Windſor*, where he had began a fair Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Prieſts to pray for his Soul. Jan. 28. 1547. His Death.

And now if the Reader (according to my manner in other great Perſonages) do expect ſome Character of this Prince, I muſt affirm (as in the beginning) that the Courſe of his Life being commonly held various and diverſe from it ſelf, he will hardly ſuffer any, and that his Hiſtory will be his beſt Character and Deſcription. Howbeit, ſince others have ſo much defam'd him, as will appear by the following Objections, I ſhall ſtrive to rectify their Underſtandings who are impartial Lovers of Truth; without either preſuming audaciouſly to condemn a Prince, heretofore Sovereign of our Kingdom, or omitting the juſt Freedom of an Hiſtorian.

And becauſe his moſt bitter Cenſurers agree, that he had all manner of Perfection, either of Nature or Education; and that he was (beſides) of a moſt deep Judgment in all Affairs to which he apply'd himſelf; a Prince not only liberal and indulgent to his Family and Court, but even to Strangers, whom he willingly ſaw; and one that made choice both of able and good Men for the Clergy, and of wiſe and grave Counſellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royal Courage: I ſhall not controvert theſe Points, but come to my particular Obſervations. According to which, I find him to have been ever moſt zealous of his Honour and Dignity; inſomuch, that his moſt queſtion'd Paſſages were countenanc'd either with home or foreign Authority: So many Univerſities of *Italy* and *France* maintaining his repudiating of Queen *Katharine* of *Spain*; and his Parliament (for the reſt) authorizing the Divorces and Decapitations of his following Wives, the Diſſolutions of the Monaſteries, and divers others of his moſt branded Actions: So that by his Parliaments in publick, His Character.

and

1547. and *Juries* in private Affairs, he at leaſt wanted not Colour and Pretext to make them ſpecious to the World; which alſo he had reaſon to affect: Outward Eſteem and Reputation being the ſame to Great Perſons which the Skin is to the Fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate Cover, yet without it the Fruit will preſently diſcolour and rot.

As for matter of State, I dare ſay, never Prince went upon a truer Maxim for this Kingdom; which was, to make himſelf Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*: And had it not coſt him ſo much, none had ever proceeded more wiſely. But as he would be an Actor (for the moſt part) where he needed only be a Spectator, he both engaged himſelf beyond what was requiſite, and by calling in the Money he lent his Confederates and Allies, did often diſoblige them when he had moſt need of their Friendſhip. Yet thus he was the moſt active Prince of his Time. The Examples whereof are ſo frequent in this Hiſtory, that there was no Treaty, or almoſt Conventicle in *Chriſtendom*, wherein he had not his particular Agent and Intereſt; which, together with his Intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all Affairs, and the Penſions given for that Purpoſe, was one of his vaſt Ways for ſpending of Money.

Again, I obſerve, that there never was Prince more delighted in Interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which alſo, as his goodly Perſonage and excellent Qualities did much diſpoſe him, ſo they gave him a particular Advantage and Luſtre. Howbeit, as theſe Voyages were extreme coſtly, ſo when he made uſe thereof to conclude a Treaty, it did not always ſucceed; eſpecially where Credit was yielded to any ſingle and private Word. Inſomuch, that at his laſt being with *Francis* (where he intended, upon his bare Promiſe, *lier la partie* for the moſt important Affairs of *Chriſtendom*) he found himſelf ſo much fruſtrated and deceiv'd.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments; where, if gentle means ſerv'd not, he came to ſome Degrees of the rough; though the more ſparingly, in that he knew his People did but too much fear him. Beſides, he underſtood well, that foul Ways are not always paſſable, nor to be uſed (eſpecially in ſuſpected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, That none of his Predeceſſors underſtood the Temper of Parliaments better than himſelf, or that prevail'd himſelf more dexterouſly of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous Beginnings of the raſher ſort, he would give them that leave, which all new things muſt have, to ſettle. Which being done, his next Care was to diſcover and prevent thoſe privy Combinations that were not for his Service. After which, coming to the point of Contribution, he generally took ſtrict Order (by his Commiſſioners) that Gentlemen in the Country ſhould not ſpare each other; but that the true or (at leaſt) near approaching Value of every Man's Goods and Lands ſhould be certified. And this he did the rather, becauſe he knew the Cuſtom of his People was to reckon with him about their Subſidies, and indeed, rather to number, than to weigh their Gifts.

His Faults. As for his Faults, I find that of opinionate and wilful much objected: Inſomuch, that the Impreſſions privately given him by any Court-whiſperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the Perſons near him had a ſingular Ability; while beginning with the Commendations of thoſe they would diſgrace, their manner was to inſinuate ſuch Exceptions, as they would diſcommend a Man more in few Words, than commend him in many: Doing therein like cunning Wreſtlers, who to throw one down, firſt take him up. Beſides, this Wilfulneſs had a moſt dangerous Quality annexed to it (eſpecially towards his latter end) being an intenſe Jealouſy almoſt of all Perſons and Affairs, which diſpoſed him eaſily to think the worſt. Whereas it is a greater part of Wiſdom to prevent, than to ſuſpect. Theſe Conditions again being armed with Power, produc'd ſuch terrible Effects, as ſtiled him both at home and abroad by the Name of *Cruel*; which alſo hardly can be avoided; eſpecially, if that Attribute be due, not only to thoſe Princes who inflict capital Puniſhments frequently, and for ſmall Crimes, but to thoſe who pardon not all that are capable of Mercy. And for Teſtimonies in this kind, ſome urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in procinctu*, at leaſt) or two, (for *Pole* was condemn'd, tho' abſent) Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights, eighteen; Abbots, Priors, Monks and Prieſts, ſeventy ſeven; of the more common ſort, between one Religion and another, huge Multitudes. He gave ſome Proofs yet that he could forgive; tho' as they were few and late, they ſerv'd not to recover him the Name of a Clement Prince. As for Covetouſneſs, or Rapine, another main Fault obſerv'd by *Sanders*, as extending not only to a promiſcuous Overthrow of Religious Houſes, but a notable Derogation of Title of ſupreme Head of the Church in his Dominions (and the rather, that he ſtill retained the Subſtance of the *Roman* Catholick Religion) nothing, that I know, can on thoſe terms palliate it, unleſs it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threaten'd Invaſion from abroad, and that he had no other extraordinary Means than their Revenues then left to defend himſelf. For certainly, the publick Pretext, taken from their exceſſive Numbers in proportion to a well-compos'd State, or the inordinate and vicious life of the general ſort, cannot ſufficiently excuſe him; ſince, together with the ſupernumerary and debauch'd Abbeys, Priories and Nunneries, he ſubverted and extinguiſhed the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for ſuch as through Age or Infirmity being unapt for ſecular Buſineſs, would end their Days in a devout and a retir'd Life. Nevertheleſs, as he erected divers new Biſhopricks, increaſed the Number of Colleges, and the Stipend of Readers in the Univerſities, and did many other pious Works, it is probable he intended ſome Reparation. Tho' (as the *Roman* Catholick Party conceives it) they were neither ſatisfactory for, nor equivalent to the Deſolations and Ruins he procur'd, when yet he ſhould pretend that the Revenues and Number of the Gentry and Soldateſque of the Kingdom were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this Act of overthrowing Monaſteries, his Parliaments were deeply engag'd, it will be dangerous to queſtion the Authority thereof, ſince Things done by publick Vote, where they find not Reaſon, make it; neither have many Laws other Ground than the Conſtitution of the Times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their Interpretation doubtful: Inſomuch, that Poſterity might juſtly abrogate them when the Cauſes thereof ceas'd, had they the Power to do it. For which regard alſo I ſhall not interpoſe my Opinion otherwiſe, than that this King had met with no occaſion to do that which hath cauſed ſo much Scandal to him and his Parliaments.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetouſneſs as a great Vice in this King, I could wiſh it had been with more Limitation, and ſo as he noted the other Extreme (being Prodigality) for

1547. the greater fault: The Examples of both being so pregnant in the King's Father and himself. The first, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuses of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himself thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of Money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (only when they were not manifestly unjust) and lastly, by frugality, acquiring to himself the name of *prudent* at home, and *puissant* abroad; as being known to have in his Coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royal. Whereas this King, so often exhausting his Treasury, that he was constrain'd at last to have recourse to unusual and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not only disaffect his Subjects in great part (as appear'd in the Rebellion of the Northern Men and others, tho' to their Confusion) but expos'd his Kingdom to the Invasion of his Neighbours: who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Neighbours Revenues amount, and that there remain'd no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what Forces he could furnish; and consequently, would have assail'd him at home, but that their mutual divisions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in *Henry* VII is call'd by some Covetousness, was a Royal Vertue: Whereas the excessive and needless expences of *Henry* VIII. drew after them those miserable Consequences which the World hath so much reproach'd. Howbeit, there may be occasion to doubt, whether the immense Treasure which *Henry* VII left behind, were not (accidentally) the cause of those ills that follow'd: While the young Prince his Son, finding such a mass of Money, did first carelesly spend, and after strive to supply as he could.

As for the third Vice, wherewith he was justly charg'd, being Lust and Wantonness; there is little to answer, more than it was rather a personal fault, than damageable to the Publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not only to examine Circumstances (which much aggravate and extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of Men. That Concupiscence which in some is a Vice, being in others a Disease of Repletion, in others a necessity of Nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did hasten the death of his Queens; he being noted more for practising of private Pleasures, than secret Mischiefs; so that if any undue Motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate desire to have Posterity (especially Masculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather than any thing else. 1547.

With all his Crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious Princes of his time: Insomuch, that not only the chief Potentates of Christendom did court him, but his Subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, sufficiently testifie: Which: yet expir'd so quickly, that it may be truly said, all his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now expos'd to that obloquy, as his Accusers will neither admit reason of State to cover any where, or necessity to excuse his Actions. For, as they were either discontented Clergymen (for his relinquishing the Papal Authority, and overthrowing the Monasteries;) or offended Women (for divers severe examples against their Sex) that first oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: So that although one *William Thomas* a Clerk to the Council to *Edward* the Sixth, and living about the latter times of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, did in great part defend him in an *Italian* Book, printed *Anno* 1552, it hath not avail'd.

He was one of the most glorious Princes of his time.

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of State, Conscience, or Honour, a diligent observation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the Times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, than any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave him in his Grave.

The End of the Reign of King Henry VIII.

KING EDWARD THE VI th

THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. EDWARD VI.

By Sir *JOHN HAYWARD*, Kt. and Doctor of Law.

Anno 1537.

Prince *Edward* born.

EDWARD King of *England*, the Sixth of that Name, of the *Norman* Race, was born at *Hampton-Court*, the 17th (*a*) of *October*, 1537. being the only surviving Son of King *Henry* the Eighth, by *Jane* his Third Wife, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, Kt. And because King *Henry* did take her to Wife after the Death of *Katharine* his First Wife, from whom he had been divorc'd, no Question nor Conceit was cast, but that this Issue between them had Right to succeed.

All Reports do constantly run, That he was not by natural Passage delivered into the World, but that his Mother's Body was opened for his Birth, (*b*) and that she died of the Incision the Fourth Day following. After which sort Men brought forth, were by the ancient *Romans* esteemed Fortunate; and commonly proved great Enterprisers with happy Success: For so

(*a*) All Historians, with one Consent, state the Birth of this Prince to be on the Eve of St. *Edward*, (whence 'tis likely he had that Name given him) that is, *October* 12. except *Nic. Sanders*, who puts it at the Sixth of the Ides of *October*, which answers to the 10th of that Month; unwilling, perhaps, that this Prince should have so fortunate an *Omen*, as to be born on the Eve of that *English* Saint and King.

Three Days after, *viz.* the 15th Day of *October*, with very great Splendor and Solemnity, he was baptiz'd, those of the highest Nobility, the Bishops, Abbots, Dignify'd Clergy, and Chaplains, with abundance of Knights and Gentlemen, being summon'd to be present. The Prince was carried from his Lodgings to the Chapel by the Marchioness of *Exeter*, with a most illustrious Attendance. The two Princesses, the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, were in the Retinue, and assisted. The Godfathers at the Font were Archbishop *Cranmer* and *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*; and the Duke of *Suffolk* was Godfather at his Confirmation the same time. After he was christned by one of the Bishops, his Name was aloud proclaimed by Garter King at Arms, and call'd Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*: And so he was brought back in the like State to the Queen's Chamber.

On the 24th of *October* next following, that is, twelve Days from the Birth of the Prince, the Queen dy'd; as is evident from an authentick Manuscript of the Ceremonies of the Queen's Funeral, and from a Journal of Secretary *Cecil's*: So that a great Error hath been impos'd upon Readers by all our Historians, who have fix'd her Death at the 14th of *October*, that is, two Days after her Delivery; and by this Author, who assigns her Death to be four Days after; wherein he himself is single; (*b*) As he is also in that which follows, *viz.* That his Mother's Body was open'd, to make way for him, by Incision: And he says, *All Reports do constantly run so*: For none of our Historians, that wrote before *Hayward*, give any Countenance to this, but only mention her Departure soon after; except it be *Sanders*, (whose Pen was not directed so much by Truth, as Malice,) who frames a Story, That when the Queen was in extream Labour, they ask'd the King, Whom he would have spared, the Queen, or his Son? He answer'd, *His Son*; *because he could easily find out other Wives.* But yet even he has not a Word of cutting the young Infant out of his Mother's Belly: So that I make no Question this was at first an idle Fable, invented by Papists, improv'd by what *Sanders* wrote; and the Report soon became current among that Party, out of Ill-will to King *Henry* VIII. to render him Cruel, and the Prince his Son to have been unluckily born. Nor is it likely she should die of any Incision, since she liv'd twelve Days after she was deliver'd. Add, That Dr. *Burnet* (late Bishop of *Salisbury*) mentions original Letters in the *Cotton* Library, that shew how the Queen was well deliver'd. Those Letters are exemplify'd in *Fuller's* Church-History, the one from the Queen her self, the other from her Physicians, both written to the Privy Council.

De Schismat. Anglican.

Hist. Reformat. Vol. II. Book VII. p. 421, 422.

Pliny

1537.

Plin. lib. 7. cap. 9. Plin. 16. Fest. lib. 3. Solin. ca. 4. rer. mem. Prob. in epit. l. 10. Valerii. Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 2. Sil. Ital. lib. 13. Hermo in castig. Plin. loco eod.

Pliny writeth; *Auspicatius enecta matre nascuntur, sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus.* These were called *Cæsones*, and afterwards *Cæsares*, as *Pliny*, *Festus Pompeius*, *Solinus*, and *Titius Probus*, affirm, *Quia cæso matris utero in lucem prodissent.*

In this Manner was *Cæso Fabius* born, whom *Livy* reporteth to have been thrice Consul, first with *Lucius Æmilius*, next with *Sp. Furius*, and, thirdly, with *T. Virginius.* Thus also was *Scipio* born; who, by reason of his brave Atchievements in *Africk*, was surnamed *Scipio Africanus prior:* But in that *Pliny* affirmeth, that he was the first who was called *Cæsar*, *à cæso matris utero*, he seemeth to have made a Slip; for before him, and somewhat before the Wars with the *Samnites*, one *Claudius* was surnamed *Cæsar*, because he was in that Fashion brought into the World.

In ancient Times these Births were esteemed sacred to *Apollo*, as *Servius* noteth out of these Words in *Virgil:*

Lib. 10.

Inde Lycham ferit exectum cum matre perempta,
Et tibi Phœbe sacrum ———

And therefore *Æsculapius*, because he was ripped from his Mother's Womb, was feigned to be the Son of *Apollo*; as *Servius* upon another place of *Virgil* hath observed. For this Cause also, in the ancient State of *Rome*, Things consecrated to *Apollo* were kept by the Family of the *Cæsars*. That *Julius Cæsar* was so born, it is an uncontrolable Report; but that he was the first of the Family of *Cæsars*, who was so either named or born, it is a thick misty Error, supported chiefly by some Men of excellent Judgment in their own Professions, but childishly unskilful in any thing besides. *Pliny* writeth, that his Father was surnamed *Cæsar*; who having born the Office of Prætor, determined his Life by sudden Death.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7. c. 53.

What would have been either the Fortunes or Endeavours of K. *EDWARD*, he never attained to Years of Proof. Assuredly both for the Time of his Age and Reign, he is rather to be admired than commended, whereby he raised an high Expectation for Times to ensue. In one Point he was like the like-born *Julius Cæsar*: For as *Cæsar* in the midst of his greatest Actions wrote an exact and curious Commentary of all his notable Enterprizes by Arms, so this *Edward* during all the Time of his Reign, but most especially towards the end, kept a most judicious (*b*) Journal of all the most principal Passages of the Affairs of his Estate. These Memorials, written with King *Edward*'s Hand, (which now shall be the Ground of this History) were imparted unto me by the Great Treasurer of *English* Antiquities, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Kt. and Bar. who, as he hath been a most industrious both Collector and Conserver of choice Pieces in that Kind, so is he most ingenuously free to communicate the Use of them to others.

1543.

He writes a Journal of his Reign.

Sir *Robert Cotton*.

This young Prince was brought up among Nurses, until he arrived to the Age of six Years: When he had passed this weak and sappy Age, he was committed to Dr. *Coxe*, who after was his Almoner, (*c*) and Mr. *John Cheeke*, Men of mean Birth; (*d*) but so well esteemed for Virtue and Learning, by reason of the Place of their Employment, that they might well be said to be born of themselves. These having equal Authority for Instruction of the young Prince, and well agreeing, bare equal Stroke in divers Faculties; Dr. *Coxe* for Knowledge of Divinity, Philosophy, and Gravity of Manners; Mr. *Cheeke* for Eloquence in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues: But for other Sufficiences (so far as it appears by the Books which he wrote) Pedantick enough. (*e*) Others also were appointed to acquaint him with the Use of the most respected Foreign Languages; all jointly endeavouring to infuse into him Knowledge and Virtue by some mixture of honest Delight.

The Prince's Instructors. Coxe. Cheeke.

Under these Teachers the Prince thrived so well, that in short Time he spake the *French* Tongue perfectly. In the *Latin* Tongue he could declaim upon the suddain no less both readily and purely than many who were reputed amongst the most Learned of these Times. He attained not only commendable Knowledge, but Speech in the *Greek*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Languages; having always great Judgment in measuring his Words by his Matter; his Speech being alike, both fluent and weighty, such as best beseemed a Prince. As for natu-

His great Proficiency.

(*b*) This Journal is now printed among the Collections, at the End of the Second Volume of the *History of the Reformation*, by the late Bishop of *Sarum*, taken from the Volume *Nero*, c. 10. in the *Cotton* Library. It commences from the Year 1537. the Year of his Birth, and so proceeds more largely from the Year of his Accession to the Crown, *viz.* 1547. unto the End of *November*, 1552.

(*c*) And Master also of his Requests.

(*d*) Sir *Anthony Cook*, Kt. was also a great Guide of his Learning and Manners in these his early Years, and his chief Instructor. In saying, the two other were of *mean Birth*, the Historian wrongs one, if not both: For *Cheeke*'s Family was ancient, and of good Wealth. This *Cheeke* was sprung from the *Cheeke*'s of the Isle of *Wight*; the Antiquity of which Family is trac'd as far backwards as King *Richard* the Second's Time, when a *Cheeke* married a Daughter of the Lord *Mountague*, as appears in the Heralds Books.

(*e*) Upon *Cheeke*'s Books and Learning, as well as his Birth, he leaves a Blot; saying, he was *Pedantick enough.* He translated two Orations of St. *Chrysostom* into elegant *Latin*. He wrote *The true Subject to the Rebel*, in the Time of the Insurrection under this King. And there were Letters in *Latin* passed between Bishop *Gardiner* and him from *Cambridge*, concerning the right pronouncing of the *Greek* Tongue; which were afterwards publish'd; with some other Letters, printed occasionally: Which no Man can depart from the reading of, but with very high Opinion of his great Ingenuity and Gravity. He was a Man of great Reading; an excellent *Platonist*, *Orator*, and *Philosopher*; one of the first Restorers of good polite Learning in *Cambridge*. Dr. *Tho. Wylson*, Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Contemporary at the University, and one that knew him well, call'd him, *That rare Learned Man, and singular Ornament of the Land.*

Ep. Dedicat. before his Translat. of *Demosth. Orat.*

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1546. ral Philosophy, for Logick, Musick, Astronomy, and other Liberal Sciences, his Perfections were such, that the great *Italian* Philosopher *Cardane*, having tasted him by many Conferences, and finding him most strongly to encounter his new divised Paradoxes in Philosophy, seemed to be astonished between Admiration and Delight, and divulged his Abilities to be miraculous. (*f*) These his Acquirements by Industry were exceedingly both enriched and enlarged by many excellent Endowments of Nature: For in Disposition he was mild, gracious and pleasant, of an Heavenly Wit; in Body beautiful, but especially in his Eyes, which seemed to have a starry Liveliness and Lustre in them; generally he seemed to be as *Cardane* reported of him, A MIRACLE OF NATURE.

King *Henry*'s Death.

When he was a few Months above nine Years of Age, great Preparation was made either for creating or for declaring him to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Count Palatine of *Chester*. (*g*) In the midst whereof King *Henry* his Father ended his Life of a Dropsy, accompanied with a spreading Scar of his Thigh. Hereupon *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Anthony Browne*, Kt. of the Order and Master of the Horse, were forthwith dispatched, by the Residue of the Council, to the young King, then lying at *Hertford* (*h*). These came unto him, and the next Day brought him to *Enfield*, neither with Preparation nor Train any more than ordinary. Here they first declared unto him, and to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Sister, the Death of King *Henry* their Father: Upon which Tidings they both brake forth into such unforced and unfeigned Passions, as it plainly appeared, that good Nature did work in them beyond all other Respects. Never was Sorrow more sweetly set forth, their Faces seeming rather to beautify their Sorrow, than their Sorrow to cloud the Beauty of their Faces. Their young Years, their excellent Beauties, their lovely and lively Enterchange of Complaints, in such sort graced their Grief, as the most Iron Eyes at that time present were drawn thereby into Society of their Tears.

King *Edward* comes to *London*.

The next Day following, being the last of *January*, the young King advanced towards *London*, the Earl of *Hertford* riding next before him, and Sir *Anthony Browne* behind. The same Day he was proclaimed King, and his Lodging was prepared within the *Tower*. He there was received by the Constable and Lieutenant on Horseback without the Gates, and upon the Bridge next the Ward-Gate, by all the chief Lords of his Council. These attended him to his Chamber of Presence, and there sware Allegiance unto him. 1546.

The King's Uncle Protector.

Here he remained about three Weeks; and in the mean time the Council, appointed unto him by his Father's Will, daily sate, for ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. Among these, the Earl of *Hertford* was elected, * and forthwith proclaimed Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King's Person, until he should accomplish the Age of eighteen Years. To this Office he was deemed most fit, for that he was the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, very near to him in Blood, but yet of no Capacity to succeed; by reason whereof his natural Affection and Duty was less easy to be over-carried by Ambition. A few Days after *, the Lord Protector Knighted the King within the *Tower*, and immediately the King stood up under his Cloth of State, took the Sword from the Lord Protector, and dubbed the Lord Mayor of *London* Knight. Hence * ensued divers other Advancements in Honour: For Sir *Edward Seymour*, Lord Protector and Earl of *Hertford*, was created Duke of *Somerset*; the Lord *William Parre*, Earl of *Essex*, was proclaimed Marquess of *Northampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the King's Uncle, was made Lord of *Sudley*, and High Admiral of *England*; Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*; Sir *William Willoughby*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parreham*; and Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Lord *Sheffield* of *Buterwike*. And because high Titles of Honour were in that Time of the King's Minority sparingly granted, because Dignity then waited upon Desert, which caused it again to be waited on by Respect, every of these testified for others, that it was the Pleasure of the King's Father before his Death, that these Titles should thus be conferred.

* Febr. 1.

* Febr. 6.

Honours conferr'd.

* viz. Feb. 17. the Day after the Solemnity of King *Henry*'s Funeral.

K. *Henry*'s Funeral, *Feb.* 14.

During this Time the Body of King *Henry* was with honourable Solemnities (*i*) conveyed from *London* to *Sheene* *, and thence to *Windsor*,

* Not *Sheene*, but *Sion*, where the Corps and Company lodg'd that Night.

(*f*) But this Philosophical Conference of the King with *Cardane*, was not now at the beginning of his Reign, but some Years after, when he was fifteen Years of Age.

(*g*) L. *Herbert* writes, this Prince was made so but six Days after his Birth; at which Time there was a Creation of two other Earls, *viz. Hertford* and *Southampton*: But this indeed the Author took from this King's Journal, that mentions great Preparations for it about this Time.

(*h*) *Hollingshed* makes the Place of the King's present Residence to be at *Hatfield*: But our Author follows herein the King's Journal, wherein those two Noblemen are said to come to him to *Hertford*.

(*i*) Because these *Honourable Solemnities* are not in any of our Historians particularly set down, take this short Account of it, from a Volume in the Office of Arms.

The Chest wherein the Royal Corps was laid, stood in the midst of the Privy-Chamber, with Lights, and Divine Service said about him, with Masses, Obsequies, and continual Watch, made by the Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, in their Order and Course, Night and Day, for five Days, till the Chapel was ready; where was a goodly Hearse, with eighty square Tapers, every Light containing two Foot in length, in the whole 1800 Weight of Wax, [another Relation writeth about 2000 Weight,] garnished with Pensils, Eschotcheons, Banners and Bannerols of Descents; and at the four Corners, Banners of Saints, beaten in fine Gold upon Damask; with a Majesty thereover of rich Cloth of Tissue, and Valiance of black Silk, and Fringe of black Silk and Gold; and the Barriers without the Hearse, and the Sides and Floor of the said Chapel, covered with black Cloth to the High Altar; and at the Sides and Ceiling of the said Chapel, set with Banners and Standards of *St. George* and others. The 2d of *February* the Corps was removed, and brought into the Chapel, by the Lord Great Master and Officers of the Houshold, and there placed within the Hearse, under a Pall of rich Cloth of Tissue, garnished with Eschotcheons, and a rich Cloth of Gold set with precious Stones thereon. It continued there twelve Days, with Masses and

Offic. Armor. J. 11.

1547. *Windsor*, and there buried within the College. All his Officers brake their Staves, and threw them into the Grave; but at their Return to the Tower, new Staves were delivered unto them. This Solemnity being finished, the King, on the 19th of *February* 1547. rode in great State from the Tower to the Palace of *Westminster*; and the Day following was Crowned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted with other Bishops, and all the chief Nobility of the Realm, about the 29th Year of the Empire of *Charles* V. and the 33d of the Reign of *Francis* I. of *France*, and in the 5th Year both of the Reign and Age of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

King Edward's Coronation.

The same Day a general Pardon was granted to all Persons as it hath been usual at Coronations: But by some envious Oppositions, for some other Causes unknown, six only were excepted, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Poole*, *Edward le Courtney*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Exeter*, Dr. *Pates*, Mr. *Fortescue*, and Mr. *Throgmorton*: But they overlived that Envy, and had their Pardons afterwards, in the first Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*. A few Days after * the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, for being Opinative, (as it was reported, and obstinately opposite to the rest of the Lords in Matters of Council) was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his Place and Authority in Council, (*k*) and the Great Seal was delivered to Sir *William Pawlet*, Lord *St. John*, who was Lord Great Master of the King's Houshold: But this Wound of Disgrace never left bleeding, until it was stopt by the Protector's Fall.

A general Pardon.

* The 6th of *March*.

It is certain, that from the first Entrance of this King to his Reign, never was King either more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all: The one whereof proceeded from the Goodness of his Disposition, the other from many Graces and Virtues illustrious in him; for besides his excellent Beauty and Modesty beseeming a Prince, besides his sweet Humanity, the very Life of mortal Condition, besides a natural Disposition to all Literature, whereto he seem'd rather born than instructed, many noble and high Virtues sparkled in him, especially Clemency, Courage, Care, and Knowledge in Affairs of State. 1547.

King Edward's Virtues.

To Clemency he was much enclined, especially in Matters of Blood, and most especially if it were for Religion; a Virtue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had been less used before; insomuch that albeit he was most earnestly affected to that Religion wherein he had been brought up: Yet none were executed in his time for other Religion, but only two blasphemous Hereticks, *Joan Butcher* and *George* a *Dutchman*.

His Clemency.

And when *Joan Butcher* was to be burned, all the Council could not procure him to set his Hand to the Warrant: Wherefore they employed *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* to deal privately with him for his Subscription. But the King remained firm both in Reason and Resolution, affirming, That he would not drive her headlong to the Devil: But because Hereticks, for the most part, have a Strain of Madness, he thought it best to apply her with some Corporal Chastisements, which with respit of Time might happily reduce her to good Order. The Archbishop was violent both by Perswasions and Entreaties; and when with meer Importunity he had prevailed, the King in subscribing his Name said, That he would lay all the Charge thereof upon the Archbishop before God. Nor many Years passed, but this Archbishop also felt the Smart of the Fire: And, it may be, that by his Importunity for Blood he did offend; for a

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and Dirges sung and said every Day; *Norroy* each Day standing at the Choir Door, and beginning with these Words, pronounced aloud, *Of your Charity, Pray for the Soul of the High and Mighty Prince, our late Sovereign Lord and King*, HENRY VIII. *February* the 14th the Corps was removed, and lodged that Night at *Syon*, with the Mourners and Company; and the next Day arrived at *Windsor*: And the next Day, being *February* the 16th, the Corps was interred. *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester* preached the Sermon, on that Text, *Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord*: Where he declared the Frailty of Man, and the Community of Death, both to High and Low; and shewing the Loss that all had sustained by the Death of so Gracious a King: Yet comforting them again by the Resurrection in the Life to come. And exhorted them all to rejoice and give Thanks to Almighty God for having sent so towardly and vertuous a Prince to reign after him; desiring all Men to continue in Obedience and Duty: With many other Exhortations, notably set forth, and with great Learning.

The Corps being let down by a Vice, with the help of sixteen tall Yeomen of the Guard, the same Bishop, standing at the Head of the Vault, proceeded in the Service of the Burial; and about the same stood all the Head Officers of the Houshold, as, the Lord Great Master, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Treasurer, Comptroller, Sergeant-Porter, and the Four Gentlemen-Ushers in Ordinary, with their Staves and Rods in their Hands; and when the *Mold* was brought and cast into the Grave by the Prelate executing, at the Words *Pulvis Pulveri, Cinis Cineri*, first the Lord Great Master, and after the Lord Chamberlain, and all the rest, brake their Staves in Shivers upon their Heads, and cast them after the Corps within the Pit, with exceeding Sorrow and Heaviness, not without grievous Sighs and Tears.

After this finished, and *De Profundis* said, and the Grave covered again with Planks, *Garter* stood in the midst of the Choir, accompanied with all them of his Office in their Coats of Arms, and with a loud Voice proclaimed, *Almighty God, of his Infinite Goodness, give good Life and long to the most High and Mighty Prince, our Sovereign Lord, King* EDWARD VI. *by the Grace of* GOD. *King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and in Earth, under* GOD, *of the Church of* England *and* Ireland *the Supream Head, and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter*: And with that he cried, VIVE LE NOBLE ROY EDWARD; and the rest of the Officers of Arms cried the same three several times after him.

Then the Trumpets sounded with great Melody and Courage, to the Comfort of all them that were there present.

(*k*) This *Verbatim* from *Hollingshed*: But both he and our Author must be warily understood here; so as not to mean that the Earl was removed from being a Privy-Counsellor, but from the Authority he had at the Board before: For this Earl was not removed from being a Counsellor till the 4th of the King at *Candlemas*, when he and the Earl of *Arundel* were both put out, as *Hollingshed* himself writes. What the Crime of the Lord Chancellor was, and the Proceedings thereupon, may be seen at large in Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation; the Account whereof he seems to have from the Council-Book.

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good

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good thing is not good, if it be immoderately desired or done. (*l*)

His Courage.

His *Courage* did appear in the great Delight he took in Representations of Battels, Skirmishes, Assaults, and of all kind of Military Exercises; his Judgment was great, either for Errors, or fine Contrivances in the Field: And no Actions of Arms were executed in his Time, but he would perfectly understand by what Advantages on the one side, or Oversights on the other, the Event succeeded. He took great Pleasure in Exercises of Activity, whereto he much trained his Servants; and to that end he often appointed Challenges among them, for Wrestling, Leaping, Running, Riding, Shooting at Rovers and at Rounds, and such like Games; and at Riding and Shooting would sometimes be of one of the Sides. He had 100 Archers of his ordinary Guard, who once mustering before him, shot two Arrows every Man together through an Inch Board of well-season'd Timber: All stroke through the Board, and their Arrows stuck in another Board behind; and divers pierced both the Boards generally. None might be of his Guard but besides of tall and comely Stature, such as were either good Archers or Wrestlers, or Casters of the Bar, or Leapers, or Runners, or of some other Man-like Quality. He was exceeding skilful in Fortifications; and bestowed great Cost in strengthening *Calais*, *Berwick*, and other Parts thereabout. He knew all the principal Ports in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *France*, and other Countries not far distant, how they lay, when the Tide served, what Vessels of Burthen they could receive, and what Winds served for entrance.

His Care and Knowledge of Affairs of State.

Touching his *Care* and *Knowledge* in Affairs of State, nothing was more conspicuous in him. He was much conversant amongst his Council, and could well understand what Matters passed their Judgments, and upon what Grounds. In Matters discoursed by them, he would often encounter their Reasons, and add most lively Reasons of his own; insomuch that at last they made an Order, That no Matters of Weight should be debated, unless he were present. Admirable he was to collect the Speeches and Opinions of many; and to draw their Differences to a true head, always bended himself rather Judiciously to resolve, than by Doubts and Distinctions to perplex a Business. He had a Chest, whereof he always carried the Key about him, for keeping Record of such Matters as were concluded by his Council: And embracing Business for part of his Solace, he appointed set Times with Dr. *Cox*, Master of his Requests, for speeding poor Mens Causes, without tedious Attendance or Delay. Of all the Magistrates, Justices, and Gentlemen of Sort, within his Realm, he knew their Names, their Housekeeping, their Religion, and Manner of Life. He was skilful in the Exchange beyond the Seas, and in all the Circumstances and Practises thereof; and so was he both skilful and provident in Matters of the Mint at home. To Ambassadors he would give Answer upon the suddain, and touch both orderly and fully upon every Part of their Orations, to the Delight and Admiration of all the Hearers. He much frequented Sermons, and penned Notes with his own Hand; his Notes he cypher'd with Greek Characters, to the end that they who waited on him should not read them. His Disports were ingenuous and man-like, whereby he always learned somewhat. And yet, as well from these as his Businesses of State, he daily reserved some Hours for his private Studies and Exercises with his Teachers. These Endeavours fell upon so excellent a Capacity, that in every short Distance of Time he made incredible Encrease both in Learning and Experience of Affairs, and consequently in Love of all Men.

1547.

His Sports.

His Studies.

Dr. *Wotton* Ambassador with the Emperor.

Presently after that he was settled in his Government, Dr. *Wotton* the King's Ambassador, Resident with the Queen Dowager of *Hungary*, Regent of the Low Countries under the Emperor, was discharged of that Attendance, and addressed to the Emperor's Court, there to reside Ambassador for the King, instead of Dr. *Bonner* Bishop of *London* and of Sir *Francis Bryan*, who were called home. He was furnished with Instructions, that being first informed from the former Ambassadors, as well of the general State of the Emperor's Court, as of such particular Intelligences as might serve to advance the King's Intentions, he should deal with the Emperor to declare all *States* for his Enemies, except such as should be Friends to the King, which should appear by his safe Conduct: That because it had been agreed between the Emperor and the late King of *England*, that the Year next ensuing they should with Joint-Forces, invade the Territories of the *French* King, he should move the Emperor to advise of some Order and Form for those Proceedings: That whereas the Duke of *Lorrain* had been late before at the Emperor's Court, and made some Overture for Peace or Truce between the Emperor and the *French* King, he should be informed by Sir *Francis Bryan* of the whole State of that Business, and wait Opportunity to put the Emperor in Remembrance, That it had been covenanted

His Instructions.

(*l*) This severe Charge laid upon Archbishop *Cranmer*, a good Man, whether it be true or not, I cannot tell: The King mentioneth nothing of it in his Journal, only that *Joan* was burnt for her Obstinacy in her Heresy: And the Character here given to the Archbishop is utterly disagreeing to his Temper: For none was more tender of Blood than he; none more pitiful and compassionate: Nor was he a Man of rigorous Methods and violent Courses. Indeed *Fox* mentions, that the Council put *Cranmer* upon moving the King to sign the Warrant; which was a Sign he had no great Forwardness to it himself: And, in obedience to them, he did labour with the King about it, and obtained it. And tho' he did this, it neither argued *Violence*, nor *Importunity for Blood*: For as he was not present at her Condemnation, as appears by the Council Book; so he may be concluded thence to have no desire of this Person's Death. And it was needful at this time, that Protestants should shew that they were no Friends to Heresy; which, it is likely, might have confirmed the Papists to believe they were, if at this Juncture the chief Prelate and Patron of the Protestant Religion should have shewn any Partiality towards such an Heretick. And the Archbishop's Thoughts, I am apt to believe, were, that this Fear of Death, which this Woman saw so near, when the Warrant was signed for her Execution, might serve to reclaim her from her Error, 'tho' his and other Learned Mens Reasonings with her, being both ignorant and obstinate, were ineffectual. This seemed fit to be noted here, to vindicate the chief Instrument of our Reformation, against our Author's Pen, who bore no Good-will to Churchmen.

between

1547. between him and the King of *England*, that neither of them should treat of Peace or Truce with the *French* King, or any other common Enemy, without Consent of the other; and that the King of *England* had well observed that Article, in refusing to give ear to the *French* Ambassador making Overture for such a Treaty: That whereas it had been agreed between him and the King of *England*, that either of them should send certain Ships to Sea, well mann'd and apparalled for Fight, which all that Year had been performed by the King, whereas the Emperor shifted the Default upon his Officers; in case he should not cause the said Navy to be forthwith furnished, he should wait Occasion to solicit the same. Lastly, That he should carry a nimble Ear, as well touching any Variation in all these Matters, as for other Occurrences in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Almain*, and thereof advertise the King.

The King entertains a Treaty with France.

But notwithstanding all these Cautions and Preventions of Peace or Truce between the Emperor and the *French*, the King of *England* finding the Emperor slow in his Performances, and much suspecting his secret Ends, entertained a Treaty of Peace with *France*, but secretly and afar off, and to be governed as Occasions should vary; and in regard hereof Agreement was made, That all Ships and Goods which had been surprised at Sea by the *English* upon the *French*, or by the *French* upon the *English*, since the Beginning of that Treaty, should be freely discharged. And albeit the *English* had great Advantage in Value of Reprisals, as being always both more strong and active at Sea; yet the King by his Proclamation commanded, that forthwith Restitution should be made.

Preparations for War with Scotland. MARY STEWART *Heiress of* Scotland.

Hostility being thus suspended with *France*, Preparation was made for Wars against *Scotland*, the Occasion whereof did thus arise:

MARY STEWART, sole Daughter and Heir to *James* V. King of *Scots*, began her Reign over the Realm of *Scotland* upon the 18th of *December*, 1542. being then not above 7 Days old, so as the Sun no sooner almost saw her an Infant, than a Queen; and no sooner was she a Queen, but she was desired of *Henry*, then King of *England*, to be assured in Marriage to Prince *Edward* his only Son, being then not much above 6 Years of Age. Upon this Overture the Governor of *Scotland* assembled the Nobility of the Realm at *Edinburgh*, where, after much Debatement of the Commodities or Discommodities like to ensue, they concluded in the End, That in *March* then next ensuing a Parliament should be held, to give Perfection and Form to that Business.

Sadler *sent Ambassador thither.*

In the mean time Sir *Ralph Sadler* Kt. was sent Ambassador from *England* to the Governor and other Lords of *Scotland*, who followed his Charge with so good Diligence and Advice, that in the same Parliament Authority was given to *William* Earl of *Glancarne*, Sir *George Douglasse*, Sir *William Hamilton*, Sir *James Leirmouth*, Kts. and to one of the Secretaries of State, to conclude this Marriage. These Commissioners came into *England*, with whom before the End of *July*, the same Year, all Covenants were concluded, Instruments of the Contract of Marriage interchangeably sealed and sworn, and a Peace established for Ten Years, which Time expired, both the Prince and the Queen should be of Age to consent. 1547

Practises of the French *with* Scotland *against the* English.

The *French* King all this Time was so entertained with Wars against the Emperor, that he had no sense of these Proceedings; but when he understood that these Agreements were passed as well for Marriage as for Peace, he bent his best Endeavour to dissolve them both: First with Intention to impeach both the Greatness and Strength of the *English* Nation; after with Desire to win this Marriage for *Francis*, who afterwards was King of *France*. To this purpose the *French* King sent for *Matthew* Earl of *Levenox*, who then served under his Pay in *Italy*, and furnished him with Money, Forces, and Friends; and above all, with many Encouragements to take upon him bravely the Honour of his House and Ancestors, to remove the Earl of *Arran* from the Regency of *Scotland*, and to reverse such Factions as he had made. The Earl at his first Arrival in *Scotland* was joyfully received, as a Man most engaged in Domestical Factions. He always used Courtesy and Modesty disliked of none, sometimes Sociableness and Fellowship well liked by many; generally he was honoured by his Nation, and well reputed by Strangers: In favour of him the Pope sent the Patriarch of *Apulia* his Legate into *Scotland*, who, in the Pope's Name, did faithfully assure, That both Forces and Money should be sent into *Scotland* to resist the *English*. He drew the greatest of the Clergy on his side, who were most powerful to draw on others. On the other side, the King was not negligent to support his Party with Supplies, whereby great Troubles ensued in *Scotland*, which fell not within the Times that I have in hand.

In the End, the Earl of *Arran* abandoned the King of *England*, and applied himself only to the *French*; by reason whereof the Regency was confirmed to him, which otherwise he had been upon Adventure to lose. And as the Earl of *Arran* did forsake the *English*, and adjoin to the *French*, so the Earl of *Levenox*, being forsaken by the *French*, applied his Service wholly to the *English*, which did not only continue, but much encreafe, the Calamities of *Scotland*, during the Time of King *Henry*'s Reign.

King *Henry*, at the Time of his Death, gave a special Charge to the Lords of his Council, That they should omit no Endeavours, whereby the said Marriage might be procured to take Effect: Hereupon they pursued this Quarrel in the same State that the King left it. But before they attempted any thing by Arms, the Lord Protector assailed the *Scotch* Nobility with a friendly Letter; herein he remembered them of the Promises, Seals and Oaths, which by publick Authority had passed for concluding this Marriage, That these being Religious Bonds betwixt God and their Souls, could not by any politick Act of State be dissolved, until their Queen should attain unto Years of Dissent. He farther added, That the Providence of God did then manifestly declare it self, in that the Male Princes of *Scotland* failing, the Kingdom was left to a Daughter, and in that King *Henry* left only one Son to succeed: That these two Princes were agreable both for Years and Princely Qualities to be joined in Marriage, and thereby to knit both Realms into one: That this

The Protector's Letter to the Scotch Nobility.

Union

1547. Union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firm Continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable to both the Realms: That both the Easiness and Firmness might be conjectured, for that both People are of the same Language, of like Habit and Fashion, of like Quality and Condition of Life, of one Climate, not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the World besides: For as these are sure Arguments, that both descended from one Original, and had been under one Government, so (by reason that likeness is a great Cause of liking, and of Love) they would be most forcible Means both to join and to hold them in one Body again: That the Profit would rise by extinguishing Wars between the Two Nations; by reason whereof, in former Times, Victories abroad have been impeached; Invasions and Seditions occasioned; the Confines of both Realms laid waste, or else made a Nursery of Rapines, Robbers and Murthers; the inner Parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched Spectacle to all Eyes of Humanity and Pity: That the Honour of both Realms would encrease, as well in regard of the Country's sufficient to furnish, not only the Necessities, but the moderate Pleasures of this Life; as also of the People, great in Multitude, in Bodies able, assured in Mind, not only for the Safety, but the Glory of their Common State: That hereby would follow, Assurance of Defence, Strength to Enterprise, Ease in sustaining publick Burthens and Charge: That herein the *English* desired no Preheminence, but offered Equality both in Liberty and Privilege, and in Capacity of Offices and Employments; and to that end, the Name of *Britains* should be assumed indifferent to both Nations: That this would be the Accomplishment of their common Felicity, in case by their evil, either Destiny or Advice, they suffered not the Occasion to be lost.

The Authority and Reasons of this Letter weighed much with Persons of most weighty Judgments; but others more powerful in that State, partly upon vain Hope, in regard of the young Years of the King, partly upon Fear of Alteration in Religion, and partly in favour of their ancient Amity with the *French*; and doubting to be brought under by the *English*, were altogether carried another way: Yet they dispatched an Ambassador into *England*; but neither was any thing done, neither do I find what was propounded to have been done.

Hostilities between the Two Nations.

Hereupon divers Hostilities began to be practised; and first, a small Ship of the King's called the *Pensy*, hovering at Sea, was assailed by the *Lyon*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*. The Fight began afar off and slow; but when they approached, it grew very furious, wherein the *Pensy* so applied her Shot, that therewith the *Lyon's* Oar-loop was broken, her Sails and Tacklings torn; and lastly, she was boarded and taken: But as she was brought for *England*, she was cast away by Tempest and Negligence near *Harwich* Haven, and most of her Men perished with her. I would not have stay'd upon this small Adventure, but that it seemed a Presage to the succeeding War, wherein the *English* acquired a glorious Victory, but lost the Fruit thereof, by reason of their stormy Disorders at home. 1547.

Preparations against *Scotland*.

Many such small Actions were enterprised daily, which were but scattering Drops in regard of the great Tempest which did ensue: For in the mean Season an Army was prepared for Invasion of *Scotland*, under the Fortune and Command of the Lord Protector. The Soldiers first assembled at *Newcastle*, and were there mustered by the Earl of *Warwick*. Here they sojourned three Days, in which time the King's Fleet arrived, consisting of 65 Bottoms, whereof one Galley and 34 tall Ships were well appointed for Fight; the residue served for Carriage of Ammunition and Victuals. Of this Fleet, *Edward* Lord *Clinton* was Admiral, and Sir *William Woodhouse* his Vice-Admiral: In this Time also a general Muster was taken, and Order appointed for the March.

In the whole Army were between 12 and 13000 Foot, 1300 Men at Arms, 2800 Light Horse, being such Men for their goodly Personages, their ready Horses, their brave Apparel, their Armour and Weapons, as never before was an Army set forth into those Parts in all Points better appointed. The Lord Protector, being General, represented the Person and Majesty of the King: The Earl of *Warwick* was Lieutenant-General; the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was Marshal of the Field, and Captain-General of the Horsemen; Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Men at Arms and Dimilances; Sir *Ralph Sadler* was General Treasurer: Other Gentlemen had their particular Charges. But upon the General, and the Earl of *Warwick*, both the Hopes and the Hazards of the main Adventure did wholly turn. And because much shall be said of these two hereafter, because during the Reign of King *Edward* they were the principal Actors in every Scene, I will briefly declare both what Persons and of what Demerits at that time they were.

Edward Duke of *Somerset's* Character.

Edward Seymour, Duke of *Somerset*, Lord General, was a Man little esteemed either for Wisdom or Personage, or Courage in Arms: (m) But being in Favour with King *Henry*, and by him much employed, was always observed to be both Faithful and Fortunate, as well in giving Advice, as in managing a Charge. About 5 Years before, he being Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*, the Invasion of *James* V. was by his Direction encountred and broken, at *Solome Mosse*, whereof divers of the *Scotch* Nobility were taken Prisoners. The Year next after, he and the Earl of *Warwick*, with

(m) The Wrong the Author hath done the Name of this *Good Duke* (for so was he commonly stil'd) to Posterity, is interspersed through his Book: But he that shall but read forward through this Paragraph, where these undervaluing Words are bestow'd upon the Duke, will find the Author in a great measure confuting himself. Had there not been an *Opinion* in the Nobility and Great Men of the Court, of the Duke's Parts and Abilities, his Wisdom, and Courage, they would never have consented, that he should have been not only Governour of the King's Person, and Protector of his Realms, but Lieutenant-General of his Armies both by Sea and Land, and Lord High Treasurer and Earl-Marshal of *England*, and Governour of the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*.

1547. a handful of Men to speak of, fired *Lieth* and *Edinburgh*, and returned by a leisurely March 44 Miles through the Body of *Scotland*. The Year next ensuing he invaded the *Scotch* Borders, wasted *Tivedale* and the Marches, and deformed the Country with Ruin and Spoil. The Year then next following, being appointed to view the Fortifications upon the Marches of *Calais*, he not only did that, but with the hardy Approach of 7000 *English* Men, raised an Army of 21000 *French*, encamped over the River before *Bulloine*, won their Ordnance, Carriage, Treasure, and Tents, with the Loss only of one Man, and returned from thence by Land to *Guisnes*, won in his Way, within Shot and Rescue of *Arde*, the Castle of *Outing*, commonly called the *Red Pile*. The Year next ensuing this he invaded and spoiled *Picardy*, began the Forces of *Newhaven*, *Blackness*, and *Bullinberge*, and so well applied his Endeavours, that in a few Weeks, and before his Departure, they were made tenable: Upon these and other like Successes his succeeding Fortunes were esteemed always rather new than strange, and his only Presence was reputed a sufficient Surety for an Army; and yet did he never rise hereby, either into Haughtiness in himself, or Contempt of others, but remained Courteous and Affable, choosing a Course least subject to Envy, between stiff Stubborness and filthy Flattery, never aspiring higher than to be the second Person in State.

Character of Dudley *Earl of* Warwick.

John Dudley, Earl of *Warwick*, was a Man of ancient Nobility, comely in Stature and Countenance, but of little Gravity or Abstinence in Pleasures, yea, sometimes almost dissolute, which was not much regarded, if in a time when Vices began to grow into Fashion, a great Man was not over severe. He was of a great Spirit, and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any Mischief the Means of attaining his ambitious Ends. Hereto his good Wit and pleasant Speeches were altogether serviceable, having the Art also, by empty Promises and Threats, to draw others to his Purpose: In Matters of Arms he was both skilful and industrious, and as well in Foresight as Resolution present and great. Being made Lord Lieutenant of *Bulloine*, when it was first taken by the *English*, the Walls sore beaten and taken, and in very Truth scarce maintainable, he defended the Place against the Dauphin, whose Army was accounted to consist of 52000 Men: And when the Dauphin had entred the base Town, not without Slaughter of divers of the *English*, by a brave Sally, he cast out the *French* again, with the Loss of above 800 of their Men, esteemed the best Soldiers in *France*. The Year next ensuing, when the *French* had a great Fleet at Sea for Invasion of *England*, he was appointed Admiral, and presented Battle to the *French* Navy; which they refused, and returned home with all their Threats and Cost in vain. Hereupon he landed 5000 Men in *France*, fired *Trepert*, and divers Villages thereabouts, and returned to his Ships with the Loss only of one Man. To say Truth, for Enterprises by Arms, he was the Minion of that Time, so as few Things he attempted but he atchieved with Honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. 1547.
He generally encreased both in Estimation with the King, and Authority among the Nobility, doubtful whether by fatal Destiny to the State, or whether by his Virtues, or at least by his Appearances of Virtues.

Now the General in this Voyage was diligent and careful, as well to perfect all Practices which might serve to advance the Adventure, as to give good Contentment to all the Soldiers. These also were of good Confidence and Chear, as well out of their own Courage, as for the Skill, Valour, and Fortune, of their Commanders. And first, every Soldier was commanded to take with him Provision for four Days, and so were let out of *Berwick*, and encamped about two flight Shoots off the Town upon the Sea-side towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Clynton* also put to Sea with his Fleet, always holding his Course with the Army, to relieve them if need should require. Here Proclamation was made in three Parts of the Field, declaring the Causes of his Journey, and offering not only Peace, but Love and Rewards, to all such as would either advance or favour the Marriage between the two Princes. Hereof it was conceived, that the *Scots* had good Intelligence, having some Factors, doubtless, at this Mart; albeit, (as Wisdom was) they did not openly Trade.

The next day they began to march, wherein the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Bryan* led about 800 Light-Horsemen as a Scout a Mile or two before the Army, as well to give advertisement of Appearance or Approach of Enemies, as to provide Lodging both Commodious and Safe. Sir *Francis Bryan* was so regardful of his Charge, as he never disposed any Matter of Weight, but first he acquainted the General therewith; neither did he at any time forsake his Saddle, until the Army were quartered, and seated in such Order, as if any Alarm should be given, the Horsemen might issue forth without disturbance of the Foot, and the Avant-guard without shuffling with the Battail or Arrier; next to the Light Horsemen followed the Avant-guard, in number between 3 and 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms, and 600 Light Horsemen, led by the Earl of *Warwick*. The Battle followed, consisting of about 6000 Foot, 600 Men at Arms, and about 1000 Light Horse-men, conducted by the Lord General himself. Lastly, followed the Arrier, wherein were between 3 and 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms, and 600 Light-Horse, under the Conduct of the Lord *Dacres*, a lively aged Gentleman, no less setled in Experience than in Years. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being 16 Pieces, every Piece having its Guard of Pioneers to plain the Way; the other Wing was made by Men at Arms, and Demilances for the Avant-guard, and half the Battail riding about two flight Shot from their side. The other half of the Battail, and the whole Flank of the Arrier, was closed by the Carriages, being 900 Carts besides Wagons. The residue of the Men at Arms and Demilances marched behind.

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The *English* Army enter *Scotland*.

In this Order, both beautiful and firm, they march'd two days using no Hostility, left Peace thereby might happily be hindred. The second Day they arriv'd at a Place call'd the *Peathes*, a Valley stretching towards the Sea, six Miles in length, about twenty score in breadth above, and five score in the bottom, wherein runs a little River. The Banks are so deep on either side, that the Passage is not direct, but by Paths leading slopewise; which being many, the Place is thereupon call'd the *Peathes*. It was given forth in the Army, that here the *Scots* prepar'd to resist them: Howbeit no Forces appear'd, only the Paths were cut in divers Places with traverse Trenches, which much encumbred the Carriages, till the Pioneers had levell'd them again; assuredly a small Power join'd to the Advantage of the Place might have troubled the *English* very much: For albeit no Resistance was made, yet the *English* had much to do in surmounting the natural Difficulties of the Place the greatest part of one Day.

Passage being made, the General summon'd three Castles that were near; one desperate of Succour, and not desirous to dispute the Defence, presently yielded; but two stood upon their Adventure. So the Cannon was planted, a Breach made, and the Place enter'd: but then the Moderation of the General was both unusual and unexpected, in sparing the Defendants Lives; for it hath been a long observ'd Law of the Field, *That if a small Company, of better Courage than Judgment, will, contrary to all military Discipline, maintain a feeble Place against Royal Forces; if they will offer to impeach the Purposes of an Army, which they have no reason to think themselves able to resist, after Battery presented, they put themselves out of all ordinary Expectation of Mercy*: And so *Cæsar* answer'd the *Aduatici*, *Civitatem conservaturum, si priusquam aries murum attigisset se dedissent.* And so the Duke *d' Alva* much blam'd *Prosper Columnas* for receiving a Castle upon Conditions, after he had beaten it with the Cannon. And in this Case I conceive the Law of God to be understood, which spareth not those Cities that will not yield until they be besieg'd; meaning, doubtless, when the Defendants have little reason to think themselves able to make Defence. I will not involve in silence with what a sudden Stratagem of Wit, the Defendants of one of these Places escap'd Extremities: When they understood both that they were not able to defend themselves, and that their Obstinacy had excluded all Hope of Pardon, they made Petition that they might not presently be slain, but have some Time to recommend their Souls to God, and afterwards be hang'd: This Respit being first obtain'd, their Pardon did more easily ensue.

Cæs. 2. Gallic. Comm. 6.

Deut. 20.

The *Scots* prepare to resist the *English* at *Muscleborough Fire-crofs*.

Upon the first News of the Approaches of the *English*, and all Truths enlarg'd by Report, the Governor of *Scotland* was somewhat appaled, as neither furnish'd at that time with Foreign Aid, nor much trusting his Forces at Home: Yet resuming his accustom'd Courage, well acquainted with both Fortunes, he sent his Heralds through all parts of the Realm, and commanded the *Fire-crofs* to be carried (an ancient Custom in Cases of Importance) namely, two Fire-brands set in Fashion of a Cross, and pitch'd upon the Point of a Spear; therewith Proclamation to be made, that all Men above sixteen Years of Age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Muscleborough*, with convenient Provision of Victuals with them.

Hereupon they flock'd to the Place in so great Multitudes, that it was thought fit not only to stay further Resort, but making choice of the most serviceable, to discharge divers of the rest.

Now as the *English* directed their Way towards the Place where they understood the *Scots* assembled, they came to a River call'd *Lynne*, cross'd with a Bridge of Stone. The Horsemen and Carriages pass'd through the Water, the Footmen over the Bridge, which because it was narrow, the Army was long in setting over: The Avaunt-guard marched forth, and the Battail follow'd; but as the Arrier was passing over a very thick Mist did arise. The Earl of *Warwick* having before espy'd certain Plumps of *Scottish* Horsemen ranging the Field, return'd towards the Arrier, to prevent such Danger as the thickness of the Mist, the nearness of the Enemy, and the Dis-array occasioned by the narrowness of the Bridge might cast upon them. The *Scots* conjecturing (as it was) that some Personage of Honour staid to have a View of the Arrier, call'd to the *English*, to know if any Nobleman were near, for that one whom they nam'd (well known to be of honourable Condition) would present himself to the General, in case he might safely be conducted. Certain young Soldiers, not us'd to such Trains, made rash and sudden answer, that the Earl of *Warwick* was near, under whose Protection he might be assur'd. Hereupon they pass'd the Water, placed two hundred of their Prickers behind a Hillock, and with forty more cast about to find the Earl. Now the Earl espying six or seven of them scatter'd near the Army, and taking them to be of the *English*, sent one to command them to their *Array*, and to that end himself rode an easy Pace towards them, follow'd only with ten or twelve on Horseback: He that had been sent before was so heedless either to observe or advertise what they were, that the Earl did not discover them to be Enemies until he was in the midst among them.

Certainly *a Commander should not carelesly cast himself into danger; but when either upon necessity or misadventure he falleth into it*, it much advanceth both his Reputation and Enterprise, if bravely he behave himself. Now the Earl espying where he was, gave so rude a Charge upon a Captain of the *Scots*, nam'd *Dandy Carr*, that he forc'd him to turn, and chafed him above twelve score at the Lance's Point. Herewith the residue retir'd deceitfully towards the Place of their Ambush, from whence issued about sixty more. Then the Earl gather'd his small Company about him, and with good Countenance maintain'd the Fight. But the Enemy in the end, whether perceiving some Succours advancing from the Army, where the Alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the *English* further into their Ambush, turn'd away an easy pace. The Earl forbad his Men from following, fearing a greater Ambush behind the Hill, as in Truth there was. At his Return he was receiv'd with great Applause by the *English* Soldiers, for that he did so well acquit himself in the Danger, whereinto by Error, and not by Rashness, he had been carry'd. One of his Men was slain, another hurt in the Buttock, a third, nam'd *Vane*, so grievously hewn, that many thousands have dy'd

1547. dy'd of less than half his Hurts, whereof notwithstanding, he was cur'd afterwards. Of the *Scots*, three were taken Prisoners and presented to the General by the Earl, of whom one had receiv'd many great Entertainments and Courtesies in *England*.

I may happily be thought tedious in setting down these Occurrences, which may seem small. But besides that in Actions of Arms small Matters are many times of very great moment, especially when they serve to raise an opinion of Commanders, I intend to describe this Battle fully, not to derogate thereby any thing from the one Nation, or to arrogate to the other. For what Honour riseth upon Event of a Battle, when oftentimes the smallest Accident overthroweth a side; and when Victory doth more often fall, by Error of the vanquish'd, than by Valour of the victorious. "But my Purpose is, to make it appear what "Miseries both Nations have avoided, and "what Quietness and Security they have at-"tain'd by their peaceable Union, when as "either of them being able to bring such For-"ces into the Field for their mutual Ruin, "they may now do the like for their common "either Glory or Necessity. Again, this Battle being partially describ'd heretofore by the Writers of either Nation, and not without uncivil Terms, I will now set it forth as indifferently and fairly as I can. Lastly, this Battle is not slightly to be slip'd over, being the last (wherein I pray that I may prophesy truly) that was or ever shall be struck between the two Nations. But I return to my Purpose.

A Fight at *Salt-Preston*.

Now the *Scotish* Horsemen began to hover much upon the *English* Army, and to come pricking about them, sometimes within the length of their Staves, using some Liberty of Language to draw the *English* from their Strength. But the General of the *English* knowing right well, that the *Scots* were expert in tumultuous Fights, restrain'd his Horse from falling forth, and maintain'd a close March, until they came to *Salt-Preston* by the *Frith*. Here they encamp'd within View of the *Scotish* Army, little more than two Miles distant from them. About a Mile from the *English* another way, the *Scotish* Horsemen were very busy upon a Hill, and embolden'd much, partly upon their former Approaches, and partly by the nearness of their Army, but chiefly upon an Opinion which they conceiv'd, that the *English* Horsemen were young and unskilful, and easy to be dealt with, came upon the *English* with increas'd Troops, to the Number of 1200, besides 500 Foot which lay in Ambush behind the Hill. The Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, impatient of Braveries, obtain'd leave of the General a little to assay them; and so as they came scatter'd upon the spur within a Stone's cast of the *English*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray*, with some Troops of Light-horsemen, charg'd them home. These were forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demi-lances, and both back'd with about a thousand Men at Arms. The *Scots* meant not to depart before they had done their Errand; wherefore turning their Faces, boldly maintain'd the Fight, three Hours and more. In the end overlaid with Numbers they were put to Flight, and chas'd almost to the Edge of their Camp: In this Fight the chiefest Force of the *Scotish* Horsemen was defeated, to their great Disadvantage afterwards. The Lord *Hume*, by a Fall from his Horse, lost his Life. His Son and Heir, with two Priests and six Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners, and about 1300 slain. Of the *English*, one *Spanish* Hackbutter was hurt, and three Captains of the Light-horse, by unadvis'd Pursuit, were taken Prisoners. 1547.

A Herald sent from the *Scots*.

The Day next following, the Lord General and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the Place where the *Scotish* Army lay, to view the manner of their encamping: As they were return'd, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them, and having obtain'd Audience, the Herald began, *That he was sent from the Lord Governour of* Scotland, *partly to enquire of Prisoners, but chiefly to make Offer, that because he was desirous to avoid not only Profusion but the least Effusion of Christian Blood; and for that the* English *had not done any unmanlike Outrage or Spoil, he was content they might return, and should have his safe Conduct for their peaceable Passage.*

Lord *Huntley* challengeth the *English* by a Trumpeter.

Then the Trumpeter, that the Lord *Huntley* his Master sent Message by him, that, as well for brief Expedition, as to spare Expence of Christian Blood, he would fight upon the whole Quarrel either with 20 against 20, or with 10 against 10, or more particularly by single Combate between the Lord General and himself; which, in regard the *Scots* had Advantage both for Number and Freshness of Men, in regard also, that for Supply, both for Provision and Succours, they were at home, he esteem'd an honourable and charitable Offer.

The Lord General's Answer to the Herald, &c.

To the Herald the Lord General answer'd, *That as his coming was not with Purpose or Desire to endamage their Realm, as he was there, he would neither intreat nor accept, of him, Leave to depart, but would measure his Marches, in advancing or retiring, as his own Judgment, guided by Advice of his Council, should deem expedient.*

To the Trumpeter.

To the Trumpeter he return'd Answer, *That the Lord* Huntley *his Master was a young Gentleman, full of free Courage, but more desirous of Glory, than judicious, as it seem'd, how to win it. That for Number of Combatants, it was not in his Power to conclude a Bargain, but was to employ all the Forces put under his Charge to the best Advantage that he could: That in case this were a particular Quarrel between the Governor and him, he would not refuse a particular Combate, but being a Difference between the two Kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his Power, either to undertake the Adventure upon his own Fortune, or, bearing a publick Charge, to hazard himself against a Man of private Condition.*

Then the Earl of *Warwick* said, *I marvel, Trumpeter, that thy Master would make his Challenge so fond, as he might well know it could not be accepted. For, tell me, Trumpeter, can he think it fit, that he, to whose Charge is committed the Command of all this Army abroad, and at home the King's Person and Protection of all his Realms, should undertake a Combate with a particular Man? But he might have found others his Equals amongst us, by whom he might have been assur'd that he should be answer'd. And* (therewith turning his Speech to the Lord General) *under your Grace's Favour, I accept the Challenge. And bring me word, Trumpeter, that thy Master will perform with me as thou hast said, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy Travel.*

Nay, answer'd the Lord General, *you have a great Charge in the Army, which upon a private Man's Challenge you must not abandon. But, Herald, tell the Lord Governor, and the Lord* Huntley,

That

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This Earl of *Huntley* was a Man young, bold, adventurous, of very good Resolution and Skill in Arms. But this Challenge was so far beyond the Point both of Discretion and Honour, that the *English* that knew his Noble Spirit, did believe that his Name was therein abus'd, which he manifested to be true, by disavowing it openly afterwards. For it is not fit that a Man should abandon his publick Charge to undertake both the Office and Danger of a private Soldier. And therefore the like Challenge of *Tullus* was refus'd by the Commander of the *Albanes*, for that the Contention was not between their Persons, but between the Cities of *Alba* and *Rome*. So *Sertorius* was refus'd by *Metellus*, *Antonius* by *Augustus*, and *John* Emperor of *Constantinople*, by a King of *Scythia*. So *Antoninus Caracalla*, by reason of his often Challenges, was esteem'd not to be so valiant as vain. And hereupon the Histories of our Times forbear not to blame *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor, *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, and *Francis* the First, King of *France*, for that they often adventur'd rather as Soldiers than as Commanders.

But doubtless the Lord Governour made a most honourable Offer, and the rather for that it was conceiv'd by the *English*, that he held himself no less assur'd of Victory than he was of his own Resolution to fight, whereto it seem'd that he wanted not good reason, chiefly upon Confidence of his own Forces, and partly upon Expectation of twelve Gallies, and fifty Ships well appointed, out of *France*, to assail the *English* at their backs. All the chief Captains yielded to the same Advice of giving Battle, as out of their own Judgments, because they saw it agreeable to that which the Lord Governor had determin'd. To these the Residue attributed so much, that albeit divers were of a different Opinion, yet they chose rather to condemn their own Understanding than to question theirs.

During this Enterparlance, the *Scots* discharg'd four great Shots against the *English* Camp, without Harm, as it happen'd, but not without Breach of the 'Laws of the Field, 'whereby not only publick Messengers are privileg'd to pass without either Danger of 'Scorn, but until they have discharg'd their 'Message, all Hostility should surcease. Howsoever this happen'd, the General of the 'English Army, unwilling to be behind in any 'equal or honourable Offer, sent Letters to 'the Lord Governour of *Scotland*. Wherein 'he desir'd him and the residue of the *Scottish* 'Nobility to consider, That both Armies 'consisted of Christians, to whom nothing 'should be more dear than Peace, nothing 'more detestable than Effusion of Humane 'Blood. That the Cause of this War did 'not proceed from Ambition, Avarice, or 'Hate, but from Desire of perpetual Peace 'between their People and Nations, which 'could no way so firmly be knit, as by knitting 'their Princes together in Marriage. That, 'many other respects set aside, their King, for 'his Birth, his Years, his Royal Estate, his 'Princely Personage, Education, and Qualities, 'was such a Marriage for their Queen, that a 'more convenient could not be found; that in 'case all the Nobility of *Scotland* were not of 'one Mind, the *English* would be content that 'their Queen should be brought up amongst 'them, until she should be of Age to make 'her own Choice; provided that in the mean 'time she should not be transported to any 'foreign Country, or any Agreement made 'for any other Marriage. That upon this 'Condition there should be an Abstinence of 'Hostility for all that time; and they would 'in quiet manner withdraw their Army, and 'repair all Damages which indifferent Commissioners should adjudge.

The General of the *English* his Message to the *Scotch* Governor.

No Answer was hereto return'd, but Rumours ran freshly among the *Scotish* Soldiers, that the Intention of the *English* was to take away their Queen by force, and under pretence of Marriage to reduce the Kingdom under their Dominion: and verily, it may seem almost incredible, that all these fair Overtures, made by Men well esteem'd for honest Dealing, could take no place; that nothing could move the *Scots* to forsake their distant and heavy Helps, and to embrace Friends, both ready and at Hand. But besides that the long continu'd Wars between the *English* and the *Scots*, had then rais'd invincible Jealousies and Hate, which long continu'd Peace had since abolish'd. I do herein admire the unsearchable Working and Will of God, by whose inflexible Decree the Union between the two Realms did not then take effect, when by the Death of King *Edward* it should have been of short Continuance (as by the Death of *Francis* the Second, the Union between *France* and *Scotland* did suddenly dissolve) but was reserv'd unto a more peaceable and friendly Time, so for a Person in whose Progeny it hath taken deep and durable root. And so for that Time no Conditions of Peace being regarded, both Sides address'd themselves to their Adventure.

The Places of the two Armies.

The Places where the two Armies lay encamp'd, were divided by the River *Eske*, the Banks whereof were almost as deep as the Banks of the *Peaths* mention'd before. The *Scots* lay somewhat near the one side, and the *English* about two Miles from the other. The *English* first rais'd their Camp, and began to march towards the River *Eske*, intending to possess a Hill call'd *Under-Eske*, which commanded the Place where their Enemies lay. The *Scots* conjecturing so much, cast their Tents flat upon the Ground, pass'd the River, and mounted the Hill, before the *English* could come near. Hereupon the *English* turn'd aside to another Hill call'd *Pinkenclench*, which afterwards fell much to their Advantage, as well for that they were then in Place to be aided by their Ships, which rode near in *Edinburg Frith*, as also for that they gain'd thereby the Advantage both of Wind and Sun, a great part of the Strength of an Army, and lastly for that their Enemies were thereby cast into a cruel Error.

For no sooner did they espy the *English* turning from them, but forthwith they were of Opinion that they fled towards their Shipping. This Surmise was first occasion'd for that the *English* Ships remov'd the Day before from *Leith* to *Muscleburgh Frith*, which was conceiv'd to be for taking in their Foot and Carriages, that the Horsemen might with less incumbrance and more haste, return back upon

the

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the Spur. Hereupon they had appointed the ſame Night (whoſe Darkneſs would have encreas'd the Fear) to have given a Camiſado upon the *Engliſh*. But underſtanding that they were well entrench'd, having good Scouts abroad, and ſure Watch within, they brake that Purpoſe; but upon this declining of the *Engliſh* from them, the Conceit did again revive, not only as a thing deſir'd, but becauſe the *Engliſh* were inferior to them in Number, and had travell'd far, and were well known to grow ſhort in their Proviſions. Yea, when they were diſcern'd to make Stand upon the firſt Aſcent of *Pinkencleuch* Hill, the Conjecture ran, that their Flight was only deferr'd, until they might cover their Diſorders, by the dead Darkneſs of the Night. *Marvellous Security, and always dangerous, when Men will not believe any Bees to be in a Hive, until they have a ſharp Senſe of their Stings.*

And thus the *Scots*, heav'd up into high Hope of Victory, took the *Engliſh* fallen, for fooliſh Birds fallen into their Net; and ſeeming to fear nothing more than that they ſhould eſcape, forſook their Hill and march'd into the Plain, directly towards the *Engliſh*. *Here the Lord Governor put them in remembrance, how they could never yet be brought under by the* Engliſh, *but were always able, either to beat them back, or to weary them away. He bad them look upon themſelves, and upon their Enemies; themſelves dreadful, their Enemies gorgeous and brave; on their Side, Men; on the other Spoil; in caſe either thro' Slowneſs or Cowardice, they did not permit them to eſcape, who (lo now) already have begun their Fight.*

The *Scots* Army.

The whole Army conſiſted of 35 or 36000 Men, of whom they made three Battalions. In the Vanguard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about 15000 were plac'd, about 10000 in the Battail, over whom was the Lord Governor, and ſo many in the Rear, led by the valiant *Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*. Hachbutters they had none, no Men at Arms, but about 2000 Horſemen, Prickers, as they are term'd, fitter to make Excurſions, and to chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong Charge. The reſidue were on Foot, well furniſh'd, with Jack and Skull, Pike, Dagger, Bucklers made of Board, and ſlicing Swords, broad, thin, and of an excellent Temper. Every Man had a large Kerchief folded twice or thrice about the Neck; and many of them had Chains of Latten, drawn three or four times along their Hoſes and Doublet-Sleeves; they had alſo, to affright the Enemies Horſes, big Rattles, cover'd with Parchment or Paper, and ſmall Stones within, put upon Staves about three Ells long. But doubtleſs the rattling of Shot might have done better Service.

The Earl of *Angus* led the Vanguard with a well-meaſur'd March; whereupon the Lord Governor commanded him by a Meſſenger to double his Pace, thereby to ſtrike ſome Terror into the Enemy. Himſelf follow'd with the Battail a good diſtance behind, and after came the Rear, well nigh even with the Battail on the left ſide: The Vanguard was flank'd on the right ſide with four or five Pieces of Artillery drawn by Men, and with 400 Horſemen Prickers on the left. The Battail and Rear were likewiſe guarded with Artillery, in like ſort drawn; and about 4000 *Iriſh* Archers, brought by the Earl of *Argyle*, ſerv'd as a Wing to them both, rightly ſo term'd, as being the firſt who began the Flight.

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The *Engliſh* Army.

The General of the *Engliſh* and the Earl of *Warwick* were together, when the *Scots* thus abandon'd the Hill; which they eſpying, gave Thanks to God, holding themſelves in good hope of the Event: Forthwith they order'd the Artillery, and, taking a loving Leave, departed to their ſeveral Charge, the General to the Battail, where the King's Standard was born, the Earl to the Vanguard, both on Foot, proteſting that they would live or die with the Soldiers, *whom alſo, with bold Countenance and Speech*, (which ſerve Soldiers for the beſt Eloquence) *they put in mind of the Honour their Anceſtors had acquir'd, of their own extreme Diſgrace and Danger if they fought not well, that the Juſtice of their Quarrel ſhould not ſo much encourage, as enrage them, being to revenge the Diſhonour done to their King, and to chaſtiſe the deceitful Dealings of their Enemies; that the multitude of their Enemies ſhould nothing diſmay them, becauſe they who come to maintain their own Breach of Faith, beſides that the Check of their Conſciences much breaketh their Spirit, have the omnipotent Arm of God moſt furious againſt them.*

Herewith aroſe a buzzing Noiſe among them, as if it had been the ruſtling Sound of the Sea afar off, every Man addreſſing himſelf to his Office, and encouraging thoſe who were neareſt unto them. The Earl rang'd his Vanguard in array, upon the ſide of the Hill, expecting until the Enemy ſhould more nearly approach. The General after he had order'd his Battail, part upon the Hill, and part upon the Plain, ſomewhat diſtant from the Vanguard on the right ſide, mounted the Hill to the great Artillery, to take a View of both the Armies, and to give Directions as occaſion ſhould change. The Rear ſtood wide of the Battail, upon the ſame ſide, but altogether upon the Plain. The Lord *Gray*, Captain of the Men at Arms, was appointed to ſtand ſomewhat diſtant from the Vanguard on the left ſide, in ſuch a ſort as he might take the Flank of the Enemy, but was forbidden to charge, until the Foot of the Vanguard were buckled with them in Front, and until the Battail ſhould be near enough for his Relief.

Now after that the *Scots* were well advanc'd in the Field, marching more than an ordinary pace, the great Shot from the *Engliſh* Ships, and eſpecially from the Gally, began furiouſly to ſcour among them, whereby the Maſter of *Grime*, and divers others about were torn in pieces; eſpecially the Wing of the *Iriſh* was ſo grievouſly either gall'd or ſcar'd therewith, that (being Strangers, and in a manner Neutrals) they had neither good Heart to go forward, nor good Liking to ſtand ſtill, nor good Aſſurance to run away. The Lord *Gray* perceiv'd this Amazement, and conceiv'd thereby occaſion to be ripe; whereupon, when the Enemy was not above two flight Shot from the *Engliſh* Vanguard, ſuddenly, and againſt Direction, with his Men at Arms he charg'd them on head.

The *Scots* were then in a fallow Field, whereinto the *Engliſh* could not enter, but over a croſs Ditch and a Slough, in paſſing whereof many of the *Engliſh* Horſe were plung'd, and ſome mir'd: When with ſome Difficulty and much Diſorder, they had paſs'd this Ditch, the Ridges of the fallow Field lay traverſe, ſo as the *Engliſh* muſt croſs them in preſenting the Charge. Two other Diſadvantages they had, the Enemy's Pikes were longer

than

1547. than their Staves, and their Horses were naked without any Barbs. For albeit many brought Barbs out of *England*, yet because they expected not in the morning to fight that Day, few regarded to put them on.

The manner of the Engagement of the Armies

The *Scots* confident both in their Number, Order, and good Appointment, did not only abide the *English*, but with some biting Terms provok'd them to charge. They clos'd, and in a manner lock'd themselves together, Shoulder to Shoulder, so near as possibly they could; their Pikes they strain'd in both Hands, and therewith their Buckler in the left, the one end of the Pike against the right Foot, the other Breast high against the Enemy. The fore Rank stoop'd so low, as they seemed to kneel; the second Rank close at their Backs, cross'd their Pikes over their Shoulders, and so did the third and the rest in their order, so as they appear'd like the thorny Skin of a Hedghog, and it might be thought impossible to break them. Notwithstanding the Charge was given with so well govern'd Fury, that the left Corner of the *Scots* Batalion was enforc'd to give in; but the *Scots* did so bravely recover and acquit themselves, that divers of the *English* Horsemen were overthrown, and the residue so disorder'd as they could not conveniently fight or fly, and not only justled and bare down one another, but in their confus'd tumbling back, brake a part of the Vanguard on Foot. In this encounter Six and Twenty of the *English* were slain, most part Gentlemen of the best Esteem. Divers others lost their Horses, and carry'd away Marks that they had been there. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously hurt with a Pike in the Mouth, which struck two Inches into his Neck. The Lord *Edward Seymour* Son to the Lord General lost his Horse, and the *English* Standard was almost lost.

Assuredly albeit Encounters between Horsemen on the one side, and Foot on the other, are seldom with the extremity of Danger, because as Horsemen can hardly break a Battail on Foot, so Men on Foot cannot possibly chase Horsemen: Yet hereupon so great was the Tumult and Fear among the *English*, that had not the Commanders been Men both of approv'd Courage and Skill, or happily had the *Scots* been well furnish'd with Men at Arms, the Army had that Day been utterly undone. For an Army is commonly like a Flock of Fowls, when some begin to fly all will follow. But the Lord *Gray* to repair his Error endeavour'd with all Industry to rally his Horse: The Lord General also mounted on Horseback and came amongst them, both by his Presence and Advice, to reduce them into order. Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* did memorable Service. But especially the Earl of *Warwick*, who was in greatest Danger, declar'd his Resolution and Judgment, to be most present in retaining his Men both in Order and in Heart. And having clear'd his Foot from Disturbance by the Horsemen, he sent forth before the Front of his Vanguard Sir *Peter Mewcas* Captain of all the Hackbutters on Foot, and Sir *Peter Gamboa*, a *Spaniard*, Captain of two hundred Hackbutters *Spanish* and *Italians* on Horse. These brought their Men to the Slough mention'd before, who discharging lively almost close to the Face of the Enemy did much amaze them, being also disorder'd by the late pursuit of the *English* Horsemen, and by spoiling such as they had overthrown. At the Backs of these, the Archers were plac'd, who before had march'd on the right Wing of the Vanguard, and then sent such Showers of Shot over the Hackbutters Heads, that many Bodies of their Enemies being but half arm'd, were beaten down and bury'd therewith. And beside, the Master of the Artillery did visit them sharply, with murthering Hail-shot from the Pieces mounted towards the Top of the Hill; also the Artillery which flank'd the Rear executed hotly. Lastly the Ships were not idle, but especially the Gally did play upon them, and plague them very sore.

The *Scots* being thus apply'd with Shot, and perceiving the Vanguard of the *English* to be in good Order, nearly to approach, and the Men at Arms to have recover'd their Array, turn'd their Vanguard somewhat towards the South, to win, as it was thought, some advantage of ground. By this means they fell directly on the head of the *English* Battail, whereupon the Earl of *Warwick* address'd his Men to take the Flank. The Vanguard of the *Scots* being thus upon, and beset with Enemies, began a little to retire towards their great Battail, either to be in place to be reliev'd by them, or happily to draw the *English* more seperate and apart. The *Irish* Archers espying this, and furmising the Danger to be greater than it was, suddenly broke up, and committed the Safety of their Lives to their nimble Footmanship. After whose example, all the rest threw away their Weapons, and in headlong hast abandon'd the Field, not one stroke having been given by the *English* on foot. But then the Horsemen coming furiously forward, had then very cheap.

The Scots fly.

The Flight was made three Ways, some running to *Edinburgh*, some along the Sands towards *Leith*, but the most towards *Dalkeith*, which way, by reason of the Marsh the *English* Horse were least able to pursue. The Chase was given from One of the Clock in the Afternoon, till almost Six. It reach'd five Miles in length, and four in breadth, all which Ways the *Scots* scatter'd in their Flight Jacks, Swords, Bucklers, Daggers, or whatsoever was either cumbersom, or of weight to impeach their hast; yea some cast off their Shoes and Dublets, and fled in their Shirts. Divers other Devices were practis'd to avoid or defer the present Danger. Some intreated and offer'd large Ransoms, some being pursu'd only by one, suddenly turn'd Head and made Resistance, by whom many Horses were disabled, and some of their Horses either slain or hurt. The Earl of *Angus*, a Man of assur'd both Hardiness and Understanding, couch'd in a Furrow, and was pass'd over for dead, until a Horse was brought for his Escape. Two thousand others lying all the Day as dead, departed in the Night, divers others plung'd into the River *Eske*, and cover'd themselves under Roots and Branches of Trees, many so strain'd themselves in their Race, that they fell down breathless and dead, whereby they seem'd in running from their Deaths, to run unto it.

A great Slaughter of Scots

The *English* discern'd in their Retreat that the Execution had been too cruel, and far exceeding the Bounds of ordinary Hostility, which happily was a Cause in the secret Judgment of God, that they had no better fruit of their Victory. The dead Bodies lay all the way scatter'd so thick, as a Man may see

1547 Sheep grazing in a well ſtor'd Paſture, moſt ſlain in the Head or Neck, for that the Horſemen could not well touch lower with their Swords; and ſcarce credible it is how ſoon they were ſtrip'd and laid naked upon the Ground. But then again the Eyes of all Men were faſtened upon them with pity and admiration to behold ſo many naked Bodies, as for talneſs of Stature, whiteneſs of Skin, largeneſs and due proportion of Limbs, could hardly be equal'd in any one Country. The Ground where their ſeveral Battalions firſt brake, lay ſtrew'd with Pikes ſo thick as a Floor is uſually ſtrew'd with Ruſhes, whereby the places could hardly be paſs'd over either by Horſe or by Foot: The River *Esk* ran red with Blood, ſo as they who periſh'd therein might almoſt be ſaid to be drown'd in their Fellows Blood.

On the other ſide, when they came to the place where the *Engliſhmen* at Arms had been defeated, many of their Horſes were found grievouſly gaſh'd or goard to death. The *Engliſh* who there periſh'd were ſo deeply wounded, eſpecially on the Head, that not one could be diſcern'd by his Face. Brave *Edward Shellie*, who was the firſt Man that charg'd, was known only by his Beard; Little *Preſton*, for that both his Hands were cut off, being known to have worn Bracelets of Gold about his Wriſts; others were brought to knowledg by ſome ſuch particular Marks. *Hereby appeareth (as I ſaid before) what Bleſſing is grown to both Nations by their late happy Union, when before they were like two rude encountring Rams, whereof he that eſcapes beſt is ſure of a Blow.*

Of the *Scots* ſlain and taken Priſoners.

Divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were here ſlain, and many Gentlemen both of Worth and noble Birth; of the inferior ſort about 10000, and as ſome ſay 14000 loſt their Lives. Of the *Engliſh* were ſlain 51 Horſemen and one Footman, but a far greater number hurt. The *Scottiſh* Priſoners accounted by the Marſhal's Book were about 1500. The chief whereof were the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Teſter*, *Hobie*, and *Hamilton*, the Mr. of *Sampoole*, and the Lord of *Wimmes*. A Herauld was alſo taken, but diſcharg'd forthwith. The Execution was much maintain'd by the *Scots* own Swords ſcatter'd in every place: for no ſooner had an *Engliſh* Horſeman broke his Sword, but forthwith he might take up another; inſomuch that many of them broke three or four before their return. *So apparent is the Hand of God againſt violation of Faith, that it is often conſtis'd by the Means appointed to defend it.*

Kirkmen in the *Scots* Army.

Of all other the *Engliſhmen* were leaſt favourable to the Prieſts and Monks, by the *Scots* call'd *Kirkmen*, who had been equally troubleſome in Peace, and unprofitable in War. To whom many, as well *Engliſh* as *Scots*, imputed the Calamity of that Day; theſe made a Band of three or four thouſand, as it was ſaid, but they were not altogether ſo many. Howbeit many Biſhops and Abbots were among them; from theſe divers *Scots* feared more Harm by Victory, than they found among their Enemies by their Overthrow. After the Field a Banner was found of white Sarſenet, whereon a Woman was painted, her Hair about her Shoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, on her right Hand a Church, and along the Banner in fair Letters written, *Afflictæ Eccleſiæ ne obliviſcaris.* This was ſuppos'd to have been the Kirkmens Banner. But could this Crucifix have ſpoken, as one is ſaid to have ſpoken to St. *Francis*, and another to St. *Thomas*, it might happily have told them, that *neither Religious Perſons are fit Men for Arms, nor Arms fit Means either to eſtabliſh or advance Religion.* 1547

Earl of *Huntley*.

I muſt not forget the Fidelity of a *Scottiſh* Soldier towards the Earl of *Huntley*. He finding the Earl aſſaulted by the *Engliſh*, and without his Helmet, took off his own Head-piece and put it on the Earl's Head. The Earl was therewith taken Priſoner, but the Soldier for want thereof was preſently ſtruck down. This Earl was of great Courage, and for this Cauſe much loved of his Soldiers, to whom he was no leſs loving again. This he manifeſted by his great Care for ſuch *Scottiſh* Priſoners as were either wounded or poor, providing at his proper Charge, Care for the one, and Relief for the other. This Earl being ask'd whilſt he was Priſoner, how he ſtood affected to the Marriage? anſwer'd, That *he was well-affected to favour the Marriage, but he nothing liked that kind of Wooing.*

Certain of thoſe who eſcap'd by flight excus'd their Diſhonor, not without a ſharp Jeſt againſt ſome of their Leaders, affirming, That as they had follow'd them into the Field, ſo it was good reaſon they ſhould follow them out. Thoſe *bitter Jeſts, the more Truth they carry, the more biting Memory they leave behind.*

The *Scots* twice defeated, *Sep.* 10.

The Day of this Fight being the 10th of *September*, ſeemeth to be a moſt diſaſtrous Day to the *Scots*, not only in regard of this Overthrow, but for that upon the ſame Day 34 Years before, they were in like ſort defeated by the *Engliſh* at *Flodden* Field. The Victory rais'd exceeding Joy among the *Engliſh*, partly becauſe it came ſo Cheap, and partly by reaſon of the great Danger and greater Terror that had been caſt upon them by reaſon of the Repulſe and Diſarray of their Men at Arms.

Another Succeſs of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*.

Now as ſeldom one Accident, either proſperous or adverſe, cometh unaccompany'd with the like, ſo this Calamity hapned not to the *Scots* alone: For whilſt the *Engliſh* Army had thus drawn both the Preparations and Intentions of the *Scots* wholly upon them, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Earl of *Lenox*, entred *Scotland* on the Weſt Marches with 5000 Men, and having marched two Miles, they won the Church of *Anan*, a ſtrong Place, and always much annoying the *Engliſh*; there they took ſixty two Priſoners, fir'd moſt part of the Spoil, and overthrew the Fort with Powder: Paſſing ſixteen Miles further, they took the Caſtle of *Milk*, which they fortify'd ſtrongly, and planted a Gariſon therein; and after much ſpoil and waſt of the Country, return'd ſafely into *England*.

Many *Scots* ſubmit to the King.

Theſe Succeſſes did ſtrike ſuch a Terror into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl *Bothwell*, and divers chief Gentlemen of *Tividale* and *Meers*, ſuppoſing to find more eaſy Conditions by yielding than by ſtriving, ſubmitted themſelves to the King of *England*, and were receiv'd by the Lord General into protection. But it is moſt certain that the *Engliſh* made not their beſt Improvements of theſe fortunate Events, and that eſpecially by two miſerable Errors, Cunctation in proſecuting, and Haſte in departure. *But doubtleſs the Union of* theſe two Realms was a Work moſt proper to God's Omnipotent Arm, which afterwards effected the ſame, as by milder Means, ſo in a more durable Manner than they could have been united by Arms. This high Appointment of God we muſt reverence and admire,

1547 mire, but not omit to observe the Errors committed.

First therefore after the Retreat, the *English* lodg'd the same Night in the Place where the Battle had been fought. Where, and in the Villages not far distant, they sojourn'd five Days without doing any thing; in the mean time the *English* search'd the Rivers and Havens where the *Scottish* Ships were retir'd, in such sort as they left few Ships of War unspoiled or untaken: The Army also gather'd the spoil of the Field, whereof 30000 Jacks and Swords, and thirty Pieces of great Artillery were ship'd for *England*.

The *English* take many Places,

The *English* having thus long breath'd, and thereby given breathing to their Enemies, fir'd *Leith*, took St. *Colmes*, *Broughticragge*, *Rocksborough*, *Humes Castle*, *Aymouth*, *Fial Castle*, *Douglass*, *Kilnecombe*, and divers other small Places, whereof part they ruin'd, part they enlarg'd and fortify'd, and furnish'd them with able Soldiers, accustom'd with often and prosperous Success. Herewith, as if they had been weary of their fair Fortunes, they suddenly brake off the Enterprise, and return'd another way into *England*, having staid not above five and twenty Days in *Scotland*, and lost under sixty Men. The Pretence of their departure was worse than the Departure it self, namely, for that the Year and their Provisions were far spent, and the Country afforded little Forage. Assuredly, as Nature taketh least care for those things which she formeth in hast, *so violent and storm-like Fortunes, how terrible soever, are seldom durable.*

And depart home.

The Policy of the *Scots* Governor

Now the Lord Governor of *Scotland* being of great Courage, and sober Judgment, as a Man might well read in his Face; as he had amply perform'd his Duty, both before the Battle and in the Field; so especially after the Fight he declar'd himself to be of a stout and unbroken Spirit: For, first, he assembled the dispersed Forces of the *Scottish* Army, albeit not in sufficient manner to give a fresh Battel, by reason that much of their Armour was lost, yet able to keep the *English* from ranging at large. Then he presented the *English* with divers offers of Treaty touching Matters in difference, until the Country was discharg'd of them. Lastly, Knowing right-well that Counsels are commonly censur'd by Events, and that in Matters of Arms, albeit the Praise of prosperous Success is shar'd amongst many, yet the blame of Misadventures is charged upon one; and fearing hereby Mutinies among his own People, and contempt of others, having first assur'd the young Queen in place of good Defence, he assembled the *Scottish* Nobility, and us'd words to this effect.

The Governour of *Scotland*'s Speech to the Nobility.

'I Assure my self that many of you, my 'Lords, and more of the Vulgar, are 'much displeas'd with me, for that I have 'advis'd this War whereof so sad Events have 'follow'd. For this Cause I have assembled 'you together to reduce you to a better Opi'nion, or to blame you deeply, either if you 'remain offended, or if you cast down your 'Courage through Fear, the betrayer of all 'Succours which Reason can afford. For, tell 'me, if you are discontented with me for ad'vising this War, do you not condemn your 'selves for following the Advice? It is cer'tain that at the first you were all of my Opi'nion, and that I did nothing without your 'Approvement. If now upon one Misadven'ture you change your Judgments, and charge 'the Fault only upon me, you do me wrong 'and discover your own Weakness, in being 'unable to endure those things which you 'knew were casual, and which you were re'solv'd to endure. But I make no doubt but 'the same Reasons which induc'd you to enter'tain this War, will induce you also to pro'secute the same, howsoever sudden and un'expected Events dismay your Judgments for 'the present.

'Touching my self I was always of Opi'nion, and shall never change, that it is better 'the Kingdom should be in good Estate, with 'particular Loss to many of the People, than 'that all the People should be well, and the 'State of the Kingdom altogether lost or disho'nourably impair'd; even as it is better that a 'Ship should be preserv'd with some discom'modity to the Sailors, than that the Sailors 'being in health the Ship should perish; or as 'it is less dangerous when divers parts of a 'Tower are decay'd, and the Foundation firm, 'than when the Foundation is ruinous, albeit 'the Parts remain entire: For the common 'Estate is but weakned by Calamities of par'ticular Persons, but the Ruin of the State 'involveth all in a general Destruction. And 'therefore they are to be blam'd alike, 'both who move and who decline War upon 'particular respects, the common either Ho'nour or Necessity must be the true Measure of 'both.

'But the Cause of this War is no other, 'than that we will not incontinently submit 'our selves to do what our Neighbours re'quire; that is, because at the first word we 'are not forward to thrust our Necks under 'the Girdles of our Enemies, yea our old Ene'mies, yea our only Enemies of any account 'for many Years, who in their gluttonous 'Hope have devour'd our Kingdom; who by 'the bloody Execution of their late Victories, 'have shewn what Courtesy we may expect at 'their hands. In doing whereof we shall a'bandon our ancient and approved Friends, 'who as they never fail'd us in our Extremi'ties, so are they now prepar'd with large 'Aids to relieve us, who will not fear or pause 'at the least, before he leap upon this sudden 'Changer, who will forsake long try'd Friends 'to rely upon those who always have been 'ready by Arms to infest us: Not at all times 'upon desire either of Revenge or Spoil, but 'to bring us under their Ambitious Dominion. 'Which of us had not rather die this Day, 'than see our Enemies in our strongest Ca'stles, and Yoaks of Garisons cast upon our 'Necks? Who will not prefer a Death for 'Liberty, before a Life without it?

'Their Promises are fair and large indeed, 'I must say, but of what Assurance? What 'Assurance can we have, but that when we 'have lifted them into the Chair of State, we 'shall not be compelled to be their Footmen? 'If our Prince were a Man, and should marry an 'Inheritrix of *England*, we should happily have 'no cause to fear but that he would maintain the 'Liberty of his native Country; but being a 'Woman, and desir'd in marriage of a King 'of *England*, under whose Power and Custo'dy she must abide, how shall we be able a'gainst his Mind either to benefit or preserve 'us? Verily, as Men hate those that affect 'that Honour by Ambition which pertaineth 'not to them, so are they much more odious

1547. '*who, either through Negligence or through* 'Fear will betray the Glory and Liberty 'which they have.

'Now, my Lords, if any ſurmiſe, either 'that this War will be long, or that we ſhall 'have the worſt in the End, his Error is 'great; for removing whereof I muſt tell 'you, that which many of you ſeem either lit'tle to remember, or never to have known: 'Do you ſuppoſe the State of this Realm (of 'the Valour whereof the Enemy hath often 'woful proof) to be now ſo feeble that it can'not bear off a greater Blow than this? It 'hath often done it, and is able of it ſelf to 'do it again, if our Endeavours be anſwera'ble to our Means. Our Anceſtors have ſu'ſtain'd many greater Dangers, and yet retain'ing their Liberty, have left both it and their 'Honour entire to us; what are we of leſs 'Heart than they? For of leſs Ability we are 'not: Shall we ſhew our ſelves unworthy of 'our Succeſſion from them? Aſſuredly it is 'more ſhame for a Man to loſe that which he 'holdeth, than to fail in getting that which 'he never had.

'But ſuppoſe our Forces to be nearer driven 'than they are; our ancient Allies the *French* are 'upon the Seas and near approaching for our 'Relief, alſo our Friends in *Italy*, and other 'Parts have ſent us Mony to ſupply our Wants: 'wherefore, Lords, it is meet that we reſume 'our ancient Courage, and addreſs our ſelves for 'new Preparation, not only upon thoſe hopes 'both from our ſelves and our Friends, but in 'Contempt of our Enemies. For often it 'happeneth that a Proſperity unexpected 'maketh Men careleſs and remiſs if they be not 'very wiſe; whereas they who have receiv'd 'that wound become more vigilant and col'lected, eſpecially when they ſee not only the 'common Honour and Liberty, but their par'ticular both Seigniories and Safeties to be at 'the ſtake.

'And albeit the Enemy hath done that 'which it was to be believed they would en'deavour to do, in caſe we would not yield 'unto them, yet as thoſe things muſt be en'dur'd upon neceſſity, which happen by the 'hand of God, ſo thoſe which come from 'Enemies muſt be born by Virtue. And ſince 'it is a Cuſtom of our County ſo to do, ſith 'our People are famous for being nothing 'abaſh'd at croſs Events, take we heed this 'Virtue fail not in us. If it doth, if we ſhew 'our ſelves heartleſs and faint, we ſhall ut'terly overthrow not only the Glory but the 'Memory, both of our Anceſtors and of our 'State.

'As for thoſe who have yielded to our Ene'mies, let us eſteem them as Fugitives and 'Traitors, who endeavour to caſt themſelves 'and their Country into Subjection; but let 'us ſtand aſſur'd, that they who leaſt ſhrink 'at the ſtorms of Fortune, whether in pub'lick or private Affairs, are always moſt vir'tuous and victorious in the end.

The Lord Protector rewarded.

On the other ſide King *Edward* added to his Glory, Courteſy and Liberality; ſhewing himſelf moſt gracious in Countenance to all, and giving Rewards ſuitable to every Man's Performance or Place. The Lord Protector he rewarded with Lands of the Yearly Value of 500 *l.* and certain it is that theſe firſt Fortunes rais'd unto him a great Reſpect both in other Countries and among his own People, and the rather becauſe he was diſcern'd to be much ſearching both into the Counſels and after the Events of all his Affairs, and likewiſe into the Condition and State both of his own Strength and of the Countries near unto him. 1547.

Some too forward in making Alterations in two things viz.

But theſe proſperous Proceedings were not only hinder'd, in their faireſt Courſe, but altogether ſtay'd, and in ſome meaſure turn'd back by reaſon of the unadvis'd Forwardneſs of divers chief Counſellors, in making both ſudden and unſeaſonable Alterations in Matters of State, whoſe greedy deſires of having their Wills in all they lik'd, bred both trouble to the Realm and to themſelves danger. For great and ſudden Changes are never without danger, unleſs the Prince be both well ſettl'd in Government and able to bear out his Actions by Power; but whilſt King *Edward* was both unripe in Years and new in Government, to attempt a Change both ſudden and great, could not but be accompany'd with many Miſchiefs. The great Matters wherein Alteration was wrought were eſpecially two, Religion, and Incloſures.

Religion.

Now for that Religion is of ſo high and noble a Nature, of ſo abſolute neceſſity in a Commonwealth, that it is eſteem'd the Foundation of Laws, and the common band of human Society, no ſudden Alteration can almoſt be made therein, but many will be induc'd thereby to attempt ſome Alteration in Rule, whence (ſaith *Dio*) Conſpiracies and Seditions are often occaſion'd. For Religion being ſeated in the high Throne of Conſcience, is a moſt powerful Ruler of the Soul, and far prefer'd before Eſtimation of Life, or any other worldly reſpect; for this advanceth Man to the higheſt Happineſs, it leadeth him to his laſt End; all other things are but Inſtruments, this is the Hand; all other things are but *Acceſſories*, this is the *Principal*. And therefore as all Men are naturally mov'd by Religion, ſo when they are violently thruſted forward by thoſe who (as *Livy* ſpeaketh) make it their purpoſe to poſſeſs Souls by Superſtition, then do they break all bands of Reaſon and of Rule, no Perſuaſion of the one, no command of the other can then reſtrain them. *Multitudo ubi religione capta eſt, melius vatibus quam ducibus ſuis paret.* Curt. lib. 4.

I will not deny but that ſome Change in Religion is often expedient and ſometimes neceſſary; becauſe, more in that than in any other thing, it is hard to contain Men from running into one of theſe Extremes, either of vain Superſtition, or of careleſs Contempt. But this muſt be done with a ſoft and tender hand, and as *Cicero* ſpeaketh, *Ut quam minimo ſonitu orbis in republica convertatur.* Some Reſpect ſhould alſo have been given to thoſe green times, to the monſtrous Multitude muffl'd with two great Plagues and Corruptions of Judgment, Cuſtom and Ignorance, whereto may be added Grief at their own Wants, and Envy at the Proſperity of others, eſpecially for that many bold Spirits were buſy'd, not only to incenſe, but to lead them into much Variety of Miſchief. And if it be ſaid that King *Henry* the Eighth had quietly paſs'd the like Change before; I anſwer, the Example was not then to be follow'd, the Kings were not equal either in Spirit or in Power. Even as it is in the Fable, that albeit an Eagle did bear away a Lamb in her Talons with full flight, yet a Raven endeavouring to do the like was

held

1547. held entangl'd and fetter'd in the Fleece.

Inclosures. Touching Inclosures, I am not ignorant what a profitable Purchase is made thereby, not only to particular Persons, but generally to the whole Commonwealth, in case it be without Depopulation, because a Company of Lands inclos'd are thereby improv'd in worth two or three parts at the least; hereby two great Commodities ensue, Riches and Multitude of People, because the more Riches are rais'd out of Lands, the more People are thereby maintain'd. This doth plainly appear by two Shires, almost equal both in greatness and in goodness of Soil: *Northampton* much Champain, and *Somerset* altogether Inclos'd. For if Estimation may be made by Musters, and by Subsidies, Tenths, and Fifteens, Inclosure hath made the one County more than double to exceed the other, both in People and in Wealth. (n)

The Protector censur'd in forbidding Inclosures. Notwithstanding the Lord Protector gaping after the fruitless Breath of the Multitude, and more desirous to please the most than the best, caused a Proclamation to be set forth against Inclosures, commanding that they who had inclos'd any Lands accustom'd to lie open, should, upon (o) a certain Pain, before a Day assign'd lay them open again. This Proclamation, whilst few were forward to obey, gave occasion to the mutinous Multitude, instable in Judgment, and tempestuous when they are stir'd, all carry'd with a headlong Rashness, and one following another, as wiser than himself, immoderately both in Desire and Hope to be easily drawn by others who had deeper Reaches than themselves, to matters which at the first they least intended.

Commissioners sent abroad with Injunctions for Religion. And again, soon after the beginning of the young King's Reign, certain Injunctions (p) were set forth for removing Images out of Churches, which had been highly, not only esteem'd but honour'd before, and for abolishing or altering some other ancient Observations in the Church. Hereupon Commissioners were dispatch'd into all Parts of the Realm, to see those Injunctions to be executed: With those divers Preachers were sent, furnish'd with Instructions to persuade the People from praying to Saints, and for the Dead, from adoring Images, from use of Beads, Ashes and Processions, from Mass, Dirges, praying in an unknown Language; and from some other like Things, whereunto long Custom had wrought a religious Observation. And for Defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed to be publickly read in Churches, aiming at the very same end. 1547.

Some Bishops disobedient, imprison'd. Some others offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punish'd or forc'd to recant. *Edmund Bonner*, q) Bishop of *London*, was committed Prisoner to the *Fleet*, for refusing to receive these Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner* was likewise committed, first to the *Fleet*, afterwards to the *Tower*, for that he had openly preach'd, that it were well these Changes in Religion should be stay'd, until the King were of Years to Govern by himself. This the People apprehending worse than it was either spoken or meant, a Question began to be rais'd among them, Whether, during the King's Minority, such Alterations might lawfully be made or no? For the like Cause, *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, and *Heath* Bishop of *Rochester*, were in like manner committed to Prison: All these being then, and still continuing, famous for Learning and Judgment, were dispossess'd of their Bishopricks; but no Man was touch'd in Life.

A Parliament; Acts made therein for Religion. Hereupon a Parliament was held in the first Year of the King: And by Prorogation in the second, wherein diverse Colleges, Chantries, free Chappels, Fraternities, Guildes, *&c.*

(n) Our Author blames the Counsels, as unadvised, that were taken for Alterations, both in respect of Religion and of Inclosures; *because of the Danger thereof in the new Reign of the young King; and that as to Religion, tho' King Henry VIII. past the like Change before, yet that Example was not then to be followed, [the King being not equal either in Spirit or Power.]* These were the very Considerations that Bishop *Gardiner*, and the Papists in those Times used with the Protector, and others of the Council, against attempting a Reformation of Religion. But there was indeed no such Danger in the Attempt, that it required King *Henry's* Spirit and Power, since the Nation generally was well prepared and disposed to it; nay, and most earnestly waited for and desired it. *J. S.*

(o) The Author dislikes the Protector's Proclamation for laying down Inclosures by a certain Day. Which he saith being not obeyed, gave occasion to the Multitude to make Tumults. In truth, the Inclosures themselves, whereby vast Numbers of poor People (whose Right it was) had the Food taken out of their Mouths by the Rich, were the Causes of Tumults. The Proclamation was but just and reasonable, to redress such Wrongs done to the poor Subjects. *J. S.*

(p) The Author seems to disapprove the setting forth of the Injunctions in the beginning of the King's Reign, *for removing Images out of the Churches, and for abolishing some Ceremonies, because the People had an Honour and Esteem of them.* If such Regard was to be had to the People, why should they not be as well regarded in their Complaints of Inclosures, which he expresses himself much for? But herein, whatsoever of a Politician, our Author shewed himself, surely but an indifferent Protestant. If it were Ground sufficient not to reform Religion, because it would give Distaste to the superstitious People, Religion must never be reformed. But, in truth, vast were the Numbers of People, throughout the Land, especially the most civilized Parts of it, that at this time of Day did heartily expect a Reformation from the Worship of Images, and superstitious Ceremonies. *J. S.*

(q) He placeth here, in the first Year of the King, the Commitment of Bishop *Bonner*, Bishop *Gardiner*, Bishop *Tonstal*, and Bishop *Heath*. *Bonner*, indeed, endured a short Restraint in the Fleet then; but that which may be truly called his Imprisonment, happened but in *September* 1549. *Heath's*, the same Year, *Tonstal's* not before the Year 1551. and only *Gardiner's* happened in the King's first Year, tho' he was put at Liberty again not long after. Nor was *Bonner* put into Prison for refusing the King's Injunctions, as *Hayward* affects: for he did receive them, tho' under a Protestation: But the true Reason was, because he did not publish in a Sermon the King's Authority during his Minority, as he was commanded. But hitherto, having recanted before the Council, for the ill manner of his receiving the Injunctions and Homilies from the King's Visitors, he went along with the King's Proceedings, swore Obedience to the King, professed his Assent and Consent touching the State of Religion then settled, directed out his Letters according to the Archbishop's Precept, for abolishing Images, Abrogation of the Mass, setting up Bibles in Churches, ministring in both Kinds, *&c.*

Neither was the cause of *Gardiner's* Imprisonment the first Year of the King, because he had preached against making Changes in Religion till the King was of Years, *as it is here said*, but for his Refractoriness to the King's Proceedings. His second Imprisonment indeed, was occasioned by a Sermon which he preached on St. *Peter's* Day, in the second Year of the King; yet not for *preaching that the Changes in Religion should be stay'd*, but for omitting to speak of several Matters committed to him in Writing, by Command of the Council, as concerning the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Superstitions used towards St. *Nicolas*, and other Saints; concerning the Authority of the King in his Minority; concerning auricular Confession, and some other Things.

Heath was committed for refusing to subscribe the new Book of Ordinations: Nor was *Heath* now Bishop of *Rochester*, as our Author styles him, but of *Worcester*.

He leaves out *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, whom he might have mentioned, among the rest of Bishops committed. The cause of whose Restraint was, because he refused to obey an Order from the King, to take away Altars out of his Diocess. *J. S.*

with

1547. with all their Lands and Goods were put into the actual Possession of the King: Part of the Goods and Lands being sold at a low Value, enrich'd many, and ennobl'd some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change; also that no Man should speak against receiving the Eucharist under both Kinds (*r*), which had been restrain'd in Times before; and that Bishops should be plac'd by Collation of the King under his Letters Patent, without any precedent Election or Confirmation ensuing, and that all Processes Ecclesiastical should be made in the King's Name, as in Writs at the common Law; and that all Persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should have the King's Arms in their Seals of Office: And further, the Statute of the six Articles, and other Statutes concerning Punishment of *Lollards*, were repeal'd and so was another Statute restraining the Use of Scriptures in the *English* Tongue, and the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirm'd. Herewith a Book was set forth for publick Prayers, by Proclamation, and for Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Offices of the Church (*ſ*); and diverse Punishments were appointed by Proclamation, either for not using the Forms prescrib'd in that Book, or for depraving any thing therein contain'd.

I forbear to rehearse other Acts of this Parliament, albeit a noble Writer in our Time esteems it to be a maim in History that the Acts of Parliament should not be recited: which I conceive so far to be true, as they occasion Tumults or Division, or some remarkable Alteration in State; otherwise as I find them not regarded by most imitable Writers, so I account the Relation of them both fruitless and improper for a true carry'd History.

The Commissioners pull down Images. Now in this mean time the Commissioners before mention'd (*t*) were earnest in executing their Authority. And either pull'd down or defac'd all Images in Churches, and that in such unseasonable and unseason'd Fashion, as if it had been done in Hostility against them. Hereat many did express a Sense of Distaste, some for religious Respects, others in regard of the excellent Artifice of some of their Pieces, affirming that albeit religious Reverence might happily have been either taken away or moderated, yet the Civil Regard which all Men do not only afford but affect, in maintaining the Memory of those whom they honour or love, might be indur'd without Offence.

Certainly albeit the Religion of the *Romans* indur'd 170 Years, according to the Law of *Numa Pompilius* without any Images; albeit the *Persians* had neither Images, nor Temples, nor Altars, being of Opinion that God could be represented by no Device, that he had no Temple but the *World*, no Altar but the *Heart*, of Man; albeit *Eusebius* writeth that the People of *Asia*, call'd *Seres*, by express Law forbad Adoration of Images; albeit that Images were forbidden of *Lycurgus*, as drawing Men from the true Worship of that which cannot be seen; albeit the ancient *Germans*, and from them the *Britans*, and the *Gauls* had neither Images nor Temples; albeit the *Jews*, and in Imitation of them the *Saracens* and *Turks*, abhor nothing more than Images, either in their Temples, or in their Houses; because the Law of God forbiddeth, not only to adore, but to make any Image: Albeit the *Christians* continu'd a long time without Images in their Churches; yet were they never entertain'd into any Religion, but presently they took deep Root in the Hearts and Consciences of the common People. When *Leo Isauricus*, surnam'd *Iconomachus*, assembl'd a Council at *Constantinople*, wherein it was decreed, that Images should be cast out of Churches, and burnt, the West Part of his Empire did thereupon first rebel, and afterwards revolt.

1548. *Haddington fortify'd by the Lord Gray.* And yet while these Proceedings were but in the Bud, Affairs of State without the Realm were maintain'd in good Condition of Honour, but seem'd rather to stand at a Stay, than either to advance or decline. In *Scotland* the Wars were maintain'd by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lieutenant of the *North*, with variable Success. He fortify'd *Haddington*, fir'd *Dalkeith*, and won the Castle, where fourteen *Scots* were slain, and three hundred taken Prisoners; he spoil'd much of the Country about *Edinburg*, *Louthian*, and *Meers*, fir'd *Musselburgh*, and fortify'd *Lowder*, and took *Yester*, at the yielding whereof he granted Life to all, except to one who had us'd vile Speeches against King *Edward*. Those Speeches were commonly cast upon one *Newton*, but he charg'd them upon one *Hamilton*; hereupon *Hamilton* challeng'd *Newton* to the Combate, which he did readily accept; and the Lord *Gray* consented to the Trial: To this Purpose Lists were erected in the Market-place at *Haddington*, whereinto at the Time appointed, *Exploits in Scotland.* *A Challenge.*

(*r*) This Act was not against such as should speak against receiving the Eucharist under both Kinds; but against such as should deprave or despise the Blessed Sacrament: Which further appears by the Preamble to that Act, shewing, *how some had disputed and reasoned unreverently and ungodly of that most holy Mystery, and called it by such vile and unseemly Words as Christian Ears did abhor.* The Act forbears the mention of them. They were, *Round Robin*, *Jack in a Box*, &c. because the Wafer was round, and they used to keep it in a *Pix* or *Box*. The same Act, in the last Paragraph of it, did enjoin the said Holy Sacrament to be delivered and ministred unto the People in both Kinds of Bread and Wine, *as being more conformable to the common Use and Practice of the Apostles and Primitive Church, by the Space of five hundred Years and more after Christ's Ascension.* J. S.

(*ſ*) Our Author here confoundeth two Books that were to be publickly used for Divine Service; and both belonging not to this, but the next Year. For there was first a new Office for the Communion only, and was injoined by Proclamation, in the Month of *March*, 1547. to be generally used at *Easter* following. This was, pursuant to the Act *An.* 1. *Edw.* 6. for the Administration of the Sacrament in both Kinds. The second Book was set forth the latter end of that Year 1548. by Act of Parliament, 2 and 3 *Edw.* and was a compleat Liturgy, or Form of publick Prayer, intitl'd, *The Book of the Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of* England. This Book was again, by the Care of Archbishop *Cranmer*, review'd and corrected, in the Year 1550. and set forth for publick Use. And this was call'd King *Edward's* Book. *J. S.*

(*t*) If by these Commissioners be meant the King's Visitors, which he sent forth lately for a Royal Visitation all over *England* and *Wales*, they indeed injoined the Curates to take down such Images as they knew were abused by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them; but that private Persons should not do it, no doubt to prevent Confusion and Disturbance. And they also injoined the Ordinaries, to take care that all Monuments of Idolatry should be removed out of the Walls and Windows of Churches; as may appear by the Injunctions. By which it seems that the Visitors themselves removed not, nor pulled down any Images; but only left Order, both with the Ordinaries and Curates, to see it done. Wherein there was so much Backwardness, that the next Year, 1548. the Protector and Privy Council sent Command to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he by the same Order to the rest of the Bishops, to see that all Images be taken away out of the Churches. *J. S.* *Hist. Reform. Vol. 2. p. 28.*

both

1548. both the Combatants enter'd, apparell'd only in their Doublets and Hoſes, and weapon'd with Sword, Buckler, and Dagger. At the firſt Encounter *Hamilton* drave *Newton* almoſt to the end of the Liſts, which if he had fully done, he had thereby remain'd victorious; but *Newton* on the ſudden gave him ſuch a gaſh on the Leg that therewith he fell to the Ground, and *Newton* forthwith diſpatch'd him with his Dagger: Certain Gentlemen then preſent offer'd to have fought with *Newton* upon the ſame Point, but this was adjudg'd to be againſt the Laws of Combate, wherefore *Newton* was not only acquitted, but rewarded with a Chain of Gold, and with the Gown which the Lord *Gray* did then wear: Howbeit, many were perſuaded that he was faulty, and happily neither of them was free; but he enjoy'd neither his Eſcape nor his Honour long, for ſoon after he was hewn in pieces by *Hamilton's* Friends.

The *Scots* take *Broughticrage*.

On the other ſide, the *Scots* came before *Broughticrage*, with 8000 Men, and eight Pieces of Artillery; but it was for that Time well defended by the *Engliſh*, who by often Sallies enforc'd their Enemies, with loſs of their Artillery, to abandon the Attempt. After this divers other Enterprizes were made upon that Fort; at the laſt it was taken, where the *Scots* ſlew all, except Sir *John Lutterel* the Captain, who was taken Priſoner.

Haddington beſieged by *French* and *Scots*.

And now *Henry* the Second of *France* having newly ſucceeded *Francis* the Firſt, who dy'd the laſt of *March* 1547. ſent Monſieur *Daſſie* his Lieutenant into *Scotland*, with an Army of about 10000 *French* and *Almanes*, who joining with the *Scots*, beſieg'd *Haddington*, and that with ſo good earneſt, as ſix Pieces of Artillery diſcharg'd 340 Shot in one Day, and in another 200, within ſixty Paces of the Wall: They lodg'd ſo near within the very Ditches, that the *Engliſh* ſlew divers of them with Plummets of Lead ty'd to a Truncheon or Staff by a Cord. The Place was but weak, and the Brackes fair; but the Defendants by Reſolution ſupply'd all the Defects, making divers Sallies with ſuch lively Spirit, that the Aſſailants were thereby diſcourag'd from making Aſſault: The *Engliſh* from *Berwick*, with about 1500 Horſe, did often relieve the Defendants, by breaking thro' the midſt of their Enemies. But at the laſt they were ſo ſtrongly both encounter'd and incloſ'd between the *French*, *Almanes*, and *Scots*, that Sir *Thomas Palmer* the chief Leader, and about 400, were taken Priſoners, and divers ſlain.

E. of *Shrewſbury* relieves them.

Hereupon the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was ſent with an Army of about 15000 Men, whereof 3000 were *Almanes*; but upon notice of his Approach the *French* raiſ'd the Field, retir'd ſo far as *Muſcleborough* and there encamp'd, attributing much Honour to the *Engliſh* for their Valour, in regard of the ſmall ſtrength of the Place which they defended. When the Earl had victuall'd and reinforc'd the Town, he march'd forth towards the Enemies, and encamp'd near unto them; and firſt a few of the *Engliſh* Horſe approach'd near the Army of the *French*, who ſent forth ſome Troops of their Horſe to encounter them: But the *Engliſh* retir'd until they had drawn the *French* into an Ambuſh laid for the purpoſe, and then charging together they had them cheap, amongſt which two Captains of Account were taken Priſoners.

And offers the *French* Battel.

The next Day the Earl preſented his Army in plain Field before the Enemy's Camp, cloſ'd in three Bodies, and rang'd ready to abide Battle. The *French* had newly receiv'd Supply of 14 or 15000 *Scots*, but yet remain'd within their Strength, holding it no Wiſdom to venture on Men reſolv'd to fight, who being forthwith to depart the Realm, could neither long endanger nor endamage them much. So the Earl, after that he had remain'd about an Hour, and perceiving that the *French* intended not to forſake their Strength, return'd unto his Camp, and afterwards to *England*, deſtroying *Dunbar* and ſome other which ſtood near his Paſſage: The Army being diſſolv'd, and the *Scots* thought ſecure, the Lord *Gray* with his Horſemen enter'd *Scotland*, did great Waſte in *Tividale* and *Liddeſdale*, for the ſpace of 20 Miles, and return'd without Encounter. Alſo a Navy was appointed to coaſt along with the Army beforemention'd: This Fleet coming to *Brent* Iſland, fir'd four Ships; then attempting upon S. *Minoes*, were repuls'd by the Lord *Dun*, and ſo without either Glory or Gain return'd in *England*. 1548.

L. *Gray* enters *Scotland*.

Engliſh Navy on the Coaſt.

The *French* ſurprize *Haddington*, but are beaten back.

Not long after the Departure of the *Engliſh* Army, Monſieur *Daſſie* with his *French* and *Almanes*, attempted ſuddenly to ſurprize *Haddington*. The Enterprize was govern'd in ſo ſecret manner, that the *French* had ſlain the *Engliſh* Scouts, and entred the Baſe Court, and approach'd the main Gates before any Alarm was taken; but then the Townſmen came forth, many in their Shirts, who, with the help of the Watch ſuſtain'd the Aſſault, until the Soldiers in better Appointment came to their Aid. Theſe iſſued into the Baſe Court through a privy Poſtern, and ſharply viſited the Aſſailants with Halberts and Swords. Here the Fight grew hot, the Darkneſs and Danger terrifying ſome and animating others: Blows flew at all Adventures, Wounds and Deaths given and taken unexpected, many ſcarce knowing their Enemies from their Friends: But Shame wrought ſuch Life and Courage in the *Engliſh*, as very few of the Enemies who enter'd the Court eſcap'd alive, leaving their Fellows bleeding in their deadly Wounds; yet Monſieur *Daſſie* not diſcourag'd herewith, gave three lively Aſſaults more that Morning, but was repelled with ſo great Loſs, that 16 Carts and Waggons were charg'd with carrying away their dead and dying Bodies, beſides 300 left in the Baſe Court.

The *Engliſh* demoliſh the Town.

After divers like Adventures, the *Engliſh* perceiving that the Town could not be kept without Danger, nor loſt without Diſhonour; the Earl of *Rutland* was ſent with 3000 *Almanes*, and as many Borderers, to demoliſh the Town, and to bring the Artillery away to *Berwick*. The Earl not only accompliſh'd his Charge, but made wide Waſte in his Paſſage by ruin and ſpoil. Herewith the Caſtle of *Hume* was ſuddenly ſurpriz'd by the *Scots*, and all the *Engliſh* therein either taken or ſlain. This was effected by means of certain *Scots*, who us'd to bring Victuals to the *Engliſh*, and were reputed their aſſured Friends; theſe both obſerving the Weakneſs of the Place, and Orders of the Gariſon, diſcover'd them to their Fellows, and gave Entertainment for the Surprize. *Giving alſo Warning to others, never to truſt either the Courteſies or Services of thoſe whom they have provok'd to be their Enemies.*

Hume Caſtle taken by Surprize.

Succeſs in *Ireland*.

About theſe Times Sir *Edward Bellingham* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, firſt with great Diligence and Care, then Credit and Reputation, eſpecially gain'd by that Service, took *Ocanor* and

1548.

and *Omor*, and reduc'd the other feditious Lords to good Subjection. *Oconor* and *Omer* guided by overlate Counfel, of Neceffity left their Lordfhips, and had a yearly Penfion of 100 *l.* affign'd to either of them.

Bullingberge attempted by the *French*, but beaten off.

And now the *French* fuppofing that by reafon, partly of fufpence of Hoftility between *England* and *France*, and partly of the *Englifh* Affairs in other Places, Matters with them would be neglected, determin'd to attempt a fudden Surprize of the Fortrefs of *Bullingberge*; to this end 7000 Men were appointed, under the Conduct of Mr. *Chaftilion*, furnifh'd with Ladders and other Preparations for the Surprize. They marched fecretly in the dead time of the Night; and when they approach'd within a quarter of a League, one *Carter* who had been difcharg'd of his Pay by the *Englifh*, for taking a *French* Woman to Wife, and then ferv'd under the *French*, ran privily before and gave the Alarm to thofe in the Fort. The *Englifh* drew him up the Walls between two Pikes, and underftanding the Danger, addrefs'd themfelves to their Defence. By reafon whereof the *French* at their Approach had fo warm a Welcome, every of the *Englifh* contending that his Valor might be noted for fome Help in the Fight, that at their Departure they laded fifteen Waggons with their Dead. *Carter* himfelf adventur'd bravely in Places of greateft Danger, and receiv'd two great Hurts in his Body. Sir *Nicholas Arnault* the Captain, was likewife hurt, with a Pike, in the Face; divers others were wounded, and about 25 flain. The Affault continu'd with great Obftinacy from Midnight until fomewhat after break of Day.

A Skirmifh between the *French* and *Englifh*.

Shortly after, 300 *Englifh* on Foot, and 25 Horfemen, were appointed to go to a Wood about two Leagues from *Bullingberge*, having Carriages with them, for bringing certain Timber for mounting great Artillery, and fome other Ufes: When they approach'd near the edge of the Wood, about 500 *French* Horfemen iffu'd forth and gave three fharp Charges upon them; the *Englifh* impal'd themfelves with their Pikes, and therewith bare off their Enemies; and being lin'd with Shot (the cruel Plague of Horfemen) the *French* were in fuch fort galled with Arrows, that many were wounded, Mr. *Cawret* and divers others flain, 70 great Horfes lay dead in the Field, and one Cornet was taken. The *Englifh* fearing greater Forces, began to retire; and therewith appear'd about 2000 *French* and *Almanes* on foot. But the *Englifh* maintain'd an orderly Retreat, until they came within favour of the Shot of *Bullingberge*, and then the Enemy adventur'd no further: And in this manner the old Wounds of War began frefhly to open and bleed between *England* and *France*.

But in this mean time fuch Tempefts of Sedition tumbled in *England*, more by default of Governors than the Peoples's Impatience to live in Subjection, that not only the Honour, but the Safety of the State was thereby endanger'd. For as the Commiffioners before-mention'd pafs'd to divers Places for eftablifhing of their new Injunctions, many unfavory Scorns were caft upon them; and the further they went from *London*, as the People were more uncivil, fo did they more rife into Infolency and Contempt. At the laft, as one Mr. *Body* a Commiffioner was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, he was fuddenly ftabb'd into the Body by a Prieft with a Knife.

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An Infurrection in *Cornwal*.

Hereupon the People, more regarding Commotioners than Commiffioners, flock'd together in divers Parts of the Shire, as Clouds clufter againft a Storm: And albeit Juftice was afterwards done upon the Offenders, the Principal being hang'd and quarter'd in *Smithfield*, and divers of his chief Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm; albeit fo ample a Pardon was proclaim'd for all others within that Shire, touching any Action or Speech tending to Treafon; yet could not the Boldnefs be beaten down either with that Severity, or with this Lenity be abated. For the Mifchief forthwith fpread into *Wiltfhire* and *Somerfetfhire*, where the People fuppofing that a Commonwealth could not ftand without Commons, beat down Inclofures, laid Parks and Fields Champain. But Sir *William Herbert*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*, with a well arm'd and order'd Company, fet fharply upon them, and oppreffing fome of the forwardeft of them by Death, fuppref'd all the Refidue of them by Fear. But their Duty depending upon Fear, the one was of no greater Continuance than the other.

And in many other Counties.

The like Motions follow'd in *Suffex*, *Hampfhire*, *Kent*, *Gloucefterfhire*, *Warwickfhire*, *Effex*, *Hertfordfhire*, *Leicefterfhire*, *Worcefterfhire* and *Rutlandfhire*. But being neither in Numbers nor in Courage great, partly by Authority of Gentlemen, and partly by Entreaty and Advice of honeft Perfons, they were reduc'd to fome good Appeafment; as with People more guided by Rage than by Right, yet not altogether mad, it was not uneafy. But herein happily fome Error was committed, that being only brought to a Continuance of Quiet, regard was not had to diftinguifh the Rebellion fully: For foon after they broke forth more dangeroufly than before, for no Part could content them who aim'd at All.

After this, the People in *Oxfordfhire*, *Devonfhire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkfhire*, fell into the fame Madnefs, incens'd by fuch who being in themfelves bafe and degenerate, and dangerous to the State, had no Hope but in troublefome Times. To *Oxfordfhire* the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was fent with 1500 Horfe and Foot, to whom the Gentlemen of the Country reforted, drawing many Followers with them: The very Name of the Lord *Gray* being known to be a Man of great Valour and Fortune, fo terrify'd the Seditious, that upon the very Report of his Approach, more than half fell away and difperfed; of the Refidue, who being either more defperate or more fottifh, did abide in the Field, many were prefently flain, many taken and forthwith executed.

The Mutiners in *Devonfhire*.

To *Devonfhire* was fent *John* Lord *Ruffel*, Lord of the Privy Seal, whofe Forces being indeed, or being by him diftrufted to be, inferior to the Importance of the Service, he fat down at *Honington*, whilft the Seditious did almoft what they would: Upon this Heavinefs of the King's Forces going forward, interpreted to be Fear, and want of Mettle, divers, either of the moft audacious, or fuch as Poverty or Fear of Punifhment might eafily plunge into any Mifchief, reforted to the feditious daily, from *Cornwal* and other Parts; as bad Humours gather to a Bile, or as divers Kennels flow to one Sink, fo in fhort time their Numbers increas'd to 10000 tall and able Bodies. They were chiefly guided by *Humphrey Arundel*, a Man well efteem'd for Military Services. About fix others of inferior Note

were

1549. were bold Actors with him. Many Priests, unworthy to be nam'd, were also impetuous and importunate Incensors of the Rage; Men of some Academical Learning in Discourse, but their Minds not seasoned with any virtuous or religious Thoughts.

Assuredly the vulgar Multitude is not unfitly term'd, *a Beast*, with many Heads not guided, I will not say with any Proportion, but Portion of Reason: Violence and Obstinacy, like two untam'd Horses, draw their Desire in a blindfold Cariere. They intend most foolishly what they never put in action, and often act most madly what they never intended; all that they know to do is, that they know not what to do; all that they mean to determine, proves a Determination and Meaning to do nothing. They attribute more to others Judgments than to their own, esteeming bold Obstinacy for bravest Courage, and impudent Prating for soundest Wisdom. And now being assembled into one Company, rather without a Lord than at Liberty, to accomplish their Misery, they fall to Division, of all Calamities the worst, and so broken in their Desires, that many could not learn either wherefore they came, or what they would have done. Some were Commonwealth Mutiners, and some did Mutiny for Religion. They who were for the Commonwealth, could agree upon no certain Thing, but it was certain they could agree upon nothing: Some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers nor ordinary Courts of Justice; and above all, Inclosures must down: But whether all, or which, or how to be employ'd, none could tell, every Man regarding what he follow'd, but not what might follow thereof. All would have the State transform'd, but whether reform'd or deform'd, they neither car'd nor knew. They concurred only in confus'd Clamours, every Man thinking it no less reasonable that his Opinion should be heard, than that his Body should be adventur'd.

Their Demands. The religious Mutiners were not altogether so various in their Voices, as having some few Spirits among them by whom they were both stirred and guided: These in the name of the People, hammer'd up the Articles following, and sent them to the King; upon granting of which, they professed, that both their Bodies and Goods should be absolutely at the King's Devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptism at all Times of Necessity, as well on Week-days as on Holy-days.

2. That their Children might be confirm'd by the Bishop, whensoever they should, within the Diocese, resort unto him.

3. Forasmuch as they believ'd, that after the Words of Consecration, no Substance of Bread remained, but the real Body and Blood of Christ: That the Mass should be celebrated without any Man communicating with the Priest, for that many put no Difference between the Lord's Body and other Meat, some saying that it is Bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to none except he receives it.

4. That they might have Reservation of the Lord's Body in their Churches. 1549.

5. That they might have holy Bread and holy Water, in remembrance of Christ's precious Body and Blood.

6. That God's Service might be said or sung with an audible Voice in the Quire, and not set forth like a Christmass Play.

7. That Priests live chaste (as St. Paul *did) without Marriage, who said to all honest Priests,* Be ye Followers of me.

8. That the Six Articles set forth by King Henry *the Eighth, be so used as they were in his Time, at least until the King should accomplish his full Age.* (v)

Now albeit the King knew right well that no Reasons would serve for denial, and that the yielding to them in any thing would profit him nothing, but rather make them rise to more insolent Demands; yet he return'd an Answer in writing, and therewith his general Pardon, in case they would desist and open their Eyes to discern how their uncircumspect Simplicity had been abus'd, especially in matters of Religion: For that as some Virtues resemble some Vices so near, as the one is often taken for the other; so Religion and Superstition do so nearly resemble, that it was easy for Men to disguise the one under the Mask of the other. First therefore, he reprov'd them fairly for their disorderly Assemblies, against the peaceable People of the Realm, and against the Honour of his Estate, fearing much that by reason of their Disobedience, his Lenity should appear to be less than he would have it; also for that they us'd his Name in all their Writings, not only without his Authority, but even against himself, abusing thereby the Weakness of many, and drawing them into Society of their Evil, then he pitied their Ignorance and the Errors thence arising, whereby they were allur'd to new Hopes by some, who could not thrive so well by their honest Endeavours as by Rapine and Spoil; who stop'd all Course of Law, and Discourse of Reason, to open the Floodgate of their unmeasurable Madness; who to overthrow the State pretend Liberty, but if they should overthrow it, all Liberty were lost. The Answer thereto.

For, saith he, who hath born you in hand that Children, even in Case of necessity, cannot be baptiz'd but upon Holidays? whereas there is no Day nor Hour wherein the Minister is not only permitted but commanded to baptize. By like abuse you are persuaded that many hold that the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body doth nothing differ from common Bread; whereas Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, common Practice agree, that common Bread is only to sustain the Body, but this blessed Bread is Food for the Soul. Touching Confirmation, doth any believe that a Child baptiz'd is damn'd unless it be confirm'd? If it be baptiz'd and also confirm'd, is it sav'd only by Confirmation, and not by Baptism? Or is it the more sav'd by Confirmation? Children are confirm'd at the Age of Discretion, to teach them what they receiv'd in their Infancy; they

(v) The full and whole Answers made to these Articles of the Rebels, are set down in *Hollingshed's* Chronicle; whereof our Author hath given here some imperfect Abstract.

These Rebels of *Devon* required several other Things of the King, consisting in fifteen Articles more, the first whereof was, *We will have all the General Councils, and holy Decrees of our Forefathers observed, kept and performed. And whosoever shall gainsay them, we hold them as Hereticks.* To this and the rest, Archbishop *Cranmer* wrote excellent Answers, which are publish'd in the Appendix to the Memorials of his Life. *J. S.*

1549. are taught by Confirmation to continue in that whereto they were baptiz'd. Oh how much do they need who will never be content! what may satisfy those who have no Limits to their Desires!

As for the Order of Service and Use thereof in the *English* Tongue, which you esteem new, it is no other than the old, the same Words in *English* which were in *Latin*, except a few things omitted so fond, that it had been a Shame to have heard them in *English*. And how can any reasonable Man be offended to understand what God by his Word speaketh unto them, what they by their Prayers speak unto God? If the Service were good in *Latin*, it remains so in *English*; for nothing is alter'd but to make you understand what is said. In like sort the Mass with great Judgment and Care was reduc'd to the same manner as Christ left it, as the Apostles us'd it, as the ancient Fathers receiv'd, practis'd and left it.

But you would in sober earnest have the six Articles again reviv'd: Do you understand what you would have, or are you Masters of your own Judgment? If you understand them and yet desire them, it is not long since they were enacted, and have since drawn much Blood from the Subjects: As would you have bloody Laws again in Life, or would they any long time be endur'd? Upon pity they were taken away, upon Ignorance they are again demanded: Verily that in the Gospel may truly be said of you, ye ask ye know not what, for ye neither know what Good ye shall have by receiving them, nor what Evil you have lost by their abolishing: our Intention is to have our Laws written with Milk, but you would have them written with Blood. They were establish'd by Law and so observ'd, altho with much Expence of Blood; they are abolish'd by Law with sparing of Blood, and that also must be observ'd: for *unless Laws be duly observ'd, neither the Authority of the Prince, or Safety of the People can be preserv'd.*

And whereas you would have them remain in force until our full Age, if you had known what you speak, you never would have given breath to such an unseason'd thought: for what is our Authority the less for our Age, or shall we be more King hereafter than now? or are you less Subjects now than in future times you shall be? Verily as a natural Man we have now Youth, and by God's Sufferance expect Age; but as a King we have no difference in Years, we are rightful King by God's Ordinance, and by Descent from our Royal Ancestors, and not by any set number of Years: And much it is to be fear'd, that they who mov'd you to require this suspence of time, would absolutely deny our Royal Power, if they durst so plainly express themselves.

The seditious, as Men always dangerous, when they have once broken Awe, interpreted this or any other mild Dealing to proceed from some faining or fainting Disposition, either doubting or daring most when they are most fairly intreated: And the more to inflame the Popular Rage, fresh Rumours were devis'd and divulg'd, that the People should be constrain'd to pay a ratable Tax for their Sheep and other Cattle, and an Excise for every thing which they should eat or drink; by which and other like Reports the simple were blinded, the malicious edg'd, all hardned from applying to any peaceable Persuasion.

And now unable to support themselves either with their own Estate, or by wast of Villages, they aspir'd to the Spoil and Subjection of Cities: And first they came to *Exeter* and demanded Entrance, but the Citizens as they were both civil and rich, so were they better advis'd, and therefore clos'd their Gates, and refus'd to have any Intercourse with the Seditious, but either by common Obedience, or else by Hostility and Arms. The popular Fury being thus stop'd, swell'd the more. Whereupon they resolv'd to apply their Endeavours for taking the City, and either by destroying it to increase Terror, or else by sparing it to win an Opinion of Moderation: They had no great Artillery to open a Breach, and yet without Reason they gave an Assault, and us'd divers Means to mount the Walls: but the more Madness they shew'd in their Attempt, with the greater Loss they were driven back. Then they fir'd the Gates at two several times, but the Citizens at both times by casting in Wood maintain'd the Fire, until they had cast up a Half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were slain from the Corners like Dogs. After this they min'd the Walls, laid the Pouder and ramm'd the Mouth; but the Citizens made a Countermine, whereinto they pour'd such Plenty of Water, that the wet Powder could not be fir'd.

They lay Siege to Exeter.

In the mean time the Lord Privy-Seal lay at *Honington* expecting more strength: and knowing right well that as the Multitude are slow to danger, so are they most desperate when then are stir'd, but whilst he expected more Company, many of those he had slip'd away from him; hereupon he resolv'd for retaining the rest, to entertain some present Enterprize, and first he assay'd by a by-way to enter and relieve the City, but the Seditious for prevention hereof had fell'd all the Trees between S. *Mary Outry* and *Exeter*, and laid them cross the way, in such sort as they impeach'd his Passage. Hereupon firing such Places as he thought might serve either for use or ease to the Seditious, he determin'd to return to *Honington*. But the Seditious forelaid a Bridge, over which he should pass, call'd *Feniton* Bridge; and in a great fair Meddow behind the Bridge, plac'd a great number under Banners display'd. The Lord Privy-Seal had but a small Company in regard of the Seditious. Yet with good Order and Courage he attempted the Bridge, but could not force it: at the last finding the River to be fordable at the foot of the Bridge, he there set over his Horse, whereupon the Guards appointed to defend the Bridge forsook their Charge, and retir'd to their Strength in the Meddow. Then the King's Forces charg'd lively upon them, and they again as stoutly receiv'd the Charge; but being an untrain'd Multitude without either Soldier or Guide, they were soon broken and put to flight: Yet they rally'd themselves and tumultuously charg'd upon the King's Forces, but were presently routed and cast out of the Field; the Chase was not far pursu'd for fear of fresh Succors from before the City. Notwithstanding the Seditious lost 600 of their Men, and the Lord Privy-Seal return'd without Loss to *Honington*.

The Lord Privy-Seal encounters and worsteth them.

At this time the Seditious liv'd by Rapine and Ruin of all the Country, omitting nothing of that which Savages enrag'd in the height of their unruly Behaviour do commit; but the Citizens driven to great Distress for want

A Famine in Exeter.

1549.

want of Victuals, Bread they made of coarsest Bran moulded in Cloths, for that otherwise it would not cleave together: Their finest Flesh was of their own Horses, especially for twelve Days they endur'd most extreme Famine. During this time they were much encourag'd by an aged Citizen, who brought forth all his Provisions, and said, that as he did communicate unto them his store, so would he participate of their wants; and that for his part he would feed on the one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would consent to put the City into the seditious hands. Herewith the Lord Privy Seal, for want of Power to perform any Services, was about to rise and return to *London*. But in good time the Lord *Gray* came to him with Supply of Forces most *Almane* Horsemen, and with him came *Spinola* with his Band of *Italians*, consisting of 300 Shot, purposed for *Scotland*, also 200 Men were sent unto him from *Reading*; so being in all not much above 1000 strong, he made head against the Seditious. So departing from *Honington*, he came to a little Village, from whence lay two ways towards *Exeter*, both which were block'd up with two Bulwarks of Earth made by the Seditious; hither they had driven 2000 Men from before *Exeter*, whom they divided into four Companies. In either of the Bulwarks they lodg'd one; at the Bridge near the Back of one of the Forts a third Company was plac'd; the fourth was laid in ambush behind a Hedge on the Highway at the back of the other Fortress. The Arrier of the King's Forces led by Captain *Wavers* set upon one of the Forts, the Vaward and Battail upon the other; *Spinola* with his Shot did bear upon those within, who offer'd to appear upon the Walls. At length Captain *Wavers* won the Fort which he assail'd, and drave the Defendants to the Bridge, where one of their Companies made stand. Herewith the other two Companies did forthwith resort unto them, one from the second Fort, the other from the Ambush. These casting a strong guard upon the Bridge, marshal'd the residue upon a plain ground behind the Bridge. The King's Forces coming forward, drave the Guard from the Bridge; and making profit of the fresh Terror, set upon those who were upon the Plain. The King's Footmen were firmly rank'd, the Troops of Horse in good Array; whereas the Seditious had neither Weapons, Order, or Counsel, but being in all things unprovided, were slain like Beasts. They took their Flight towards *St. Marychiffe*; but the Soldiers, upon disdain of their unworthy Actions, fill'd themselves with Revenge and Blood, and slew of them above 900, not sparing one.

The L. Gray comes with a Supply.

The Seditious routed and slain.

This sad Blow abated much the Courage and Hope of the Seditious; and yet the next Day about 2000 of them affronted the King's Forces at the Entrance of a Highway, whom when they found both ready and resolute to fight, they desir'd Enterparlance, and in the mean time began to fortify. But understanding that their Intention was known, more like Slaves than Soldiers they furiously ran away. The same Night the Seditious before *Exeter* rais'd their Siege, and therewith discharg'd the City from many Miseries and Despairs. The King afterwards enlarg'd the constant Obedience of the City, with Enlargement both of Liberties and of Revenues; he gave unto them the Mannor of *Exiland*, for a perpetual Remembrance both of their Loyalty and of his Love.

The Siege of Exeter rais'd.

1549.

Now the Seditious driven almost to a dead despair, and supported only by the Vehemency of Desire, brought forth their Forces to *Clifton-Heath*, to whom many of the most vile Vulgars resorted hourly, which much inlarg'd their Numbers, but nothing their Strength. But what Measure have Men in the increase of Madness, if they keep not themselves from falling into it? They brought with them a Crucifix upon a Cart cover'd with a Canopy, and beset with Crosses, Tapers, Banners, Holy Bread and Holy Water, as a Representation of those things for which they fought. The Lord *Gray* incourag'd his Men to set sharply upon the vague Villains, good neither to live peaceably, nor to fight, and to win at once both Quiet to the Realm, and to themselves Glory: so he brought the King's Forces upon them, rather as to a Carnage than to a Fight, insomuch as without and great, either loss or danger to themselves, the greatest part of the Seditious were slain, divers also were taken, of whom the common sort were forthwith executed by Martial-Law, the chiefest Leaders were sent to receive Justice at *London*; some escap'd and sail'd to *Bridgwater*, who taking Dangers to be the only Remedy against Dangers, endeavour'd to set up the Sedition again, but they were speedily repress'd, and thereby the Sedition suppress'd wholly.

They appear again at Clifton-Heath.

But slain and taken.

The Sedition thus broken and beaten down, Sir *Anthony Kingston* Provost Marshal of the King's Army was deem'd by many not only cruel but uncivil, and inhumane in his Executions. One *Boyer* Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall* was observ'd to have been among the Seditious, but by absolute Inforcement as many others were. The Marshal wrote to him a Letter that he would dine at his House upon a Day which he appointed; the Mayor seem'd glad, and made for him the best Provision that he could: upon the Day he came, and a large Company with him, and was receiv'd with many Ceremonies of Entertainment. A little before Dinner he took the Mayor aside, and whisper'd him in the Ear, that Execution must that Day be done in the Town, and therefore requir'd him that a pair of Gallows should be fram'd and erected against the time that Dinner should end. The Mayor was diligent to accomplish his Demand, and no sooner was Dinner ended, but he demanded of the Mayor whether the Work was finish'd; the Mayor answer'd that all was ready. I pray you, said the Provost, bring me to the Place; and therewith he took him friendly by the Hand. Here, beholding the Gallows, he ask'd the Mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough; yes, said the Mayor doubtless they are: Well, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are prepar'd for you; I hope, answer'd the Mayor, you mean not as you speak; in faith, said the Provost, there is no Remedy, for you have been a busy Rebel, and so without Respite or Defence he was strangl'd to death.

The Mayor of Badmin hang'd by Martial Law.

Near the said Place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busy Actor in that Rebellion; and fearing the Approach of the Provost Marshal, told a sturdy tall Fellow his Servant that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore gave Directions that if any one should inquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but affirm that himself was the Miller, and that so he had been for three Years before: So the

And a Miller's Man.

1549. Provost came and call'd for the Miller, his Servant came forth and said he was the Man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill; these three Years answer'd the Servant: then the Provost commanded his Men to lay hold on him, and to hang him on the nearest Tree: then the Fellow cry'd out that he was not the Miller but the Miller's Man; nay, Sir, answer'd the Provost, I will take thee at thy word, and if thou beest the Miller thou art a busy Knave, if thou beest not, thou art a false lying Knave, whatsoever thou art thou shalt be hang'd. When others also told him that the Fellow was but the Miller's Man; and what then said he? could he ever have done his Master a better Service than to hang for him? and so without more to do he was dispatch'd. Assuredly this might have pass'd for a tolerable Jest if it had not been in case of Life.

Diverse others were executed by Martial Law, and a great part of the Country was abandon'd to the Spoil of the Soldiers, who not troubling themselves to discern between a Subject and a Rebel, whilst their Liberty lasted, made indifferently Profit of both.

Sedition in Norfolk.

The seditious in *Norfolk* were somewhat dangerous, both because their Strength was greater, as also because the City of *Norwich* was a Friend unto them, or at least wish'd them no great harm, and being faithful to neither side, was always ready to entertain the stronger. Their first Attempt was made at *Attleborough*, where they threw down the Fences of one *Green* of *Wilby*, who was suppos'd to have inclos'd a part of *Attleborough* Common adjoining to the common Pasture of *Harsham*.

They throw down Inclosures.

Afterward they assembled at a Play accustom'd Yearly to be kept at *Wimondham*, and from thence went to *Morley* a Mile distant, and there cast down the Ditches of one *Hubbard*, next by Incitement of *John Flowerdew* of *Nethesset*, a Gentleman of good Estate: but never expressing Desire of Quiet, they did the like to certain Inclosures of *Robert Ket* a Tanner in *Wimondham*, and receiv'd of him thirty eight Shillings and four pence for their Labour. This *Ket*, who hath made his obscure beginning well known by his mischievous Attempts to requite *Flowerdew*, carry'd them to *Nethesset*, where they cast down all the inclos'd Pasture of *Flowerdew*, and not staying there he led them indifferently to diverse other places, laying all Inclosures where he came rather wast than open.

Ket provoketh the Rabble against Gentlemen.

And the rather to train them to his Allure, he told them both often and with vehement Voice, how they were overtop'd and trodden down by Gentlemen, and other their good Masters, and put out of Possibility ever to recover foot; how whilst Rivers of Riches ran into their Landlords Coffers, they were par'd to the quick, and fed upon Pease and Oats like Beasts; how being fleec'd by these for private Benefit, they were stay'd by publick Burthens of State, wherein whilst the richer sort favour'd themselves, they were gnawn to the very Bones; how the more to terrify and torture them to their Minds, and wind their Necks more surely under their Arm, their tyrannous Master did often implead, arrest, cast them into Prison, and thereby consume them to worse than nothing; how they did palliate these Pillaries with the fair pretence of Authority and of Law, fine Workmen I warrant you, who can so closely carry their Dealings, that then Men only discover them; how harmless Counsels were fit for tame Fools; but for them who had already stir'd there was no Hope but in adventuring boldly.

The likeness of affection and the masking of Vices under pleasant Terms, procur'd not only Assent, but Applause to all that he said: and so by often and earnest repeating of these and the like Speeches, and by bearing a confident Countenance in all his Actions, the Vulgars took him to be both valiant and wise, and a fit Man to be their Commander, being glad they had found any Captain to follow.

Their Numbers increas'd daily, and therewith their Boldness and Power to do harm: They were largely supply'd at the first, both with Victuals and Arms, albeit not with open Consent of the Places adjoining, yet with much private Good-will; for many did not only secretly favour, but openly approve their Designs. Generally every good Man was much griev'd; many upon some dislikes before rejoic'd in their greater Harms, and not regarding in what Liberty they stood, were ready to run into any Bondage. The Sheriff of *Norfolk* resorted unto them, and made Proclamation in the King's Name, that forthwith they should peaceably depart; and had he not been ready, and his Horse swift to depart in time, he should hardly have departed from them alive.

They draw towards Norwich.

After this they drew towards *Norwich*, and seated themselves at *Monshold* near *Mount Surrey*, and upon *St. Leonbards*, which hangeth over *Norwich*: Another Company seated at *Rising* near *Lynne*, but they were dislodg'd by the Gentlemen of the Country, and forc'd to draw to their Fellows at *Monshold*. Here the main Body encamp'd, and sent divers light Companies forth to terrify and rove. To this place many resorted out of *Suffolk*, and from all places of *Norfolk*, many for Want, but most upon a turbulent Mind; and in all places thereabout Beacons were fir'd and Bells rung, as a roaring Furtherance to his Uproar; so as in short time the Multitude increas'd to 16000, and yet rather to be esteem'd a Number than an Army.

Coniers their Chaplain.

Their Actions were cover'd and disguis'd with Mantles, very usual in time of Disorder, of Religion and Justice; for they had one *Coniers* for their Chaplain, a Man brought up in idle and dead Studies, who both Morning and Evening read solemn Prayers: many Sermons they also had either by Intreaty or Inforcement. But Dr. *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Sermon before them, touch'd them for their living so near, that they went near to touch him for his Life. As for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* usually sat, and with him two of every hundred whence their Companies had been rais'd. Here Complaints were exhibited and examin'd as well against those of their own Company, who receiv'd Judgment for their Offences, as against any Gentleman or other in the Country: by Commandment from hence many were very violently pull'd from their Houses, of whom some were enforc'd to follow them, others were cast into Prison, and haply fetter'd with Irons, and not a few rudely and dangerously entreated: From hence also Warrants were sent forth in the King's Name, whereby Ordnance, Pouder and Shot were commanded out of Ships, and any other Furniture of War out of Houses where it could be found. This Tren-

wa-

1549.

Require the King to fend an Herald to them.

was ever fince term'd, the *Oak of Reformation.*

And now the Seditious being advanc'd unto the height, both of their Power and of their Pride, prefented certain Complaints to the King, and defir'd that a Herald, or fome other Meffenger of Credit, may be fent unto them to receive Articles of all thofe Matters wherewith they concern'd themfelves to be griev'd. The King took it for a great Indignity, that bafe Traitors and Thieves fhould offer to capitulate with him as Enemies, lawfully holding the Field; and yet knowing right well, that as good Counfels gather Strength by Time, fo upon a little Refpite evil Advices either vanifh or grow weaker to win fome Advantage of Time, return'd an Anfwer: That feeing he was ready always to receive and relieve the quiet Complaints of any of his Subjects, he marvel'd much either upon what Opinion of Neceffity in themfelves, or of Injuftice in him, they fhould firft put themfelves into Arms, as a Party againft him, and then prefent him with their bold Petitions, efpecially at fuch a time, when having fully reform'd many other Matters, he had lately fet forth a Proclamation againft exceffive Prices of Victuals, and had alfo appointed Commiffioners with ample Authority for divers other things, whereof many doubtlefs had been by that time redrefs'd, had not thefe Diforders given Impediment to his Defigns, generally when they might well difcern both his Care and Endeavours to fet all Matters in a right Frame of Reformation, as might beft ftand both with his Honour and their Sureties, and with Juftice and Providence towards all. Touching their particular Complaints for reducing Lands and Farms to their ancient Rents, altho' it could not be done by his ordinary Power without a Parliament, yet he would fo far extend his Authority Royal and Abfolute, as to give Charge to his Commiffioners to travel with all Perfons within their Counties, to reduce Lands to their former Rents, whereat they were farm'd forty Years before, and that Rents fhould be paid at *Michaelmas* then next enfuing, according to that Rate; and that fuch as would not prefently yield to his Commiffioners for that Redrefs, fhould, at the Parliament which he would forthwith fummon, be over-rul'd.

The King's Anfwer.

Concerning their Complaint for Price of Wools, he would forthwith give Order that his Commiffioners fhould caufe Clothiers to take Wools, paying only two parts of the Price whereat they were commonly fold the Year next before; and for the other third part, the Owner and Buyer fhould ftand to fuch Order as the Parliament fhould appoint. At which time alfo he would give Order, that Landed Men, to a certain Proportion, fhould be neither Clothiers nor Farmers, and farther, that one Man fhould not ufe divers Ocupations, nor have Plurality of Benefices, nor of Farms; and generally that he would then give Order for all the refidue of their Requefts, in fuch fort as they fhould have good Caufe not only to remain quiet, but to pray for him, and to adventure their Lives in his Service.

This Parliament he promis'd fhould begin in the beginning of *October* then next enfuing, againft which Time they fhould appoint four or fix of their Country to prefent Bills of their Defires; and in the mean Seafon apply themfelves to their Harveft, and other peaceable Bufinefs at home, and not to drive him to Neceffity (whereof he would be forry) by fharper Means to maintain both his own Dignity and the Common Quiet.

1549.

And a general Pardon.

Thefe Letters carrying the King's Name in the Front, and the Protector's with the King's Signature at the Foot, were fent by a Herald to *Mounfhold*, a Place guarded with great, but confus'd and diforder'd Strength of the Seditious. Herewith alfo the King fent his general Pardon, in cafe they would quietly defift and diffolve. But the Seditious were fo far from accepting thefe or any other Offers of Accord, that hereupon they difcharg'd the firft Shot againft the City; and becaufe their Artillery being planted on a Hill, could little or nothing endamage the Walls, they remov'd their Battery to a lower Ground: but becaufe the City was weak, and the Citizens but weakly difpos'd againft them, with no Danger, and little Travel, they made themfelves Mafters thereof.

Here they imprifon'd the Mayor and many other of the chief Citizens, and order'd all Things at their Pleafure, but maintain'd the chief Seat at *Mounfhold* where it was before. The Mayor of *Norwich* and fome other Gentlemen of Credit they conftrain'd to be prefent at all their Councils, with Intention to countenance their Actions with fome Authority, but in no fort to be guided by them. All this time the King's Forces advanc'd but flowly, being imploy'd in appeafing the like Diforders more near the Heart of the Kingdom. So that it is moft certain, that had thefe Seditious been fo mifchievoufly bent as in Number they were great, they might have prov'd more dangerous than they were; but they aim'd not at ambitious Ends, their rude Earthly Spirits were never feafon'd with any manly adventurous Thought, and therefore they were content with a licentious and idle Life, wherein they might fill their Bellies with Spoil, rather than by Labour: To this fide their Companies rang'd in all Parts thereabouts, and took away for their Houfholdftuff and Goods; but efpecially they brought to their Stations many Droves of Cattle; for befides Deer out of Parks, befides Beeves, befides Fowls of all Kinds, within a few Days were brought out of the Country 2000 Muttons; fuch Numbers of Sheep were daily brought in, that a fat Weather was fold for four Pence. This was interpreted for a prefent Plenty, but it made fuch Scarcity afterwards, as could not in many Years be repair'd. Sir *Edmund Knevet*, Kt. with fuch Company as he could affemble, charg'd upon one of their Watches by Night; but he was fo far inferiot unto them, that it was efteem'd a great Fortune that he departed from them with his Life.

Marquis of *Northampton* fent againft them.

But foon after, the Lord *William Parre*, Marquis of *Northampton*, was fent againft them with 1500 Horfemen, and a fmall Band of *Italians*, under a Captain nam'd *Malatefta*: He was accompany'd with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen of principal Eftimation. When he approac'd within a Mile of the City, the Magiftrates and chief Citizens, upon Summons reforted to his Standard, yielded unto him the City Sword, and profefs'd their own Loyalty, and excus'd others of inferior Force, who either by Ignorance favour'd the Seditious, or thro' Fear durft not declare againft them; with thefe the Lord Marquis enter'd the City at St. *Stephen*'s Gate, the City Sword being born before him, and therewith caus'd the chief Citizens to affemble

in

1549. in the Market Place, both to give Advice and to take Direction how the City might best be defended.

In the mean time the Strangers who came with him, whether by Appointment or by Adventure, issu'd forth of the City, to view both the Numbers and Orders of the Seditious. They again first put forth their Archers, then their Horsemen, lastly a Company ran furiously forth, without either Direction of others or Judgment in themselves, intending to have inclos'd the *Italians*: But here might have been a great Difference between Men practis'd to fight, and Men accustom'd only to spoil. For the *Italians* in so well advis'd Order receiv'd the Seditious coming rashly upon them, without either Fear or Skill, that divers of the tumultuous Numbers were slain: At the last the *Italians* perceiving themselves almost inviron'd, cast themselves into a Ring, and retir'd back into the City. But they left one Gentleman of their Company behind, who being overthrown from his Horse fell into the Hands of the Seditious, who like Savages spoil'd him of his Armour, and of his Apparel, and hang'd him over the Walls of *Mount Surry*.

They assault the City. This caus'd the Seditious to remain the first part of the Night within their Station, which by reason of the Nastiness of the beastly Multitude, might more fitly be term'd a Kennel than a Camp. Within the City diligent Watch was kept, which was often visited and reliev'd. The Soldiers remain'd in their Armour all Night, and kept so great a Fire in the Market-place, that all parts of the City were lighted therewith. The Seditious about Midnight began to shoot off their great Artillery very lively and thick: Hereupon the Lord Marquis directed part of his Forces to rampart the Gates and ruinous Places of the Walls, which the Seditious espying, with a hideous Roaring and Rage they pour'd themselves upon the City, some endeavour'd to fire the Gates, some to mount over the Walls, and some to pass the River: The Fight continu'd three Hours, and it is almost incredible with what rude Rage the Seditious maintain'd their Assault; some being almost disabled to hold up their Weapons, would strive what they could to strike their Enemies; others being thrust thro' the Body with a Spear, would run themselves further to reach those who gave them that deadly Wound; at the last their Obstinacy was overcome, and they return'd to their Cabbins with loss of 300 of their Company.

And enter it. The Residue of the Night, which was not much, the Soldiers within the City apply'd in refreshing themselves; but the next Morning the Seditious both with greater Strength and better Order enter'd the City by the Hospital, and began a most desperate Surprize. The Forces of the Marquis, albeit inferior in Numbers, yet by reason of the Freshness of the Place, might have been sufficient, if they had charg'd in order, and together; but being scatter'd in the Streets, they were not able to make Resistance: Herewith they were much endamag'd by the Citizens from their Houses, so as 100 of them perish'd, many were hurt, and the Residue driven to forsake the City; the Lord *Sheffield's* Horse fell with him into a Ditch, whereby he fell into the Power of the Seditious, and as he pull'd off his Helmet to shew them who he was, a Butcher slew him with the Stroke of a Club. Divers Gentlemen to the Number of 30 were taken and committed to streight Prison, where they were vex'd alike with Scarcity and Scorn. The Seditious lost about seven Score of their Company; and yet much flesh'd with this Success, they spoil'd many Parts of the City, and fir'd the Houses of those whom they esteem'd not to be their Friends: But the Rage of the Fire was at first hinder'd, and then appeas'd by Fall of a sudden Shower of Rain; whereupon many presag'd that the Flames of this Sedition should neither spread far, nor long endure. The Report of this Repulse flying to *London*, the most was made of that which was true, and many Falsities added thereto. The Earl of *Warwick* was sent with such Forces, both *English* and Strangers, wherewith he had appointed for Service in *Scotland*: When he came to *Cambridge*, the Lord Marquis resorted unto him, and also the Lord *Willoughby*, *Powes* and *Bray*, his two Sons, *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of Fame; with these he march'd somewhat leisurely, because the Importance of the Danger might make the Service the more esteem'd. At length he presented his Forces, consisting of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, before the City upon the Plain, and forthwith sent to summon the Seditious, and to offer Pardon, if it would be accepted; but neither Summons nor Pardon was any thing regarded. Insomuch, as when the King's Pardon was offer'd by a Herald, a lewd Boy turn'd towards him his naked Breech, and us'd Words suitable to that Gesture: One standing by and mov'd with this barbarous Behaviour, discharg'd a Harquebus upon the Boy, and stroke him with a Shot a little above the Reins. Hereat those Seditious that seem'd moderate before became desperate, and those who were desperate seem'd stark mad; whence such Tumults, such confus'd Hollowings and Howlings ensu'd, that the Herald was glad to withdraw himself. (1549.) (The Earl of *Warwick* sent.)

Then the Earl planted his Canon against St. *Stephen's* Gate, and set Pioneers to work against the Brazen Gate. The Cannon against St. *Stephen's* Gate executed so well, that in short time the *Portcullis* and Gate were broken, and Entry open'd into the City; others enter'd at the Brazen Gate, but in that Entrance some were slain. Also the Mayor's Deputy open'd *Westwick* Gate, where the Earl himself enter'd without Resistance, and possess'd himself of the Market-place; at these Entrances 130 of the Seditious were slain, 60 were taken and forthwith executed by Martial Law. As the Earl's Carriages were brought into the City, neither guarded nor regarded as they should, divers of them were surpriz'd by the Seditious, and driven to *Mousbold*. At this Booty they were more joyful than griev'd at the Loss, either of the City or of their Companions, especially for that they were supply'd thereby with good store of Powder and Shot, wherein their Want did most consist.

The Earl being in Possession of the City, rampar'd all the Gates, except those which open'd towards *Mousbold*, wherein he planted good Artillery. But the Seditious, the more terrible by reason of their more desperate Fury, fell upon those Gates, albeit without Order, yet with such rude and careless Courage and Cries, that they beat back the Guards, slew the principal Gunners, carry'd away their Artillery, and therewith certain Carts laden with Munition: Here were

1549. were Boys observed to be so desperately resolv'd, as to pull Arrows out of their own Flesh, and deliver them to be shot again by the Archers on their Side. Hereupon the Earl was enforc'd to block up those Gates as he had done the rest, but the City was so weak that it could hardly be defended.

For the Seditious being now furnish'd with Artillery, Powder and Shot, batter'd *Bishops-gate*, and cast down a great Part of the Walls upon that side of the City. They afterwards passed the River likewise, and assail'd the Earl's Men upon Advantge in the Streets, of whom many they slew, and fir'd divers Places, prostrating two Parishes almost entirely; so they did Mischief, they little car'd what they did, or to what End: And in such sort the Danger increas'd, that many perswaded the Earl to submit Courage to Rage, and for a Time to abandon the City. But he not easily vincible in Spirit, and well assur'd that having stop'd all Passages for Relief, shortness of Provision would in very short time draw the Obstinacy of the Seditious to shorter Limits, drew his Sword, and caus'd others to do the like, and (according to a Soldiery Custom in Cases of Extremity) by Enterchange of a Kiss by every of them upon the Swords of others, sealed a Resolution to maintain the Place.

Assuredly as it is advantageable to a Physician to be call'd to the Cure of a declining Disease, so it is for a Commander to suppress a Sedition which hath pass'd the height; for in both alike the noxious Humour doth first weaken, and afterwards waste and wear to nothing; and besides, it is scarce possible that a rude and ruinous Multitude should continue long together, if any Prevention be apply'd, but they will fall into irreparable Wants: And so it hapned to these Seditious, who after three Days finding their Provision to fail, fired their Cabbins, built of Timber and covered with Bushes, and with a broken Noise, between certain Questions and doubtful Answers, dislodg'd from their Hill, and entrench'd them at the foot thereof in a Valley, call'd *Dussendale*, where they invited the Earl to a present Encounter. And as there hath seldom hapned any Sedition within this Realm, but the chief Actors therein have been abus'd with some Prophecies of doubtful Construction, so the Seditious were moved to remove to this Place, upon a Prophecy much credited among them, that they should fill it with slaughter'd Bodies; but whether of their Enemies, or of their own, it was left uncertain: The Words of the Prophecy were these;

A Prophecy which the Seditious depend on.

> *The Country Kuffs, Hob, Dick and Hick,*
> *With Clubs and clouted Shoon,*
> *Shall fill up* Dussendale
> *With slaughter'd Bodies soon.*

The Earl being newly supply'd with 1400 Horse, was glad that the Seditious had forsaken their Hill, for that his Horsemen, in whom consisted his greatest Strength, could there perform but little Service: So the next Morning he sent forth all his Horsemen, of whom 1000 were *Almanes*, as accustom'd, so adventrous in Arms; his Foot he retain'd within the Town.

The Seditious rang'd themselves for the Fight, 1549. placing all the Gentlemen whom they had taken, in Front, every two couple together, to make them sure from starting away. The Earl, before he would charge, sent to them an Offer of a General Pardon, one or two of the Principal excepted. But this more chafed the Rage of those who were resolved either to live or die together; and what cared they for Pardon, who have nothing but a vile and servile Life to lose. For no more could be gotten from their Estates than from the shaving of an Egg; wherefore in a proud Scorn they answer'd this Offer with a great Shot, that stroke the King's Standard-bearer on the Thigh, and his Horse on the Shoulder.

The Earl engageth them.

Hereupon the Earl commanded his Artillery to be apply'd; the *Almanes* also, and Captain *Drury* with his Troops, gave a resolute Charge, and yet with such discretion, that most of the captive Gentlemen who were placed in the Front, escap'd without Harm; these were so well seconded by the Light-horse, that in a short Time they brake the Seditious, chased them above three Miles, and filled themselves with Blood until Night: There died of them 2000, as King *Edward* took the Number, but our Histories report more than 3500. (*w*)

In the mean time they who guarded the Artillery and Baggage inclosed themselves with Carriage and a Trench, and pitched Stakes to bear off the Approach of Horses, determining to stand stifly upon their Defence. The Earl returning from the Execution, did certify them by Message, that because the King his Master was desirous to establish Peace, rather by Benignity than by Blood, he did assure them their Pardon, if they would submit, otherwise they might expect nothing but Death. Answer was made, that they expected nothing but Death, and that they respected nothing at all, but it was by the Sword, if they stood upon Defence, and by the Halter if they should yield; wherefore they made choice to die rather as Soldiers, than as Dogs.

The Rebels accept a Pardon.

The Earl sent again to know if they would entertain their Pardon in case he should come in Person and assure it? They answer'd, they did conceive him to be so Honourable, that from himself they would most thankfully embrace it. So he rode and caus'd their Pardon to be read to them, and engag'd his Honour that it should be perform'd. Then, seeming to respect Life more than any other Thing, they threw away their Weapons and Disloyalty together, and with Voices so loud as before they were lewd, wished all Joy and Prosperity to the King.

Ket is taken.

The Commander *Ket*, having a good Horse, fled away with the first; and the next Day was taken, with his Brother *William*, in a Barn, and brought with a Guard of twenty Horsemen to *Norwich*, both of them having made good Proof, that they were no less able to guide an Army in War, than they were to govern themselves in Peace.

Nine of the Principal were hang'd upon the *Tree of Reformation*, of whom two were seducing Prophets, a third was a most excellent Cannonier, whose good Skill evilly employ'd, did much endamage the Forces of the King.

(*w*) During this dangerous Insurrection, Sir *John Cheeke*, a very learned Man, and the King's Preceptor, wrote and published a Tract to them, intitled, *The True Subject to the Rebel:* Where, in an expostulatory Address to them, he shewed them the great Mischiefs of Sedition. This is Printed at large in *Hollingshed*, and by it self. *J. S.*

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He and his Brother hang'd. *Robert Ket* and his Brother were sent to *London*, and from thence return'd to be executed in *Norfolk*. *Robert Ket* was hang'd in Chains upon *Norwich*-Castle, his Brother *William* was in like sort executed upon *Wimondham* Steeple, but not without some murmuring, that that Church, dedicated to the Service of God, and which is polluted by violent Death, should be made a Place of publick Execution. The Day of this Defeat of the Seditious was a long time after yearly observed for a Festival Day, by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*, as well by cessation from Labour, as by resorting to Church to give publick Thanks for their Deliverance.

Another Rising in *Yorkshire*. About the same Time another Sedition was rais'd at *Semor* in the *North-riding* of *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief Movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stevenson a Post*. They took Encouragement from a dark and deceivable Prophecy, a common Law both of Obedience and Peace, which did foretel, *That the Time should arrive when there should be no King, when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed, when the Realm should be ruled by four Governors, elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, which should begin at the South and North Seas of* England; and that present they understood to be the Time, and that the Rebellious in *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecy. The Pretences were to restore the Church to her ancient Rights, (for that was always one Note in their Musick) to relieve the Poor, to abate the Rich, and generally to disburden the Realm of all Grievances. A seemly Task for such Undertakers! (A Prophecy.)

And now, for Execution hereof, first by firing of Beacons and ringing of Bells (as if the Coast had been assail'd by Enemies) they assembled about 3000 in Arms, whom they drew to be appliable to their Purpose. Then to begin their great Work of Reformation, they slew one *White* a Gentleman, *Savage* a Merchant, and two others of meaner Quality, and left their Bodies naked upon the Wild near *Semor*. After this, they pass'd to the *East-riding* in *Yorkshire*, their Company daily increasing, like a Snow-ball in rowling; and many they took with them much against their Minds. But no sooner was the King's Pardon presented, but most of them fell off and dispersed, leaving *Ombler* and *Dale* almost alone. These, as they were riding like Madmen from Town to Town, charging People in the King's Name, to assemble at *Hummanby*, were apprehended, and with four others of the most tumultuous, soon after executed at *York*; whose speedy Punishment staid others who were thought to waver between Obedience and Revolt. (The Ring-leaders executed at *York*.)

The *French* break out into Hostility. Now the *French* King supposing to make his Hand by these rude Ravages in *England*, brake off his Treaty of Peace, proclaim'd Hostility, and denounc'd the same by his Ambassador to the King. Hereupon all *French* Men in *England*, not Denizons, were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seiz'd for the King. The *French* King understanding that certain *English* Ships lay at *Jersey*, set forth a Fleet of Gallies and Ships, intending to surprize them as they lay at Anchor. But the *English* being both vigilant and well appointed, in such sort did entertain them, that their Ships departed terribly torn, with loss of a thousand Men at the least. The *French* King fearing lest that the bad Sucess of this first Enterprize, might both discourage his People and bring Disreputation to himself, forbad any Report to be made, not only of the Event, but of the Journey.

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He takes two Forts near *Bulloine*. After this the *French* King levy'd an Army by Land, wherewith marching towards *Bulloine*, he took *Blackness* and *Newhaven*, two Forts of the *English* near unto *Bulloine*. This he did effect chiefly by the Treason of one *Sturton*, a Bastard Son of Lord *Sturton's*; and by Revolt of divers *Almanes* who serv'd in the Garisons, who being meerly mercenary, did easily encline to the strongest.

From whence the *French* King marched towards *Bulloine*; upon whose Approach Sir *Nicholas Arnault* Captain of *Bullingberge*, holding the Place not of Strength to be held, withdrew all the Ordnance and Matters of Worth into High *Bulloine*, and with Gunpowder blew up the Fort. So the *French* King brought his Army before *Bolloine*; but because the Plague rag'd amongst his Soldiers, and the Weather was unseasonable by reason of much fall of Rain, he departed from his Army and left *Chastilion* Governor in his stead.

Lays Siege to *Bulloine*. *Chastilion* bent his Siege against the *Pierre*, which was erected in *Bulloine* Haven, and after Battery of 20000 Shot, or more, the Breach was thought reasonable, and thereupon the Assault was given. But the same was so well encountred by the Valour of the Defendants, help'd with Advantage of Place, that the Obstinacy of the Assailants did nothing but increase their Loss; so as the first Fury being broken and spent, the *French* resolv'd to attempt the Place no more by Assault, notwithstanding they continu'd the Siege, presented divers Skirmishes and false Attempts; but they spent both their Labour and Shot without putting the Defendants in any Fear. Then they planted their Artillery against the Mouth of the Haven, to impede supply of Victuals to the Town. Yet the *English* Victuallers surceased not at the King's Adventure to bring all things necessary, until the end the Soldiers of the Town set upon the *French* suddenly by Night, slew many of them, and dismounted their Pieces.

Then the *French* apply'd their Battery again, wherein they sometimes spent 1500 Shot in one Day. But finding this to be a fruitless Fury, they afterwards us'd it more sparingly, and rather upon a Shew of Hostility than upon any hope thereby to prevail. In the mean Season they charg'd a Galley with Gravel and Stones, and prepar'd to sink it in the midst of the Haven. But the *English* took the Galley, before it sunk, and drew it to the Shore, and us'd the Stones to reinforce the Pierre. After this they made Faggots of light Matter, mixt with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder and Wildfire, with Intention to fire the Ships in the Haven; but that Enterprize was defeated by the *Bullenois*, and their Faggots taken from the *French*. During these Enterfeits divers Skirmishes passed between the *English* and the *French* about the Frontiers of *Calais*, which as they were but light, so most of them ended with Disadvantage to the *French*.

And now if all these Troubles had not been sufficient to travail the Realm of *England*, at once a great Division fell among the Nobility; so much the more dangerous, by how much the Spirits were more active and high. And albeit the Heat thereof was much appeas'd by

1549. a Time by the great Judgment and Moderation of the King, yet did it break forth in the end to tragical Events, not upon particular Persons only, but did much overflow and almost overwhelm the whole Realm with Disquiet, and hereof the most apparent Original was this.

The King's two Uncles fall out.

The King had two Uncles, Brothers to Queen *Jane* his deceased Mother, *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, Lord Protector; and *Thomas* Lord *Seymour*, Baron of *Sudley*, High Admiral of *England*. As the Duke was elder in Years, so was he more staid in Behaviour. The Lord *Sudley* was fierce in Courage, courtly in Fashion, in Personage stately, in Voice magnificent, but somewhat empty of Matter: Both were so faithfully affected to the King, that the one might well be termed his Sword, the other his Target. The Duke was greatest in favour with the People, the Lord *Sudley* most respected by the Nobility; both highly esteem'd by the King; both fortunate alike in their Advancements, both ruin'd alike by their own Vanity and Folly. Whilst these two Brothers held in Amity, they were like two Arms, the one defending the other, and both of them the King. But many things did move together to dissolve their Love, and bring them to Ruin: First, their contrary Disposition, the one being tractable and mild, the other stiff, and impatient of a Superior, whereby they liv'd but in cunning Concord, as Brothers glew'd together, but not united in grain: Then much secret Envy was born against them, for that their new Lustre did dim the Light of Men honoured with ancient Nobility. Lastly, They were openly minded, as hasty and soon mov'd, so uncircumspect and easy to be minded. By these the Knot, not only of Love but of Nature, between them was dissolv'd; so much the more pity, for that the first Cause proceeded from the Pride, the haughty Hate, the unquiet Vanity, of a mannish, or rather of a devilish Woman. 1549.

Their Wives.

For the Lord *Sudley* had taken to Wife *Katharine Parre* Queen Dowager, last Wife to King *Henry* the Eighth; a Woman beautify'd with many excellent Virtues, especially with Humility, the Beauty of all other Virtues. The Duke had taken to Wife *Anne Stanhope*, a Woman for many Imperfections intolerable, but for Pride monstrous: She was exceeding both subtle and violent in accomplishing her Ends, for which she spurn'd over all Respects both of Conscience and of Shame. This Woman did bear such invincible Hate, first against the Queen Dowager, for light Causes and Womens Quarrels, especially for that she had precedency of Place (x) before her, being Wife to the Greatest Peer in the Land: Then to the Lord *Sudley* for her sake; that albeit the Queen Dowager died by Childbirth, yet would not her Malice either die or decrease; but continually she rubbed into the Dukes's dull Capacity, that the Lord *Sudley*, dissenting from him in Opinion of Religion (y), sought nothing more than to take away his Life, as well in Regard of the common Cause of Religion, as thereby happily to attain his Place. Many other things she boldly feign'd, being assur'd of easy belief in her heedless Hearer, always fearful and suspicious (as of feeble Spirit) but then more than ever, by reason of some late Opposition against him. Her Persuasions she cunningly intermix'd with Tears, affirming, That she would depart from him, as willing rather to hear both of his Disgraces and Dangers, than either to see the one or participate of the other.

(x) This Story of the Dutchess's Quarrel with the Queen about taking Place, *Hayward* had neither from *Stow* nor *Hollingshead*, nor yet from King *Edward*'s Journal; none of which Writers speak a Word of it. So that he must have it from *Saunders* *, who was the first Broacher of that Fable; and who thus relates it, 'That there arose a very 'great Contest between Queen *Katharine Parre* and the Protector's Wife, who should have the Precedency. And the 'Contest rested not in the Women, but passed to the Men: And when the Emulation continually increas'd, the Pro'tector's Wife would not let her Husband alone, till at last it came to pass, that the Protector (who altho' he ruled 'the King, yet was ruled by his Wife) must cut off his Brother, that nothing might be an Hindrance to her Will. Thus *Saunders*: who being an Author of such a profligate Character, it became not a just Historian and a good *English*-Man, to borrow any thing from, unless confirmed with better Authority. *J. S.*

* *De Schismat. Anglican.*

(y) The Author suggests, That this Lord *Sudley* dissented from his Brother the Duke in Religion; that is, in other words, that he was a Papist. No such thing appears in History, but rather, that he was of the Religion now professed and countenanced: For one of his last Requests, when the Message was brought him to prepare for Death, was, that his Daughter might be committed to the Care of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, a fast Protestant; and another was, that Mr. *Latimer* might be sent to him, to assist him with his Counsel and Prayers. Who would not have been a Ghostly Father fit for his Turn, had he been of a Religion different from *Latimer*. And here our Author dissents from *Saunders*, whom at other Times he too much follows; who saith, That the Admiral was tainted with the same Heresy with his Brother the Protector.

The Protector vindicated in his Behaviour towards the Admiral.

Here the Author likewise will scarcely obtain Credit in other of his Reflexions upon the Duke, when he makes the first Cause of dissolving the Knot of these two Brothers Love to proceed from the Dutchess; and that she *rubbed into the Duke's dull Capacity* (as he unhandsomly and rudely treats with his words that great Peer) that his Brother sought to take away his Life, and to attain his Place——— And that the *Duke at length yielding himself to her, did devise his Brother's Destruction*——— And that being *arrested and sent to the Tower, he was condemned by Act of Parliament a very short time after*. And lastly, that the *Accusations against him consisted of frivolous or pitiful Matters*. By all this Account of this Lord's Fall, he is represented to come unjustly by his Death, by the unnatural Acting of his Brother against him. And that he was set on in all this Mischief, like a weak Man, by his Wife. This, if it were true, layeth a most heavy Imputation upon the Duke. But surely he was no such Man as he is here delivered down to be: He had better Morals, and more Religion than this came to. The Admiral was certainly an evil Man, turbulent, and full of ambitious Designs from the beginning of this King's Reign. And his Brother the Duke observing it, did often advise him, and earnestly dissuade him from his dangerous Courses, using all the fairest Means with him; pardoning what was past: And, that he might meet with his Brother's high Mind, gratifying him with Possessions, besides the high and honourable Office of Lord High Admiral. Yet was he continually practising after this: He raised Soldiers, and threatned, he *would make the blackest Parliament that ever was in* England. He is suspected to have poisoned his Wife, that excellent Woman Queen *Katharine*; that, being single, he might make his Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sister, and one of the Heirs to the Crown. So that in fine, the Parliament did judge these Things to be a traiterous aspiring to the Crown. And surely Sir *John Hayward* had never read the Act of Parliament whereby that Lord was attainted, to term his Accusations to be *frivolous and pitiful Matters*. The Writer of the *History of the Reformation of the Church of* England, hath, from the Councill-Book, exemplified the Articles against him to the Number of Thirty three; which will shew what heavy Crimes he was charged with. And which, altho' he was urged by the Lords of the Privy-Council, and that upon his Allegiance, to make Answer to, he would never be persuaded to do: Till at last he made some Answer to the three first, but no more. Nor would he set his Hand to them.

Vol. 2. in the Collect. Num. 31.

And how fairly he was judged and dealt with in the Parliament, will appear by this Account, as it stands in the Journals of both Houses: *viz. February* the 25, was read in the House of Lords the first time, the Bill of Attainder of the Lord Admiral. *Febr.* the 26th read the second time. *Febr.* the 27th read the third; and concluded with the common

1549. L. Admiral arrested.

The Duke embracing this Woman's Counsel, (a Woman's Counsel indeed, and nothing the better) yielded himself both to advise and devise for Destruction of his Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* had his Finger in the Business, and drew others also to give either furtherance or way to her violent Desires; being well content she should have her Mind, so as the Duke might thereby incur Infamy and Hate. Hereupon the Lord *Sudley* was arrested, and sent to the *Tower*; and in very short Time after, condemn'd by Act of Parliament. And within few Days after his Condemnation, a Warrant was sent under the Hand of his Brother the Duke, whereby his Head was deliver'd to the Ax. His own fierce Courage hasten'd his Death, because equally ballanc'd between Doubt and Disdain, he was desirous rather to die at once, than to linger long upon Courtesy and in Fear. 1549.

The

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common Assent of all the Peers. The same Day, being *Wednesday*, the Bill was sent down to the Commons; when it was thought good by them to send down certain Members of their House, to declare unto the Commons the Manner after which the Lords had proceeded in that Matter; and further to declare unto them, that in case they were minded to proceed in like sort, certain Noblemen who had given Evidence against the said Lord Admiral, should be sent unto them, to declare by Mouth and Presence, such Matters, as by their Writing should in the mean time appear unto them. The Master of the Rolls, Sir *James Hales*, and Serjeant *Mollineux* were the Persons sent by the Lords.

March the 2d, they were sent again to the Lower House, with the like Commission in Effect, as they were sent the *Wednesday* before. Answer was made, that they would consult together, and thereupon they would with Speed send up their Resolution. But no Haste having been made therein by them of the Nether House, the Lords having sat so long as it was thought the Time now far spent, they concluded to depart; desiring the Lord Protector, that it would please him to receive such Answer as should be sent touching that Purpose, and to make Report thereof at their next Assembly, which should be the next *Monday*.

March the 5th, the Bill was brought from the Commons for the Attainder of the Lord *Sudley*. Thus it is related in the Journal of the House of Lords.

By the Journal of the House of Commons it appears, That this Bill was read there the last Day of *February* the first time. *March* the 1st, read again. And *March* the 2d, the Master of the Rolls, Serjeant *Mollineux*, Serjeant *Hales*, and the King's Sollicitor, were sent from the Lords, to know the Pleasure of this House, if it should be resolved there, to pass upon the Attainder of the Admiral in such Order as was passed in the Higher House. Whereupon it was ordered, That Advertisement thereof be sent to the Lords by some of that House; That it was resolved, That the Evidence should be heard orderly as it was before the Lords: And also to require, that the Lords who affirmed that Evidence, might come hither, and declare it *viva voce*. And this to be delivered to the Lord Protector by Mr. Speaker, and other the King's Privy Council of the House.

March the 4th, the Master of the Rolls, *&c.* declared the King's Majesty's Pleasure to be, that the Admiral's Presence was not necessary in this Court. And therefore not to be there. And further declared, that if the House would require to have the Lords to come, and to satisfy the House for the Evidence against the Admiral, the Lords would come. Then it was ordered, That Master Comptroller [and others] of the King's Privy Council, should hear the Lords; and require, that if it were judged necessary to have the Lords come down, that upon any further Suit they might come down to the House. And the Bill for the Attainder of High Treason of *Sir Tho. Seymour*, L. *Sudley*, was read the third time.

This Lord was sent to the *Tower* the 16th of *January*, according to *Stow*; and the Bill for his Attainder was not finished till the 5th of *March*. Which shews that his Condemnation was not so very short a Time after his Commitment, as our Author here writeth. And he was executed the 20th Day of *March*.

The Ground then of the Admiral's Fall, was his apparent Treason. But that the Cause should spring from an Envy the Dutchess of *Somerset* had against the Lord Admiral, because his Wife, Queen *Catharine*, took Place of her, is both trifling and incredible; and the less to be credited, because it is a Surmise taken from *Saunders*'s Book of the *English Schism*, that abounds with Malice and Lies, and Ill-will to all the Transactions of this Reign.

The Author speaks of the Admiral's Protestation at his Death; and that the open Course and Carriage of his Life cleared him in the Opinion of many. What his Protestation was, *Stow* tells us, *viz.* That he never committed or meant any Treason against the King or Realm. The contrary to which his Deeds declared, and the Act for the Attainder abundantly sheweth; and also that the Course and Carriage of his Life was, during the King's Reign, vicious and turbulent; and in the preceding King's Reign he was very dissolute. A Woman going to her Execution for a Robbery, confessed that Sir *Tho. Seymour* first debauched her. He seldom or never came to Common-Prayer, which the Queen his Wife had said daily in her Family; and was reported to disbelieve the Immortality of the Soul. This, and a great deal more, *Latimer*, in a Sermon preached before the King a little after his Execution, related upon his own Knowledge, or upon good Evidence, to satisfy all People of the Manners of the Man, and how well he deserved his Punishment.

Latimer cleared about a passage in his Sermon concerning the Admiral.

Then the Author hath a most vile Insinuation against the Protector, and the said Reverend Father and Martyr *Hugh Latimer*, *viz.* That he was set up by the Protector an Instrument to preach false Stories to the People, to take off the *Odium* of the Admiral's Death; and that *he pretending all the Gravity and Sincerity of a professed Divine, yet content to be serviceable to Great Mens Ends, declared in a Sermon before the King, That while the L.* Sudley *was a Prisoner in the* Tower, *he wrote to the Lady* Mary *and the Lady* Elizabeth, *that they should revenge his Death.* He adds, *that* Latimer *cast forth many other Imputations, most doubted, many known to be untrue.* And then from this Story the Author takes Occasion to express his cankered Mind against Men in Holy Orders in these Words, *Some Theologians have been employed to defile Places erected only for Religion and Truth, by defending Oppressions and Faction, distaining their Profession, and the good Arts which they have learned, by publishing odious Untruths upon Report and Credit of others.* As tho' they were a mercenary base sort of Men, that, however sacred their Office is, would be hired to be Trumpets of other Mens lying Inventions, for the easier deceiving of the People. This Author going thus out of the Road of an Historian, that he might give a Lash to the *Theologians*, as he calls them, betrays only the Good-will he had to that Order, and leaves upon Record his Malice: And particularly his ingrateful Pains to render (as much as lay in his Power) that grave and good Man, Bishop, and constant Martyr for Religion and Truth, to be a publick Lyar in the Pulpit, to do a piece of Service to the Protector. And he that would die rather than to subscribe or acknowledge that to be true, which he thought to be false, is made such a mercenary Wretch, as wilfully and openly to promulgate, and that before so solemn an Assembly, Uncertainties and downright Lyes.

Hayward here again goeth Hand in Hand with *Saunders* to defame this Reverend Man; who, speaking of *Latimer*, giveth him this broad Complement, (because he was commonly stiled, *The Apostle of* England) *his Apostleship consisted in lying.* And tells this Story of him; That after the Dutchess had invented the Mischief against the Admiral, the Protector went and dealt with *Latimer*, that he should, in his Sermon, traduce him before the People for a Traitor. And that accordingly *Latimer* readily undertook it; and soon after, in the Pulpit, told a Tale of I know not what Snares prepared against the King's Majesty by the Admiral: And therefore that he deserved Death. So that by this Account the Duke and the Divine are represented to Posterity as a couple of bloody Wretches, combining together to make an innocent Man seem guilty of Treason, and then cry out for Execution of him.

But for more particular Satisfaction concerning *Latimer*, as to his Concern about the Admiral, I add further, That these Passages related by *Hayward* to have been spoken by this Divine in one of his Sermons before the King, are not to be found in the last Edition of his Sermons in *Quarto*, *An.* 1571. it being thought good then to leave out what was said of this particular Act of Justice; but indeed they are found in an Edition of the said Sermons in *Octavo*, set forth while the King lived. Where, in the fourth Sermon, *Latimer* took occasion to relate something of the Admiral's evil Conversation, and particularly concerning two small Papers writ by way of Letter to those two Princesses a little before his Death, which, for Secrecy sake, he caused to be sewed up within the Sole of his Shoe, with a Command to his

Man

1549.

His Accusations.

The Accusations against him contain'd much frivolous Matter, or term them *Pitiful*, if you please. The Act of Parliament expresses these Causes of his Attainder: For attempting to get into his Custody the Person of the King, and Goverment of the Realm; for making much Provision of Money and of Victuals; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sister; for persuading the King in his tender Age to take upon him the Rule and Order of himself. The Proofs might easily be made, because he was never call'd to his Answer. But as well the Protestations at the point of his Death, as the open Course and Carriage of his Life, clear'd him in opinion of many. So doubtful are all weighty Matters, whilst some take all they hear for certain, others making question of any Truths, Posterity enlarging both. Dr. *Latimer* pretending all the Gravity and Sincerity of a profess'd Divine, yet content to be serviceable to great Mens Ends, declar'd in a Sermon before the King, that whilst the Lord *Sudley* was a Prisoner in the Tower, he wrote to the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sisters, that they should revenge his Death; which indeed the Lady *Mary* afterwards more truly did, by executing the Earl of *Warwick*, than either she was, or at that time could in particular be requir'd. Many other Imputations he cast forth, besides most doubted, many known to be untrue: And so whereas *Papinian* a Civil Lawyer, but a Heathen, chose rather to die than to defend the Murder which the Emperor *Caracalla* had done upon his Brother *Geta*, some *Theologians* have been employ'd to defile Places erected only for Religion and Truth, by defending Oppressions and Factions, staining their Professions and the good Arts which they had learn'd, by publishing odious Untruths upon report and credit of others.

O Wives! the most sweet Poison, the most desir'd Evil in the World! Certainly as it is true, as *Syracides* saith, that *there is no Malice like the Malice of a Woman*, so no Mischief wanteth, where a malicious Woman beareth sway. A Woman was first given to Man for a Comforter, but not for a Counsellor, much less a Controler and Director; and therefore in the first Sentence against Man this Cause is express'd, *because thou obey'dst the Voice of thy Wife*. And doubtless the Protector by being thus rul'd to the Death of his Brother, seem'd with his left Hand to have cut off his right: For hereupon many of the Nobility cry'd out upon him, that he was a Bloodsucker, a Murderer, a Parricide, a Villain, and that it was not fit the King should be under the Protection of such a ravenous Wolf. Soon after it was given forth, and believ'd by many, that the King was dead; whereupon he pass'd in great State thro' the City of *London*, to manifest that he was both alive and in good health. Whether this Speech were spread either by Adventure or by Art, it is uncertain; certain it is, it did something shake the Strength of the King's Affection towards the Protector.

1549.

The King rides thorow *London*.

Besides, many well-dispos'd Minds conceiv'd an hard Opinion of him, for that a Church by *Strand-bridge* and two Bishops Houses were pull'd down, to make a Seat for his new Building; in digging the Foundation whereof, the Bones of many, who had been there bury'd, were cast up, and carry'd into the Fields: and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church did nothing Suffice for his Work, the Steeple and most part of the Church of St. *John of Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, most beautifully erected and adorn'd not long before by *Docray*, Prior of that Church, was min'd and overthrown with Powder, and the Stones apply'd to this spacious Building. And because the Work could not be therewith finish'd, the Cloister of *Pauls* on the North-side of the Church, in a place call'd *Pardon Churchyard, and the Dance of Death*, very curiously wrought about the Cloister, and a Chappel that stood in the midst of the Churchyard; also the Charnel-house that stood upon the South-side of *Paul's* (now a Carpenter's Yard), with the Chappel, Tombs, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the Bones of the Dead carry'd into *Finsbury* Fields, and the Stones converted to his Building. It is constantly affirm'd, that for the same purpose he intended to pull down the Church of *St. Margaret* in *Westminster*, and that the standing thereof was preserv'd only by his Fall. Assuredly as these Actions were in a high degree impious, so did they draw with them both open Dislike from Men, and much secret Revenge from God.

The Protector hardly thought on for pulling down Churches.

And now hath the Lord Protector play'd the first Act of the Tragedy of his Life, namely his high and prosperous Estate; he is now stepping into the second Act, wherein he begins mainly to decline.

For the Earl of *Warwick* espying opportunity, shewing himself, and knowing that in troublesome Times the Obedience of Great Persons is most easily shaken, drew about 18 of the (z) Privy Council to knit with him against

A Plot of *Warwick* against him.

Man to convey them privately to the said Ladies. Which Practice nevertheless came to light by his Man's own Confession. The Substance of which Papers (bewraying his implacable Malice to the last) was to excite them to a Jealousy of the L. Protector, that they might join their Interests to overthrow him. The Reason why *Latimer* spake these things of the Admiral in this Auditory, was to justify the Authority that put him to death; against which some (perhaps of his own Party) had uttered unbecoming Words. Therefore that holy Man warned and charged his Auditors not to judge those that were in Authority, but to pray for them; saying, that it became not them to judge great Magistrates, nor to condemn their Doings, unless their Deeds were openly and apparently wicked. And that these Imputations, whatever *Hayward* writes, were neither doubted nor untrue, nor taken upon vain Report, the Reverend Preacher averred at the same time, that he himself saw those two Letters, and shewed that he was an Eye and Ear-witness of the rest of the Matters he related. And what *Latimer* spake in the Pulpit, and that upon his own Knowledge, I know no reason why we may not conclude true, because so just and honest a Man spake it; who was above the being hired to speak a Falshood, or to serve a base Turn. And, in a word, if we may depend upon the Protestation of such a vertuous Person, we have him making it publickly before the King and the rest of his Noble Auditory (as tho' he forecasted some such Calumny should afterwards be laid upon him) 'That what he spoke of the 'Admiral and his Writing, he spake it of a good zeal and on good ground, and that he neither feigned nor lyed 'a jot. *J. S.*

(z) There were but fifteen (besides himself and Secretary *Petre*, detained with them by Force.) For so many only set forth the Proclamation against the Lord Protector, and signed it with their Hands; but inded they were Men of the greatest Sway, *viz.* the L. *Rich*, L. Chancellor, L. *St. John*, L. Great Master and President of the Council, the Lord Marquis

1549. against the Lord Protector. These he did so wind up to his purpose, that they withdrew from the Court, fell to secret Consultations, and walk'd in the City with many Servants weapon'd, and in new Liveries: The Causes thereof many conjectur'd, but few knew. They were all desirous that the Protector's Greatness should be taken lower, but none conceiv'd that the Earl's Malice did extend unto Death. But the Lord Protector, as humble then as he had been haughty before, sent Secretary *Petre* to them in the King's Name, to understand the Causes of their Assembly, and to declare unto them that he would thank them for hating him, in case they did it in love to the King (*a*); intreating them for the King's sake, if not for his Safety, yet for his Quiet, that they would forbear open shew of Hostility, and resort unto him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends. In the mean time he arm'd five hundred Men, part of the King's, and part his own; the Court-gates were rampard, and People rais'd both by Letters and Proclamation to aid the King: and the more to increase the present Terror, he remov'd the King by might from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*, with a Company more resembling an Army than a Train.

The Lords with the E. of *Warwick* at *London*.

On the other side, the Lords at *London* first taking possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of *Warwick*, lodging at *Ely* House in *Holborn*. Here they presented themselves secretly arm'd; and the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Man of quick and lively Delivery of Speech, in this manner spake unto them. (*b*)

Lord *Rich*'s Speech against the Protector.

'I Am not ignorant into what Adventure I 'now plunge my self, in speaking against a 'Man both high in Honour and great in Favor, 'both with the King and many of the People. 'But my Duty prevailing against respect of 'Danger, I will plainly declare the Discontentments which the Lords of his Majesty's 'Council have already conceiv'd against the 'Actions past of the *Lord Protector*, as also 'their Fears touching matters to ensue: That 'with your Aid they may in good time happily remedy the one, and remove the other: 'Assuring you all, that as I will not utter any 'thing falsly, so will I forbear to tell many 'Truths.

'And first to touch upon his open Ambition; with what good reason or purpose, 'think we, did he, being a Man of many 'Imperfections, as want of Eloquence, Personage, Learning, or good Wit, aspire to 'the great Offices of governing all Affairs of 'State, fit for none but whom God hath favour'd with fitting Graces? And albeit 1549. 'these Defects might have been well supply'd 'by Sufficiency of others of the Council, yet 'was he so peevishly opinionative and proud, 'that he would neither ask nor hear the Advice of any, but was absolutely rul'd by that 'obstinate and imperious Woman his Wife, 'whose ambitious and mischievous Will so 'guided him in the most weighty Affairs of 'the Realm, that albeit he was counsel'd by 'others what was best, yet would he do quite 'contrary, lest he should seem to need their 'Advice. And yet this was not enough, as 'Avarice and Ambition have never enough; 'but to add Dignity to Authority, and to 'make sure that as no Man should, as in Power, 'so in Title, surmount him, he would be advanc'd to the Degree of Duke of *Somerset*, 'which hath always been a Title for one of 'the King's Sons inheritable to the Crown.

'And Albeit it may seem a light matter to 'speak of Bribery and Extortion against him, 'yet his Robberies and Oppressions have been 'such, that no Man would willingly have had 'ventur'd to commit them, unless he thought 'by Treason so to assure himself, as he could 'not be call'd to answer for them. For he 'hath laid his ravenous hands upon the King's 'Treasure and Jewels left by his Father, 'which were known to be of an inestimable 'Value; that it might well be said, even as 'he had given forth, that King *Henry* died a 'very poor Prince, and had been utterly 'shamed, in case he had liv'd one quarter of 'a Year longer.

'Then also, what havock hath he made of 'the King's Lands and Inheritance? What 'Sales and Exchanges, upon pretence of necessity? And yet what a high deal hath he 'transported to himself, without regard of 'others, who have employ'd their Travels 'and Estates in Service of the King and of his 'deceas'd Father? What Arts hath he us'd 'to spend those, and spare himself against the 'time of his mischievous Purpose? How 'greedily, how insatiably hath he never 'ceas'd the whilst to rake and glean Money together? What shameful Sale of Offices and 'Preferments hath he made, nothing regarding the Worthiness of the Person, but the 'Worth and Weight of the Gift? Betraying 'thereby the Administration of the Realm 'into the Hands both of worthless and corrupt Men: To speak nothing the whilst of 'his Mint at *Duresme Place*, erected and us'd 'for his private Profit; to speak nothing 'of the great Boutisale of Colleges and Chantries; to speak nothing of all his other 'particular Pillages. All which were so far 'from satisfying his bottomless Desires

Mint at *Durham*-Place.

Marquis of *Northampton*, Earl of *Arundel*, L. Chamberlain, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Southampton*, Sir *Tho. Cheiney*, Treasurer of the King's House and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir *John Cage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Edw. Mountague*, L. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Rafe Sadleir*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Richard Southwel*. J. S.

(*a*) There was no such word passed from the Protector; nor is the rest truly represented. The Letter the Protector sent to these Lords by Secretary *Petre*, is extant in our Histories, which speak him of no such timorous Spirit. He wrote in the King's Name and his own, and the other Lords with him; 'That they marvelled to see the manner of 'those Lords Doings, bent with force of Violence to bring the King's Majesty and him into Extremities. But that if 'they would take no other way, he intended to defend the King and himself with extremity of Death, and to put all 'to God's hand. But that if they sought no hurt to the King, as touching other private Matters, to avoid effusion of 'Christian Blood, and to preserve the King's Person, his Realms and Subjects, they should find him agreeable unto any 'reasonable Conditions. And so he prayed them to send their final Answer. *J. S.*

(*b*) This large Speech ensuing, attributed to the L. Chancellor *Rich*, is no where to be met with in our Histories, nor one word of it. Only *Stow* writeth, that the L. Chancellor and others of the King's Council being assembled at the L. *Warwick*'s Place, declared to the Mayor and Citizens the Abuses of the L. Protector, *&c.* So that this Harangue is wholly framed out of the Head of our Author, to display his own Eloquence. *J. S.*

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1549. 'that he proceeded to fleece the whole Commonwealth, to cut and pare it to the very 'quick.

'For under Colour of War, which either 'his Negligence drew on, or his false Practices procur'd, he levy'd such a Subsidy upon the whole Realm, as never was ask'd a 'greater at once; which should not have needed, albeit the Wars had been just, in case he 'had not imbezel'd the King's Treasure as he 'did: For besides he extorted Money by way 'of Loan, from all Men who were suppos'd 'to have it, and yet left the King's Soldiers 'and Servants unpaid. But in all these pretended Necessities, how profuse was he in 'his private Expences? Carrying himself rather as fitting his own Greatness, than the 'common Good. How did he riot, surfeit 'upon vain Hopes, as if new Supply for Waste 'would never want? What Treasures did 'he bury in his sumptuous Buildings? And 'how foolish and fanciful were they? A fit 'Man, forsooth, to govern a Realm, who had 'so goodly Government in his own Estate! 'All these Things, as there are but few but 'know, so we may be assur'd that he never 'durst have committed half of them with a 'Mind to have remain'd a Subject under the 'Law, and to be answerable for his Actions 'afterwards; but did manifestly intend to 'heap his Mischiefs with so high a Treason, 'as he might climb above his Sovereign, and 'stand sure beyond reach of Law.

'And for *Inducement* to this his traiterous 'Design, he suborn'd his Servants and certain 'Preachers, to spread abroad the Praises of 'his Government, with as much abasing the 'Noble King *Henry*, as without Impudence 'they could devise: Following therein the 'Practices of King *Richard* the Tyrant, by 'depraving the Father to honour the Son, to 'extinguish the Love of the People to the 'young King, by remembring some Imperfections of his Father; which Example, 'both traiterous and unnatural, who doubts 'but his Heart was ready to follow? Whose 'Heart was ready to defame his Father, and 'set nought by his Mother (as it is well 'known) and to procure, yea, labour the 'Death of his Brother; whom albeit the Law 'and Consent of many had condemn'd upon 'his own Speeches, yet his earnest Endeavour 'therein did well declare what Thoughts can 'sink into his unnatural Breast, and what foul 'Shifts he would have made, rather than 'that his Brother should have escap'd Death, 'to that end that he might remove at once 'both an Impeachment to his poysonous Purposes, and a Surety to the King's Life and 'Estate. To this end he also practis'd to 'dispatch such of the Nobility as were like 'to oppose his mischievous Drift, and in such 'sort either to encumber and weaken the 'rest, that they should be no Impediments to 'him. In the mean time he endeavour'd to 'win the common People, both by strain'd 'Courtesy and by Looseness of Life, whereto 'he gave not only License, but Encouragement and Means.

'And the better to advance his Intents, he 'deviseth to intangle the Realm not only with 'outward War, that with Rumor thereof his 'dangerous Devices might be obscur'd; but 'with inward Sedition, by stirring and nourishing Discontentments among the Nobility, 'Gentry, and Commons of the Realm. This 'he did under pretence of such Matters as all 'Men desir'd might be redress'd more gladly 'than he, but in a more quiet and settled 'time. But the time seem'd most convenient 'for him, when, under the sweet Pretence of 'Release and Liberty to the People, he might 'have destroy'd the Nobility and Gentry, 'who are the Defence and Safety of the People; and so at pleasure have reduc'd all under his tyrannous Subjection. 1549.

'Which, how insupportable it would have 'been, may well be conjectur'd by his Actions already past. What Pride and Insolency 'of his Men made up of nought? What Instruments had he in every Shire, to work his 'Purposes, to spread his Rumours, to hearken 'and to carry Tales? And those, what Flatterers? what Lyars? How gredily gaping for 'other Mens Livings? How vigilant to grope 'Mens Thoughts, and to pick out somewhat 'whereof they might complain? And such 'vile Vermin, how dear were they to him? 'And, namely, *John Bonham* his one Hand in '*Wiltshire*, Sir *Miles Partridge* his other Hand 'in *Gloucestershire*, his Customer in *Wells*, *Pier's* 'Country, his Minister in *Devonshire*; besides many his bad-condition'd Minions in 'Court: What Monsters were they? How esteem'd they his Favour above all mortal Respects?

'And further, to accomplish his ambitious 'Ends, he devis'd to make the *French* King 'his Friend, by betraying unto him the 'King's Fortresses beyond the Seas, which the 'late Noble King *Henry* with great Charge, 'Courage and Glory, had brought under his 'Power; which Practice was so carry'd, that 'no Man, but such as discern'd nothing, but 'did perceive it: And that as well by his 'often private Conference with the *French* 'Embassadors and their Secretaries, as by 'failing to furnish those Places with necessary 'Supplies, as also by the Speeches which himself and his Servants cast abroad, that *Bulloine*, and the Fortresses about it, were an unprofitable Burden to the Realm. But for the 'Charge, no Man will conceive that he wanted 'Money to keep them, who undertook so 'great a Charge as the Conquest of *Scotland*, 'and wasted every Day a Hundred Pounds on 'his fantastical Building.

'Besides, it hath been often heard from his 'own Communication, how he intended to 'procure a Resignation of the Rights of the 'King's Majesty's Sisters, and others who are 'entitled to the Possession of the Crown, and 'to have entail'd the same upon his own Issue; 'which when he had effected, and having the 'King's Person in his Power, the Chain of Sovereignty could not long have ty'd him short, 'he might have atchiev'd all his ambitious Intentions at will.

'Wherefore surely he hath thus put on the 'Person not only of a Robber and of a Murderer, but of a Traitor to the State, since 'we have evidently discover'd both his lofty 'and bloody Mind. It behoveth you to join 'in Aid with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy 'Council, as in extinguishing a raging Fire, 'as in repelling a cruel Enemy; for assuredly 'we must either weakly yield to his Rule and 'Command, or else the ambitious Author must 'be taken away.

In the Afternoon of the same Day the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in *Guildhall*, City required to send Soldiers.

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hall, where two Letters arriv'd almost in one instant, one from the King and the Lord Protector for 1000 Men to be arm'd for Defence of the King's Person, another from the Lords at *London*, for 2000 Men to aid them in Defence of the King's Person; both Parties pretending alike, but both intending nothing less. The Recorder, whose Voice accordeth commonly with the Lord Chancellor, did so well set forth the Complaints of the Lords against the Protector, that many were inclinable to favour their Side. But one nam'd *George Stadlowe*, somewhat better advis'd, step'd up and spake unto them as followeth.

A Citizen's Speech in Common-Council hereupon.

'This Business, (Right Honourable Lord 'Mayor, and the Residue of this Court) as it 'is a very high Passage of State, so it is worthy of serious Consideration; and that upon 'sudden Advice nothing be done or determin'd therein, lest happily by being serviceable to the Designs of other Men, whose Purposes we know not, we cast our selves into 'the Throat of Danger, which hitherto we do 'not see; two Things I much fear in Case we 'afford present Aid to the Lords, either of 'which should cast upon us a Bridle rather for 'stopping a while, than for stepping or stirring too soon or too fast at their Incitement. 'One is the certain Dangers of the City, the other the uncertain Adventure of all the Realm.

'First then, if we adjoin to the Lords, whether they prevail or not, we ingulph our selves 'into assured Danger, an Example whereof I 'find in *Fabian*, whose Report I intreat you all 'to observe. In the Time of *Henry* the Third, 'the Lords, in a good Cause, for Maintenance 'of divers beneficial Laws, desir'd Aid of the 'City, against the King. Aid was granted, and 'the Quarrel brought to the Arbitriment of 'the Sword. In this Battle the King and his 'Son were taken Prisoners, and upon their 'Inlargement free Pardon was granted, not 'only to the Lords, but the Citizens of *London*, which was afterwards confirm'd both by 'Oath and by Act of Parliament. But what 'follow'd? Was the Displeasure forgotten? 'No, verily; nor ever forgotten, during that 'King's Life; for afterwards the Liberties of 'the City were taken away, Strangers were 'appointed Governors, and the Citizens perpetually vex'd, both in their Persons and in 'their Estates. So heavy and durable is the 'Wrath of Kings, that *Solomon* saith, *The Indignation of the King is Death*. For it is natural 'for Princes to uphold their Sovereignty, 'and to hold it in highest Esteem, in no Case 'to endure their Supream Authority to be 'forceably, either oppress'd or dispers'd, by 'their Subjects; insomuch as they mortally 'hate such Subjects as have once attempted 'either to over-rule them by Power, or to cast 'any Terror upon them. And howsoever they 'may be either constrain'd or content to bear 'Sail for a Time, yet are they so sure Paymasters in the end, that few have held out 'their Lives, I will not say prosperously, but 'safely, who have offer'd Inforcements against 'their King.

'Now touching my Fear for the Commonwealth, I much suspect these Considerations. 'I always expect from them some lurking Mischief, which the more cunningly it be kept 'in, the more dangerously it will break 'forth. For albeit there be many Hands in 'this Action, yet one is the Head, who doubtless hath Skill to play his own Game: And 'albeit the Pretences given forth are always 'fair, and for the Publick Good, yet are the 'secret Intentions commonly ambitious, and 'only aim at private Ends. Yea, many times 'the End is worse than the first Intent; because when a Subject hath obtain'd the Hand 'against his Prince, I will not say, he will be 'loth, but doubtless it is not safe for him to 'give over his Advantage: wherefore I am of 'Opinion, that for the present we will not 'be so uncourteous as to delay, and suspend 'our giving Aid to the Lords for a Time. (c)

The City's wary Answer to the King, and to the Lords.

Upon this Advice the Court resolv'd to arm a hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, for Defence of the City. To the King, they return'd Answer, That they would be ready upon any Necessity, to apply all their Forces, either for his Defence or for his Honour. But they intreated him to be pleas'd to hear such Complaints as were objected against the Lord Protector, before he assembled Forces in the Field, which in those tempestuous Times, as it could not be done without great Danger, so without great Cause it should not. To the Lords they answer'd, That they were ready to join with them in any dutiful Petition to the King, but to join with them in Arms, they could not upon the sudden resolve.

The Lords require that the Protector withdraw from the King.

The next day, the Lords at *London* dispatch'd a Letter to the Lords at *Windsor*, wherein they charg'd the Protector with many Disorders, both in his private Actions, and in his manner of Government; requiring that he would disperse the Forces which he had rais'd, and withdraw himself from the King, and be content to be order'd by Justice and Reason. That this done, they would gladly commune with the rest of the Council for the Surety of the King's Person, and for ordering of his Estate, otherwise they would make no other Account of them than they might trust to find Cause, and would assuredly charge them according to their Demerits.

The King all this Time was so far from governing his Lords, that he was scarce at his own Liberty: And considering that the late Rebellions had but newly weary'd themselves into Quiet, and fearing new Rages among the unstable People daily threatned, and upon such Occasion not unlike to take Flame; conceiving also that the Confederacy trench'd no deeper, or that the only Remedy was to seem so to conceive, dissolv'd his Companies except only his Guard, but charg'd them, upon Warning, to be ready; so it is most certain, that the troublesome Times were a great Advantage to the Lords. Had the People been well settl'd in Subjection, or the Protector a Man of Spirit enough, they had been in Danger to have been undone: But the Protector, instead of using his Authority, sent Secretary *Petre* (who under Pretence of Gravity, cover'd much Untrustiness of Heart (d)) to the Lords at *London*, with some Secret Instructions sent espe-

(c) This Speech of the judicious Citizen is in *Fox*, and *Hollingshed*, but much flourished, augmented, and inlarged by our Author according to his Custom. *J. S.*

(d) An unfair Character of a very wise and honest Man, and long exercised in publick Affairs, without any Spot that ever I could find: Except that he did comply with the Changes of Religion, under the Princes in whose Reigns he served. Which was a Practice of a great Number more besides himself. Secretary *Petre* is not to be censured as false, for

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The Protector sends Secretary *Petre* to the Lords.

especially to persuade them, that for a publick Benefit, all either private Guards or Unkindnesses might be laid aside. But neither did he return to *Windsor*, neither was any Answer return'd from the Lords. After this he wrote two Letters, one in his own Name to the Earl of *Warwick*, the other in the Name of the Lords at *Windsor* to the Lords at *London*; in both which he so weakly complain'd, expostulated, intreated, yielded under their Hand, as it was sufficient to have breath'd Courage into any Enemy once declared against him.

The Lords publickly by proclamation charge the Protector.

And indeed, hereupon the Lords forthwith publish'd a Proclamation under the Hands of seventeen Persons, either for Nobility or Authority of Office well regarded: Wherein the Causes of such Calamities and Losses as had lately before happen'd, not only by inward Divisions which had cost the Lives of many thousands of the King's Subjects, and threatned more, but also by the Loss of divers Pieces beyond the Seas, which had been won by great Adventure of the late King's Person, and Consumption of his Treasure; they perceiv'd that the only Root from whence those Mischiefs sprung, was the evil Government of the Lord Protector, whose Pride, Covetousness and Ambition, cover'd only his private Ends, and therefore he was deeply busied in his spacious and specious Buildings, in the hottest Times of War against *France* and *Scotland*, whilst the poor Soldiers and Servitors of the King were unpaid, and labour'd to make himself strong in all Countries, whilst within the Realm, Laws, Justice, and good Order perverted, Provisions for the Forts beyond the Seas neglected, and the King's Subjects by most dangerous Divisions (by his Means either rais'd or occasion'd) much Disquiet. That hereupon the Lords of the Council, for preventing, as well present Dangers to the King's Person, as the utter Subversion of the State of the Realm, concluded to have talk'd to him quietly, without Disturbance to the King, or to the People, for reducing him to live within reasonable Limits, and for putting Order for Safety of the King's Person, and Preservation of the Commonwealth of the Realm, and so to have pass'd over his most unnatural and traiterous Deservings, without further Extremities. But he knowing that he was unable to answer for any part of his Demeanour, began forthwith to spread false Rumours, that certain Lords had conspir'd against the King's Person; under Pretence whereof he levy'd Forces in a disorder'd Uproar, albeit the Treason rested in him, and some other his Complices. Wherefore seeing he troubl'd the whole Realm for accomplishing his traiterous Ends, and us'd the King in his tender Age for an Instrument against himself, causing him to put his Hand to many of his own Devices, and to speak Things tending to the Destruction of himself, they desir'd, and in the King's Name charg'd all Subjects, not to obey any Precepts, Licenses or Proclamations, whereunto the Protector's Hand should be set, albeit he should abuse the King's Hand and Seal unto them, but to quit themselves upon such Proclamation as should proceed from the Body of the Council, protesting therewith their faithful Hearts to the King, and their Loyalty towards the People.

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Instantly after publishing of this Proclamation, the Lords directed their Letters to *Windsor*, and address'd one to the King, another to the Protector, the third to the Houshold, which was openly read. The Letter to the Protector was guilded over with many smooth Words, intimating fair Promises and full of Hope; but the other two did fully and foully set forth his Obstinacy, his Avarice, his Ambition, his rash Engagements into Wars, in the King's unsettl'd both Age and Estate, his Negligences, his Deceits, and all other Insufficiencies mention'd before. Herewith Sir *Robert Wingfield* Captain of the Guard was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*, who so well persuaded the King both of the Loyal Affection of the Lords towards him, and of their moderate Desires against the Protector (who then was in Presence) that partly thereby, but chiefly in regard of the turbulent Times, the Protector was remov'd from the King's Person, and a Guard set upon him until the next Day, when the Lords at *London* were appointed to be there.

A Guard set upon the Protector's Person.

The Lords come to *Windsor*.

So the next Day divers of the Council rode from *London* to *Windsor*, but the Earl of *Warwick* rode not with them, for he was a perfect Master of his Craft: He had well learn'd to put others before him in dangerous Actions, and in Matters of Mischief to be seen to do least, when in very deed all mov'd from him. He had well learn'd of the Ape to take Nuts out of the Fire with the Paw of the Cat. These Lords coming before the King, did again run over their Complaints against the Protector, and also under Colour of Love and Duty, adviseth the King to beware of such as were both powerful, ambitious, mischievous and rich: Affirming that it would be better Surety unto him, if this great Authority should be committed to many, who cannot so readily knit in Will or in Action, as when the whole Manage resideth in one. In the end, the Duke of *Somerset* (for hereafter he must be no otherwise call'd) was committed into their Power, and committed to Custody in *Beauchamp* Tower within the Castle.

The Protector brought to the *Tower*.

The next Day he was brought to *London*, as if he had been a Captive carry'd in Triumph. He rode thro' *Holbourn* between the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Huntington*, and was follow'd with Lords and Gentlemen to the number of 300 mounted on Horseback; at *Holbourn-Bridge* certain Aldermen attended on Horseback, and the Citizens, Housholders, stood with Halberts on all Sides of the Streets, thro' which he pass'd. At *Sopher-Lane* he was receiv'd by the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, and divers Knights of especial Note, who with a great Train of Officers and Attendants bearing Halberts, carry'd him forthwith to the *Tower*. All this was to bear in shew, both that the Duke was a dangerous Man, and that the common both Aid and Applause concurr'd in his Restraint.

Forthwith the King was brought to *Hampton-*

for not returning back to *Windsor*, but remaining with the Lords, since he was detained by them, which occasioned a Letter of the Lord Protector to them, expostulating with them for staying him with them, when the King had sent him with such a weighty Message and expected their Answer by him. 'Tis true, I find, that while they kept him with them, he Signed a Proclamation against the Lord Protector with the rest, but that might well be out of fear of some great Danger if he had refused. *J. S.*

Court,

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The King at Hampton-Court.

Court, where all Things being born as done well, becauſe nothing was ill taken, ſeven of the Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the King's Perſon. The Lords were, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords *Ruſſel*, *St. John*, and *Wentworth*; the Knights were theſe, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Thomas Worth*. As for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referr'd to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after the King rode to his Houſe in *Southwark*, (then call'd *Suffolk-Place*) and there din'd: After Dinner he rode in great Eſtate thro' the City to *Weſtminſter*, as if the People ſhould be given to underſtand, that nothing was diminiſh'd either from the Safety or Glory of the King, by Impriſonment of the Duke.

Articles brought to the Protector of his Miſdemeanors.

And now when the Duke had breath'd a ſmall Time in the *Tower*, certain Lords of the Council were ſent unto him, who after a ſhort Preface in ſuch Terms as Hate and Diſſimulation could temper together, remembring how great the Amity had been between them, and of what Continuance: Then acknowledging what Offices and Services he had done for the Commonwealth, and yet interlacing ſome Errors and Defects, wherewith they ſeem'd to reproach him. Laſtly, they preſented him certain Articles as from the Reſidue of the Privy-Council, deſiring his preſent Anſwer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or elſe ſtand upon his Juſtification. The Articles objected againſt him were theſe.

1. *That he took upon him the Office of Protector upon expreſs Condition that he ſhould do nothing in the King's Affairs, but by Aſſent of the late King's Executors, or the greateſt part of them.*

2. *That, contrary to this Condition, he did hinder Juſtice, and ſubvert Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command.*

3. *That he cauſ'd divers Perſons, arreſted and impriſon'd for Treaſon, Murther, Manſlaughter, and Felony, to be diſcharg'd, againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.*

4. *That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.*

5. *That he commun'd with Embaſſadors of other Realms alone, of the weighty Matters of the Realm.*

6. *That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's moſt honourable Counſellors, for declaring their Advice in the King's weighty Affairs, againſt his Opinion; ſometimes telling them, that they were not worthy to ſit in Council, and, ſometimes, that he needed not to open weighty Matters to them, and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion, he would diſcharge them.*

7. *That againſt Law he held a Court of Requeſts in his Houſe, and did inforce divers to anſwer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the ſame.*

8. *That, being no Officer, without the Advice of the Council, or moſt part of them, he did diſpoſe Offices of the King's Gift for Money, grant Leaſes, and Wards, and Preſentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gave Biſhopricks, and made Sales of the King's Lands.*

9. *That he commanded Alchimy, and Multiplication to be practis'd, thereby to abaſe the King's Coin.*

10. *That divers Times he openly ſaid, that the Nobility and Gentry were the only Cauſe of Dearth. Whereupon the People roſe to reform Matters of themſelves.*

11. *That, againſt the Mind of the whole Council, he cauſ'd Proclamation to be made concerning Incloſures, whereupon the People made divers Inſurrections, and deſtroy'd many of the King's Subjects.* 1549.

12. *That he ſent forth a Commiſſion with Articles annex'd, concerning Incloſures, Commons, Highways, Cottages, and ſuch like Matters; giving the Commiſſioners Authority to hear and determine thoſe Cauſes, whereby the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were ſubverted, and much Rebellion rais'd.*

13. *That he ſuffer'd Rebels to aſſemble and lie arm'd in Camp againſt the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without ſpeedy repreſſing of them.*

14. *That he did comfort and encourage divers Rebels, by giving them Money, and by promiſing them Fees, Rewards and Services.*

15. *That he cauſ'd a Proclamation to be made againſt Law, and in favour of the Rebels, that none of them ſhould be vex'd or ſu'd by any for their Offences in their Rebellion.*

16. *That in time of Rebellion he ſaid that he lik'd well the Actions of the Rebels, and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave Occaſion for the People to riſe, and that it was better for them to die, than to periſh for Want.*

17. *That he ſaid, The Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform Incloſures and other Things, therefore the People had good Cauſe to reform them themſelves.*

18. *That after Declaration of the Defaults of* Bologne *and the Pieces there, by ſuch as did ſurview them, he would never amend the ſame.*

19. *That he would not ſuffer the King's Pieces of* Newhaven, *and* Blackneſs, *to be furniſh'd with Men and Proviſion; albeit he was advertis'd of the Defaults, and advis'd thereto by the King's Council, whereby the* French *King was embolden'd to attempt upon them.*

20. *That he would neither give Authority, nor ſuffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to ſuppreſs Rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to ſpeak the Rebels fair, and uſe them gently.*

21. *That upon the fifth of* October *the preſent Year, at* Hampton-Court, *for Defence of his own private Cauſes, he procur'd ſeditious Bills to be written in Counterfeit Hands, and ſecretly to be diſpers'd into divers Parts of the Realm, beginning thus,* Good People, *intending thereby to raiſe the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.*

22. *That the King's Privy Council did conſult at* London *to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing of their Aſſembly, declar'd by his Letters in divers Places, that they were high Traitors to the King.*

23. *That he declar'd untruly, as well to the King as to other young Lords attending his Perſon, that the Lords at* London *intended to deſtroy the King, and deſir'd the King never to forget, but to revenge it; and requir'd the young Lords to put the King in Remembrance thereof, with Intent to make Sedition and Diſcord between the King and his Nobles.*

24. *That at divers Times and Places he ſaid; the Lords of the Council at* London *intend to kill me, but if I die, the King ſhall die, and if they famiſh me, they ſhall famiſh him.*

25. *That of his own Head he remov'd the King ſo ſuddenly from* Hampton-Court *to* Windſor, *without any Proviſion there made, that he was thereby not only in great Fear, but caſt into a dangerous Diſeaſe.*

26. *That by his Letters he cauſ'd the King's People to aſſemble in great Numbers in Armour, after the manner of War, to his Aid and Defence.*

27. *That he cauſ'd his Servants and Friends at* Hampton-Court *and* Windſor *to be apparell'd in the*

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the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guard went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Jersey *or* Wales, *and laid Post-horses and Men, and a Boat to that Purpose* (e).

To which the Duke subscribed.

Now albeit there is little doubt but that some of these Articles were meerly devis'd, others inlarg'd or wrested, or otherwise enforc'd by odious Interpretation, yet the Duke subscribed with his own Hand, that he did acknowledge his Offences contain'd in them, and humbly upon his Knees submitted himself to the King's Mercy. That in like manner he intreated the Lords to be a Means to the King, that he would conceive that his Offences did proceed rather from Negligence, Rashness, or other Indiscretion, than from any malicious Thought tending to Treason; and also that he would take some gracious Way with him, his Wife and Children, not according to Extremity of Laws, but after his great Clemency and Mercy. *Written with my own Hand,* Dec. 23. *Anno* 3 Edw. *Regis.*

Loses all his great Offices, Goods and Lands.

To this I make no other Defence, but intreat the Reader not to condemn him for perishing so weakly, and for that he, who should have lost his Life to preserve his Honour, cast away both his Life and Honour together. Assuredly he was a Man of a feeble Stomach, unable to concoct any great Fortune, prosperous or adverse (f). But as the Judgment of God, and Malice of a Man concur often in one Act, altho' it be easy to discern between them; so it is little to be marvelled, that he who thirsted after his Brother's Blood, should find others to thirst after his. Notwithstanding, for that present his Blood was respited, but he was stripped of his great Offices, of being *Protector*, *Treasurer* and *Marshal*, lost all his Goods, and near Two Thousand Pounds Land; in which Estate if he had continu'd, the longer he had liv'd, the more Punishment he should endure: Herewith it was scoffingly said, That *he had eaten the King's Goose, and did then regorge the Feathers.*

Submits himself to the Lords.

After this he sent Letters to the Lords of the Council, wherein he acknowledg'd himself much favour'd by them in that they had brought his Cause to be finable; which altho' it was to him importable, yet as he did never intend to contend with them, nor any Action to justify himself, as well for that he was none of the wisest, and might easily err, as for that it is scarce possible for any Man in great Place so to bear himself, that all his Actions, in the Eye of Justice, should be blameless; so he did then submit himself wholly to the King's Mercy and their Discretions, for some Moderation; desiring them to conceive that what he did amiss, was rather through Rudeness, and for want of Judgment, than from any malicious Meaning; and that he was therefore ready both to do and suffer what they would appoint. Finally, He did again most humbly, upon his Knees, intreat Pardon and Favour, and they should ever find him so lowly to their Honours, and obedient to their Orders, as he would thereby make amends for his former Follies.

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The Duke of *Somerset* restored to Favour, *Apr.* 8.

These Subjections, Objections, Dejections of the Duke, made an heavenly Harmony in his Enemies Ears. But they wrought such Compassion with the King, that forthwith he was released out of the *Tower*, his Fines discharged, his Goods and Lands restor'd, except such as had been given away; either the Malice of the Lords being somewhat appeased, or their Credit not of sufficient Strength to resist. Within a short time after he was entertain'd and feasted by the King with great Shew of Favour, and sworn again of the Privy-Council; at which Time, between him and the Lords, perfect Amity was made, or else a dissembling Hate. And that all might appear to be knit up in a comical Conclusion, the Duke's Daughter was afterwards joined in Marriage to the Lord *Leisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; and the Earl also was made Lord Admiral of *England*. Yet many doubted whether the Earl retained not some secret Offence against the Duke, which if he did it was most cunningly supprest. Doubtless, of all his Virtues, he made best Vice of Dissimulation. And as this Friendship was drawn together by Fear on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than was the Fear.

And thus the second Act ended of the Tragedy of the Duke, the third shall follow in the proper place.

In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick*, for what mischievous Contrivance it was not certainly known, but conceiv'd to be against the Duke, joined to him the Earl of *Arundel* late Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Southampton* sometimes Lord Chancellor, Men of their own Nature circumspect and slow, but at that time discountenanced and discontent; whom therefore the Earl of *Warwick* singled as fittest for his Purpose. Many secret Conferences they had at their several Houses, which often held the greatest part of the Night. But they, accustomed to afford at other times, either Silence, or short Assent to what he did propose, did then fall off and forsake him, procuring thereby Danger to themselves, without doing Good to any other. For when the Earl of *Warwick* could by no means draw them to his Desires, he found Means that both of them were discharged from the Council, and commanded to their Houses.

Southampton and *Arundel* discharg'd the Council.

Against the Earl of *Arundel*, Objections were framed, that he took away Bolts and

Earl of *Arundel* Fined.

(e) There is one Article more in *Stow's* Chronicle (whence our Author hath all this) but here omitted; and it is to come in next after the 27th, viz. Item, *You caused at* Windsor *your own Person in the Night-time to be guarded in Harness by many Persons, leaving the King's Majesty's Person unguarded; and would not suffer his own Guard and Servants to be next the King's Person, but appointed your Servants and Friends to keep the Gates.* J. S.

(f) Would a Man of a cooler Temper than our Author have presently judged the Duke so impotent and feeble, and unable to govern himself? would he not rather have considered the Circumstances wherein he stood, and what powerful Enemies combined together against him, and thirsted for his Ruin? The Duke might have been somewhat too hasty, if Sir *John Hayward* had been his Counsellor, to have presently taken up Arms, and ventured Life and Honour together; and so might have lost both, in all Probability he would, being so inferior in Strength to his Adversaries, who were, in effect, all the Council, except one or two. The Duke undoubtedly considered this, and also the Danger the King his Nephew was and would be in, if this Broyl had proceeded further, and the Danger of the State of Religion too, to which many of the other *Side* had no great Favour. It was not his Feebleness therefore, but rather his Caution and Wisdom that made him submit as he did.

As for his thirsting after his Brother's Blood, as is mentioned most uncharitably afterwards, it was a groundless Calumny, as I have shewn before. *J. S.*

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Locks at *Westminster*, and gave away the King's Stuff: He was Fined at 12000 *l.* to be paid 1000*l.* yearly. But doubtless the Earl of *Warwick* had good reason to suspect, that they who had the Honesty not to approve his Purpose, would not want the Heart to oppose against it.

Stirs moved again in *Suffolk* and other places.

During these Combats among the Nobility, many popular Insurrections were assailed. One *Bell* was put to Death at *Tyburn* for moving a new Rebellion in *Suffolk* and in *Essex*; he was a Man nittily needy, and therefore adventrous; esteem'd but an idle Fellow, until he found Opportunity to shew his Rashness. Divers like Attempts were made in other Places, but the Authors were not so readily follow'd by the People as others had done before: partly because Multitudes do not easily move, but chiefly because Misadventures of others in like Attempts had taught them to be more warily advis'd.

A Parliament. Acts made.

About this Time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophesies, the first Motive of Rebellions; and another against unlawful Assemblies, the first apparent acting of them. But for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolv'd, and Gentlemen charg'd to retire to their Country Habitations, being furnish'd with such Forces and Commissions as were held sufficient to hold in Bridle, either the Malice or Rage of reasonless People: Yea so great grew the Doubts of new Insurrections, that *Trinity-Term* did not hold, lest Gentlemen should by that Occasion be drawn out of the Country where they were esteem'd to do good Service, by keeping the Commons from Commotions. All these Movements seem'd to be pretended by moving of the Earth in divers Places of *Suffex*.

Sir *Tho. Cheynie* sent to the Emperor.

The Affairs of *England* beyond the Seas, all this time were carry'd with variable Success: Sir *Thomas Cheynie* was sent to the Emperor to treat with him, that his Forces might join with the Forces of *England* against the common Enemies of them both, according to the Articles formerly concluded. These Articles had been well observ'd for a Time, especially against the *French*. But afterwards the Emperor being diverted about other Preparations, and therewith much sollicited by the *Scots* not to be a Help to ruin their Kingdom, fell by Degrees from the King of *England*, filling his Embassadors with empty Hopes at the first, wherein also he daily fainted and failed in the End.

Affairs between *France* and *England*.

In *France* the King placed the Rhinegrave with divers Regiments of *Almanes*, *Lancequenots*, and certain Ensigns of *French*, to the Number of four or five thousand, at the Town of *Morgnison*, midway between *Bologne* and *Calais*, to impeach all Intercourse between those two Places. Whereupon the King of *England* caused all the Strangers that had served the Year against the Rebels, to the number of 2000, to be transported to *Calais*; to them were added 3000 *English*, under the Command of *Francis* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and Sir *Edward Hastings* his Brother, to dislodge the *French*, or otherwise to annoy them. But the *French* perceiving that the Troubles in *England* were perfectly appeas'd, and that the King thereby was much strengthen'd in his Estate, for that the vicious Humours against him were either corrected or spent; finding also that he daily grew rather into Admiration than Love, as well for that it was apparent, that he had so well improv'd that little Stock which his Father left, as he was like to prove a Thriver in the end; also weary in maintaining Wars with *Scotland*, as well in regard of the Charge, as for that his People were nothing desirous of Service in that distant Country.

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Lastly, Having try'd as well the Strength as Courtesy of the *English* Nation, and doubtful of the Estates of the Empire and of *Spain*, by whom not only the Wings of his Kingdom had been clipped on every side, but the whole Body thereof dangerously attempted, he resolved to fasten Peace with *England*, if he could.

Hereupon he dispatched to the *English* Court *Guidotti* an *Italian*, born in *Florence*, who made many Overtures to the Lords of the Council, but all as from the Constable of *France*; and espying with a nimble Eye that Matters of Council were chiefly sway'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, by great Gifts, and greater Hopes, he wrought him to be appliable to his Desires. In the end it was concluded that four Embassadors should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King to treat with them; that the *English* Commissioners should come to *Guisnes*, and the *French* to *Ardes*, and that their Meeting should be chiefly at *Guisnes*: The *English* yielding to all with Sincerity of Mind, the *French* accepting all, but with Intentions reserv'd to themselves. The Lords appointed by the *English* were, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, and Sir *John Mason* Secretary (*g*) of State. On the *French* side were appointed Monsieur *Rochpott*, Monsieur *Chastillian*, *Guillant de Mortier*, and *Rochetele de Dassie*. In short time after the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Great Master, another Feather to his mounting Mind.

Warwick made Great Master.

The Place of Meeting of the *French* and *English* Embassadors.

The Day wherein the *English* Embassadors arriv'd at *Calais*, *Guiddotti* resorted unto them with a Letter from Monsieur *Rochpott*, whereby he signify'd that the *French* intended not to come to *Ardes*, but desired that the *English* would go to *Bologne*, and that the Meeting might be besides the Town. For this he alledg'd that he was so weakly dispofed in Health that he could not travel far, and that he being Governour of *Picardie* and *Chastilion* of *Newhaven*, they might not depart such distance from their Charge; and further, that there must be much waste of time if the *English* should lie at *Guisnes*, and the *French* at *Ardes*; and that the Equality would be more, and the Dishonour to one of the Sides less, if the Interview should be upon the Frontiers, than if one Part should be drawn into the Territory of the other.

Upon this rub the *English* Embassadors thought fit to demur, and so sent into *England* to receive Directions from the Lords of the Council. They again referr'd the Matter wholly to the Judgment of the Embassadors, affirming, that it was a Circumstance not much to be stood upon, in Case it were not upon some fineness, but for ease and commodity of them and their Train, which indeed they might better find near *Bologne* than at *Ardes*; in case also they could discern no deep

(*g*) Sir *John Mason* was not Secretary of State, but Secretary for the *French* Tongue, and Clerk of the Council. *J. S.*

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1550. Inconvenience which might hinder the good Iſſue of the good Buſineſs in hand, which they eſteem'd ſufficient, if in Subſtance it might be effected; albeit in all Points they had not ſo much of their Minds as they then deſired, and as at another time they would expect; and ſo the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners went to *Bologne*, and the *French* came to one of their Forts neareſt to *Bologne*.

The Condition of *Bologne*. Not long before, the Emperor had been aſſailed by the King of *England* to aid him in Defence of *Bologne* againſt the *French*; which he expreſly refuſed, alledging, that he was not bound ſo to do by Conditions of the League; for that *Bologne* was a piece of new Conqueſt acquir'd by the *Engliſh* ſince the League was made. Then the King offer'd to yield the Town abſolutely into his Hands, in caſe he would maintain it againſt the *French*; which Offer alſo he refus'd to accept. At the arrival of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, the Soldiers were ſharply aſſail'd with Wants; there was not one Drop of Beer in the Town; the Bread and Bread-corn ſufficed not for ſix days. Hereupon the Soldiers entred into Proportion, and to give them Example, the Lord *Clinton* being Lord Deputy, limited himſelf to a Loaf a Day.

The King was indebted in thoſe Parts above 14000 *l.* beſides for the Earl of *Huntingdon*'s Numbers, which were about 1300 Foot; beſides alſo the Increaſes daily riſing, for the Monthly Pay of *Engliſh* and Strangers amounted to 6000 *l.* beſides Allowance for Officers. Hereof the Band of Horſemen out of *Germany*, took little leſs than 800 *l.* the Month; and the *Almanes* on Foot 4000 *l.* accounting the Gulden at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* but accounting it more, as without a higher Valuation little Service and happily ſome Miſchief might be expected, the monthly Pay to Strangers amounted higher. Hereby a great Error was diſcover'd, in that the Strangers for Defence of *Bologne*, were of greater Strength than were the *Engliſh*.

Now the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having firſt procur'd ſome Relief both for Victuals and Pay, prepar'd a Tent without the Town for meeting with the *French*. But they erected a Houſe on the further ſide of the Water within their own Territory, in a manner half way between their Fort and the Town. The *Engliſh* perſuaded the *French* to ſurceaſe their Building, pretending (but for their Fantaſy) it was not neceſſary, becauſe neither their Treaty was like to continue long, neither was it by ſolemn Meeting that the Buſineſs in hand muſt be effected. But in truth they feared, leſt if Peace ſhould not follow, the *French* might in ſhort time, either with filling or maſſing the Houſe, or elſe by fortifying, make ſuch a Piece as might annoy the Haven or the Town. Notwithſtanding, the *French* not only proceeded, but refuſed any other Place of Interview.

The *French* treat about reſtoring *Bologne*. At their firſt meeting much Time was ſpent in Ceremony of Salutation. Then the Commiſſions were read: Then Monſieur *de Mortier* in a ſharp Speech declar'd, that the *French* King their Maſter had upon juſt Grounds entred the War for recovery of his Right, and defence of his Allies; yet was he well minded for an honourable Peace, ſo as the things for which the War began, might be brought to ſome reaſonable Appointment; and hearing of the like Diſpoſition of the King of *England*, he had ſent them to treat of thoſe Affairs, nothing doubting but that the *Engliſh* would accord to the Reſtitution of *Bologne*, and other Pieces of their late Conqueſts, which ſo long as they ſhould keep, ſo long they may be aſſur'd the War would continue. He further added, That *Bologne* was but a bare ruinous Town, without Territory, or any other Commodity to ballance the Charge of defending it againſt the Power of *France*. Laſtly, He ſaid there ſhould want no good Will in them to bring Matters to good Appointment, hoping to find the like Affection in the *Engliſh*. 1550

After that the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners had conferred a while, the Lord *Paget* anſwered, That the Cauſes of the War, both with them and their Allies (whom he took to be the *Scots*) being juſt and honourable, the Town of *Bologne*, and other Pieces ſubdu'd, as well by their late Great Maſter againſt them, as by the King their then Maſter againſt their Allies, were acquir'd by juſt Title of Victory: And therefore in keeping of them no Injury was offer'd, either to the *French* King, or to the *Scots*. But the further Declaration he left off until their next meeting, becauſe both the Time was ſpent, and the Tide ſummon'd them to depart. Touching the good Inclination of the King their Maſter, he had declared it well by ſending them thither, in whom they ſhould find ſuch good Conformity, that if good Succeſs enſued not, the Fault ſhould be, which they expected not, in the *French*. Nothing elſe was done, ſaving a ſurceaſe of Hoſtility concluded for 15 Days, which was proclaimed in both the Frontiers. The L. *Paget*'s Anſwer.

At the next Meeting the Lord *Paget* ſpent much Speech in ſetting forth the King of *England*'s Title to *Bologne*, and to his Debts and Penſion from the *French* King, with all Arrearages; together with the Juſtice of his War againſt the *Scots*. L. *Paget* ſpeaks.

The *French* were as earneſt in maintaining the contrary, wanting no Words whatſoever their Reaſons were: For between great Princes, the greateſt Strength carrieth the greateſt Reaſon. At the laſt Monſieur *de Mortier* roundly ſaid, that to cut off all Contentions of Words, he would propoſe two Means for Peace; All that for old Matters of Penſions, Debts and Arrearages, the *Engliſh* ſhould make white Books and never mention them more; but for *Bologne* to ſet the higher Value; or elſe, ſaid he, let old Quarrels remain, ſo as your Right may be reſerved to claim, and ours to defend; and let us ſpeak frankly of ſome Recompence for *Bologne*. As for the *Scotiſh* Queen (for this had been alſo mention'd before) our King is reſolv'd to keep her for his Son; and therefore we deſire you to ſpeak thereof no more, but of what other Points you pleaſe, ſo as we may draw ſhortly to an end. The *French* offer Recompence for *Bologne*. *Scotiſh* Queen.

The Lord *Paget* anſwer'd for the other Commiſſioners, that they had greateſt Reaſon to deſire a ſpeedy End; but the Matters whereupon they ſtood were of greater Importance than to be determin'd upon the ſudden. For, ſaid he, you may make Doubts as you pleaſe, but if the Debt to our King be not juſt, being confeſs'd, judg'd, ſworn, and by many Treaties confirm'd, we know not what may be deem'd juſt; neither is it a Sum to be ſlenderly regarded, being 2000000 Crowns clear Debt, beſides 12000 Crowns reſting in Diſpute. The Juſtice of the Wars againſt *Scotland* he maintain'd, as well in Regard of Breach of Treaties with themſelves, as for that, contrary to their L. *Paget* inſiſts upon the *French*'s Debt to *England*.

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their Comprehension in the last Treaty of *France*, they had invaded *England* in these Intercourses. The whole Afternoon being spent, it was agreed that both Parties should advise upon such Matters as had been propounded, until the next Meeting.

The French stiff.

But the *French* either having, or supposing that they had Advantage over the *English*; partly by Reason of their firm Intelligence in the *English* Court, and partly because they found the *English* Commissioners much yielding to their Desires, as first in coming into *France*, then to *Bologne*, lastly, to a House of their own erecting, began to be stiff and almost intractable, sharply pressing both for speedy Resolution, and short Times for Meetings. But *Guidotti* continually travell'd to draw both Parties to Conformity, the *French* being willing to be entreated by their Friend to their most dissembled Desires. *Guidotti* instead of the Queen of *Scots*, propounded, that the *French* King's Daughter should be join'd in Marriage to the King of *England*, affirming, that if it were a dry Peace, it would hardly be durable; but hereto the *English* gave no inclinable ear. Then he deliver'd 17 Reasons in Writing, for which he said it was necessary for the *English* to conclude a Peace. The *English* demanded how many Reasons he had for the *French*? He answer'd, That he had also his Reasons for them, which he intended likewise to deliver in Writing.

The French King's Daughter offer'd for K. *Edward*.

Further Treaty between the Commissioners.

At the next Meeting the *French* shew'd themselves, as before, peremptory and precise, standing stifly upon their own Overtures, which they had, they said, no Commission to exceed: And therefore they refus'd to treat either of the Pension or the Debt demanded by the *English*, and declar'd themselves rather desirous than willing to break off the Treaty. The *English* answer'd, That before their coming *Guidotti* had declar'd from the *French* King, that so as *Bologne* might be restor'd, all that was owing from him to the King of *England*, should be paid; which *Guidotti*, being present, affirmed to be true. Well, said they, what our King told *Guidotti*, we know not, but to us he hath given no other Commission than you have heard; which in no case we must exceed. As for the Pension whereof you speak, think you that a King of *France* will be tributary to any? No, no, assure you he will not: And touching the Debt, because the King of *England* gave Occasion to the Wars, wasted the *French* King's Country, and thereby caus'd him to expend such Sums of Money as exceeded the Debt, he took himself to be acquitted thereof.

Hereto the *English* answer'd, That the *French* King might take Matters as he pleas'd, but in Honour, Justice, and Conscience, no Debt was more due: And the Wars being made for Denial thereof, he could not be for that Cause acquitted. That the Pension was also granted upon divers Causes both weighty and just, and amongst other, by reason of the King of *England*'s uncontroulable Title to *Normandy*, *Gascoigne*, and other Parts of *France*. Here they were interrupted by Monsieur *Rochpott*, who brake forth into warm Words, and was again as warmly answer'd; but the *French* would nothing move from their own Overtures, which they stood upon by way of Conclusions.

The *English* Commissioners send into *England*.

At last, the *English* said, that they might do well to report these Differences to their Masters, on both Sides, and that their Pleasures might therein be known. Hereto the *French* answer'd, That they knew their King's Pleasure so well, that if they should send to him again, he would and might think them of small Discretion; and herewith they offer'd to break. The *English* told them, That if they would break they might, but they intended to conclude nothing until they had further Instructions from *England*; which they would procure as soon as they could. To this the *French* did easily incline.

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These Matters advertis'd into *England*, much troubled the Council, and the rather, for that the Earl of *Warwick* was at that Time retir'd, pretending much Infirmity in his Health. Hereupon many sinister Surmises began to spring up among some of the Council, partly probable, and part happily devised: for as they knew not whether he were more dangerous present or away; so, as the Nature of all Fear is, they suspected that which happen'd to be the worst. From hence divers of the Council began in this Manner to murmur against him.

What, said they, *is he never sick but when Affairs of greatest Weight are in debating? Or wherefore else doth he withdraw himself from the Company of those who are not well assured of his Love? Wherefore doth he not now come forth and openly over-rule, as in other Matters he is accustom'd? Would he have us imagine by his Absence that he acteth nothing? Or knowing that all moveth from him, shall we not think that he seeketh to enjoy his own Ends, without bearing Blame for any Event? Go to then; let him come forth and declare himself, for it is better that he should find Fault with all things whilst they are doing, than Condemn all things when they are done.*

With those and the like Speeches he came to Council more than ordinary before; and at last, partly by his Reasons, and partly by his Authority, Peace with *France* was esteem'd so necessary, that new Instructions were sent to the *English* Ambassadors, according whereto Peace was concluded upon these Articles.

Instructions to the Ambassadors for Delivery of *Bologne*.

1. That all Titles and Claims on the one side, and Defences on the other, should remain to either Party as they were before.

2. That the Fault of one Man (except he were unpunish'd) should not break the Peace.

3. That Prisoners should be deliver'd on both Sides.

4. That *Bologne*, and other Pieces of the new Conquests, with all the Ordnance, except such as had been brought in by the *English*, should be deliver'd to the *French* within six Months after the Peace proclaim'd.

5. That Ships of Merchandise may safely pass, and Ships of War be call'd in.

6. That the *French* should pay for the same, 200000 Crowns of the Sum, every Crown valued at 6 *s.* 8 *d.* within three Days after the delivery of the Town, and 200000 like Crowns more upon the 5th Day of *August* then next ensuing.

7. That the *English* should make no new Wars upon *Scotland*, unless new Occasions should be given.

8. That if the *Scots* razed *Lords* and *Dunglass*, the *English* should raze *Roxborough* and *Aymouth*, and no Fortification to be afterward made in any of those Places.

The King's sworn to the Articles.

To these Articles the *French* King was sworn at *Amiens*, the King of *England* at *London*; Commissioners being especially appointed to

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The Emperor included.

So the Lord *Clinton*, Governour of *Bologne*, having receiv'd his Warrant, discharg'd all his Men, except 1800, and with them issued out of the Town, and deliver'd it to Monf. *Chastilion*, having first receiv'd of him the six *English* Hostages, and an Acquittance for Delivery of the Town, and safe Conduct for his Passage to *Calais*. These 1800 Men were afterwards plac'd upon the Frontiers between the Emperor and the *English*. Soon after the first Payment of Money was made by the *French* to certain *English* Commissioners, whereupon three of their Hostages were discharg'd: The other three, namely, Count *de Anguien* next Heir to the Crown of *France*, after the King's Children, the Marquis *de Meaux* Brother to the *Scotish* Queen, and *Montmorency* the Constable's Son, who at that Time chiefly guided the Affairs of *France*, came into *England*. They were honourably accompany'd, and with great State brought to *London*, where every of them kept House by himself.

L. *Clinton* delivereth up *Bologne*, April 25.

The *French* Hostages come into *England*.

Of the Monies of the first Payment, 10000 *l.* was appointed for *Calais*, 8000 *l.* for *Ireland*, 10000 *l.* for the *North*, and 2000 *l.* for the Navy: The Residue was carefully laid up in the *Tower*. Likewise of the second Payment (whereupon the Hostages aforenam'd return'd into *France*) 8000 *l.* was appointed for *Calais*, 5000 *l.* for the *North*, 10000 *l.* was employ'd for Increase towards outward Payments, certain Persons undertaking that the Money be doubled every * Month: The Residue was safely lodg'd in the *Tower*.

The Monies paid for *Bologne* how disposed.

* Or haply Year.

And now it remain'd that the chief Actors in this Peace (whatsoever their Aims were) must be both honour'd and enrich'd with great Rewards: And first *Guidotti* the first Mover of the Treaty was recompenc'd with Knighthood, 1000 Crowns Reward, 1000 Crowns Pension, and 250 Crowns Pension to his Son. The Earl of *Warwick* was made General Warden of the *North*, had 1000 Marks Land granted to him, and 100 Horsemen of the King's Charge. Mr. *Herbert* his chief Instrument was made President of *Wales*, and had a Grant of 500 *l.* Land. And thus whether immoderate Favours breed first Unthankfulness, and afterwards Hate, and therewith ambitious Desires; or whether God so punisheth immoderate Affections; it often happens that Men are prone to raise those most, who work their Ruin in the End. Also the Lord *Clinton*, who had been Deputy at *Bologne*, was made Lord Admiral of *England*. The Captains and Officers were rewarded with Lands, Leases, Offices and Annuities; the ordinary Soldiers having all their Pay, and a Month's Pay over, were sent into their Countries, and great Charge given that they should be well observ'd, until they were quietly settled at home. The Light Horsemen and Men at Arms were put under the Marquis of *Northampton* Captain of the Pensioners. All the Guard of *Bologne* were committed to the Lord Admiral. The chief Captains with 600 Ordinaries were sent to strengthen the Frontiers of *Scotland*. Lastly, Strangers were dispatch'd out of the Realm, who after some idle Expence of their Monies and Time, were likest to be forward either in beginning or in maintaining Disorders.

Guidotti, the Instrument of this Peace, rewarded.

Places and Honours bestow'd on certain Nobles.

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Presently after this Agreement of Peace, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of *England*, to offer his Service in the King's Wars with 10000 Men of his Band, and to entreat a Marriage with the Lady *Mary* the King's eldest Sister. Answer was made touching his Offer of Aid, that the King's Wars were ended; and touching Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in Speech for her, Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which being determin'd without Effect, he should favourably be heard. Upon this also the Emperor's Embassadors did expostulate with the King, that he had broken his League with the Emperor. To this the King answer'd, That because the Emperor fail'd in his Performances, the King was enforc'd to provide for himself. The Embassador desirous, as it seem'd, to make a Breach, demanded boldly that the Lady *Mary* should have the free Exercise of the Mass. This did the King not only constantly deny, but hereupon Sermons were increas'd at Court, and Order taken that no Man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should preach before him. And in short Time after, under Pretence of preparing for Seamatters, 5000 *l.* were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas: And further, because the Emperor made divers strait Laws against those of the Religion, Merchants were charg'd to forbear their Trade into *Flanders* so much as they could. So, as it appears, had some of the *English* Nobility been either less powerful, or more faithful than they were, the King had Ears enough, and Hands enough, as well at home as among good Friends abroad, either to have maintain'd Wars against the *French*, or to have reduc'd them to a more honourable Peace.

The Duke of *Brunswick* sends to the King.

The Emperor's Embassadors expostulate about the Peace.

Wars being thus at good Appointment, peaceable Business was more seriously regarded; and whereas an Embassador arriv'd from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, to knit Amity with the King for Intercourse of Merchants, at last these Articles were concluded.

An Embassador from the King of *Sweden*, April 24.

1. *That if the King of* Sweden *sent Bullion into* England, *he might carry away* English *Commodities without Custom.*

2. *That he should carry Bullion to no other Prince.*

3. *That if he sent Ozimus, Steel, Copper,* &c. *he should pay Custom for* English *Commodities as an* English *Man.*

4. *That if he sent other Merchandize, he should have free Intercourse, paying Custom as a Stranger.*

The Mint was set to work so as it gain'd 24000 *l.* yearly to the King, which should bear his Charges in *Ireland*, and bring 10000 *l.*

The Mint.

to

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Order for *Ireland*.

to the Treasure. 400 Men were sent into *Ireland*, and charge given that the Laws of *England* should there be adminster'd, and the Mutinous be severely suppress'd. Verily it may seem strange, that among all the horrible Hurries in *England*, *Ireland* was then almost quiet. But besides that the King drew much People from thence for service in his Wars, who haply would not have remain'd quiet at home; the Governors at that time were Men of such choice, that neither the Nobility disdain'd to endure their Command, nor the inferior sort were oppress'd to supply their Wants.

Base Coin made.

Further 20000 *l.* weight was appointed to be made so much baser, as the King might gain thereby 160000 *l.* Agreement was also made with *York*, Master of one of the Mints, that he should receive the Profit of all the Bullion which himself should bring, and pay the King's Debts to the value of 120000 *l.* and remain accountable for the rest, paying six Shillings and eight pence (*b*) the Ounce until the Exchange were equal in *Flanders*, and afterwards six shillings and eight pence (*i*). And further, that he should declare his Bargain to any that should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when the King should please. That for this the King should give him 15000 *l.* in prest, and license to transport 8000 *l.* beyond the Seas to abase the Exchange. Herewith the base Monies formerly coin'd were cry'd down.

Now it is certain that by reason of the long Hostility which *England* held against *Scotland* and *France*, Peace was not so hardly concluded as kept. But albeit Occasions of Breach were often offer'd, yet the Judgment and Moderation of both parts suffic'd either to avoid or appease them. The Bishop of *Glascow* coming into *England* without safe Conduct, was taken Prisoner. The *French* Ambassador made means to the King for his Discharge, but answer was made that the *Scots* had no such Peace with the *English*, that they might pass without safe Conduct. This was not deny'd by the Mr. of *Erskine*; whereupon the Archbishop was retain'd Prisoner, but after a short time remitted to his Liberty. After this the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* going from *France* to her Country, pass'd thro' *England*, but the *French* Embassador first obtain'd her safe Conduct.

Q. Dowager of *Scotland* passes thro' *England*.

She arriv'd at *Portsmouth*, and was there encounter'd by divers of the *English* Nobility of highest Quality and Estimation, as well for doing her Honour, as for that having such Pledges she need not fear. At *London* she sojourn'd four Days, being lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace, and defray'd at the charge of the City, in which time she was royally feasted by the King at *Whitehall*. At her departure she was attended out of the City with all Ceremonies pretending to State. The Sheriffs of every Shire thro' which she pass'd, receiv'd her, accompany'd with the chief Gentlemen of the Country; as also they convey'd her from one Shire to another (making always Provision for her Entertainment) till she came into the Borders of *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Maxwell* came with a strong Band to the Borders (*k*) of *England* against certain Families of *Scots* who had yielded to the King of *England*; and the Lord *Dacre* brought his Forces to their Aid. In which Service his Valour and Discretion did equally appear. For albeit the Gentlemen of those Families did often skirmish with the Earl's Men, and slew many of them, yet were they never therein aided by the *English*, neither would they assail him upon any advantage. But when any of these Gentlemen were distress'd by the Earl, the *English* did then encounter him by Arms. Generally the *English* would not offer to offend the *Scots*, but only in defending their Friends.

1550.

The E. of *Maxwel* comes to the Borders of *England* in hostile manner.

1551.

Jan. 27. The *Fr.* King sends *Lansac* to *England*.

About this time the *French* King sent Monsieur *Lansac* to request of the King of *England*, that the fishing of *Twede*, *Edrington*, the debatable Ground, and the *Scotish* Hostages which had been sent into *England* in the time of King *Henry* VIII. might be restor'd to the *Scots*; and that the *English* Prisoners who were bound to pay their Ransoms before the Peace, should not be compris'd in the Conditions thereof. The King sent Sir *William Pickering* to declare to the *French* King, that to the last Demand he agreed without exception; and albeit he had a right to the Places requir'd, yet he was content as well for them as for other Demands, to perform whatsoever should be agreed on by Commissioners on both sides: So Commissioners were appointed, and the Matters settled in quiet Agreement.

Feb. 20. Sir *Will. Pickering* goes into *France*.

In the mean time the King sent new Supply of Forces and other Provisions into the North Parts of the Realm; whereupon the *French* King sent a Navy of 160 Sail into *Scotland*, laden with Grain, Powder, and Ordnance: of these sixteen of the greatest perish'd upon the Coast of *Ireland*, two charg'd with Artillery and fourteen with Grain; the Residue so shaken and torn, that it gave a main check to their further Designs: But because many sav'd themselves in the Harbours of *Ireland*, the King sent thither four Ships, four Barks, four Pinnaces, and twelve Victuallers. These possess'd themselves of three Havens, two on the South side towards *France*, and one towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed General Lieutenant, who fortify'd those Havens, and drew down the chiefest Forces of the Country towards the South Parts thereof. And thus even in Peace either of the Kings so vigilantly observ'd every Motion of the other, as if they had liv'd upon the Alarm. The Will of Friends is best assur'd when they have no power to do hurt.

The King sets out a Fleet.

In *France* a difference did rise about a place call'd *Fineswood*, whether it pertain'd to the *English* or to the *French*. On the *French* part 800 Men assembled at Arms upon this Quarrel, on the *English* 1000. But the readiness of the *English* to fight, mov'd the *French* to abstain from blows, and to permit the *English* to enjoy their ground. Hereupon the King fortify'd *Calais* and his other Pieces in *France*, in such sort as they had never been in like condition of Defence. And whereas one *Styward*

(*b*) Six Shillings and Sixpence the Ounce. K. Edward's *Journ.* Vid. Collect. Hist. Reform. *Part* 2. *p.* 21.

(*i*) Six Shillings and Twopence. K. Edw. *Journ.* ubi supr. *J. S.*

(*k*) These Borders were the North Borders; and these Families, or rather only one Family, was that of the *Grimes*, or *Grahams*. The Encounter of Earl *Maxwel* and them was on the 16*th* of *August*. The Assistance of the L. *Dacre* was only that he stood before *Maxwel*'s face with a good Band of Men; and so put him from his Purpose: As this Affair is set down in K. *Edward*'s Journal. And thence it also appears, that in the Skirmish, not many, but *certain* of the Earl's men were slain. *J. S.*

1551.

A Scot intends to poison the young Queen of *Scots*

a *Scot* was apprehended in *England*, and imprison'd in the Tower, for intending to poison the young Q. of *Scots*; the King as well to manifest his Justice as his Love and Respect towards the young Queen, deliver'd him to the *French* King upon the Frontiers of *Calais* to be Justic'd by him at his pleasure.

And yet this Advice was not approv'd by many; for albeit it be both honourable and just, that they who offend against their proper Prince, should be delivered to him to be punish'd, yet is it grown out of common use. And for this cause the Condition is often express'd in Leagues, that the Subjects of one Prince should be deliver'd by the other in case they be requir'd; the contrary custom may haply hold reasonable in ordinary Offences, in which case the Scripture forbiddeth to deliver a Slave to his angry Lord: But in grievous and inhuman Crimes, in such as overthrow the Foundation of the State, in such as shake the Surety of human Society, I conceive it more fit that Offenders should be remitted to their Prince to be punish'd in the place where they have offended.

Intentions to transport the Lady *Mary* to *Antwerp*.

But of all other, the King's Amity with the Emperor was least assur'd, being as fullest both of Practice and Distrust, so in danger every hour to dissolve. Certain Ships were appointed in the *Low Countrys*, with Men and Furniture suitable to the Attempts, to transport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by stealth, out of *England* to *Antwerp*. Divers of her Gentlemen departed thither before, and certain Shippers (as they are term'd) were discover'd to view the *English* Coast. Hereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into *Essex* where the Lady then lay; and besides the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with 200 Men, the Lord Privy-Seal with other 200, and Mr. *Sentlegier* with 400 Men more, to several Coasts upon the Sea. Divers of the King's Ships were addressed to be in readiness for the Sea. Mr. *Chamberlain*, Embassador for the Queen of *Hungary* in the *Low Countries*, advertis'd by his Letters, that it was intended by this means to raise an outward War to join with some Sedition within doors, and that the Queen of *Hungary* had openly said, that the Shippers were towards, who for fear of one Gentleman durst not proceed in their Attempt. Upon these either Dangers or Fears, the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Petre* were sent to the Lady *Mary*, who after some Conference brought her to the Lord Chancellor's House at *Leez* in *Essex*, and from thence to *Hunsdon*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declar'd unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the *Mass*; and perceiving by her Letters how unmovable she was, he was resolv'd no longer to endure it, unless she would put him in hope of some Conformity within a short time. To this she answer'd, that her Soul was God's, and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward Profession thereof, in regard of the Danger the Example might draw. After some other like Interchange of Speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King; but Dr. *Mallet* her Chaplain was committed Prisoner to the *Fleet*. And almost herewith arriv'd an Embassador from the Emperor, with a menacing Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary* should not be admitted the free Exercise of the Mass. The King presently advis'd with the (1) Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishops of *London* and *Rochester*, who gave their Opinion, that to give license to Sin was Sin, but to connive at Sin might be allow'd, in case it were neither too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then was answer given to the Embassador, that the King would send to the Emperor within a month or two, to give him what Satisfaction should be fit.

1551.

March 18. She is not permitted to have Mass.

In

(1) This the Author had from the King's Pen in his Journal; where he hath not faithfully transcribed. For the Words of the King are these: "The Bishops did consider that to give License to Sin was Sin: To suffer and wink at it [not at *Sin*, but at the Lady *Mary's* Mass in her Houshold] might be born, so all haste possible might be used. The King's Notes are short, and must be supplied: that is, all haste was to be used, to take away such an Occasion of Sin. But as *Hayward* sets down the Words, he would make those excellent Bishops very bad Casuists: as tho' to connive at Sin might be allowed, in case *it were not too long, and in hope of Reformation*. This sheweth again, how studious this Author was to expose Protestant Bishops.

The Transactions with the Lady Mary, *concerning saying Mass in her Family.*

There was indeed some Promise past by the King for the Lady *Mary's* hearing Mass. Which stood thus, as appeareth in one of the Council's Letters to her: That upon the Emperor's Request to the King, that she might have the Liberty to use the Mass in her House, and to be exempt from the Danger of the Statute, thus much was granted, that for his sake, and the Lady *Mary's* too, it should be suffered and winked at, if she had the private Mass used in her Closet for a season, until she might be better informed; whereof was some hope: having only with her a few of her own Chamber. So that for all the rest of her Houshold the Service of the Realm should be used. Further than this the Promise exceeded not. After this Grant in Words, the Emperor desired some writing, as a Witness of the same; but that was ever denied.

Concerning this Saying of Mass in the Lady *Mary's* Family against the Law that abolished it, many notable Letters past between the King, the Protector, the Privy Council, and the said Lady: which are preserved to us in *John Fox's* Treasury, I mean his *Martyrology*. This Business was in hand a great while, in order to the Inducing of the Lady *Mary* and her Houshold to conform to the late Act for Uniformity of publick Prayer. For it lasted from *June* 1549. to *August* or *September* 1551. such a Deference was given to her Quality. But this Lady was so resolute in her Adherence to the Mass, that she had like to have embroiled the Kingdom in a War with the Emperor: whom she engaged so far, that he required by his Ambassador yet a second time, that she should enjoy her Liberty in that behalf, contrary to a Law made, which abolished the Mass, and enjoined a Book of Common Prayer instead thereof.

They proceed with her in this matter with all due Respect; as I shall shew briefly, partly from the Letters that past between them, partly from the Council-Book, the King's Journal, or other MSS.

First, the L. Protector advised her in *May* or *June* 1549. to lay aside the Mass, and use the Book. Then again in *June*, the Protector and Council wrote their Letters to her; and that she would send the Comptroller of her House and Dr. *Hopton* her Chaplain to them, to receive certain Orders from them. But she in a Letter to them dated *June* the 22. from *Kenninghal*, in some Displeasure excused sending either: But yet Dr. *Hopton* came at length, and brought back to her from *Richmond* their Answer in Writing to her former Letter, answering it Article by Article. They also sent their Letters to her Comptroller, her Chaplain and Mr. *Englefield*, to repair immediately to them. Then she wrote again another Letter to the Protector and the Council dated *June* 27. full of very haughty Language, expressing great Anger that they should send for her Servants, Saying, *She took not her self to be Subject to any of them; and that none of them would have been contented to be so served at their Inferiors hands.*

After

1551. In the mean time the Council conſidering how prejudicial it would be to the Realm if the Subjects ſhould loſe their Trade in *Flanders*, that the *Flemmings* had Cloth for a Year in their hands, that the King had 500 Quintals of Powder, and much Armour in *Flanders*, and the Merchants much Goods at the Wool Fleet, they adviſ'd the King to ſend an Ambaſſador Legier to the Emperor, as well to ſatiſfy him for other Matters by him requir'd, as to win time, thereby both to prepare a Mart in *England* and to withdraw their Goods out of *Flanders*. So Mr. *Watton* was diſpatch'd with particular Inſtructions to deſire the Emperor to be leſs violent in his Requeſts: And to advertiſe him that the Lady *Mary*, as ſhe was his Couſin, ſo was ſhe the King's Siſter, and which is more, his Subject; that ſeeing the King was a Sovereign Prince without Dependancy upon any but God, it was not reaſon that the Emperor 1551.

An Ambaſſador ſent to the Emperor.

After all this, Maſs was continu'd in her Family, to the open Affront of the King and his Privy Council, and the Laws. Whereupon Proceſs was awarded againſt two of her Chaplains, and delivered to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*. Theſe were *Mallet* and *Berkley*. Which the Council gave her notice of, *December* 2. Whereat ſhe wrote them an angry expoſtulating Letter; urging them with the Promiſe made to the Emperor the laſt year, that ſhe ſhould never be troubled or diſquieted for having Maſs ſaid in her Houſe; and that the Emperor's Ambaſſador, that then was dead, told her ſo. But that nevertheleſs to be plain with them, however they ſhould uſe her, or thoſe that belonged to her, ſhe would never vary from her Opinion; and as ſhe had been minded always to have Maſs ſaid to her, ſo ſhe ever would be. To this Letter they wrote her again, *Decemb.* 25. a large Anſwer: Shewing her, that the Promiſe made to the Emperor's Ambaſſador was only temporary, until ſhe were better informed, there being then daily hope of her Reformation: And that the moſt that was told the Ambaſſador was, that the King might, upon hope of her Grace's Reconciliation, ſuſpend the Execution of his Laws; ſo that ſhe would uſe the Licenſe as it was at firſt granted: that is, That the Maſs were uſed in her own Cloſet only, and that for a Seaſon.

Then *Jan.* 24. *An.* 1551. following, the King, obſerving by her Letters how ſtifly ſhe perſiſted in her own Way, wrote her a loving Letter upon the ſame Argument, arguing excellently well with her, pretermitting (*as he ſaid*) his Eſtate as King, and talking with her as her Brother. To which Letter ſhe gave Anſwer *February* 3. ſtill *Regaliter* remaining ſtill immoveable.

Feb. 16. The Emperor's Ambaſſador preſs'd the Council to obſerve their Promiſe made to him for Permiſſion to the Lady *Mary* of the Exerciſe of her Religion, till the King ſhould come to Age.

March 18. The King relateth in his Journal, that he ſent for her to *Weſtminſter*, and told her that he could not any longer bear her Practice. Upon the next Day (according to the Journal) the Emperor's Ambaſſador declar'd War to the King, if he continued not to her the Liberty of her Religion. *March* 18. (according to the Council Book) the ſaid Emperor's Ambaſſador had Acceſs to the Council.

March 22. *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Ponet* diſcourſed with the King about the Lawfulneſs of the Permiſſion.

March 23. The Council decreed to ſend Dr. *Wotton* to the Emperor (who was diſpatched till the 10th of *April*) and in the mean time to puniſh the Offenders; firſt the King's Servants that heard Maſs, next her's.

March 24. (According to the Journal) Sir *Anthony Brown* and Serjeant *Morgan*, were ſent to the Fleet for hearing Maſs. The Council Book placeth the Commitment of the latter, *March* 19. and of the former, at *March* 22. and aſſigns the Cauſe more at large, *viz.* for hearing Maſs in her Company, when by the King's Order he attended her from *Eſſex* to *London*.

March 23. Or rather the 18. It was reſolved to puniſh her Servants, hearing or ſaying Maſs. The day before, the Lady *Mary's* Comptroller Mr. *Rocheſter*, was examined how many Chaplains ſhe had. Who anſwer'd, *four, viz. Mallet*, *Hopton*, *Barkley* and *Richards*.

April 26. Dr. *Mallet* was brought before the Council, and being examin'd what he meant, that after he had been once forgiven, he would again wilfully offend the King's Laws in ſaying of Maſs, and other like; he could not deny but he had done evil in ſo doing. He therefore was committed to the Tower.

Brown and *Morgan* upon their Submiſſion were ſoon after diſcharged from their Impriſonment.

Aug. 9. It was reſolved in Council at *Richmond*, 24 Lords preſent, to ſend for the Chief Officers of the Lady *Mary's* Houſe, and to give them in Charge not to permit Maſs to be ſaid in her Houſe, or to hear it, and to give the ſame Charge to her Chaplains, and other Servants. The ſame day it was reſolved not to permit the Uſe of the Maſs to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, ſince he would not permit the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, Reſident in his Dominions, the Uſe of our Liturgy.

Aug. 11. A Warrant was ſigned for the Appearance of the Lady *Mary's* Officers. And an excellent Letter of the King's own to his Siſter accompanied their Departure, which they ſeemed to be the Bringers of. Which I will here inſert out of the *Cotton* Library, the rather becauſe it is not any where publiſhed, as many others are, relating to this Matter.

King *Edward's* Letter to the Lady *Mary* about her Maſs. *Cott. Lib. Otho* c. 10.

'Right dear and intirely beloved Siſter, We greet you well. And where we have heretofore not only by our Speech 'unto you but alſo by our Letters, and by the Letters of our Council, and otherwiſe, many times declared unto you 'the earneſt Deſire we had to have reduced you to ſuch Conformity, and Agreeableneſs in Religion, as is agreed upon 'by the Learned Men of our Realm, eſtabliſhed by Us in our Parliaments, and moſt, we doubt not, to the Honour of Al'mighty God; Perceiving that all our Travel and Sufferance taken to that End, worketh not in you the good Effect we 'would have wiſhed, but that you do rather reſt more wedded to your own Mind than you were at the beginning: Refu'ſing alſo to hear any learned Men, that might inform you more rightly in theſe things: Like as for the natural Good'will we bear towards you, we cannot but be ſorry to find this manner of Proceeding in you, whom by Nature we 'ſhould rather have found of all other moſt obedient, and readieſt to give example to others, for doing of any thing 'that might be agreeable to our Pleaſure; ſo conſidering what great Inconveniences do daily grow by the Example of you 'and your Family, we cannot but have a more earneſt Regard to the Reformation thereof, not only for the Conſer'vation of our Laws, which we may not with our Honour indure to have thus openly broken and manifeſtly contemned, 'but alſo and much more, for that the Honour and Glory of Almighty God by this Sufferance is hindred.

'For which Cauſes we have willed certain of your Officers to be ſent for: By whom it might be ſignify'd unto you 'that our Pleaſure and expreſs commandment is, that they ſhall not from henceforth ſuffer any Maſs or other Divine Ser'vice to be ſaid or uſed within your Houſe, than is ſet forth by the Laws of our Realm. And that if any Chaplain of 'yours, or any other whatſoever ſhall hereafter preſume to break our Laws in that behalf, that he or they ſo offending, 'ſhall be uſed according to our Laws. Of which our Pleaſure declared unto your Officers by our Council, they are 'commanded to make report to you: To whom we pray you give Credit in that behalf.

The Contents of this Meſſage given to her Officers aforeſaid were, that the Common Prayer ſhould be uſed from henceforth in her Family, and to inhibit her Chaplains to ſay Maſs before her, and her Servants to hear it. But they out of fear of diſturbing her, being not well, deliver'd not this Meſſage. Which the Council, *Auguſt* 23. underſtanding from their own Mouths, charged them, and that upon their Allegiance, to go and do it. But they ſtill refuſed it, and offered themſelves willingly to endure any Puniſhment rather than to deliver ſo unwelcome a Matter. Whereupon they were commanded to attend continually upon the Council. And a little after they were committed to the Fleet, and thence to the Tower.

Aug. 26. The L. Chancellor *Rich*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Comptroler of the Houſhold, and Sir *William Petre* Secretary, were ſent by the King's Council to her, with a Meſſage, which was in effect the ſame that her three Officers ſhould have delivered her. They accordingly, *Auguſt* 28. repaired to *Copthall* where ſhe now was. And *Auguſt* 29. they declared to the Council then at *Windſor*, their Diſcharge of the Matter intruſted with them. And that the ſaid Lady *Mary* received the King's Letter upon her Knees, and kiſt it. But as to her Compliance with the Commands given, ſhe ſaid, that *rather than ſhe would uſe any other Service than what was uſed at the Death of the late King her Father, ſhe would lay her Head on a Block*: but adding, that ſhe was unworthy to ſuffer in ſo good a Quarrel. She ſaid further that

1551. peror should intermeddle either with ordering his Subjects, or with directing the Affairs of his Realm. *(m)* Thus much he offer'd, that what Favour the King's Subjects had in the Emperor's Dominions for their Religion, the same should the Emperor's Subjects receive in *England*. The Emperor perceiving that his Threats were little regarded, regarded little to threaten any more.

A Rebellion attempted in *Essex*. Discover'd *April* 15.

About the time that the Lady *Mary* should have been transported unto *Antwerp*, a Rebellion was attempted in *Essex*, where she then lay. For furtherance whereof Speeches were cast forth, that Strangers were arriv'd in *England*, either to rule or to spoil the natural Inhabitants. Upon this Surmise many appointed to assemble at *Chelmsford*, and from thence to make Pillage as their Wants or wanton Appetites should lead. But the Principal being put to death and the Residue pardon'd, all remain'd quiet.

Tumult upon *May*-day in *London*.

Many *Londoners* also hunting after Riot and Ease, contriv'd to tumult upon *May*-day, pretending Grievances and Fears from Strangers; but because where many are of Counsel, Counsel is hardly kept, the Enterprise was discover'd and defeated before it was ripe: herewith *Lion*, *Gorran* and *Ireland*, Persons of mean Condition but desperate and discontent, endeavour'd to raise a Rebellion in *Kent*. They often met and had Conferences both private and long. They seem'd highly busy'd in mind, and their Heads travelling with troubl'd thoughts, which they often dissembl'd with impertinent Speeches. This was first discover'd by one of their Servants, doubtful whether before knowing the Mischief, and until then secret or ignorant before, and then first apprehending Suspicions. So they were apprehended, and after Conviction the Danger determin'd by their *Deaths. Hereupon with Rumours were rais'd of great Discord and Practises among the Nobility: For this Cause the Lords assembled at *London*, and feasted divers Days together, giving order to apprehend the Reporters of these Surmises, albeit happily not altogether untrue. For this Cause Gentlemen were newly commanded to remain in the Country, to govern the People, easy to be dealt with whilst they stand in fear.

1551. *Kent*. * May 14.

Ambassador from *Denmark*.

The King being thus uncertain of the Faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by Alliance to strengthen himself. To this Purpose one *Bortwick* was sent to the King of *Denmark* with private Instructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sister, and the King of *Denmark*'s eldest

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that when the King was come to such Age as he might be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shou'd find her ready to obey his Orders in Religion; but in these Years of his (tho', good sweet King, he hath more Knowledge, said she, than any other of his Years, yet that) it was not possible he could be judge of them. That as for her Priests, they knew what they had to do. The pain of Imprisonment was but for a short time. And that if they refused to say Mass for fear of their Imprisonment, they might do as they would. But that none of the new Service should be used in her House: and that if any were she would not tarry in it.

And speaking concerning the Promise given to the Emperor on her behalf, she said, That to be plain with them, his Ambassador should know how she was used at their hands: she said moreover, that she was sickly, and yet would not die willingly; but that if she chanced to die, she would protest, that they of the Council were the Cause of her Death. And that they gave her fair Words, but their Deeds were always ill towards her. Then she gave unto the Lord Chancellor a Ring upon her Knees for the King, with her very humble Recommendation to him; saying, she would die his true Subject, and suffer and obey his Commandment in all things, except in these Matters of Religion.

In fine, notwithstanding the Emperor's Ambassador's Sollicitation to have the Lady *Mary*'s Officers set at Liberty, and that she might have her Mass, till the Emperor were certified of these things, he was answered as was thought convenient, and that the King's Ambassador should satisfy the Emperor. And the said Officers were not set at Liberty until *April* 24. the next Year, *viz.* 1552. when they repair'd unto her Grace. *J. S.*

(m) This Ambassador Dr. *Wotton*, Dean both of *Canterbury* and *York*, was an ancient Counsellor and an Ambassador in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. But it is strange to consider, what a Liberty this Author takes in relating the *Instructions* that were given *Wotton* in this Embassy, whereas there is not a word in the said Instructions, as he representeth them. Nor would it have been good Policy to treat a prosperous and powerful Emperor in such sharp and rough Terms, when the Embassy was commenced on purpose to continue a good Correspondence with him. That part of the *Instructions* relating to the Lady *Mary*'s Matter are in these very Words, as they are extant in a Volume of the *Cotton* Library. Which I will insert, to set this part of the History right.

'Lastly, ye shall declare, That we perceived likewise, by the Letter of our said good Brother, his Motion that our 'Sister the Lady *Mary*, his Cousin, might use her accustomed Religion for a further Time, according to an Assurance 'made, as by the said Letter is reported. Cot. Lib.

'For answer whereunto ye shall say that First, there hath never been any Assurance or promise made for that Pur'pose by us, but only in this manner, at the Motion of him that was here Ambassador last before this present Man from 'our said Brother. We were content to bear at that time with our Sister, and to spare the execution of our Law for a 'time, until we might see some Proof of her Amendment by Instruction and Persuasion of her. The proof whereof 'to be such and no other, the Ambassador that now is here present, hath evidently seen and heard by the several Te'stimonies of all our Council, even in particularities by all, and every such as either hath been on our behalf with our 'said good Brother, or for this Purpose with his Ambassador here: In such sort that if he shall report what he hath 'heard in that Matter testified, it shall be evident in what manner the Sufferance was, and to what End. And if there 'shall be any one named unto you (as we conjecture the L. *Paget* shall be named) ye shall say, that upon this Matter 'now moved, both Sir *Philip Hoby* and also the L. *Paget*, have been of their Faith and Honour willed to declare that 'they knew. And they both most constantly deny, that ever they mentioned any Promise, or such Matter touching 'our Sister, either unto the Emperor or unto any.

'And touching the L. *Paget*, both he and Sir *Philip Hoby* declare, that he the L. *Paget* at his last being with our said 'good Brother, spake not with him but in the hearing of Sir *Philip Hoby*: And of the Matter saith thus, that indeed 'our said good Brother, upon the departing of the said L. *Paget*, recommended the Case of our Sister and his Cousin, 'by Message, praying him that she might be favoured, and permitted to have her ancient manner of Religion. Where'unto the said L. *Paget* saith, that he, considering he had no Commission to treat of that Matter, answered with the 'Advice of Sir *Philip Hoby* to our said good Brother, that he would make Report of his Request unto us, and to our Uncle 'the Duke of *Somerset*, at that time Protector, and to the rest of our Council, not doubting but that she should have 'that Favour that was convenient for her, being our Sister, and Cousin to our said good Brother. Of which Request 'and Answer, at his coming home, he made Report accordingly. And otherwise than this he never meddled in that 'Matter at his being there. And if he had, yet we do assure our said good Brother, that he exceeded therein our Com'mission; having nothing on our part at that time to say in that Matter.

'Wherefore for the Matter itself ye shall say, Like as we desire not any thing of him that is inconvenient or against 'Reason to grant, so we doubt not but, altho' he doth seem to move this unto us, yet when he shall understand how 'much against Reason it is to be granted, he will stay further Motion. And therefore because he percase had not heard 'the state of the Cause, ye shall declare unto him, that such Order and Form of Common-Prayer in our Churches,

1551.

eldest Son. (*n*) But this Lady, albeit she was furnish'd with many excellent Endowments both of Nature and Education, yet could she never be induc'd to entertain Marriage with any.

An honourable Embassy to *France*, *May* 21.

After this the Lord Marquis of *Northampton* was directed with a solemn Embassage to the *French* King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret Affairs. With him were join'd in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, Knights, and Mr. *Smith* Secretary of State. The Earls of *Worcester*, *Rutland* and *Ormond*, were appointed to accompany them, and likewise the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny* and *Ewers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of 26: and for avoiding immoderate and burthensome Train, Order was given that every Earl should have four Attendants, every Lord three, every Knight and Gentleman two; the Commissioners were not limited to any number.

They arriv'd at *Nants*, and were there receiv'd by Monsieur *Chastilion*, and by him conducted to *Chasteau Bryan* where the *French* King then lodg'd, they were twice banqueted by the way; and the nearer they approach'd to the Castle, the more increas'd the Resort of the *French* Nobility to do them Honour: being come to the Court, they were forthwith brought to the King abiding then in his Bed-chamber. Here the Marquis presented unto him the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested, and thereupon gave for the Garter a Chain worth 200*l.* and his Gown addrest'd with Aglets esteem'd worth 25*l.*

The Bishop of *Ely*'s Speech to the *French* King. *Jun.* 20.

Then the Bishop of *Ely* in a short Speech declar'd how desirous the K. of *England* was not only to continue but to encrease Amity with the *French* King. That to this purpose he had sent the Order of the Garter to be both a Testimony and Tye of Love between them, to which purpose chiefly those Societies of Honour were first devis'd. He further declar'd that they had Commission to make Overture of some other Matters, which was like to make the Concord between the Kings and their Realms, not only more durable, but in all expectation perpetual; desiring the King to appoint some Persons enabled with Authority to treat with them.

To this Speech the Cardinal of *Lorain* answer'd, that the *French* King was ready to apprehend and embrace all Offers tending to increase of Amity, and the rather, for that long Hostility had made their new Friendship both more weak in it self, and more obnoxious to Jealousies and Distrusts. And therefore he promis'd on the King's Behalf, that Commissioners should be appointed to treat with them about any Matters which they had in charge; praying to God that it might be a Means not only to assure but to enlarge their late settled Love. So a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorain* and *Chastilion* Constable, the D. of *Guise*, and certain others. At the first the *English* demanded, that the young Queen of *Scots* might be sent into *England* for perfection of Marriage between King *Edward* and her. But hereto the *French* answered, that they had taken too much Adventure, and spent too many Lives, upon any Conditions to let her go; and that Conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the *Dauphine* of *France*.

1551.

The Answer of the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

A Proposal of Marriage between K. *Edw.* and *Elizabeth* of *France*.

Then the *English* propos'd a Marriage between their King and the Lady *Elizabeth* the *French* King's eldest Daughter: to which the *French* did chearfully incline.

June 21.

So after Agreement that neither Party should be bound, either in Conscience or in Honour, until the Lady should accomplish twelve Years of Age, they fell to treat of the Portion which should be given with her in Marriage. The *English* first demanded 1500000 Crowns, and offer'd that her Dowry should be so great as King *Henry* the Eighth had given to any of his Wives. The offer of Dowry was not disliked; but for the Portion, some of the *French* wondred, others smiled, that so great a Sum should be demanded. The *English* descended to 1400000 Crowns, and after by degrees fell so low as 800000. But the *French*, as they held the first Sum to be unreasonable, so all the other they esteemed excessive. Then the *English* demanded what the *French* would give? First they offer'd 100000 Crowns, afterwards 200000, which they said was the most, and more than ever had been given with a Daughter of *France*. Then follow'd a stiff Contention, both by Reasons and Precedents; but the *French* in no Case would rise any higher, only they agreed that the *French*

'and Usage of the Communion of the Sacrament, as we use here, besides that it is in the very same Order as the Primitive Church of Christ used it; it is also established by a Law of our Realm, by the Consent of our Parliament. By the which the whole Estate of our whole Realm and Subjects be ruled, and We our selves also in all manner of Causes, being such an Universal and High Court, as there is none in all our Policy to be compared to it. And therefore as it bindeth our Self and all our Subjects, so should we not but do unjustly to violate it, or in any Point to agree to the breaking of it.

'Besides, that the Example of breaking that Order wittingly, were so pernicious and dangerous to all our Realm, that both the Reverence of our Estate, the Execution of our Laws, and the Authority of the same, were gone utterly and taken away.

'Wherefore ye shall say in this Cause, We do but require our said good Brother, while he is in the consideration of this Matter, to turn the Case; and either remember some like Case of his own, or imagine this to be his, and make it more nearer him, if it so please him. As where she is our natural Sister, let our good Brother imagine in his own Cause, the Party were his natural Son. And that done, and considered with such Circumstances, as indeed be in this Case, of willing breaking of our Laws to be considered; We assure ourselves upon the Opinion of the great Wisdom and long Experience, which We know to be in our said good Brother in the ruling of his own Realms and Dominions, he will not only cease to move this matter further, but rather to give us contrary Counsel, for the good Love and tender Care, we trust, he beareth to us in this our Youth. And somewhat the more for the Respect that one Prince naturally ought to have to the Conservation of another's Estate and Dignity.

'And yet we shall assure our said good Brother, that in all manner of things, wherein we may any wise shew our natural Affection to our said Sister, we will not fail, but even abundantly heap the same upon her, somewhat the more above our natural Affection, for a demonstration of an earnest desire to gratify our said good Brother.'

The other Article of these Instructions (mistaken also by this Author) was, that as the King permitted the Emperor's Ambassador to use that manner of Religion which he used in his own Country, so also it was desired that the King's Ambassador in the *Low Countries* might use the same Religion that he had used here in our Country: Which the Emperor had denyed to Sir *Richard Morison* the King's former Ambassador. The Reasonableness of which Request was in the softest Terms showed to the Emperor. *J. S.*

(*n*) This Embassy from *Denmark* is misplaced here, and belonged to the Year past, viz. 1550. his coming being placed in the Journal of K. *Edward* at *Decemb.* 19. that Year. *J. S.*

King,

1551. King, at his proper Charge, should send her to the King of *England* three Months before she should accomplish her Age for Marriage, sufficiently appointed with Jewels, Apparel, and Furniture for House; and that Bonds for the Performances should then be deliver'd at *London* by the King of *England*, and at *Paris* by the *French* King; and that in case the Lady should not consent after she should be of the said Age for Marriage, the Penalty should be 150000 Crowns. The *French* set down these Offers in Writing, and sent them to the King of *England*.

Commissioners from *France* sent into *England*. Soon after Monsieur *le Mareshal*, and other Commissioners, were sent by the *French* King into *England*; where they arriv'd at such Time as the Sweating-Sicknefs was most furious; a new, strange, and violent Disease, for if a Man were attack'd therewith, he dy'd or escap'd within nine Hours, or ten at the most. Sweating-Sickness. If he took Cold he dy'd within three Hours; if he slept within six Hours (as he should be desirous to do) he dy'd raving; albeit in other burning Diseases that Distemper is commonly appeased with Sleep. It raged chiefly among Men of strongest Constitution and Years, of whom 120 perished in some one Day within the Liberties of *London*; few aged Men, or Children, or Women, dy'd thereof.

Two of *Charles Brandon's* Sons, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, one of the King's Gentlemen and one of his Grooms, dy'd of this Disease: For which Cause the King remov'd to *Hampton-Court* with very few Followers. The King goes to *Hampton-Court*, *July* 11.

The French Embassador comes to *London*. The same Day the *Marshal* and other *French* Commissioners were brought by the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral of *England*, from *Gravesend* to *London*. They were saluted by the way with all the Shot of more than fifty of the King's great Ships, and with a fair Peal of Artillery from the *Tower*; and lastly, were lodg'd in *Suffolk-Palace* † in *Southwark*. And albeit they had more than 400 Gentlemen in their Train, yet was not one of them, nor any other Stranger in *England* touch'd with the Sweating Disease; and yet the *English* were chased therewith, not only in *England*, but in other Countries abroad, which made them like Tyrants, both feared and avoided wheresoever they came.

Delivers his Message to the King. The next Day the *French* were remov'd to *Richmond*; whence every Day they resorted to *Hampton-Court*, where the King remained. The first Day after they had perform'd the Ceremonies of Court, and deliver'd to the King their Letters of Credence, they were led to a Chamber richly furnish'd, for their Repose: The same Day they dined with the King, and after Dinner being brought into an inner Chamber, the *Marshal* declar'd that they were come, not only to deliver unto him the Order of St. *Michael*, but therewith to manifest the entire Love which the King his Master bare him; which he desir'd him to conceive to be no less than a Father can bear to his natural Son. That albeit divers Persons, either witless or malicious, raise divers vain Rumors to draw the King, as it is thought, from his Master's Friendship, yet he trusted that the King would not listen unto them. That it much concern'd the common Quiet that good Officers be placed upon the Frontiers; for as Good may do Good in moderating Things amiss, so Evil will do Evil, albeit no bad Occasion be offer'd. Lastly, He desir'd in case any new Controversy should arise, it might be determin'd by Commissioners on both sides, and not by Conflicts the Parent of War. 1551.

To this the King both suddenly and shortly answer'd, 'That he much thanked the *French* 'King for his Order, as for the large Expression of his Love, which he would be ready 'in all Points to requite. Touching Rumors, 'they are not always to be credited, nor always to be contemn'd, it being no less vain to 'fear all Things, than dangerous to doubt of 'nothing. And in case at any time he listned 'to them, it was only to provide against the 'worst, and never to break into Hostility. 'Concerning Officers, he appointed such as 'he esteemed good, and yet preferred the over-doubtful before the over-credulous and 'secure. New Controversies he would always 'be ready to determine by Reason, rather than 'by Force, so far as his Honour should not 'thereby be diminish'd. (*o*) The King's Answer.

The *French* after this, return to their Lodging at *Richmond*, and the next Day resorted again to the King, invested him with Garments of the Order, and accompany'd him to the Chappel, the King going between the *Marshal* and *de Guise*; both which, after the Communion, kissing his Cheek. The residue of that Day, and a few Days following, were passed over with Pastimes and Feasts. At the last, the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Residue, who had been formerly sent with Commission from the King into *France*, were appointed to treat with the *French* Commissioners, touching the great Matters of their Embassage. The King is invested with the Order of *S. Michael*, *July* 17.

And because the *French* could be serv'd no higher than their Offer of 200000 Crowns, it was accepted; the one Moity to be paid upon the day of Marriage, and the other six Months after: The Dote was agreed to be 10000 Marks of *English* Money, and not to be paid in case the King should die before Marriage. This Agreement was reduc'd into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both Sides. At the same Time an Embassador arriv'd out of *Scotland*, to demand an Exemplification of Articles of Peace between *England* and *France*, under the Great Seal of *England*; which without any difficulty they obtain'd. Articles for Marriage with *France*.

The *Marshal*, at his taking Leave, declar'd to the King how kindly his Master did conceive of the King's Readiness to conclude this Treaty, and also commended his Master's great Inclination to the Agreement thereof. Then he presented Monsieur *Boys* to be Embassador Legier for the *French*, and the Marquis French Commissioners depart, *Aug.* 3.

† *Duresme-Place.* K. *Edw.* Journal.

(*o*) For a Youth not fourteen Years old to make such an *Extemporary* Harangue as this, so grave and so wise, will pass most Readers Faith to believe. But our Author has dressed up and improved, by his own Eloquence, what this young King said, in Answer to the *French* Embassador: which he set down in his own Journal; and was to this Tenor, (marvellous enough for his Years) *viz.* 'That he thanked him [the *French* King] for his Order [of S. *Michael*, which 'this Embassador brought to him] and all his Love, *&c.* And he [the King] would shew the like Love in all Points. 'For Rumours, that they were not always to be believed. That he did sometimes provide for the worst, but never 'did any Harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, he said, he would rather appease these Controversies with Words, 'than do any thing by Force. *J. S.*

1551. presented Mr. *Pickering* to be Embassador for the King of *England* in *France*. The Reward of the *Marshal* was three thousand Pounds in Gold, besides a Diamond taken from the King's Finger, esteem'd worth an hundred and fifty Pounds; Monsieur *de Guise* had 1000 *l.* Monsieur *Chenault* 1000 *l.* Monsieur *Mortuillier* 500 *l.* the Secretary 500 *l.* and the Bishop of *Perigueux* 500 *l.* The Feastings were exceeding sumptuous; and at their return they were wafted over the Seas by certain of the King's Ships, by reason of the Wars between the Emperor and the *French* King. The Lord Marquis's Reward was afterwards delivered at *Paris*, worth 500 *l.* the Bishop of *Ely* 200 *l.* Sir *Philip Hobby*'s 150 *l.* and so were the Rewards of the rest.

The King confers Honours, *Oct.* 11.

Now the King supposing his Estate to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his Joy and his Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour. The Lord Marquis *Dorset*, a Man for his harmless simplicity, neither mislik'd nor much regarded (*p*) was created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earl of *Warwick* was created Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marquis of *Winchester*; Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiff*, was created Earl of *Pembroke*; Sir *Thomas Darcie*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, was created Lord *Darcie*; *William Cecil* was made one of the chief Secretaries (*q*) Mr. *John Cheek* the King's School-Master, and one of the Guides of his Industry and Hope, and with him Mr. *Henry Dudley* * and Mr. *Henry Nevill* of the Privy Chamber, were made Knights. And which was the Accomplishment of Mischief, Sir *Robert Dudley* one of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, a true Heir both of his Hate against Persons of Nobility, and of his cunning to dissemble the same, was sworn one of the Six ordinary Gentlemen (*r*). He was afterwards, for Lust and Cruelty, a Monster of the Court, as apt to hate, so a more sure Executioner of his Hate: yet rather by practice than open dealing, as wanting rather Courage than Wit. After his entertainment into a Place of so near Service, the King enjoy'd his Health not long. (*s*)

* *Sydney*, K. Journ.

Duke of *Northumberland*'s Greatness.

The Duke of *Northumberland* being now inferior unto none of the Nobility in Title of Honour, and superior to all in Authority and Power, could not restrain his haughty Hopes from aspiring to an absolute Command. But before he would directly level at his Mark, the Duke of *Somerset* was thought fit to be taken away, whose Credit was so great with the common People, that although it sufficed not to bear out any bad Attempt of his own, yet was it of force to cross the evil Purposes of others.

False Rumours of the Duke of *Somerset*.

And now to begin the third Act of his Tragedy, Speeches were cast that he caused himself to be proclaimed King in divers Countries; 1551. which albeit they were known to be false, insomuch as the Miller's Servant at *Battle-bridge* in *Southwark*, lost both his Ears upon a Pillory for so reporting; yet the very naming of him to be *King*, either as desir'd by himself or by others esteemed worthy, brought with it a distastful relish, apt to apprehend Suspicion to be true.

After this he was charged to have persuaded divers of the Nobility to chuse him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being questioned, neither held silence as he might, nor constantly deny'd it; but entangled himself in his doubtful Tale. One *Whaley* a busy-headed Man, and desirous to be set on work, gave first light to this Appeachment, but the Earl of *Rutland* did stoutly avouch it.

Sir *Tho. Palmer*'s Information against *Somerset*, *Oct.* 7.

Herewith Sir *Thomas Palmer*, a Man neither loving the Duke of *Somerset*, nor beloved of him, was brought by the Duke of *Northumberland* to the King, being in his Garden. Here he declar'd, that upon St. *George*'s Day last before, the Duke of *Somerset* being upon a Journey towards the North, in case Sir *William Herbert* Master of the Horse had not assured him that he should receive no Harm, would have raised the People; and that he had sent the Lord *Gray* before to know who would be his Friends: Also that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and other Lords, should be invited to a Banquet; and if they came with a bare Company, to be set upon by the way; if strongly, their Heads should have been cut off at the place of their Feasting. He declared *Oct.* 11. further, that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men in a readiness; that Sir *Thomas Arundel* had assur'd the *Tower*, that *Seymour* and *Hamond* would wait upon him, and that all the Horse of the Gendarmory should be slain. To this Mr. Secretary *Cecil* added, that the Duke had sent for him, *Oct.* 14. and said, that he suspected some ill Meaning against him; whereto Mr. Secretary answered, that if he were not in Fault, he might trust to his Innocency; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

Palmer denies his Information.

The Duke being advertis'd of these Informations against him, by some who had some regard of Honesty, did forthwith defy the Secretary by his Letters. Then he sent for Sir *Thomas Palmer*, to understand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had said: but by this hot and humorous striving, he did but draw the Knots more fast.

The Duke and Conspirators seized, *Oct.* 16.

A few Days being past, the Duke either ignorant of what was intended, or fearing if he seemed to perceive it, came to the Court, but somewhat later then he accustomed. And as to Minds possest with Fear, all things unusual seem to menace Danger; so this late coming of the Duke was enforc'd as a Suspicion against him:

(*p*) A disparaging Character given of a Great Man without much, if any ground for it. This Character I can give of him, that he was a great Friend to the Reformation, and a Patron of Learned Men. I have seen Letters from *Bucer* and *Bullinger* to him. And, which is instead of all that can be said of him, he was the Father of an admirable tho' unfortunate Woman, the Lady *Jane Grey*. *J. S.*

(*q*) *Cecil* was made Secretary before now, namely, upon Dr. *Wotton*'s resignation of that Office, which was *Sept.* 6. 1550. so it is certified in the King's Journal. But at this Promotion he was made a Knight. *J. S.*

(*r*) Sir *Robert Dudley* is not well placed here among those that received Titles of Honour at this time; since he with *Barnaby Fitz Patrick* were two Months before admitted and sworn of the King's Bed-Chamber, *viz.* Aug. 15. *J. S.*

(*s*) Of all the ill Characters our Author gives of Men, that he bestows upon Sir *Robert Dudley* is the worst: and giveth at last a Hint, as tho' he was the wicked Instrument of the King's Death. 'Tis true, this Man was none of the best, but is represented worse than he was, especially by *Parsons* in his Book intitled *Leicesters Common-wealth*. Out of which our Author takes his Character for *Dudley*: When other more wary Men would hardly set down all for Truth that they read in that malicious Book, and wrote by so invenomed an Author. Undoubtedly Sir *Rob. Dudley* was a good Soldier, a Gallant Courtier, a great Statesman, an Enemy to Papists, and a favourer of Learning. *J. S.*

1551.

And so after Dinner he was apprehended. Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, *Hamonde*, *Nudigates*, *John Seymour* and *David Seymour* were also made Prisoners; the Lord *Gray*, being newly come out of the Country, was attack'd. Sir *Ralph Vane*, being twice sent for, fled. Upon the first Message it was reported that he said, that his Lord was not stout, and that if he could get home he cared not for any; but upon Pursuit he was found in his Servants Stable at *Lambeth*, cover'd with Straw. He was a Man of a fierce Spirit, both sudden and bold, of no evil Disposition, saving that he thought Scantiness of Estate too great an Evil. All these were the same Night sent to the *Tower*, except *Palmer*, *Arundel*, and *Vane*, who were kept in the Court well guarded, in Chambers apart. The Day following the Dutchess of *Somerset* was sent to the *Tower*, no Man grieving thereat, because her Pride and Baseness of Life overballanc'd all Pity; and doubtless if any Mischief were then contriv'd, whereof many were doubtful (every one giving forth as he believ'd) it was first hammer'd in the Forge of her wicked-working Brain; for she had always wicked Instruments about her, whom the more she found appliable to her Purposes, the more Favours she bestow'd upon them, who being engag'd by her into Dangers, held it dangerous to fall from her. Also with her were committed one *Crane* and his Wife, and her own Chamber-woman. After these follow'd Sir *Thomas Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, *Wingfield*, *Banister*, *Vaughan*, and some others. In divers of these was then neither any Cause known, or afterwards discover'd, but the Number rais'd the greater Terror, and doubled the Conceit of the Danger.

Their Confessions.

Sir *Thomas Palmer* being again examin'd, added to his former Detection, that the Gendarmory upon the Muster-day should be assaulted by 2000 Foot under Sir *Ralph Vane*, and by 100 Horses of the Duke of *Somerset*'s, besides his Friends which should stand by, and besides the idle People which were thought inclinable to take his part; that this done, he would run thro' the City, and proclaim *Liberty*, and in case his Attempt did not succeed, he would go to the *Isle of Wight*, or to *Poole*.

Crane confess'd for the most part as *Palmer* had done, and further added, that the Lord *Paget*'s House was the Place, where the Nobility being invited to a Banquet, should have lost their Heads, and that the Earl of *Arundel* was made acquainted with the Practice by Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and that it had been done, but that the Greatness of the Enterprize caus'd Delays, and some Diversity of Advice: And further said, that the Duke of *Somerset* once feigning himself sick, went to *London* to assay what Friends he could procure. This *Crane* was a Man, who having consum'd his own Estate, had arm'd himself to any Mischief.

Hamonde confess'd, that the Duke of *Somerset*'s Chamber had been strongly watch'd at *Greenwich* by Night.

All these were sworn before the Council, and the greatest part of the Nobility of the Realm, that their Confessions were true, and as favourably set down in Behalf of the Duke as with a safe Conscience they could. And forthwith upon the Information of *Crane*, the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the *Tower*, so were *Stradley* and *St. Albans*, Servants to the Earl of *Arundel*. The Lord *Strange* voluntarily inform'd, how the Duke desir'd him to move the King to take to Wife his third Daughter the Lady *Jane*, and that he would be his Especial about the King, to advertise him when any of the Council spake privately with him, and to acquaint him what they said. 1551.

The Lord Chancellor in the Star-chamber declares these Accusations of the Duke *Octob.* 24.

Hereupon to give some publick Satisfaction to the People, the Lord Chancellor, who had Words at Will, and Wit enough to apply them, declar'd openly in the Star-chamber all these Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset*: Letters were also publish'd to all Emperors, Kings, Embassadors, and Chief Men in any State, wherein these Matters were compris'd. By other Letters the Muster of the Gendarmory was deferr'd for certain Months: Other Letters were directed to Sir *Arthur Darcy*, to take Charge of the *Tower*, and to discharge Sir *Arthur Markham*, for that without acquainting any of the Lords of the Council, he suffer'd the D. of *Somerset* to walk abroad, and permitted Intercourses of Letters between *David Seymour* and Mrs. *Poynes*.

A Message from the Protestant Princes of *Germany* to the King.

Whilst these Matters were in Traverse, Messengers arriv'd from Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Mecklenburge*, and *John* Marquis of *Brandenburge*, Princes of the Religion in *Germany*, to understand the King's Mind, whether he would agree to aid them with 400000 Dollars in Case any Necessity should assail them, they consenting to do the like to him, in case he should be overcharg'd with War. The King gave them an uncertain Answer, but gentle and full of fair Hopes, that because their Message was only to know the King's Inclination, and not to conclude, he could give them no other Answer than this, that he was well inclin'd to join in Amity with them whom he knew to agree with him in Religion; but first he was desirous to know whether they could procure such Aid from other Princes, as might enable them to maintain their Wars, and to assist him, if need should require. And therefore he willed them to break this Matter to the Duke of *Prussia*, and other Princes about them, and to procure the Good-will of *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and *Breme*. Then he desir'd that the Matter of Religion should be plainly set down, lest under pretence thereof Wars should be made for other Quarrels. Lastly, he willed that they should furnish themselves with more ample Instructions from their Lords, to commune and conclude of all Circumstances pertaining to that Business.

The King's Answer, *Nov.* 14.

The King's Answer was fram'd with these Uncertainties and Delays, lest if the King had assur'd his Consent at the first, it might have been taken as Breach of League with the Emperor. Afterwards they and other Princes of *Germany* made a League offensive and defensive with the *French* King against the Emperor. Into which the *French* King desir'd the King of *England* to come; but because the *French* King was the chief of the League, the King did plainly perceive that the War was not for the Cause of Religion. Wherefore he answer'd that he could not do it without Breach of his League with the Emperor, against whom having no pretence of Hostility, he was not so desirous of Wars, as without just Cause of his own to pull them upon him.

About

1551.

The King Godfather to the Fr. King's Son, Nov. 16.

About the fame Time the Lord Admiral was fent into *France*, as the King's Deputy, to be Godfather at the Baptifm of the *French* King's Son: Alfo a *French* Man who had committed a Murder at *Diepe*, and fled into *England*, was remitted into *France*, and deliver'd upon the Borders, to receive Juftice by the fame Laws againft which he had offended.

D. of Somerfet brought to his Trial, Dec. 1.

And now the Duke of *Northumberland* being impatient of long-working Wickednefs, the fourth Act of the Duke of *Somerfet's* Tragedy muft not be delay'd, left thereby Fear abating (as being falfe it could not be durable) either the King's gentle Difpofition, or the Love which he had formerly born to his Uncle, might haply return to their natural working. So the Duke of *Somerfet*, after a fhort abode (*t*) in the Tower, was brought to his Trial at *Weftminfter*. The Lord *William Pawlet*, Marquis of *Winchefter* and Lord Treafurer, fat as High Steward of *England*, under a Cloth of State, on a Bench mounted three Degrees; the Peers to the number of 27 fat on a Bench one ftep lower. Thefe were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Suffex*, *Worcefter*, *Pembroke*, and Vifcount *Hereford*. The Barons *Abergavenny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windfor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*.

Firft the Indictments were read, in number Five: containing a Charge of raifing Men in the North Parts of the Realm, and at his Houfe of affembling Men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, of refifting his Attachment, of killing the Gendarmory, of raifing *London*, of affaulting the Lords, and devifing their Deaths. When the Prifoner had pleaded, Not Guilty, and put himfelf upon Trial of his Peers, the Examinations before-mention'd were read, and by the King's Learned Council prefs'd againft him. Hereto, albeit he was both unskilful and much appaled (Caufes fufficient to drive him out of Matters) yet after a fhort Entreaty, that Words either idly or angerly fpoken might not be enforc'd to any high Crew, to the Points objected he anfwer'd.

The Duke's Apology for himfelf.

That he never intended to raife the *North* Parts of the Realm, but upon fome Bruits he apprehended a Fear, which mov'd him to fend to Sir *William Herbert* to remain his Friend. That he determin'd not to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Lord, but fpake of it only, and determin'd the contrary. That it had been a mad Enterprize with his 100 Men to affail the Gendarmory confifting of 900, when, in cafe he had prevail'd, it would nothing have avail'd the pretended Purpofe. And therefore this being fenflefs and abfurd, muft needs difcredit other Matters, which otherwife might have been believ'd. That at *London* he never projected any ftir, but ever held it a good Place for his Surety. That for having Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, it was manifeft he meant no harm, becaufe when he might have done it he did not. And further, againft the Perfons of them, whofe Examinations had been read againft him, he objected many Things, defiring they might be brought to his Face, which, in regard he was a Perfon of Dignity and Eftate, he claim'd to be reafonable: Efpecially againft Sir *Thomas Palmer* he fpake much Evil, and yet, in Opinion of many, far fhort of the Truth. Hereto no Anfwer was made, but that the worfe they were, the fitter they were to be his Inftruments. Fit Inftruments indeed, faid he, but rather for others than for me.

The Fact being made, the King's Learned Council avouch'd the Law to be, to affemble Men with Intent to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was Treafon, by a Statute of the 3d and 4th of King *Edward* then reigning, made againft unlawful Affemblies; that to raife *London* or the *North* Parts of the Realm was Treafon; that to mind refifting his Attachment was Felony; that to affault the Lords, and to devife their Deaths, was Felony. But under Favour of their Judgment, the Statute alledg'd bears no fuch Senfe, either for Treafon or for Felony. Indeed by a Statute of K. *Henry* 7. it is Felony for inferior Perfons to contrive the Death of a Lord of the Council, but Lords are therein exprefly excepted.

The Lords confult together of the Duke's cafe.

The Lords went together, and firft the Duke of *Suffolk* nobly faid, That he held it not reafonable, that this being but a Contention between private Subjects, under Pretention thereof any mean Action fhould be drawn to Intention of Treafon. The Duke of *Northumberland* (in Countenance bearing Shew of Sadnefs, but in Truth ftifly obftinate) deny'd that he would ever confent that any Practice againft him fhould be either imputed or reputed to be Treafon; yet this was not taken to proceed from Modefty, as he expected, but for that he could not with his Honour or with Reafon fo enforce it.

The Marquis of *Northampton* was crofs'd and contentious with many, but never reply'd to any Anfwer; a manifeft Mark of no ftrong Spirit (*v*). Some of the reft plainly brake forth, that they held it unfit that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* fhould be of the Trial, becaufe the Prifoner was chiefly charg'd with Practices intended againft them. But hereto Anfwer was made, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challeng'd. After much variation of Opinions, the Prifoner at the Bar was acquit of Treafon, but by moft Voices (moft favouring the Duke of *Northumberland*) was found guilty of Felony. Here-

Brought in guilty of Felony.

(*t*) That is, from the 16th of *October*, to the 1ft of *December*.

(*v*) This was rather a fign of no contentious Spirit, and that delighted not in fending and proving, as we fay. But if our Author means a Meannefs and Lownefs of Spirit, this forbearing of Replies is no fuch *manifeft fign* of that; becaufe fometimes the fparingnefs of Words and flownefs of Reply proceeds from Wifdom and Difcretion. But where our Author met with this Account of the Marquis I know not: He was certainly able enough to make Replies, if he had pleas'd, being of a very gay Difpofition, and addicted to Pleafure; as may be judged from this Paffage, that at his Trial, under Q. *Mary*, when he was, with the Duke of *Northumberland*, charged with High Treafon, he pleaded for himfelf, that in the midft of thofe Confpiracies for the fetting up the Lady *Jane Gray*, &c. he was intent to Hunting and other Sports. And *Camden*, at the Year 1571. wherein this Marquis died, gives him this Character, That he was a Man very well verfed in the more delightful forts of Studies, as Mufick, Love-toys, and other courtly Dalliances. *J. S.*

upon

1551. upon Judgment follow'd, that he should be hang'd; but this would never have gone so hard, had they not prosecuted all under pretence of Treason.

The Duke of *Somerset* might have crav'd his Clergy, but he suffer'd Judgment to pass, thank'd the Lords for his gentle Trial, crav'd Pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his ill Meaning against them, and made Suit for his Life, in pity to his Wife, Children, and Servants, and in regard of Payment of his Debts. As he departed, because he was acquit of Treason, the Ax of the *Tower* was not openly carry'd; whereupon the People supposing that he was altogether acquit, shouted half a dozen times so loud that they were heard beyond *Charing-Cross*. It is certain the People favour'd him the more, because they saw that there was much secret Hate born against him. But as this immoderate Favour of the Multitude did him no good, so will it undo so many as shall trust unto it. It was told the King, that after the Duke's Return to the *Tower*, he acknowledg'd to certain Lords, that he had hired *Bartuile* to make them away, that *Bartuile* confess'd so much, and that *Hamonde* was not ignorant thereof; which whether it were true, or whether devis'd, to make the King more estrang'd from him, of Judgment could not hold themselves assur'd. 1551.

About this Time *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, a Man famous in those Times for Learning and Integrity of Life, was sent to the *Tower* for Concealment of (I know not what) Treason, written to him I know not by whom, and not discover'd until (what shall I call) the Party did reveal it. (*w*) But the Lord Chancellor *Rich* having built a fair Estate, and perceiving what nimble Ears were born to listen after Treason, also for that a Parliament was towards, wherein he was doubtful what Questions might arise, made suit to the King, that in regard of the Infirmities of his Body, he might be discharg'd of his Office; giving good Example to Men, sometimes by their own Moderation to avoid Disgrace. So he deliver'd the Seal at his House in Great St. *Bartholomew*'s to the D. of *Northumberland* and the E. of *Pembroke*, sent by the King with Commission to receive it (*x*). The same Seal was forthwith deliver'd to Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, a Man if haply able to discharge the Place, assuredly no more (*y*). It was first deliver'd unto him only during the Sickness of the Lord *Rich*; but in short Time after he was sworn Lord Chancellor,

Tunstal Bp. of *Durham* sent to the *Tower*.

L. Chancellor *Rich* resigns his Office.

(*w*) Our Author writes not like an Historian, in giving us so lame an Account of the Imprisonment of this Bishop. In the King's Journal he met with his Commitment for *Concealment of Treason*. And because he read no more Particulars of it, he would hint as tho' his Imprisonment were unjust, and would cast the Imputation of it upon the State, as a piece of Forgery and Oppression. Whereas by the Minutes of the Council-Book, and the Book of Warrants to the Seal, the Particulars of this Matter appear. It was for consenting, about *July*, 1550, to a Conspiracy in the *North*, for the raising a Rebellion. One *Ninian Menvile* of *Stedwich* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, Esq; accused the said Bishop of *Durham* of this in a Writing. To which the Bishop made his Answer. And *Menvile* again replied to the same. But for want of a Letter written by the Bishop to *Menvile*, whereupon depended a great Trial of this Matter, the Determination thereof was for some Time staid; and the Bishop only commanded to keep his House (he lodged now in the late Monastery of White Monks on *Tower-Hill*) until he should be called to further Answer. This Letter afterwards came to light, being found in a Cask of the Duke of *Somerset*'s, after his last Apprehension. Upon this the Bishop was sent for, and, *December* the 20th, 1551. he made his Appearance before the Lords. By whom being charg'd with this Matter, and his own Letter produc'd against him (I repeat the Words of the Council-Book) which he could not deny but to be of his own Hand, and unable to make any further Answer thereto than he had done before by Writing, he was (for that the same seemed not a sufficient Answer) committed, by the King's Commandment, to the *Tower* of *London*. And there was a special Commission appointed for his Trial, dated in *October* 1552. to Sir *Roger Cholmely*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Richard Read*, and divers others, both of the Common and Civil Law, to call before them *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Durham*, and to examine him of all manner of Conventicles, Conspiracies, Contempts, Concealments, *&c.* And if found guilty, to deprive him of his Bishoprick, and otherwise to do in the Premisses according to their Wisdoms. In fine, he was found guilty, and deprived the 14*th* of *October*, or the 11*th*, according to the King's Journal. And in *November* following a Grant was made to *Rob. Horne*, Professor of Divinity and Dean of *Durham*, of the said Bishoprick: Which however he would not accept of. And *Menvile* for his Service, in making this Information, was rewarded by the King with the Gift of an 100 *l.*

Vide A. *Harmar's Specim.* p. 109. *Warrant-Book.*

And a Year before this *viz.* July 8. 1551. the Dean of *Durham* (whose Name was *Whitehead*) was ordered by the Privy-Council to answer in Writing unto such Matters as he was charged with at his being before the Council, and in such sort as he would stand to at his peril. And in *October* the Council wrote a Letter to the L. Treasurer, L. Chamberlain, Secretary *Cecil*, and Mr. *Mason*, to hear and examine the Bishop and Dean of *Durham*'s Case, and to make them Report of the same. So that this Dean seems to be involved in the same Accusation with the Bishop. But he died soon after. *J. S.*

(*x*) Those that were sent by the King to receive the Great Seal from the Lord *Rich*, were the Marquis of *Winchester* the L. Treasurer, the Duke of *Northumberland*, L. President of the Council, and the Lord *Darcy*, L. Chamberlain of the Houshold. These only were sent (the L. *Pembroke* was none of them) who brought Letters from the King, dated the 21*st* of *December*, in the Fifth of his Reign, to the said L. *Rich* for that purpose. Who accordingly delivered up the Great Seal into their hands; and it was brought to the King. Which he, not *forthwith* delivered to Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely* (as our Author writeth) but keeping it with him all that Day and all that Night, and the next Morning till about Ten of the Clock, delivered to the said Bishop, to keep *Durante Beneplacito*.

The Occasion of the King's sending for the Seal our Author suggests to be, the L. *Rich*'s wariness to avoid danger of Life or Estate; Crimes being then so studiously laid to Mens Charge that had to do in publick Matters; and so desirous handsomly to quit that great Office, he pretended Infirmity of Body. But, according to the King's Journal, his Sickness is mentioned as the real Cause: And therefore the Seal was delivered at first to the Bishop of *Ely*, only during his Sickness. It is certain the said L. *Rich* was this Year visited, at his House called *Leez* in *Essex*, with Sickness and forty more of his Family, as the King writeth in his Journal. The Distemper, perhaps, was the Ague that raged in those Times, or some other infectious Disease; the Relicks whereof might well hang upon him this *Michaelmas* Term, and in the declining of the Year, being now at his *London*-House. For in *October* the L. Chancellor being indisposed, the Chancery Matters were dispatched by the Master of the Rolls, and some Judges and Civilians appointed by Commission. And lying now under some Displeasure at Court, for deferring presently to set the Great Seal to somewhat, only upon a Letter under some few Counsellors Hands, they might take this Opportunity of his Indisposition to get him displaced. *J. S.*

(*y*) According to the common Custom of Sir *John Hayward*, here is a disparaging Character given of the Bishop of *Ely*, as to his Abilities. This Man was long accustomed to Business, from K. *Henry* the Eighth's Time to this present. In K. *Edward*'s Reign he was in many weighty Commissions, and a Privy-Counsellor: employed in several Embassies, and particularly in the great and splendid Embassy to *France*, *Anno* 1551. with several other eminent Persons. In his Office of Chancellor he is noted by Archbishop *Parker*, in a Letter of his, for his impartial Administration of Justice. He was also a Churchman that was very instrumental in promoting of the Reformation of Religion, and purging it from

1551. Chancellor, because as Keeper of the Seal he could not then execute such matters as were to be dispatchd'd in Parliament.

The King diverted. And now after Judgment against *Somerset*, the Lords were not negligent to entertain the King with all Delights they could devise, partly to win the King's Favour, but especially to convert his Thoughts from his condemn'd Uncle. To this end they often presented him with stately Masques, brave Challenges at Tilt and at Barriers, and whatsoever Exercises or Disports they could conjecture to be best pleasing to him. Then also he first began to keep Hall, and the Christmas time was pass'd over with Banquetings, Masques, Plays, and much other variety of Mirth. Often they would call him to serious Affairs, wherein he took especial Pleasure. Sometimes they would remember him how dangerous the Duke of *Somerset* was, who having made away his only Brother, contriv'd the Death of the Chief of the Nobility. And where (say they) would his Mischief have rested? Would it have raged against all, and left the King only untouch'd? Verily, having been always both cruel and false, there would have been no end of his Mischief, and all his Submissions must now be taken for counterfeit and dissembled: But his Avarice and Ambition once remov'd, the way will be laid open to Virtue and Merit.

1552. The Duke beheaded *Jan.* 22. So about two months after his Judgment, the fifth and last Act of his Tragedy was brought upon the Stage. When being so often expos'd to Fortune's mercy before, he was plac'd by a strong Guard upon a Scaffold at *Tower-Hill*, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, to suffer Death: and albeit strait Charge had been given the Day before to every Housholder in the City, not to permit any to depart out of their Houses before ten of the Clock that Day, yet the People the more unruly by this Restraint, by such thick Throngs swarm'd to the place, that before seven of the Clock the Hill was cover'd, and all the Chambers which open'd towards the Scaffold were taken up.

His Speech on the Scaffold. Here the Duke first avow'd to the People, that his Intentions had been not only harmless in regard of particular Persons, but driving to the common Benefit both of the King and of the Realm. Then he exhorted them unto Obedience, assuring them that no Persons could justly avouch their Faith to God, who were not faithful to their King.

But herewith behold certain Persons of a Hamlet near, who had been warn'd by the Lieutenant of the Tower to attend that Morning about seven of the Clock, coming after their hour thro' the Postern, and perceiving the Prisoner to be mounted upon the Scaffold, began to run, and to call to their Fellows to come away. The suddenness of their coming, the haste that they made, the Weapons they carry'd, but especially the word, *Come away*, being often doubled, mov'd many of the nearest to surmise that a Power was come to receive the Duke, whereupon many cry'd with high Voice, *Away, Away*. The Cry of those and the coming on of the other, cast amazement upon the rest, so much the more terrible, because no Man knew what he fear'd or wherefore, every Man conceiving that which his astonish'd Fancy did cast in his mind; some imagin'd that it thunder'd, others that it was an Earthquake, others that the Powder in the Armory had taken fire, others that Troops of Horsemen approach'd. In which medly of Conceits they bare down one another, and justled many into the Tower-Ditch, and long it was before the vain Tumult could be appeas'd. 1552.

No sooner were the People settled in quiet, and the Duke beginning to finish his Speech, but upon another idle Apprehension they fell to be no less riotous in Joy than they had been in Fear. For Sir *Anthony Brown* coming on Horseback upon the spur, gave occasion whereby many entertain'd hope that he brought a Pardon; whereupon a great Shout was rais'd, *A Pardon, A Pardon, God save the King*. But the Duke of *Somerset* express'd great Constancy at both these times, often desiring the People to remain quiet, that he might quietly end his Life. *For*, said he, *I have often look'd Death in the face, upon great Adventures in the Field, he is now no Stranger to me; and among all the vain Mockeries of this World, I repent me of nothing more than in esteeming Life more dear than I should. I have endur'd the Hate of Great Persons; so much the more dangerous, because unjust. I have incur'd Displeasure from Inferiors, not always for any great Faults of my own (albeit I was never free) but for giving way to the Faults of others. And now being constantly resolv'd, I neither fear to die, nor desire to live; and having master'd all Grief in my self, I desire no man to sorrow for me* (z). So having testify'd his Faith to God, and his Faithfulness to the King, he yielded

from the old Superstitions, both in K. *Henry*'s and K. *Edward*'s Reigns; and one of the Compilers of the Book of Common Prayer. He bred up Learned Men in his Family Dr. *Cox*, who was K. *Edward*'s Instructor, and after succeeded in this Bishoprick, was his Chaplain; and the most Learned Dr. *Smith*, afterwards Secretary of State, and a Knight, was his Chancellor. To Foreigners, especially Professors of the Gospel, he was a Patron and Friend; as particularly the Noble *Polonian Alasco*, and *Petrus Valentius* a *French* Protestant, whom he made his Chaplain and Almoner. *J. S.*

(z) Our Author hath a way of making Speeches for Men; and taking too much liberty therein, to make them speak more or otherwise than they did, not to say, contrary to what they themselves uttered. In the Speech of this good Duke, as here represented, are several things omitted which he spake, and other Passages added which he spake not. And therefore it may not be amiss to set down here more truly the last Words of so great a Personage. And that I will do from *John Fox*, a diligent Historian, who lived in those Times, and had his Intelligence from a noble Person, then near the Duke upon the Scaffold, and who carefully marked all things. Acts and Mon. ad An. 1552.

Duke of *Somerset*'s last Words. The Duke addressing to the People with Compellation, of *Dearly beloved Friends*, said, 'That he was brought 'thither to suffer Death, altho' he never offended against the King, neither by Word nor Deed; but had always been 'as faithful and true unto this Realm, as any Man had been. But forasmuch as he was by a Law condemned to die, 'he acknowledged himself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore to testifie his Obedience which he 'ought unto the Laws, he was come thither to suffer Death: Whereunto he willingly offer'd himself, with most hearty 'Thanks unto God, that had given him this time of Repentance; who might by sudden Death have taken away his 'Life, that neither he should have acknowledged God, nor himself.

'That there was yet somewhat he must put them in mind of, as touching the Christian Religion; which so long as 'he was in Authority, he always diligently set forth and furthered to his power. And he did not repent him of his 'Doings, but rejoiced therein; since now the State of Religion came most near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive Church.

1552.

yielded his Body into the Executioner's Hand, who with one Stroke of the Ax cut off all his confus'd Cogitations and Cares; the more pity'd by the People, for the known Hate of *Northumberland* against him.

His Character.

Assuredly he was a Man harmless and faithful, and one who never hatch'd any Hopes prejudicial to the King, but always intended his Safety and Honour; but hard it is for Greatness to stand, when it is not sustain'd by the proper Strength. The People, whose Property it is by excessive Favour to bring Great Men to Misery, and then to be excessive in Pity, departed away griev'd and afraid, and yet fear'd to seem to be afraid, and for this Cause chiefly did never bear good Mind to *Northumberland* afterwards, altho' in shew they dissembled the contrary; for nothing is more easy than to discern when People observe Great Men from the Heart, or when they do it for Fashion or for Fear; and as it often happens, that Men oppress'd work Revenge after their Deaths, so the Remembrance of *Somerset* much mov'd the People to fall from *Northumberland* in his greatest Attempt, and to leave him to his fatal Fall, whereat they openly rejoic'd, and presented to him Handkerchiefs dip'd in the Blood of *Somerset*, for whom they thought he deserved rather late than undeserved Punishment. So certain it is that the Debts both of Cruelty and Mercy go never unpaid. I omit the mean Scourges of Conscience: For assuredly a Body cannot be so torn with Stripes, as a Mind is with remembrance of wicked Actions. But of him more hereafter shall be said, and how his Greatness turn'd to be Fortune's Scorn.

Beloved by the People.

Northumberland hated of the People.

The Nobility flatter and comply with him.

But outwardly and for the present he gain'd a great Hand over the Nobility; who soon observing that he was able to endanger the Estate of the Greatest, and that the more Respect they did bear to him, the more safely they liv'd and the more easily advanc'd to Honour, they all contended to creep into his Humour, to watch his Words, his Gestures, his Looks, and to do that as of themselves, which they conceiv'd he had a Desire they should do.

The King's Reflections.

But the King, albeit at the first he gave no Token of any ill-temper'd Passion, as taking it not agreeable to Majesty openly to declare himself, and albeit the Lords did much help to dispel any dampy Thoughts which the Remembrance of his Uncle might raise, by applying him with great Variety of Exercises and Disports; yet upon Speech of him afterwards, he would often sigh and let fall Tears: Sometimes he was of Opinion that he had done nothing that deserv'd Death, or if he had, that it was very small, and proceeded rather from his Wife than from himself. *And where then*, said he, *was the Good-Nature of a Nephew? Where was the Clemency of a Prince? Ah! how unfortunate have I been to those of my Blood? My Mother I slew at my very Birth, and since have made away two of her Brothers, and haply to make a Way for the Purposes of others against my self. Was it ever known before that a King's Uncle, a Lord Protector, one whose Fortunes had much advanc'd the Honour of the Realm, did lose his Head for Felony, a Felony neither clear in Law, and in Fact weakly prov'd? Alas! how falsly have I been abus'd? How weakly carry'd? How little was I Master over my own Judgment, that both his Death and the Envy thereof must be charg'd upon me?* (a)

Four others executed.

Not long after the Death of *Somerset*, because it was not thought fit that such a Person should be Executed alone, who could hardly be thought to offend alone, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hang'd on *Tower-hill*; Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Tho. Arundel* were there also beheaded. All these took it upon their last Charge, that they never offended against the King, nor against any of his Council. God knows whether obstinately secret, or whether innocent; and in the Opinion of all Men *Somerset* was much clear'd by the Death of those who were Executed to make him appear faulty.

Sir *Ralph Vane*.

Sir *Ralph Vane* was charg'd with conspiring with *Somerset*; but his bold Answers, term'd rude and ruffian-like, falling into Years apt to take Offence, either only caus'd, or much further'd his Condemnation. For besides his natural Fierceness, enflam'd by his present Disgrace, he was the more free by reason of his great Services in the Field. 'The Time 'hath been, said he, when I was of some E-'steem, but now we are in Peace, which repu-'teth the Coward and Couragious alike: and so

'Church. Which thing he esteemed as a great Benefit given of God both unto them and him: and most heartily ex-'horted them all, that this which was most purely set forth unto them, they would with all Thankfulness accept and 'embrace, and set the same forth in their Living, which Thing if they did not, without doubt greater Mischief and 'Calamity would follow.

Then the Duke stop'd a while upon certain Hurly-Burlies occasionally happening among the People. One Cause thereof was by Sir *Anthony Brown*'s coming, and riding towards the Scaffold; by whom the People thought a Pardon was brought: But proving no such thing, the Duke proceeded, telling them, 'That there was no such Matter as they 'hoped or believed. That so it seemed good unto Almighty God, whose Ordinance it was meet and necessary that 'we all should be obedient to. Wherefore he pray'd them all to be quiet, and to be contented with his Death, which 'he was most willing to suffer. And then prayed them to join in Prayer unto the Lord for the Preservation of the 'King's Majesty, unto whom hitherto he had always shewed himself a most faithful and true Subject. That he had 'always been most diligent about his Majesty in his Affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking 'the common Commodity of the whole Realm. [At which Words all the People cryed out, *It was most true*.] That 'unto the King's Majesty he wished continual Health, with all Felicity and prosperous Success. [Whereunto all the 'People cryed out again, *Amen*.] He wished moreover unto all his Counsellors the Grace and Favour of God, whereby 'they might rule in all things uprightly with Justice. Unto whom he exhorted them all in the Lord to shew them-'selves obedient, as it was their bounden Duty, under the Pain of Condemnation; and also most profitable for the 'Preservation and Safeguard of the King's Majesty.

'That forasmuch as heretofore he had oftentimes Affairs with divers Men (and hard it was to please every Man) 'therefore if there were any that had been offended or injured by him he most humbly required and asked him For-'giveness; and especially Almighty God, whom throughout all his Life he had most grievously offended. And all 'other, whatsoever they were, that had offended him, he did with all his whole Heart forgive them.

'Then once again he required them, that they would keep themselves quiet and still, lest thro' their Tumult they 'might trouble him. For albeit the Spirit were willing and ready, the Flesh was frail and wavering: And that thro' 'their Quietness he should be much more quiet himself. And he desired them all to bear him witness, that he died 'there in the Faith of Jesus Christ; desiring them likewise to help him with their Prayers, that he might persevere 'constant in the same unto his Life's end. *J. S.*

(a) A good Speech made for the King, but not by him. *J. S.*

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with an obstinate Resolution he made choice rather not to regard Death, then by any Submission to intreat for Life. Indeed it was well known that he had been famous for Service, but therewith it was well known by whose Favour he had been famous.

Sir Tho. Arundel. Sir *Thomas Arundel* was with some difficulty condemn'd; for his Cause was brought to Trial about seven of the Clock in the Morning, about Noon the Jurors went together, and because they could not agree, they were shut in a House all the residue of that Day, and all the Night following. The next Morning they found him guilty. Unhappy Man! who found the doing of any thing or of nothing dangerous alike.

Sir Miles Partridge. Sir Mich. Stanhope. Sir *Miles Partridge* and Sir *Michael Stanhope* were condemn'd, as Consociates in the Conspiracy of *Somerset*. Both reputed indifferently dispos'd to bad or good, yet neither of them of that Temper, as to dare any dangerous Fact; either because they were so indeed, or because their Favour or Alliance with the Dutchess of *Somerset* made them to be of less esteem.

L. Paget depriv'd of the Garter. *Garter* King at Arms was sent to the Lord *Paget*, Prisoner in the Tower, to take from him the Garter and the George, and to discharge him of that Order. The Pretence of this Dishonour, was because he was said to be no Gentleman of Blood, neither by Father nor by Mother. The Garter and the George were forthwith bestow'd upon the Earl of *Warwick*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*. About this time the Order was almost wholly alter'd, as by the Statutes thereof then made it appears. (*b*)

After these Times few Matters of high nature or observable note happen'd in *England*, during King *Edward's* Life. Of these I will select such as I esteem most fit for History, both as being publick, and as containing matter of some regard, not always observing the just Order of Time, but sometime Coherence or Propinquity of Matter.

Sir Phil. Hobby sent to Flanders, April 26. Sir *Philip Hobby* was sent to pay 62000 Pounds at *Antwerp*, for Payment of which Sum the King stood to divers Persons engag'd. This done, he went to the Regent then lying at *Brussels*, to declare unto her certain Grievances of the *English* Merchants Adventurers; but he receiv'd nothing but fair Promises, which prov'd deceivable. Afterwards Monsieur *de Couriers* came from the Regent to the King, to understand more particularly the Complaints of the Merchants, and therewith to desire, that her Subjects Ships might safely take harbour in any of the King's Havens. For the first a Note of the Merchants Complaints was deliver'd in writing, but answer was defer'd for want of Instructions, an usual Pretence in like Affairs. Touching the second, answer was made, that the King had given order that *Flemish* Ships should not be molested in any of his Havens, which appeared in that they were there always rescu'd from the Pursuit and Chase of the *French*; but he thought it not fit that more should enter his Havens at once, than he had power to govern. Assuredly the Merchants Adventurers have been often wrong'd and wring'd to the quick, but were never quick and lively in thanks to those by whose Endeavours they were freed.

The same Merchants exhibited a Bill at the Council-Table against the Merchants of the *Stilyard*. After answer by those of the *Stilyard*, and reply by the Adventurers, it was conceiv'd upon view of divers Charters, that the Merchants of the *Stilyard* were no sufficient Corporation, and that their Number, Names, and Nation could not be known: Also that when they had forfeited their Liberties, King *Edward* the Fourth restor'd them, upon condition that they should cover no Strangers Goods, which they had not observ'd. And again, whereas at the beginning they ship'd not above 80 Cloths, after that 100, afterwards 1000, after that 6000, at that time 44000 Cloths were ship'd every Year in their names, and not above 1100 by all Strangers besides. Wherefore albeit certain Embassadors from *Hamburgh* and *Lubeck* spake much in their behalf, yet a Decree was made, that they had forfeited their Liberties, and were in the same condition with other Strangers. And albeit they made great Moans afterwards, yet could they not procure this Sentence to be revers'd. (*c*) *Merchants of the Stilyard. Dissolved.*

(*d*) A Commission was granted to 8 Bishops, 8 other Divines, 8 Civilians, and 8 common Lawyers,

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The King keeps Maunday Thursday. (*b*) The old Custom of the King's of *England* on Maunday Thursday was observed by K. *Edward* this Year 1552. being now fifteen Years old. I find this Order in his Warrant-Book: 'A Warrant to Sir *Rafe Sadler* [Keeper of the 'Wardrobe] to deliver to *Richard Ceyl* and *Robert Rabitham*, Yeomen of the Robes, 15 Gowns of gray marble Cloth, '15 Pair of single soled Shoes, and 45 Ells of Linnen Cloth, to be given to 15 poor Men on Maunday Thursday. *J. S.*

(*c*) In this Year, *viz.* 1552. the King being 15 Years of Age, was mightily improved, and had attained to no ordinary Degrees of Knowledge and Learning: For he understood many Languages; as, besides his Mother Tongue *English*, *Latin* and *Greek*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, and more perhaps: And some of them he spake readily, as the *Latin* and the *French*. He was skilled in the Sciences of Logick and Musick, understood Natural Philosophy: And as he was a King, he carried himself with the Majesty and Gravity of a King; yet with much Sweetness and Obligingness too. The Fame of him made *Hieronymus Cardanus*, a learned *Italian*, eminent for Astrology and Philosophy, come into *England* this Year to see King *Edward*; and presented him a Book *de Rerum Varietate*, which he had dedicated to him. When he was brought to the King, and offered his Book, the King forthwith discoursed learnedly and promptly in *Latin* with him; asking him first about the Subject of his Book, and then argued with him philosophically and critically concerning Comets, according to the account he had given of them. Which made the *Italian* amazed: So that afterwards in a Book of his *De Genituris*, he gave him a very high *Elogium*, extolling him, from his own Knowledge, to be a Youth of such extraordinary Parts and Expectations, that he seemed to be brought up for *a Miracle of Human Nature.* This and much more *Cardan* writ of him: Which our *English* Historians, our Author, Dr. *Heylin*, Bp. *Burnet*, in their Histories of the Reformation, and *Fox* in his Martyrology before them all, make use of. The two last have thought fit to transcribe the very Words of *Cardan*, and to translate them into *English*, for the Use of *English* Readers. One of the Characters of this Prince was, *Aderant illi Gratiæ*; which the Bishop translates shortly and more obscure, *viz. All the Graces were in him:* But *Fox* who understood *Latin* singularly well, could not express it in fewer words than these, *That there was in him a towardly Disposition, and Pregnancy apt to all human Literature.* J. S.

What was done as to a new Body of Ecclesiastical Laws. (*d*) This Commission was not (as our Author expresseth it) for setting [illegible] Ecclesiastical Laws, *agreeable to the Nature of the People and of the Religion established.* The Commissions (for [illegible] were several Commissions about this Matter) ran in this Tenour only; *For the Reformation of the Canon* [illegible] and, *For the drawing and ordering of the Canon Law*; and, *For the Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Law.* No[illegible] *take no Effect:* For it took Effect so far, that

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A Commission for compiling Ecclesiastical Laws.

Lawyers, in all 32, to set forth Ecclesiastical Laws, agreeable to the Nature both of the People and of the Religion then establish'd in the Church of *England*, but it took no Effect. For neither the Number of the Commissioners, being many, nor the Quality of them, being Persons both in great Offices and divers far remote, could afford Meetings for so great a Business. Also the Difference both of Professions and of Ends, did of necessity raise much Difference in Judgment.

Order for the King's six Chaplains.

The King had six Chaplains in Ordinary; touching whose Attendence in Court, an Order was made, that two should remain with the King by Turns, and four should travel in Preaching abroad. The first Year two in *Wales*, and two in *Lincolnshire*, the next Year two in the Marshes of *Scotland*, and two in *Yorkshire*. The third Year two in *Devonshire*, and two in *Hampshire*. The fourth Year two in *Norfolk* and *Essex*, and two in *Kent* and *Sussex*, and so thro' all the Shires in *England*; which happily did not only serve for a Spiritual End, namely Instruction in Religion, but did also advance a Temporal Purpose of peaceable Obedience. For as rude untrain'd Minds are not only easily drawn, but inclinable of themselves to Sedition and Tumult, so by Learning and Religion Men are especially both reduc'd and retain'd in Civil Quiet.

The Council divides into several Commissions, March 3.

For better Dispatch of Business of divers Natures, the Body of the Council was divided into several Commissions. Some were appointed for hearing those Suits which were usually brought before the whole Table, to send Matters of Justice to their proper Courts, to give full Denial to such as they should not esteem reasonable, to certify what they thought meet to be granted, and upon Allowance thereof to dispatch the Parties. Others were appointed to consider of Penal Laws and Proclamations in force, and to quicken the Execution of the most Principal. These were directed first to consider what Principal Laws and Proclamations were most needful to be executed. Then to inquire in the Countries how they were disobey'd, and first to punish greatest Offenders, and afterwards to proceed to the rest. Lastly, that they should inquire what other Disorders were either dangerous or offensive in every Shire, and either to punish the Offenders, or else to report their Judgment therein. Others were appointed to attend Occurrences of State at large, with whom the King did sit once every Week to hear Matters of greatest Moment debated, because in these high Passages nothing was thought to be done truly with Majesty, nothing agreeable to the Dignity of the State, but in the Presence of the King. Generally all the Council agreed that none of them should make Suit to the King for Land or Forfeitures above 20 *l.* or for Reversion of Leases, or any other extraordinary Matter, until the State of his Revenues should be further known.

Commission for the King's Revenue.

Besides these Commissions another went forth to oversee and order the King's Revenues, and to cut off superfluous Charges, to oversee all Courts, especially those of new Erection, as the Court of Augmentation, and of First-fruits

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that a Book of Laws was drawn up, and compleatly finished, and wanted nothing but the King's Confirmation and Authority. But his Death and some other Causes, unhappily prevented.

But the King had it in his Mind, and in his Heart. I have seen a rough Draught of the King's last Will, drawn up by Secretary *Petre*, wherein he gave this Order to his Executors, 'That they should diligently travel to cause godly 'Ecclesiastical Laws to be made and set forth: Such as may be agreeable with the Reformation of Religion received 'within the Realm. And that done, shall also cause the Canon Laws to be abolished.

But to relate this remarkable Piece of History in this Reign, from the Council-Book and elsewhere. In *October* 1551. the Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to make out Commission to 32 Persons, *viz.* 8 Bishops, *Canterbury*, *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Exeter*, *Glocester*, *Bath*, and *Rochester*: 8 Divines, *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, *Cox*, *Parker*, *Latimer*, *Cook*, *Martyr*, *Cheeke*, *Alasco*: 8 Civilians, *Petre*, *Cecil*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Taylor* of *Hadley*, *May*, *Traheron*, *Lyel*, *Skinner*: 8 common Lawyers, Justice *Hales*, Justice *Bromley*, *Goodrick*, *Gosnald*, *Stamford*, *Carrel*, *Lucas*, *Brook*: To authorize them to assemble together, and to resolve upon the Reformation of the Canon Law. Eight of these to rough-hew the Canon Law; the rest to conclude it afterwards.

In *November* following a new Commission was ordered to eight Persons, for the first drawing and ordering the Canon Law: For that some of those afore appointed were then thought meet by the King to be left out. These eight were, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox*, and *Peter Martyr*, Dr. *May*, and Dr. *Taylor*, and *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*. But by a new Commission the Bishop of *London* was put in the room of the Bishop of *Ely*, *Traheron* in the room of *May*, and *Gosnald* for *Goodrick*. Again, *February* 2. next following, there was another Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops, learned Men, Civilians and Lawyers of the Realm, for Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Act of Parliament made the last Sessions. The granting of this Commission, King *Edward* dateth at the 10th of *February*. *Hist. of the Reform. p. 196.* *Council-Book.*

Now because here is mention made of an Act of Parliament for this Commission, I will shew what the Parliament did in this Matter. A Bill pass'd the Commons in *January*, 3 *Edw.* 6. 'That the King may nominate 16 Persons to 'peruse and make Ecclesiastical Laws. Which Bill was brought up to the House of Lords the 24th of *January*: And concluded in the House the 3d of the same Month: Yet making the Number 22. But to this dissented the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and ten other Bishops. It is among the printed Acts passed this Session: where the Number is 32. 'Who 'should have Power and Authority to assemble themselves by his Highness Commandment for three Years to come, for 'the perfect Collection, Compiling and Ordering of Ecclesiastical Laws. And that such Laws so compiled, gathered 'and ordered by the said 32, or the more part of them, and set forth and published and declared by the King's Pro-'clamation with the Advice of his Privy-Council, under the Great Seal, shall by virtue of this Act, be only taken, 'reputed, practised and put in use, for the King's Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm. *Lords Journal.*

Upon this Act the Commissions aforementioned were grounded. And at last, after great Pains of the Learned Men, the whole Work was finished, and a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws drawn up. Which were afterwards printed, *An.* 1571. and again 1640. under the Title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, with a large Preface set before it, made by *J. F.* that is, (I suppose) *John Fox*.

By this it appears how our Author erreth, when he writeth here, that this Matter *took no Effect*, because *of the Number of Commissioners*, and *divers of them far remote: and others of them having great Offices could not afford Meetings for so great a Business.* And also their *Difference of Professions and Ends, raising Difference in Judgment.* Which is all but his own Conceit and Imagination: For, for the remedying of these supposed Inconveniences, the King issued out a Commission, in *October* 1551. to eight Persons, leaving the Work in their Hands to finish. And the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being one of these eight, knowing the great Usefulness of the Thing, hastened it, and in effect himself compleated it, as is shewn in Archbishop *Cranmer's* Memorials. Yet he had the Assistance of *Cheeke*, *Haddon*, and *Peter Martyr*: A great deal of whose Hand I have seen in a rough Copy of this Book. But indeed the true Reason why this excellent Book, framed with so much Study, and Care, and Consultation, had not Authority given to it, to make it a Law, was because the Nation, especially the Great Men of it, could not endure Ecclesiastical Discipline. And so *Cox*, one of the eight Commissioners, wrote about this Time to *Bullinger* at *Zurich*, in the Course of their Correspondence, *We hate those bitter Institutions of Christian Discipline.* J. S.

1552. and Tenths, and to provide that the Revenues were answer'd every half Year. Another went forth for Debts owing to the King, and to take account of Payments since the 35th of King *Henry* the VIII. and in what manner the King had been deceiv'd, either by not accounting, or accounting falsly. Another also for taking away needless Bulwarks, by virtue whereof divers were demolish'd upon the Sea-Coasts, in Peace chargable, and little serviceable in War. And further, for more orderly and speedy Dispatch of Causes, the King deliver'd to his Council these Articles following.

Articles for Dispatch of Causes.

1. *That all Suits, Petitions and common Warrants deliver'd to the Privy-Council, be consider'd by them on* Mondays *in the Afternoon, and answer'd on* Saturdays *in the Afternoon; and that those Days, and no other, be assign'd to that Purpose.*

2. *That such Suits and Petitions as pertain to any Courts of Law, be referr'd to those Courts where properly they are triable, others to be determin'd with Expedition.*

3. *That in making Warrants for Money, it be foreseen, that they be not for such Matters as may be dispatch'd by Warrants dormant, lest by such means Accounts should be uncertain.*

4. *That upon* Sundays *they attend publick Affairs of the Realm, dispatch Answers to Letters for good Order of the State, and make full Dispatches of all things concluded the Week before; provided that they be present at Common-Prayer.*

5. *That on* Sunday *Night the Secretaries, or one of them, deliver to the King a Memorial of such Things as are to be debated by the Privy-Council, and be to appoint certain of them to be debated upon several Days,* viz. Monday *after Noon,* Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, *and* Friday *before Noon.*

6. *That on* Friday *after Noon they shall make a Collection of such Things as have been done the four Days before, what they have concluded, and what the Time suffer'd not to peruse. Also the principal Reasons which mov'd them to conclude of such matters as seem'd doubtful.*

7. *That on* Saturday *before Noon they present this Collection to the King, and inquire his Pleasure upon all things which they have concluded, and also upon all private Suits.*

8. *That none of the Privy-Council depart the Court for longer time than two Days, unless eight of the Council remain behind, and unless the King have Notice thereof.*

9. *That they make no Assembly in Council, unless they be to the Number of four, at the least.*

10. *That if they assemble to the number of four, and under the number of six, then they may reason or examine the Commodities or Inconveniences of Matters propos'd, and make Things plain which seem diffus'd at the first opening; and if they agree, then at the next full Assembly of six, a perfect Conclusion thereof shall be made.*

11. *That if there be under four, and a Matter ariseth requiring Expedition, they shall declare it to the King, but not give Answer, unless it requires extraordinary Haste.*

12. *That if such Matters arise as it shall please the King to hear the same debated, Warning shall be given, that the more may be present.*

13. *That if such Matter arise as cannot be ended without long debating, the Council shall not intermeddle with other Causes, until they have concluded the same.*

14. *That no private Suit be intermedled with great Affairs, but shall be heard on* Mondays *only.*

15. *That when Matters for scantness of Time be only discussed, and not brought to an end, then it shall be noted to what Point the Business is brought, and what have been the principal Reasons, that when it shall be treated again it may the sooner come to Conclusion.* 1552.

16. *That in tedious or difficult Matters two or three or more may be appointed to prepare and report the same, that being less cumbrous and diffuse they may the more easily be dispatch'd.*

17. *That no Warrant for Reward above 40 l. or Business, or Affairs above* 100 l. *pass, but under the King's Signet.*

18. *That if upon Advertisements or other Occasions, Matters of great Importance appear, which require Haste, such Matters shall be consider'd and determin'd, notwithstanding those Articles which appoint Business for several Days, so as this Order be not generally or commonly broken.*

Assuredly albeit the King declar'd both his Judgment and his Diligence and Care of Affairs of the Realm; yet is there one Rule more, (and not by him neglected) for all great Officers, which if it be not sufficient in it self to hold Matters in Order, yet are no Rules sufficient without it.

And this is to chuse Persons both for Ability and Integrity well reputed, albeit haply they be not always us'd. For besides that these will be a Rule to themselves, it is a great Satisfaction to the People, and keepeth them both from murmuring and curious inquiring into Counsels of State, which is never good, and often dangerous, when they know, or at least suppose Matters to pass under such Mens Judgments.

In these times it was conceiv'd by many, that by erecting of a Mart in *England*, the Realm would be much inrich'd, and made more famous, and less obnoxious to other Countries. The Time was then esteem'd fit, by reason of the Wars between the Emperor and the *French* King. The Places deem'd most meet were *Hull* for the *East* Countries, and *Southampton* for the *South*. *London* was thought no ill Place, but *Southampton* was judg'd most convenient for the first Beginning. This Matter detain'd the Lords of the Council in a Deliberation both serious and long, with great Strength and Variety of Reasons on both sides; which because they may give some light to the like Question, which in Times ensuing may happily again be set on foot, I will here declare them in the same Manner as they were collected by the King.

A Mart in England mention'd.

March 9.

Against the Mart these Objections were made:

Objections against it.

1. *That Strangers could have no access into* England *by Land, which they had at* Antwerp, *where the Mart then was.*

2. *That the ill working of* English *Cloths made them less esteem'd abroad.*

3. *That the great Quantity of* English *Cloths in* Flanders *would make them less desir'd from hence.*

4. *That the Merchants had then establish'd their Dwelling-places at* Antwerp.

5. *That other Nations would forbear their Resort into* England *for a while, upon Commandment of the Emperor.*

6. *That the Denial of the Requests of the Merchants of the* Stilyard, *would be a hindrance to the Mart, if Prevention were not us'd.*

7. *That the Poverty and Smalness of* Southampton *would be a great Impediment.*

8. *That the River* Rhine *was more commodious for* Antwerp, *than any River was for* England.

Here;

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To be settled at Southampton.

Hereunto answer was made, that at the time when the Mart should begin at *Southampton*, the *French* King and the *Almanes* would stop Intercourse to *Antwerp* by Land, so as nothing should pass that way but in great danger. Again, as *Southampton* wanteth the Commodity of Access of Merchandize by Land, so it hath the Commodity that there can be no Access of Enemies by Land; and if Wars should be rais'd, then the Navy of *England* is sufficient to defend them. And further that Traffick that cometh to *Antwerp* by Land is almost only from the *Venetians*, who may with greater ease, and less danger transport their Merchandizes into *England* by Sea. That the ill making of Cloths was fit to be redressed by the Parliament, then sitting, and the matter was then reduc'd to some Ripeness, the Upper House having one Bill and the Nether House another in good forwardness. Neither were they so ill made but that the *Flemmings* did easily desire them, offering rather to pay the Imposition of the Emperor than to be without them.

That it were necessary that the Passage of Ships should be stay'd until the Mart should advance to some ripeness, and that Cloths should be bought with the King's Mony, and convey'd to *Southampton* to be there utter'd at the Mart, which should help the Inconvenience very well. That Merchants never bind themselves to any Mansion, which either to atchieve, gain, or to avoid danger they will not readily forsake, for so they remov'd from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the *English* Commodities. And therefore seeing they shall have a good Commodity by coming to *Southampton*, and be rid of great Fear of Danger both in their Lives and Goods, in forsaking *Antwerp*, there is little Fear that they will be curious in making the Change.

That the Emperor then was so nearly driven, that neither was he willing to attend the Impeachment of the Mart, neither could he at that time do it. For the *Flemmings* and the *Spaniards* under him could more hardly be without the *English*, than the *English* without them, and therefore would hardly be brought to forbear that Traffick; and besides, they liv'd then in fear of losing all.

That it were good that for the present the *Stillyard* Men were generally answer'd, and Trial made whether by any gentle Offer of some part of their Liberties again they might be brought to ship their Wares unto the Mart. The *French* also might easily be drawn over, having one Traffick at that time but with *England*. That these two might suffice to begin a Mart.

That the Merchants would make good shift for their Lodging; and it is not the Ability of the Place that maketh a Mart, but the Resort of Merchants, as *Spaniards*, *Almanes*, *Italians*, *Flemmings*, *Venetians*, *Danes*, in exchanging their Commodities one with another. With whom also would concur the Merchants of *London*, *Bristol*, and other Places of *England*. And some of the Cloths which should be carry'd thither at the first, might be taken up with the King's Mony, and there be utter'd.

That *Bruges* where the Mart was before standeth not upon the *Rhine*, neither doth *Antwerp* where the Mart was then. *Frankford* doth and may well serve for a Fair for high *Almane*, but *Southampton* serveth better for all Countries upon the Sea, for few of these resort to *Frankford*.

Arguments for the Mart.

Herewith diverse Reasons were alledg'd for the Mart, and namely that the Vent of *English* Cloths would hereby be open in all times of War, that the *English* Merchants Goods would be out of Danger of Strangers, and without fear of Danger of arresting upon every light Cause. That it would much inrich the Realm, because as a Market inricheth a Town, so doth a Mart inrich a Kingdom. That upon occasion great Sums of Mony might be borrow'd of them who frequent the Mart. That the King might command a great number of Strangers Ships to serve in his Wars. That War being made, all Goods should be in the King's * Danger. That the *English* should buy all things at the first Hand of Strangers: Whereas then the Strangers sold their Wares to the *Flemmings*, and the *Flemmings* to the *English*. That the Towns towards the Sea would hereby be made more Populous, Rich, Beautiful and Strong. That the Merchants instead of Tapistry, Points, Glasses, and other Laces, would then bring in Bullion, and other substantial Merchandizes to have the *English* Cloth, and Tin. That by this means the *English* should abate the Power of their Enemies, and not be inforc'd to borrow of Merchants, but when they list, and that in no great Quantity or Sum.

** That is, liable to be seiz'd by the King.*

This time most convenient to set it afoot.

The time was then esteem'd most convenient, because the Wars betwixt the *French* and the Emperor caus'd the *Italians*, *Genoese*, *Portugals*, and *Spaniards* to forbear their Trade to *Antwerp*. The *Prussians* also and other East-Countries, having fourteen Ships against the Emperor, would not be very forward to adventure thither. Again, the *French* invading *Lorain*, and menacing *Flanders*, and the *Almanes* lying on the River of *Rhine*, did stop the Course of Merchants out of *Italy*, as well to *Frankford* as to *Antwerp*. And further, the putting of Soldiers into *Antwerp* mov'd the Merchants to forbear their Traffick, and to look to their Safety. Also the Breach which a late Tempest had made, was like to make the Channel uncertain, and the Haven naught. Lastly, the stop of the Exchange to *Lions* would make many *Flemmings* Bankrupts. And because these Nations cannot live without a Vent, these things decaying the Mart of *Antwerp* and *Frankford*, they would most willingly, upon erecting a Free-Mart, resort to *England*.

And here the Town of *Southampton* was esteem'd most fit, because the *Spaniards*, *Britains*, *Gascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genoese*, *Normans*, *Italians*, the Merchants of the Eastland, the *Prussians*, *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norwegians* might indifferently resort thither, and more easy than to *Antwerp*. (e) And whereas the *Flemmings* having few Commodities, have allur'd Merchants by their Privileges to settle a Mart among them, much more easily should the *English* do it, having both Opportunity and Means, as

(e) There were two Sea-Port Towns in *England* nominated, to fix this Mart in: One in the South Part of the Kingdom, *viz.* *Southampton* for the Convenience of Merchants Strangers on that side; the other on the East, *viz.* *Hull*, for the Convenience of Merchants Strangers on the East and Northern parts. This Eastern Port our Author taketh no notice of, tho' the MS. out of which he transcribeth mentioneth it expresly here, *viz.* That it is easier for *Spaniards*, *Britons*, *Vascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genoeses*, *Normans* and *Italians*, to come to *Southampton* than to *Antwerp*: So for the Merchants of the *Eastland*, the *Prusses*, the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norwegians* to go [not to *Southampton*, but] to *Hull*. J. S.

Cloth,

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The Means contrived to establish this Mart.

Cloth, Tin, Seacoale, Lead, Bell-metal, and such other Commodities, as few Christian Countries have the like.

Lastly, The Means to establish this Mart were contriv'd to be these. First, That the *English* Merchants should forbear their resort for a Mart or two beyond the Seas, under pretence of the Impositions there charg'd upon them. Then that Proclamation should be made in divers parts of this Realm where Merchants chiefly resort, That there shall be a free Mart kept at *Southampton* to begin presently after *Whitsontide*, and to continue five Weeks, so as it should be no hindrance to St. *James*'s Fair at *Bristol*, nor to *Bartholomew* Fair in *London*. The Privileges of which Mart should be expressed to be these.

That all Men should have free Liberty for Resort and Return, without arresting, except in Cases of Treason, Murder, or Felony. That for the time of the Mart all Men should pay but half the Custom due in other Places of the Realm. That during the time no Shipping should be made from any Place between *South-Wales* and *Essex*, but only to *Southampton*. That in *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Kent*, *Dorsetshire*, no Bargain should be made for Wares, during that time, but only at that Mart. That a Court should be erected to punish Offenders with Liberties of good Condition. That some one Commodity, as haply some one kind of Cloth, should be assign'd as proper to the Mart. That some Liberties be given to the Inhabitants of *Southampton*, and some Moneys lent to them, if it might be spared, to begin their Traffick. That Ships should attend the Safeguard of Merchants so well as they could. And that if this Mart took good effect, another might be erected at *Hull* for the North-East Countries, to begin presently after *Stirbridge* Fair, so as they might return before the great Ices stopped their Seas. *(f)*

Thus it was concluded, but the Execution was for a time delay'd, because the Wool Fleet of sixty Sail was lately before departed for *Antwerp*, and could not possibly be call'd back. But to make the first Preparation, because a Mart could not subsist without Exchange, Liberty was granted to the *English* Merchants to exchange and rechange Money for Money. As upon this Occasion this profitable Purpose was first delay'd, so afterwards it was altogether dash'd, first by the King's Sickness, after by his Death.

The King takes up Money at *Antw.*

Now albeit the King was both deeply in Debt, and had many extraordinary Occasions, yet in regard of the troublesome Times he did forbear to charge his Subjects with such Loans and Impositions, as usually in Peace breed Discontent, and in turbulent Times Disquiet; but he chose rather to deal with the *Foulker* in the *Low-Countries* for Moneys upon Loan, at a very high Rate. And hereupon Letters were directed from the Lords of the Council to the *Foulker* at *Antwerp*, that he had received from the King 63000 Pounds *Flemish* in *February*, and 24000 Pounds (g) in *April*, which amounted to 87000 Pounds *Flemish*. A fair Sum to be paid in one Year, especially in that busy World when it was necessary for Princes not to be without Mony. Hereupon, and for that they understood that at that time he was well able to forbear Mony, they advised the King to pay him only 5000 *l.* of the 45000 *l.* which then remain'd unpaid, and to continue the rest at the usual Yearly Interest of 14 *l.* for every Hundred, wherewith they desir'd him to retain good patience. Hereto the *Foulker* answer'd, that as he had found fair Dealings before, so he would rest content to defer Paiment of 30000 *l.* so as 20000 *l.* (*h*) thereof might be well assur'd to be paid within some convenient time. All this was presently agreed, and no less faithfully perform'd afterwards. And assuredly as God is the *Word*, and cannot but make good his Word, so a Prince so much loseth of his Dignity as he declineth from his Word.

May 2.

May 21.

About this time a Garrison-pay of 10000 *l.* was sent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, and the like to *Calais*, and in the same Year 5000 *l.* into *Ireland*. Hereto if we add the King's great Charges in Fortification upon both the Frontiers of *Scotland* and *France*, the Particulars whereof I omit as Matters now altogether of no use, it may easily be discern'd that the Hostility with *Scotland* and *France*, and the Incivility of *Ireland*, were a great part of the Cause which held this frugal King thus dived in Debt.

Pays his Frontiers of *Scotland* and *France*.

And for another Means of raising of Mony, Commissions went forth for selling Chantry Lands, and Houses, for Paiment of the King's Debt, given forth to be 251000 Pounds *Sterling* at the least (*i*). Also to enquire of all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral or Parish-Churches, or embezled away; and namely of Jewels of Gold and Silver, or Silver Crosses, Candlesticks, Censors, Chalices, ready Mony, Copes, and other Vestments: And reserving to every Church one Chalice, and Covering for the Communion Table; the Residue to be apply'd to the Benefit of the

Commissions for selling Chantry Lands, &c. May 10.

(*f*) This whole Discourse of the Mart was a Paper writ by K. *Edward* himself, and still remains in the *Cotton* Library: And is transcribed compleat, and printed in Bp *Burnet*'s History of the Reformation. The Heads of which Paper are these; I. The Reasons and Causes, why it is now most necessary to have a Mart in *England*. II. The Causes why this Time is most commodious to erect a Mart In. III. How the Mart will be brought to pass. IV. The Discommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in *England*. V. The Remedies and Answers thereunto. *J. S.*

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(*g*) In the King's Journal published by the Bp of *Sarum* the last Sum is 14000 *l.* which with the 63000 *l.* maketh 77000 *l.* together. And so it is set down in the Journal. From which the Author varieth again; and instead of 77000 *l.* writeth 87000 *l.* wilfullly (as one may guess) the better to cover his former Mistake. So that here was an Error of 10000 *l.* *J. S.*

(*h*) Here our Author mistakes his MS. again. For this 20000 *l.* was not a Debt to the *Foulker*, but to another, *viz.* *August. Py*; who also was willing to defer his Debt (as the *Foulker* was) so that 20000 *l.* thereof might be paid him, as soon as might be. As it is in the King's Journal. *J. S.*

(*i*) The King's Debts, *Anno* 1551. owing at home and abroad were in all 241179 *l.* 14 *s.* 10 *d.* as they are particularly set down in a Paper of Secretary *Cecil*'s: that is, for Monies taken up at *Antwerp* upon Interest, of the *Schetz* and the *Fuggars*, or *Foulcars*, great Merchants and Bankers there, and for a Diamond that cost 1000 *l.* the Sum amounting to 132372 *l.* 10 *s.* And for Debts within the Realm, that is, to the Houshold, to the Chamber, to the Wardrobe, to the Stables, to the Admiralty, to the Ordnance, to the Surveyor of the Works, to *Calais*, to *Berwick*, to the Revels, to *Skily* and *Alderney*, to *Ireland*, to *Portsmouth*, to the Isle of *Wight*, to the Men of Arms, to the Lieutenant of the Tower; the Sum amounting to 108807 *l.* 4 *s.* 10 *d.* Now the King's Debts the next Year, *viz.* 1552. advanced, amounting to 251000 *l.* at the least, as the King noteth in his Journal, *May* the 10*th*. Which put him upon selling some of his Chantry Lands and Tenements. And his Commissioners appointed for this purpose were, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bows*, the Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Richard Cotton*. J. S.

King

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King. By their Sales and Enquiries, the King's Wants were somewhat relieved. And many Persons, very mean both for Birth and Ability of Mind, and of no less place of Employment, found means to advance themselves to so great Estate, as they left their Posterity ranged among the Nobility of this Realm.

Church-Purchasers.

Of these Church-Purchasers, I have seen many melt to nothing, and the Residue shall be observ'd, either by Riot or by Improvidence to consume.

At the same time for more assured Strength of the Borders upon *Scotland*, Order was settled that no Man in those parts should bear two Offices at once. Which not well observ'd in later Years, hath much derogated both from the Dignity and Discharge of Offices, as well in State as in some inferior Places.

Beaumont Master of the Rolls unfaithful, and punished.

Another means for raising Money was practised no less pleasing to the People, than profitable to the Commonwealth, and that was by enquiring after Offences of Officers in great Place; who as by unjust dealing they became most odious, so by Justice in their Punishments, the Prince acquireth both Love and Applause. And so one *Beaumont* Master of the Rolls was convicted, that in his Office of Wards he had purchas'd Lands with the King's Money (*k*); also that he had lent above 700*l*. of the King's Money, and forborn 11000 *l*. of the King's Debts for his own Profit. Also that being Master of the Rolls he dealt corruptly in a Case between the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Lady *Powes*. For he bought the Lady's Tithe, and caused an Indenture to be forged from *Charles Brandon* the Duke a little before deceased, purposing a Grant of the Lands in question from Duke *Charles* to the Lady *Powes*. Also that he had conceal'd the Felony of his Servant, who having stoll'n from him 200*l*. he took the Money to himself again. Hereupon he surrender'd to the King all his Offices, Lands and Goods in satisfaction, as well for the Moneys due by him to the King, as of the Fines which his Offences had merited. He was a Man of a dull and heavy Spirit, and therefore the more senslesly devoted in his sensual Avarice.

And so *Whaly* Receiver of *Yorkshire*.

One *Whaly* Receiver of *Yorkshire*, acknowledg'd how he had lent the King's Money for Gain, how he ever paid one Years Revenue with the Arrearages of the Year before; how he had bought the King's Land with the King's Money; how he had made divers false Accounts; how upon fall of Money he borrow'd divers Sums, whereby he gain'd 500 *l*. at one crying down. For these Misdemeanours he surrender'd his Office, and submitted himself to pay such Fines as the King or his Council should charge upon him.

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And the Lord *Paget*.

The Lord *Paget* Chancellor of the Dutchy, was convicted that he had sold the King's Lands and Timber-woods without Commission; that he had taken great Fines for the King's Lands, and apply'd them to his proper Use; and that he had made Leases in reversion for more than one and twenty Years. For these Offences he surrender'd his Office, and submitted himself to be fined at the Pleasure of the King. So his Fine was guessed at 6000 Pounds, whereof 2000 were remitted, upon condition that the other 4000 should be paid within the compass of that Year.

This he endur'd with a Manly Patience, as knowing right well that he held all the Residue of his Estate upon Courtesy of those who hated him at the Heart. It was at the first suspected, and afterwards expected by all, that among other Matters objected against the Lord *Paget*, the chief, or at least one should have been for contriving to banquet the Lords at his House, and under pretence thereof to take off their Heads, which was the only Cause for which the Duke of *Somerset* lost his Head. But because no mention was made thereof, because about the same time the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton Bannister* and *Crane*, and a little after the Earl of *Arundel* were freely discharg'd, having been imprison'd for this Conspiracy, the Conceit was taken that the Duke's Head was the only Aim, and that the residue were us'd but as a Countenance of State to dazzle the People.

Divine Service to be used at *Guernsey*.

Letters were sent to the Governor of *Guernsey*, that Divine Service should be there us'd according to the Form of the Church of *England*.

Ulster King at Arms.

A King of Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*; his Province was all *Ireland*, and he was the first 4th King of Arms, the first Herald appointed for *Ireland*.

The Emperor requires Aid of the King by a former Treaty.

Whilst these Matters were in action, the Emperor's Embassador in *England* deliver'd Letters to the King from the Regent in the *Low-Countries*, importing, that whereas the King was bound, by a Treaty between the Emperor and the King's Father at *Lutrect* (*l*) in the Year 1542. that if the *Low-Countries* should

(*k*) Our Author here errs again from the King's Journal: from which now all along he doth but copy, with some little Descants of his own. For where he writeth that *Beaumont* lent above 700 *l*. of the King's Money, in the said Journal it is 9000 *l*.

What this *John Beaumont*'s Debt was to the King, and what Satisfaction and Submission he made, will appear by this Exemplification of two original Papers.

MSS. penes me.

'For Satisfaction of the Kinges Majesties Dett charged upon me in his Graces Court of Wards and Lyveries, for redy 'Money and Specialties, amounting to the Some of twenty thousand, eight hundred seventy one pounds, eighteen 'shillings and eight pence, I am pleased and contented, and by this present Bill do acknowledg my self to be fully con-'tented and aggreed, that the Kynges Majestie shal have al my Manors, Lands, and Tenements whatsoever they be, 'assured to him and his Heirs: And also al my Goods and Cattalls, moveable or unmoveable, whatsoever they be, 'and in whoes Custodie soever they remayne, as shal be devysed by the Kynges lerned Councell, with the Issues and 'Profits of the same. Provyded alwayes, that yf in case there be any just cause of allowance of any part of the 'foresaid Dett, that then I shall be thereof allowed. In wytness whereof I have subscrybed this Byll with my Hand, 'and thereunto set to my Seal the xxviii Day of *May*, *Anno* VI *Regis Edward* VI.

His Submission and Surrender of his Place to the King ran in these Words.

XXVIII. May, *Anno* 1552.

'I *John Beaumont* do most humbly surrendre and gyff into the handes of our Soveraigne Lord the Kinges Majestie 'my Offyce of Master of the Rolls; most humbly besechying hys Highness to be mercyful unto me, and al my Mys-'demeynours and Contempts, and in especyall for the Dett which I do owe unto his Grace, to have some dayes upon 'good Securityes; and I am agreed to delyver my Patent to be concellyd unto the L. Chancellor of *England*, or to 'any other, who shall pleyse hys Highness to appoint to receve the same. *John Beaumont*.

He confessed his Offences before the King and Councell, and submitted to his Fine, *June* the 4th. As did the Lord *Paget*, *June* the 5th, and *Whaly* the next Day. *J. S.*

(*l*) *Utrecht*. In the Journal.

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be invaded, the King should aid him with 5000 Foot, or 70 (*m*) Crowns a Day, during four Months; and that this Aid should be perform'd within one Month after Request: For so much as the *French* King invaded *Luxemburg*, the Emperor requir'd Aid of the King of *England* according to the Effect of that Treaty.

The King excuses it.

Hereupon Order was given, that if the Embassador did move for Answer to this Letter, he should be told by two of the Council, that during the King's Progress his Council was dispersed, whose Advice he was desirous to hear. And further, that the King had committed the same Treaty to be perus'd by Men whose Judgments, as he did much respect, so would he expect a time until their Opinions might be heard. And in case that after this the Embassador should again require an Answer, then they should say, that the King having lately wrestled out of most dangerous Wars, wherewith his young Years were overburdened, he hop'd well, that the Emperor would not desire to thrust him into the like again. That he had sworn Amity with the *French* King, which he could not with his Honour break; and therefore if the Emperor should deem it so meet, he would mediate a Peace as a Friend to both, which he should best effect by forbearing to use Hostility against either. And in case the Embassador should still persevere to urge the Treaty, they were lastly directed to answer, that the King did not hold himself bound by that Treaty, as both made by his Father, and evidently prejudicial to his Realm; for albeit Agreements of Peace are perpetual, and bind the Successor, yet it is not so in Agreements of Society and Confederation. And this the Emperor did right well understand, for when the King in his last Wars desir'd to enter a new Treaty with the Emperor, he return'd answer, that it should not need, for albeit the King were discharg'd by his Father's Death, yet the Emperor was still bound. And again, the Emperor had not for his part perform'd the Treaty, as well in hindring the carriage of Horses, Armour and Munition, which the King had provided for his Wars, as also in neglecting to send Aid when the Low Country of *Calais* was foraged; and therefore he did not justly demand performance thereof from the King.

I know it hath been often in like sort answer'd, that Treaties dissolve by Death of those who made them; for so the *Fidenates* held themselves discharg'd of the League which they had made with *Romulus* after his Death. And the *Latines* did the like after the Death of *Tullus*, and likewise after the Death of *Ancus*. The *Etrurians* affirm'd the like after the Death of *Priscus*. And the *Sabines* after the Death of *Servius*. And again, after that *Tarquinius* was cast out of State. I know also that the difference is great between a League of Peace, and a League of Society and Confederation. But I will not touch every String of this Question, which *Hotoman* calleth a *Noble Question*, and much tossed and debated; partly, because it consisteth of many knotty and thorny Distinctions, wherein approv'd Authors do not well agree; but chiefly because at this time it fell not to be a Difference between the Emperor and the King.

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The Emperor's Ambassador answer'd.

For when the Embassador first came for Answer to this Letter, Mr. *Wotton* and Mr. *Hoby* answer'd according to the first Branch of their Instructions, wherewith he departed well satisfy'd for the present.

Stukely's Information of the *French's* Design against *Calais*, *Sept.* 16.

And before he call'd for Answer again, one *Stukely* arriv'd out of *France*, and declar'd to the Council, how the *French* King being persuaded that *Stukely* would never return into *England*, because he departed without leave upon apprehension of the Duke of *Somerset* his Master bewrayed to him, that if he could procure Peace with the Emperor, he intended to besiege *Calais*, and was in hope to carry the Town by way of the *Sand-hills*, and that from thence winning the *Rice-bank*, he might both famish the Town, and beat the Market-place: how he further said, that he intended to land at some Angle of *England* about *Falmouth*, because Bulwarks there might easily be won, and the People were for the most part Catholicks. And further, how at the same time Monsieur *de Guise* should enter *England* by the Way of *Scotland*, not only with good Leave, but with Aid and Conduct from the *Scots*.

Upon this Discovery the King assembled his Council at *Windsor*, and entred with them into deliberation, whether it were either safe from him, or to no Disadvantage, to rely so securely, either upon the Strength or Faith of *France*, as either to refuse or neglect to afford Aid unto the Emperor, and thereby haply incur his Hostility.

Deliberation about assisting the Emperor.

Many were of Opinion that the King should condescend to aid the Emperor. First, For that if the King were desirous to hold the Emperor bound, by the Treaty made with the King's Father, he must also be oblig'd thereby; Otherwise it was a lame halting League, and could not possibly go upright. Then for that if the Emperor should not be aided, the House of *Burgundy* was like to be devour'd by the *French*, whereby their Greatness might grow dreadful, especially to *England*. Then for that again the *French* King had drawn the *Turk* into Christendome, and therefore was to be resisted as a common Enemy. And further, in case the Emperor upon Extremity should compose agreement with the *French*, the Danger to *England* would be double. First, Upon Offence taken by the Emperor, then upon the *French* King's old Disposition, edged by every new Displeasure, wherein the Devotion of the Bishop of *Rome* would not be wanting. And again the *English* Merchants were so ill intreated in the Empire, the Realm was so much engaged in Honour and in Wealth, as some Remedy was to be sought, and none better than by giving Aid. Lastly, the *French* King's Proceedings were no less doubtful than fearful, not only in regard of *Stukely's* Report, (not altogether to be neglected) but by reason of his breaking and firing divers *English* Ships, the ancient Strength and Fortresses of the Realm.

Others were of Advice, that the Emperor's Demands of Aid should be deny'd. First, For that it would be two chargable and almost impossible for the *English* to perform. Then for that when the Emperor should die, the whole Weight of the War would fall upon the *English*. And further, the *German* Protestants would be offended herewith, and conceive

(*m*) 700 Crowns a Day. In the Journal.

some

1552. some Doubts of their own Estates. Lastly, There was hope that the Amity with *France* would not long continue, but amend, and that the Embassadors then lately sent, would repair all Harms done by the *French* upon *English* Ships.

Between both these the King stroke a midling Judgment, so to aid the Emperor against the *French* King, as other Christian Princes should also adjoin, and that for no other Cause but as a Common Enemy for drawing the *Turks* Forces upon them.

That hereby as the Cause was common, so would there be more Parties to it: And this also would moderate the Charge of aiding the Emperor according to the Treaty; and whensoever the Emperor should die or break off, it was likely that some of those Princes and Parties should remain so as the King should not stand alone. Moreover, this Friendship would much advance the King's other Affairs in *Germany*; and finally, it would be honourable to break with the *French* King upon this common Quarrel.

Against this Advice of the King two Objections were made; one, that the Treaty must be entertain'd with so many, that it could not be speedily or secretly concluded: the other, that in case the Purpose should be discover'd and not concluded, the *French* might be provoked thereby to practise the like Confederation against the *English*.

All these the King did knit up in this Conclusion; first, that the Treaty should be made only with the Emperor, and by the Emperor's Means with other Princes; secondly, that the Emperor's Acceptance should be well understood before any Treaty were either enter'd or entertain'd against the *French*.

The K. will assist the Emperor against the Turk.

Hereupon Letters were dispatch'd to Mr. *Morison* the King's Embassador with the Emperor, whereby he was directed to declare to the Emperor, how the King touch'd with Pity at the Invasion of Christian Countries by the *Turks*, would willingly join with him and other States of the Empire (in case the Emperor could bring it to pass) in some League against the *Turks* and against their Confederates. But Caution was given that he should not once mention the *French* King, nor answer any mention made of him, only to say that his Commission extended no further. But if the Emperor would send a Messenger into *England*, he should happily know more.

Letters to Pickering the King's Embassador in France concerning Stukely.

Herewith, and because Time beateth out Truth, Letters were sent to Mr. *Pickering* the King's Embassador in *France*, to know whether *Stukely* had acquainted him with any of those Matters which he had disclosed in *England*. And with what Familiarity the *French* King us'd him, or by what other Circumstances he could conceive his Report to be true. Herewith also the Lord *Gray* was chosen Deputy of *Calais*, and the Lord *Wentworth* remov'd, as one whose Youth and want of Experience, was held unfit to govern that Charge in turbulent Times. On the other side, Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* was remov'd from being Porter of the Town, by reason of his old Age, but had an hundred Pounds yearly Pension assign'd him for his Life.

The King retrenches his Expences.

Also by abating needless Expences, to be the better enabled against Charge, the several Tables for young Lords, for the Masters of Requests, and for Serjeants at Arms, were laid down; and divers extraordinary Allowances were taken away. And further, because the King was to make Payment of 48000*l.* beyond the Seas, and had but 14000*l.* towards the Summ, three hundred of the chief Merchants Adventurers granted to him a Loan of 40000*l.* for three Months, to be levied from the Cloths which they were then to transport, after the Rate of 20 *s.* for every Cloth. But these Adventurers went not upon any Adventure, because at that shipping 40000 Broad-cloths were by them transported.

Two come from the Fr. King, Sept. 29.

Whilst these Matters were in Action, two Lawyers arriv'd in *England*, with Direction from the *French* King, to declare what Matters had been determin'd against the *English* by the *French* King's Council, and upon what Reasons, and also what Matters were then depending, and what Care and Diligence was used in those Dispatches. They were much commended by all for their modest Behaviour, and their sweet Eloquence much delighted the King; who again in a short Speech first thanked the *French* King for his Desire to give him Satisfaction, then commended them for well performing their Charge, but for the Substance of their Business he referred them to *London*, where some of his Council should commune thereof fully with them. Here Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and Mr. *Wotton*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, laid before them the Grievances of the *English* Merchants, whose Losses by the *French* exceeded the Sum of 50000 *l.* To this the Embassadors gave little Answer, but said, they would make Report thereof at their return into *France*, affirming, that they had no Commission, but only to declare the Manner and Causes of judicial Proceedings.

Another Messenger from the Fr. King to settle maritime Affairs, Oct. 8.

Presently after their Return, Monf. *Villandry* was sent again in Post to the King to declare to him, that albeit Mr. *Sydney's* and Mr. *Winter's* Matters went justly against them; yet because they were the King's Servants and one of them in Place near his Person, the *French* King was content freely to give Mr. *Sydney* his Ship, and all his Goods in her; and to Mr. *Winter* his Ship, and all his own Goods. But this Offer the King refused, affirming that he requir'd nothing freely, but expected Justice and Expedition. *Villandry* shew'd further, that the King his Master was desirous that the Ordinances and Customs of *England* and *France* touching Marine Affairs, might be reduc'd into one Form, without any Difference between them. Whereto answer was made, That the *English* Ordinances for Marine Affairs, were no other than the Civil Laws, and certain ancient Additions of the Realm, wherein they could conceive no Reason or Conveniency of Change, having long continu'd without Reproof. After this *Villandry* brought forth two Proclamations, not long before publish'd in *France*, and very advantagable for the *English*; for the which he had a Letter of Thanks to the King his Master. Lastly, which was indeed the main of his Message, and whereto all other were but Insinuations; he desired that certain *Frenchmen* taken upon the Coast of *England* might be released. Hereto he received Answer, That they were Pirates, and that some of them should by Justice be punished, and some might happily by Clemency be spared. So with this Dispatch he returned for *France*.

French Pirates.

Propositions made by the Fr. Ambassador about Shipping.

But before it was conceiv'd he could be fully at Home, he came again to the *English* Court, and there declar'd to the King, how the King his Master would deliver four Ships, against which Judgment had been given; and that he would

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would appoint Men of good sort and sufficiency to hear the *English* Merchants at *Paris*, and that he would alter his Ordinances for marine Affairs, of which Emendations he then sent a Copy to the King. The King appointed his Secretaries to consider thereof. And after some Passages of Time *Villandry* had his answer; That the King intended not by receiving four Ships freely to prejudice his Right in the rest; That the appointing of an inferior Council to hear Merchants at *Paris*, after former tedious Suits in a higher Court, he thought would be but dilatory, and so to little Purpose, because the inferior Council would never undo that (albeit good cause should appear) which had been judg'd by a higher Council; That the new Ordinances he liked no better than he did the old, and therefore desir'd no other than the Customs which of late Times had been used in *France*, and then continu'd in force between *England* and the *Low Countries*. Lastly, he desir'd no more Words, but Deeds.

Letters from *Pickering*, *Oct.* 7.

And now were Letters return'd from Mr. *Pickering* out of *France*; whereby he advertis'd the King, how *Stukely* never discover'd any of those Speeches to him which since he had charg'd upon the *French* King: And further, that he never was either in credit or conversant with the *French* King or with the Constable, nor ever resorted unto them except once, when he was Interpreter between the Constable and certain *English* Pioneers. Wherefore as it was very like, so did he verily believe, that as the *French* King was always close and reserv'd amongst his best known Friends, so would he not be open and uncircumspect, to impart a Matter of such Import to a meer Stranger, and in a most unseasonable time.

Stukely committed to the *Tower*.

Hereupon *Stukely* was examin'd again, and then finding it dangerous alike to confess a Truth or stand to a Lye, he became more unconstant and variable than he was before: wherefore he was committed to the *Tower*, and Notice was given to the *French* King's Embassador of all those Proceedings, to the intent that he might acquaint his Master with them. Letters were also sent to the King's Embassador in *France*, directing him to advertise the *French* King of all these Matters, and that for two special Ends; one to manifest the King's Confidence in his Amity with *France*, the other to bring the *French* King into suspicion against all *English* Fugitives who resorted daily to his Court. And so because no better Person was the Author, incredible Fables were not believ'd. But hereupon some began to discourse that the Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset* were no less improbable, and upon the Credit of no better Persons, and therefore might haply be no less untrue: But the difference is great between both the Persons, and the Facts of a Sovereign Prince and of a Subject.

What the *Fr.* King protested to the *English* Embassador hereupon.

And now when the *French* King understood as well the Imputation which *Stukely* had rais'd, as his Imprisonment; First, he deeply protested his Innocence in his particular, and his general sincere Meaning for preserving Amity with *England*: Then he much blam'd *Stukely*'s Villany, and no less thank'd the King as well for that he had not afforded a credulous Ear to such mischievous Devices, wherein the tender Touch of his Estate might haply have excus'd his Error, as for his Princely manner in acquainting him therewith.

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The Emperor's Speech to *Morison* the *English* Embassador, *Oct.* 6.

On the other side when Mr. *Morison* the King's Embassador with the Emperor, had open'd the Matters given him in charge, touching a League against the *Turk*, and against his Confederates; the Emperor much thank'd the King for his gentle Offer, and promis'd to procure the Regent to send over some Persons of Credit to understand the King's further Meaning. Soon after Mr. *Tho. Gresham* came from *Antwerp* into *England*, and declar'd to the Council, how Monsieur *Longie* the Emperor's Treasurer in *Flanders* was sent to him from the Regent with a Packet of Letters, which the *Burgundians* had intercepted in *Bullonois*, sent, as it was said, from the Dowager of *Scotland*; wherein she set forth how she had imprison'd *George Paris* an *Irish* Man, because she understood that upon Grant of his Pardon he had a Meaning to come into *England*, and how she had sent *O Conner*'s Son into *Ireland* to give encouragement to the *Irish* Lords. Also he shew'd Instructions given about four Years before upon the Fall of the Admiral of *France*, to a Gentleman then coming from *England*, that if any were in *England* of the Admiral's Faction, he should do his best to excite a Trouble.

Nov. 24. Letters of the Q. Dowager of *Scotland* intercepted.

Order to the L. Deputy of *Ireland* hereupon.

The Deputy of *Ireland* was at that Time ready to transport into *England*: But upon this Advertisement Sir *Henry Knowles* was sent in Post to stay him there, yet with Caution that he should pretend to stay upon his own Occasions, and thereupon defer'd his Departure from Week to Week, lest the true Reason should be discern'd. Letters of Thanks were also sent to the Regent for this gentle Overture. And the Messenger was directed to use pleasing Words in the Delivery of the Letter, and to wish a further Amity between the two States: And further to acquaint her with the *French* King's Practice in waging 5000 *Scottish* Footmen, and 500 Horsemen, and how he took up 100000*l.* by Exchange at *Lubeck*; whereby the Conjecture was evident that he had some Meaning against the Emperor in the Spring then next following. Doubtless the Advertisements of neighbour Princes are always much to be regarded; for that they receive Intelligence from better Authors and surer Grounds, than Persons of inferior note and sort.

Letters of Thanks to the Queen Regent, *Nov.* 30.

E. of *Tyrone*'s Man committed to the *Tower*.

About this time one of the Earl of *Tyrone*'s Men was committed to the *Tower*, for making an untrue Complaint against the Deputy and Council of *Ireland*, and for bruting abroad how the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Pembroke* were fallen into Quarrel, and one of them against the other in the Field.

The King hath the Measles and Small-pox.

In *April*, in the sixth Year of the Reign of the King, he fell sick of the Measles, whereof in short time he well recover'd; afterwards he sickned of the Small-pox, which breaking kindly from him, was thought would prove a means to cleanse his Body from such unhealthful Humours as commonly occasion long Sickness or Death; and hereof he also so perfectly recover'd, that in the Summer next following he rode his Progress with greater Magnificence then ever before. For whether it were to maintain his Majesty, or to manifest the Fear which had been formerly impress'd, he carry'd with him a Band of 320 Men, which made up his whole Train above the Number of 4000 Horse. But because this Multitude was burdensom to the Country thro'

Goes his Progress.

which

1552. which he pass'd, which did afford little Meadow or Pasture, because also it seem'd to bewray Distrust, as if the King should think that he rather march'd among dangerous Rebels, than took his Pleasure among faithful and quiet dispos'd Subjects, about the midst of his Progress the greatest part was discharg'd. For furnishing the Charge of this Progress 500 pound weight of Gold was coin'd, with 1500*l.* Sterling.

Soon after the King did complain of a continual Infirmity of Body; yet rather as an Indisposition in Health, than any set Sickness.

A monstrous Child born; *Aug.* 3.

And about that time certain Prodigies were seen, either as Messengers or Signs of some imminent and eminent Evil. At *Middleton*, eleven Miles from *Oxford*, a Woman brought forth a Female Child, which had two Bodies from the Navel upward; so united at the Navel, as when they were laid in length, the one stretch'd directly opposite to the other; from the Navel downward it was but one; it lived weakly eighteen Days, and then both Bodies died together. Upon Birth of such Monsters the *Grecians*, and after them the *Romans*, did use divers sorts of Expiations, and to go about their Principal Cities with many solemn Ceremonies and Sacrifices; supposing hereby that Wrath from Heaven was menac'd against them.

Several Dolphins taken in the River, *Aug.* 8.

At *Quinborough* three great Dolphins were taken, and a few Days following at *Black-wall* six; which were brought to *London*, the least in bigness exceeding any Horse. After this three great Fishes were taken at *Gravesend*, call'd *Whirlpools*, and drawn upon the King's Bridge at *Westminster*. These Accidents the more rarely they happen, the more ominous are they commonly esteem'd; either because they are so indeed, or because they are never observ'd but when sad Events do ensue.

1553. The K. falls sick of a Cough.

In *January*, about the beginning of the 7th Year of the King's Reign, his Sickness did more apparently shew it self, especially by the Symptom of a tough strong straining Cough. All the Medicines and Diet which could be prescrib'd, together with the helps both of his young Age, and of the rising time of the Year, were so far either from curing or abating his Grief, that it daily encreas'd by dangerous degrees; and it was not only a Violence of the Cough that did infect him, but therewith a weakness and faintness of Spirit, which shew'd plainly that his vital Parts were most strongly and strangely assaulted. And the talk hereof among the People was so much the more, because thro' an Opinion obscurely rais'd, but running as most absurd, that his Sickness grew by a slow-working Poison. Upon this cause it happen'd, that a Parliament beginning upon the first Day of *March*, was upon the last of the same Month dissolv'd. (*n*) 1553.

A Parliament.

The danger of his Sickness makes him lamented.

And now the Danger of the King's Sickness was much lamented, not only by his own People, but by Strangers abroad; because his Courtesy and Wisdom had begot to him such Love, that he was no less honour'd by those who heard of him, than of those who convers'd with him. For he was famous in all places by reason of his Foresight and Judgment in Affairs, and did so well temper the Greatness of his Estate both with Modesty and with Gravity, that he avoided Envy by the one, and Contempt by the other. Some compar'd him with the Greatest Persons that had been, both for War and Peace, because in the like pitch of Years none of them attain'd to the like Perfection. Haply he did not appear in Soldiery so great, but that was because he was not so rash; being also drawn back from his Pursuits abroad by domestical Disorders and Divisions, both amongst the People and Nobility of his Realm, by reason whereof he scarce seem'd well settled in his Chair of Estate, and yet his Fortunes were always victorious.

The King excited to Charity by a Sermon of Bp. *Ridley*.

It happen'd during his Sickness, that Dr. *Ridley* Bishop of *London* preach'd before him, and in his Sermon much commended Works of Charity, which as they were a Duty for all Men to perform, so most especially for Men in most especial Dignity and Place, as well in regard of their large Abilities, as for that they were much oblig'd to give Examples of Goodness to others. The same Day after Dinner the King sent for him privately into the Gallery at *White-hall*, caus'd him to sit in a Chair by him, would not permit him to remain uncover'd; and then after courteous Thanks, he reported all the principal Points of his Sermon, and further added: 'I took my self to be especially touch'd by your Speech, as well in regard of the Abilities which God hath given me, as in regard of the Example which from me he will require; for as in the Kingdom I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach to him in Goodness and in Mercy. For as our Miseries stand most in need from him, so are we the greatest Debtors: Debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the greatest Accomptants of our Dispensation therein. And therefore, my Lord, as you have given me (I thank you) this general Exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular Actions I may this way best discharge my Duty.

His Discourse with the Bishop.

(*n*) The King being now in a sickly Condition, the Lords were called together at *White-hall*, and sat there, in the great Chamber on the King's side, and he under a Cloth of Estate with them: Where Bp. *Goodrick* Lord Chancellor made a Speech, shewing the Reasons of the calling of the Parliament. But first the Parliament was opened by a Sermon preached at *White-hall* by *Ridley* L. Bishop of *London*. After which the King with divers Lords received the Communion. And this being ended, the King and Lords repaired to the said great Chamber. The chief Business of this Parliament was to give the King Money to pay his Debts, and maintain his State. Which was granted both by the Laity and the Clergy out of their respective Revenues. In this Parliament was an Act made for the Dissolution of the Bishopric of *Durham*; upon the consideration that the Bishopric was so large and extensive into divers Shires; and so could not be sufficiently taken care of by one Bishop: and those Parts so wild and barbarous for want of good Preaching and good Learning; and the King being desirous to have God's Holy Word better known there. Therefore as the old Bishopric was dissolved, so by the said Act a new Bishopric of *Durham* was to be erected, and also one other Bishopric at *Newcastle*; and a Dean and Chapter also there. That of *Durham* to be endowed with 2000 Mark a Year, and that of *Newcastle* with 1000 Mark a Year: And Power was granted, that the King might erect the same by his Letters Patents. But there were no Bishops presented to either of these two new erected Bishoprics, while this King lived. Only *Ridley* Bp. of *London*, born in the Diocese, was nominated for *Durham*, but never removed from *London*, till he was deposed from it under Q. *Mary*. And all that was done after this Act, was that the Temporalties of the Bishopric, a County Palatine, was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But under Q. *Mary* this Act was repealed, and the Bishopric new-erected, and the old Bishop *Tunstal* (who had been deposed) restored. *J. S.*

Stow's Annals.

Hist. Ref. Par. 2, p. 215.

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The Bishop recommends the Poor of *London*.

The Bishop partly astonish'd, and partly overjoy'd with these Speeches, was struck into a sad Silence for a Time; at last Tears and Words breaking forth together, he declar'd to the King, that as he little expected such a Question, so was he not furnish'd with a present Answer, for this matter had a great Mixture of a Civil Government, wherein he conceiv'd that the Citizens of *London* had best Experience, as overburden'd with Multitudes of Poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the Realm besides. And therefore as they best know both the Quality of such People, and the Inconveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what Remedies were fittest: Wherefore, if the King were pleas'd to afford his Letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time return with Answer. The King forthwith caus'd his Letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart, until he had confirm'd them with his Hand and Signet, and enjoin'd the Bishop to be the Messenger, imposing great Charge for Expedition. The Bishop hasted with his Letters to the Lord Mayor, who presently assembled certain Aldermen, and four and twenty Commissioners, by whose Advice the Poor were cast into three Companies and Sorts: Some were Poor by Impotency of Nature, as young fatherless Children, old decripit Persons, Ideots, Criples, and such like; others are Poor by Faculty, as wounded Soldiers, diseas'd and sick Persons, and the like; the third sort are the Poor by Idleness or Uunthriftiness, as riotous Spenders, Vagabonds, Loiterers, leud Strumpets and their Companions: That the first of these were to be educated and maintain'd, the second to be cur'd and reliev'd, and the third to be chastis'd and reduc'd to good order.

The King gives the City the *Gray Friars* Church, St. *Bartholomew's* &c. for charitable Uses.

When this was presented to the King, he gave to the City for Education and Maintenance of the first sort of Poor, the *Gray-Friers* Church (*a*) near *Newgate-Market*, with all the Revenues thereto belonging; for Cure and Relief of the second sort, he gave *St. Bartholomew's* near *Smithfield*; for Correction of the third, he appointed his House at *Bridewel*, the ancient Mansion of many *English* Kings, and which not long before had been repair'd and beautify'd by *Henry* the Eighth, for the Entertainment of the Great Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. For Increase of Maintenance of their Places, together with the new re-edify'd Hospital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*,

And 750 Marks out of the Revenues of the *Savoy*.

the King gave seven hundred and fifty Marks yearly out of the Rents of the Hospital of St. *John Baptist*, or the *Savoy*, with all the Bedding and Furniture at that time belonging to that Place. And when the Charter of this Gift was presented unto him with a blank Space for Lands to be afterwards receiv'd in Mortmain, to a yearly Value without further Licence, the King presently with his own Hand fill'd up the void Space with these Words, *four thousand Marks by Year*. This done, with reverend Gesture and Speech he thank'd God for prolonging his Life to finish that Business: And so he was the first Founder of those three pious Works, which by many Additions are now grown to be the most absolute and famous of that kind in *Europe*.

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The King grows worse. *Northumberland* very busy at this time.

The King's Sickness daily increas'd, and so did the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Diligence about him; for he was little absent from the King, and had always some well assur'd to espy how the State of his Health chang'd every hour; and the more joyful he was at the heart, the more sorrowful appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any token of Poison did appear, Reports are various; certainly his Physicians discern'd an invincible Malignity in his Disease: and the Suspicion did the more increase, for that the Complaint being chiefly from the Lights, a Part, as of no quick Sense, so no Seat for any sharp Disease, yet his Sickness, towards the end, grew highly extreme. But the Duke regarded not much the muttering Multitude, knowing right well that Rumours grow stale and vanish with Time; and yet somewhat either to abate or delay them for the present, he caus'd Speeches to be spread abroad, that the King was well recover'd in Health, which was readily believ'd as most desir'd to be true.

Reports of the King's recovery, but false.

Hereupon all Persons express'd Joy in their Countenance and Speech, which they inlarg'd by telling the News to others whom they incountred, who haply had heard it often before; and as the Report increas'd, so therewith increas'd also the Joy. Thus whilst every Man believ'd, and no Man knew, it was made more credible by religious Persons, who openly in Churches gave publick Thanks for the King's Recovery.

The People Murmurs upon his Sickness.

But when the Speech of his Danger was again reviv'd, and as in News it happeneth, the more stop'd, the more increas'd to the worse, then as if the second time he had been lost, the People did immoderately *break forth* into Passions, complaining, that *for this* cause his two Uncles had been taken away, for this cause the most faithful of his Nobility and of his Council were disgrac'd and remov'd from Court; this was the reason that such were plac'd next his Person, who were most assuredly dispos'd either to commit or permit any Mischief; that then it did appear, that it was not vainly conjectur'd some Years before, by Men of Judgment and Foresight, that after *Somerset*'s Death the King should not long enjoy his Life. To qualify these and some broader Speeches, it was thought convenient that the King sometimes should shew himself abroad, albeit little either with his Pleasure or for his Health, yet a thing which in long consuming Sicknesses, even to the last Period of Life, Men are often able to do.

Lady *Jane Gray* is married to L. *Guildford Dudley*: and other Weddings at Court.

Whilst the King remain'd thus grievously sick, divers notable Marriages were solemniz'd at once in *Durham Place*. The Lord *Guildford*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, marry'd Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s eldest Daughter, by *Frances* Daughter to *Mary* second Sister to King *Henry* the Eighth; also the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldest Son marry'd the Lady

Vide Stow's *Survey of Farringdon Ward Within*.

(*a*) Yet it must be remembred, that K. *Henry* VIII. also gave by Patent, *Anno* 1546. the *Gray-Friars* Church to the City for the Relief of the Poor. And in the beginning of *January* that Year, the Bishop of *Rochester* declared the same openly at St. *Paul's*. As also the Hospital of St. *Bartholomew's* was likewise at the same time granted to the City by the same King. Which Gifts were to the value of 500 Mark. In memory whereof the Statute of *Henry* VIII. is set up on that part of St. *Bartholomew*'s Hospital, over the Gate that fronteth *Smithfield*. *J. S.*

Katherine,

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Katherine, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s second Daughter by the said Lady *Frances*, who then was living; and *Martin Kayes*, Gentleman Porter, marry'd *Mary* the third Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, by the said Lady *Frances*: Lastly, the Lord *Hastings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, took to Wife *Katharine*, youngest Daughter to the Duke of *Northumberland*.

The People express their Hatred against the Duke of *Northumberland*.

Hereupon the common People, upon a disposition to interpret all *Northumberland*'s Actions to the worst, left nothing unspoken which might serve to stir their Hatred against the Duke, or Pity towards the King: But the Duke was nothing moved hereat, for being equally obstinate both in Purpose and Desire, and mounting his Hopes above the Pitch of Reason, he resolv'd then to dissemble no longer, but began openly to play his Game.

Who procures the King to settle the Crown upon the Lady *Jane*.

For albeit the Lady *Jane*, marry'd to his fourth Son, had not Right to the Succession of the Crown, for that she was excluded, first, by the two Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, Daughters of King *Henry* the Eighth, next by the Issue of the Lady *Margaret* marry'd into *Scotland*, eldest Sister to King *Henry* the Eighth; lastly, by her own Mother, the Lady *Frances*, who then was living: Yet *Northumberland*, fortishly mad with over-great Fortune, procur'd the King by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, to appoint the Lady *Jane* to succeed him in the Inheritance of the Crown.

Mountague and *Cecil*.

In this Contrivance he us'd the Advice of two especially, the Lord Chief Justice *Montague*, who drew the Letters Patents, and Secretary *Cecil*. (p) These furnish'd the Patent with divers Reasons, whereof some were of Law, and some of Policy in State.

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The Reasons in Law.

The Pretentions of Law were these, that albeit the Crown of the Realm, by an Act of the five and thirtieth of King *Henry* the Eighth, was in default of Issue of his Body, and of the Body of *Edward* his Son lawfully begotten, limited to remain to the Lady *Mary* his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and in default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady *Elizabeth* his second Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, under such Conditions as should be limited by the said King under his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand: Yet because the said Limitations were made to Persons illegitimate, both the Marriages between King *Henry* the Eighth and their several Mothers being undone by Sentences of Divorce, and the several Divorcements ratify'd by Authority of Parliament in the eight and thirtieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, which Act remain'd then in force, both the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were thereby disabled to claim the Crown, or any Honours or Hereditaments, as Heirs to King *Edward* the Sixth or any other Person.

And again, the said two Ladies, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, being but of the half-blood to King *Edward*, albeit they had been born in lawful Matrimony, yet by the ancient Laws of the Realm they were not inheritable to him by

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(p) Herein our Author grosly wrongeth the Memories of these two Gentlemen, *Mountague* and *Cecil*; out of what Design I know not, nor as little do I know whence he had it. For neither *Stow* nor *Saunders* mention it.

A Vindication of Cecil *from this Contrivance.*

For first, as for *Cecil*, he was so far from assisting in this matter, either by Advice, or devising Reasons for the Patent, that he opposed it as much as he could (and so *Camden* expresly saith) tho' he signed with the rest. Moreover, I have seen an Apology of *Cecil*'s own drawing about his Concern herein. There he shewed, 'How he refused to subscribe the Book, when none of the Council did refuse; whereby he incurred the Indignation of the Duke of *Northumberland*. That he refused to make a Proclamation (for the proclaiming Queen *Jane*) and turned the Labour to *Throgmorton*. That he refused the writing of a Letter to send abroad in the Realm, for the shewing Queen *Jane*'s Title. That this he refused because he would not write Queen *Mary* BASTARD. And the Duke wrote it himself. That he avoided being present at the drawing up of the Proclamation for the publishing of Queen *Jane*'s Title, tho' he were especially appointed thereunto. That he avoided answering the Queen's Letters, which she wrote from *Kenninghall* to the Council, requiring their Obedience. That he avoided likewise writing all public Letters to the Realm, upon *Jane*'s Access to the Crown. Still further, that he practised with the L. Treasurer to win the L. Privy-Seal, that he might by the L. *Russel*'s means, cause *Windsor* Castle to serve the Queen; and they two to levy the West Parts for the Queen's Service. That he opened himself to the L. *Arundel*, whom he found thereto disposed. That he did the like to the L. *Darcy*. That he purposed to have stolen down to the Queen's Highness, and *Gosnald* offered to lead him thither, because he knew not the way. And that he had his Horses ready at *Lambeth* for that purpose. That when he heard of this purpose first secretly [*viz.* of making the Lady *Jane* Queen] he disliked it, and fearing the Event, conveyed away his Lands, his Goods, and his Leases. All these things considered, who can think it true that he *furnished the Patent* of Settlement *with Arguments taken from Law and Policy?* The most he did, was to sign with the rest. Which also he did as a Witness to King *Edward*'s Deed, and not as an Abettor or Counsellor.

And Mountague. *Church Hist.* B. VIII. p. 1.

This for *Cecil*. Then for Sir *Edward Mountague*, L. Chief Justice, how he stood affected, and what he did in this Affair, may be seen by an original Paper, drawn up by that Judge's own Hand, which his Great Grandchild *Edward* Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton* communicated unto Dr. *Tho. Fuller*. The Sum of which was, That he and the rest of the Judges told the King, that the Bill of Articles shewed to them, according to which they should frame a Book for the Settlement of the Crown in the Lady *Jane*, was directly against the *Act* of *Succession*. Which was an Act of Parliament, and would be taken away by no such Device. But when it was the King's absolute Will, that a Book should be made according to those Articles, *Mountague* took them. And the next day he and the rest concluded to do nothing, but to report to the Lords, that not only the executing this Device was Treason after the King's Death, but the making of this Device was presently Treason. And so they did report to the Council. And that upon it the Duke of *Northumberland* was in a great Fury, and called Sir *Edward* Traitor. And so he departed home, without doing any thing more. Afterwards *Mountague* received another Letter from the Council to come to the Court. He and some others of the Judges and Lawyers being come, they were brought to the King; who demanding why they had not made the Book, *Mountague* told the King the reason. And moreover, that if they had, it were of no effect nor force, but utterly void, when the King should decease. And that the Statute of Succession could not be taken away, but by the same Authority that made it: and that was a Parliament. And advised the King that all might be referred to a Parliament. The King said, they should make it, and afterward it should be ratified by Parliament. That divers of the Lords then said, that if he and the rest refused now, they were Traitors. So that, what with the Duke's Anger the day before, and the King's and other Lords now, he was in the greatest Fear that ever he was in his Life. And so at last, being an old Man, and for Safety of his Life, he told the King, that he had served his Father and his Highness during his Life, and loth he would be to disobey his Commandment; and he would for his own part obey it, so that he had his Highness's License and Commission under the Great Seal for the doing of it; and when done, to have a general Pardon: both which were granted him. And he and the rest made the Device, as he writ, *with sorrowful Hearts and weeping Eyes*. And lastly, after he had done this, to shew how little he approved of what he was forced to do, he sent his Son to serve and assist Q. *Mary* with twenty Men, with other Gentlemen of *Buckinghamshire*. By what is afore-written, it sufficiently appears, our Author hath wronged the Memory of these two worthy Men, and wronged Posterity also, in imposing upon their Belief Matters of Falshood. *J. S.*

Descent,

1553.

Descent, and had no Capacity in any Degree to receive any Inheritance from him.

And in Policy.

The Reasons or Pretexts of Necessity to the State were these: In case the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should enjoy the Crown, they would assuredly join in Marriage with some Stranger, who would reduce this noble and free Realm into the Servitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, and thereby bring in foreign Customs and Laws, abolishing those whereupon the Rights of all native Subjects depend. And haply the whole Body of the Realm should hereby be annex'd as a Member to some other greater Kingdom, to the utter Subversion of the ancient Dignity and Estate thereof. The People were not unlike to elect a King of some private Stock, a popular and seditious Man, peradventure one who to countenance his own Unworthiness and Obscurity, would little regard what Contumely he cast upon the falling Family of the Kings before him. Wherefore he held it the most provident Advice, that the King by his Authority should design not only his next Successor, but others also in Reversion, that the Crown might not be subject to rifling, but remain to those whom he lov'd, and who humour'd him best.

These Reasons did more easily sink into the King's Judgment, partly by means of the great Affection which he bare to the Religion that he had establish'd, of the Change whereof he was assuredly persuaded, in case the Lady *Mary* his Sister should succeed; and partly by reason of the entire Love he bare to his Cousin the Lady *Jane*, a Woman of most rare and incomparable Perfections: for besides her excellent Beauty adorn'd with all variety of Virtues, as a clear Sky with Stars, as a princely Diadem with Jewels, she was most dear to the King, in regard both of her Religion, and of her Education in the Knowledge of the liberal Sciences, and Skill in Languages; for in Theology, in Philosophy, in all liberal Arts, in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and in the vulgar Languages of divers near Nations, she far exceeded all of her Sex, and any of her Years, unless haply the King himself.

Lady *Jane*'s Character.

The Import of the K's Letters Patents for her to succeed him.

Hereupon the King consented that Letters Patents should be drawn, importing, that in case the King should die without Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, then the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, with his Title to the Crown of *France*, and all things to them belonging, should remain and come to the eldest Son of the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Lady *Mary*, youngest Sister to *Henry* the Eighth, in case such Issue should be born into the World, during the Life of King *Edward*, and after to the Heirs Male of the said Issue, and in like sort from Son to Son of the said Lady *Frances* lawfully begotten, as they should be in priority of Birth, and born during the King's Life; and in default of such Sons, and of Heirs Male of every such Son lawfully begotten, that then the said Crown and all the Premises should remain and come to the Lady *Jane*, eldest Daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, and the Heirs Male of her lawfully begotten; and for default of such Issue, the said Crown to remain to the Lady *Katherine*, second Daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, with divers other Remainders, over which as they were vainly appointed, so are they needless to be repeated.

These Letters dated *June* 21.

These Letters were dated the one and twentieth of *June*, in the seventh Year of King *Edward*'s Reign, and by him sign'd when he was in great debility of Body, and afterwards pass'd under the Great Seal of *England*. And albeit the coarse Contrivance was almost visible, first, for that such provision was made for the Issue Male of the said Lady *Frances*, who neither at that time had any, and was commonly reputed to be past Years of Child-bearing; secondly, for that in case that beyond the ordinary Course of Nature she should conceive, the Hope was desperate, that the King should live until the Birth; lastly, for that her Children born, and to be born, were so carefully and orderly remember'd, and no mention made of her self, from whom their Title must be deriv'd: Yet these Letters were subscrib'd by all the Privy Counsellors, the greatest part both of Number and Power of the Nobility of the Realm, the Bishops, the King's learned Council, and all the Judges at the Common Law, except only Sir *James Hales* (q), one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, a Man well observ'd to be both religious and upright, who worthily refus'd to subscribe, and was unworthily requited by Queen *Mary* afterwards. (r)

Subscrib'd by all the Privy Council, &c.

It is very like that some of these were guided with respect of their particular Interest, for that they were possess'd of divers Lands which once pertain'd to Monasteries, Chantries, and other Religious Houses not long before dissolv'd. Of these they held themselves in some Danger to lose, in case Religion should change to the ancient Form, which by Succession of Q. *Mary* they did evidently foresee.

Others were drawn partly by Fear, and partly by Obligation to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who then was exceeding potent, and almost absolute in Government of the State, and suppos'd able to make any Title good, either by his Authority or by his Sword.

Whether a King may dispose of his Kingdom by Will.

Now whether a King may lawfully dispose by his Will, or otherwise, of a Kingdom that

(q) It was very long and with great ado, before two others would be brought to subscribe, who ought therefore to be mentioned; viz. *Cranmer* the Archbishop, and Secretary *Cecil*: The former over-persuaded by the earnest Sollicitation of the King, and the latter forced by Threatning and Terror. *J. S.*

How Judge *Hales* was serv'd.

(r) The matter of this unworthy Requital of Judge *Hales* was this. Soon after the Queen's Access to the Throne, at a Quarter Sessions (not at a *Circuit*, as the Bishop of *Sarum* mistakes in his *History* of the Reformation) he declared as he ought to do, that the Laws of King *Edward* were as yet in force and unrepealed: and therefore admonished the Justices of the Peace that they should see them duly performed, and not transgressed, as many People tumultuously did. Upon this he was Informed against, and first committed to the King's Bench (not the *Marshalsea*, as the said Bishop relates it) and thence tossed to the *Counter*, and thence to the *Fleet*. In the mean time partly dealt withal to turn his Religion, being a conscientious Protestant, and partly terrified with Threatnings if he did not, he at length made a Compliance upon Bp. *Day*'s Communication with him. But the next Day, being exceedingly disturbed in his Mind for what he had done, wounded himself with a Penknife. Upon his Submission at last he recovered his Liberty, but never recovered himself: and being at his House in *Kent*, one Day took an Opportunity to go forth, and drowned himself. *J. S.*

hath

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The Author's Hiſtory of the three Norman Kings.

hath been long carry'd in one Form of Suc-ceſſion, contrary to that ancient Form I have largely diſcours'd in my Hiſtory of the three *Norman* Kings, about the beginning of the Reign of King *William* the Second: But certain it is, that when Kingdoms have cuſtomably been carry'd by Right of Succeſſion, according to Proximity of Blood, the Violation of which Courſe hath always been either very vain, or with dangerous Conſequence, it hath always been like the breaking of a Band which holdeth a Sheaf of Arrows together, like a Rupture in Banks which bindeth a River within its proper Channel, or like a caſting down of a Pale wherewith Deer or other Beaſts are incloſ'd. It was never done, but either no Effect enſu'd, or bloody Diſorders, or haply both: and the Duke, by piercing his ambitious Purpoſes with his unjuſt Policy, did no otherwiſe than often doth a fooliſh greedy Gameſter, who by ſtealing a Card to win a Stake forfeits the whole reſt.

The King's Diſeaſe grows violent.

But having thus in his own Opinion aſſur'd his own Devices, nothing remain'd but that the King ſhould not longer ſurvive, leſt haply his ſickly Judgment might be over-rul'd by ſounder Advice. His Diſeaſe was violent, but his Phyſicians conceiv'd ſome hope of Recovery, in caſe he might be remov'd to change of healthful Air, which in Infirmities of the vital Parts, the Seat of his Sickneſs, is of greateſt Moment for the Cure.

A Gentlewoman undertakes the King's Cure.

But hereto the Council would not conſent: ſo he continu'd without either any ſenſible mending or impairing for a Time. At the laſt a Gentlewoman, unworthy to be named, but accounted to be a School-miſtreſs for the Purpoſe, offer'd her Service, aſſuredly to cure him, in caſe he were committed wholly to her Hand. Hereto the Phyſicians would in no caſe afford their Advice, becauſe as ſhe could give no reaſon either of the Nature of the Diſeaſe, or of the Part afflicted, ſo ſhe would not declare the Means whereby ſhe intended to work the Cure.

His Phyſicians are diſcharg'd.

After ſome ſhew of Deliberation among the Council, it was reſolv'd that the Phyſicians ſhould be diſcharg'd, and the Cure committed to her alone. The apparent Defect both of Judgment and Experience, join'd to the Weightineſs of the Adventure, caus'd many to marvel, and ſome deeply to ſuſpect that ſhe was but an Inſtrument of Miſchief. This Surmiſe was ſtrongly confirm'd within a very ſhort time enſuing, when the King did fall into deſperate Extremities; his vital Parts were mortally ſtuff'd, which brought him to a difficulty of Speech and of Breath; his Legs ſwell'd, his Pulſe fail'd, his Skin chang'd Colour, and many other horrid Symptoms appear'd.

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Called again.

Then were the Phyſicians call'd again, who eſpying him in that fearful Eſtate, departed from him with a ſad Silence, leaving him to the miſerable Mercy of near-approaching Death. Some of theſe whiſper'd among their private Friends, that they were call'd for faſhion only, but neither their Advice nor Appliances were any deal regarded, but the King had been ill dealt with more than once; and that when by the Benefit both of his Youth and of careful Means, there was fair Hope of his Recovery, he was again more ſtrongly o-verlaid.

Northumberland endeavours to bring the Lady Mary to Court.

Yet as Cruelty and Wrong never ſtand ſecure, ſo the Duke thought one thing more expedient for aſſuring his Deſigns, and that was to draw the Lady *Mary* wholly into his Power. To this Purpoſe Letters were directed to her in the King's Name, from the Council, willing her forthwith to reſort to the King, as well to be a Comfort to him in his Sickneſs, as to ſee all Matters well order'd about him. The Lady ſuſpecting no lurking Miſchief, addreſs'd her ſelf with all Speed to the Journey, expreſſing great Joy that either her Company or her Service ſhould be eſteem'd needful to the King; but as ſhe was upon the Way, and within half a Day's Journey of *London*, her Foot ready to ſlip into the Snare, ſhe receiv'd Advice both of the King's deſperate Eſtate, and of the Duke's Deſignments againſt her: whereupon ſhe return'd in haſte to her Houſe at *Hunſdon*, where in a ſhort time ſhe heard how unprofitable her Journey would have been to *London*.(*f*)

The King dies.

So the King having long wreſtled with a lingring and tormenting Sickneſs, at the laſt his Spirits yielded to the Malice of his Diſeaſe; which as with great Patience he did endure, ſo with no leſs Piety did he end it. Many fervent Prayers he made, both for himſelf and for the People of his Realms, and ſome when he was eſteem'd almoſt paſt Senſe; and ſo ſpent his laſt Breath, in committing his ſweet Soul into the Almighty's Hands which had created it.

He died at *Greenwich* upon *Thurſday* the ſixth Day of *July*, in the Year 1553. and in the ſeventeenth Year of his Age, when he had reign'd ſix Years, five Months, and nine Days. Two Days (*t*) his Death was conceal'd to open a ſtrait way for the Duke's crooked Purpoſes. His Body was bury'd upon the ninth of *Auguſt* in the ſame Year, in the Chapel of St. *Peter's* Church in *Weſtminſter*, and laid near to the Body of King *Henry* the Seventh, his Grandfather. (*u*)

(*f*) The Lady *Mary* was at *Hunſdon* in *Hertfordſhire* in the Time of her Brother's Sickneſs: But ſpeeded away a little before his Death, at a farther diſtance, to *Keninghal* near *Norfolk*: where ſhe ſeems to be at the Death of the King; and whence, three Days after, *viz. July* the 9th, ſhe wrote to the Council, wondering that in ſo long time they had not acquainted her with the King's Departure, ſince ſhe was by all Law and Right to ſucceed. *J. S.*

The King's Death firſt made known.

(*t*) Two Days after the King's Death, the Lords of the Privy Council being at *Greenwich*, ſent for the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *George Barnes*, thither; and to bring with him ſix or eight of his Brethren the Aldermen, and twelve Merchants. Who being come in the Afternoon, they acquainted them ſecretly that the King died two Days before, and whom he had appointed by his Letters Patents to ſucceed in the Government of the Kingdom.

The ſame Day the Lords ſent the ſad News abroad to Sir *Philip Hobby*, Embaſſador with the Emperor, to whom he might take his Opportunity to relate it: Aſſigning the Cauſe of his Death to be a Putrifaction of his Lungs, utterly uncurable of this Evil; but that the Manner of his Death was ſuch towards God, as aſſured them that his Soul was in place of Eternal Reſt.

The King's Funerals.

(*u*) His Funerals began to be celebrated the 8th of *Auguſt*. A Majeſty was ſet up for him in the Chapel at *Whitehal*, and another at *Weſtminſter-Abby*. His Corps was drawn in a Chariot covered with Cloth of Gold. Whereon lay his

Effigies

1553. Effigies with a Crown of Gold and a great Collar, his Scepter in his Hand, covered with his Robes, a Garter about his Leg, and his Coat with Embroidery of Gold. The Marquis of *Winchester* was chief Mourner, and next him went twelve other great Lords, Mourners, that is, six Earls and six Barons, going two and two. Archbishop *Cranmer* performed the Office of Burial according to the Reformed Way: And *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester* preached the Funeral Sermon. He was interred at the Head of his Grandfather K. *Henry* VII. and resteth under an Altar-Monument of Brass gilt, curiously wrought, but without any Inscription, tho' he well deserved it. *J. S.*

This History of King EDWARD *the Sixth I have built for the Monument of his Unperishable Fame.*

QUEEN MARY.

ANNALS OF THE REIGN OF Queen MARY.

Translated from the *Latin* of *FRANCIS GODWIN*, Lord Bishop of *HEREFORD*, by *J. H.*

With ADDITIONAL NOTES, by *J. S.*

Anno Dom. 1553. *Reg.* I.

1553. WHEN the Lady *Mary* receiv'd the News of her Brother's Death, having long before been acquainted with the Duke of *Northumberland*'s secret Practices, she judg'd it unsafe to remain near *London*, where her Enemies were in full Power; and therefore, pretending a Fear of the Plague, by reason of the sudden Death of one of her Domesticks, she withdrew from St. *Edmond's-Bury*, (her Abode at that Time) and in one Day came to *Framlingham-Castle*, in the County of *Suffolk*, about Fourscore Miles from *London*, and not far from the Sea; by which, if the Extremity of her Affairs requir'd it, she might have an easy Passage to *France*.

Lady *Mary* flies into *Suffolk*.

As soon as she arriv'd, she took the Title of Queen; and sending Letters to her Friends, and to the Nobility, requir'd 'em with all Expedition to attend her. *Northumberland* in the mean time, having for two whole Days held a Consultation with his Friends, about the Measures to be taken in this important Juncture, sent to the Lord-Mayor, before the King's Death was publish'd, and requir'd his Attendance at *Greenwich*, with Six Aldermen, and Twelve other principal Citizens. When they came, he inform'd 'em of his Majesty's Decease, and of Lady *Jane*'s Accession to the Throne, shewing 'em the King's Will, and the Patent sign'd for that Purpose fourteen Days before; then, by Promises or Threatnings, he oblig'd 'em to take the Oaths to her, and enjoin'd 'em under a great Penalty, not to divulge what they had heard: For he had Cunning enough, to know what an Advantage 'twould be, if he cou'd gain the City into his Interest; and hop'd, that if the King's Death cou'd for a while be kept secret, Lady *Mary* (ignorant, as he suppos'd, of what had pass'd) might be oppress'd without any difficulty. But when 'twas reported that she had made her Escape into *Suffolk*, most of the Nobility, with all the Solemnities of Royal Pomp, conducted Lady *Jane* to the *Tower* of *London*, acknowledg'd her for their Queen, and caus'd her to be proclaim'd. 1553.

Lady *Jane* proclaim'd Queen.

This Princess was about Sixteen, not Unhandsome, Learned beyond Imagination, of a most acute Wit, and for Prudence, even at that Age, superior to her Sex; extremely Pious, devoted to the Reformed Faith, and so far from aspiring to the Honour conferr'd on her, that she took the *Regalia* with Tears; so that it plainly appear'd she was compell'd to ascend the Throne by the Importunities of her Parents and Friends, directly contrary to her own Inclination. When she pass'd thro' the City to the *Tower*, she was not saluted with any Acclamations, tho' vast Crouds flock'd about her, drawn rather, it seems to gratify their Curiosity, than to express their Joy: And this was the first Omen which encourag'd Queen *Mary*'s Friends to the Resolution of making some Attempt in her Behalf, when a proper Occasion should offer; for, tho' they were aw'd from any immediate Motion by the Presence of *Northumberland*, a Man of the sharpest Discernment, and deepest Politicks, they hop'd if they cou'd by any means hereafter get him to a Distance, they might be able to effect something considerable.

The same Day that Lady *Jane* went to the *Tower*, Queen *Mary*'s Letters arriv'd, and were

1553. read in Council; in which she commanded 'em to come and pay their Duty and Allegiance to her, as rightful Heir to the Crown, and so acknowledg'd by the major Part of the Kingdom. At the same time, News was brought that the People of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* had taken the Oaths to her; and indeed it plainly appear'd to the wisest Observers, that the Commonalty were almost every where alienated from Lady *Jane*: For this Reason, they resolv'd upon raising Forces with all possible Speed, that they might surprize *Mary*, and bring her to *London* by Force. The Duke of *Suffolk* was design'd General; but those who privately favour'd *Mary*, influenc'd the new Queen to keep her Father near her, and to send *Northumberland* on this Expedition; who, they said, might do more by the Terror of his Name, (for he had lately reduc'd the *Norfolk* Rebels) than the other by his Arms or Counsel, or any other way; and besides, who was a more proper Guardian to the Daughter, than her own Father? As for the City, her Council were at hand to Govern it with their usual Wisdom and Fidelity.

The D. of Northumberland marches against Q. Mary, July 13.

Mov'd with these Reasons, she prevail'd with *Northumberland*, after some Difficulty, to undertake this Charge. He was in a World of Apprehension, least any Disorder shou'd happen in his Absence; but since he had no way to get himself excus'd, he prepar'd for the Expedition; and on the 13th of *July*, with an Army of 6000 Men, march'd out of *London*. As he was passing thro' the City, 'tis said, he turn'd to the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who was with him, and desir'd him to observe the Crouds that press'd to see their March; *Yet*, says he, *in all this Multitude, my Lord, you do not hear one wish us Prosperity.* (a)

The Citizens were extremely Zealous in the Cause of Religion, as were likewise most of the People in *Suffolk*, and a great many in *Norfolk*, and they all knew how entirely *Mary* was the Creature of Popery. But 'tis the Manner of the *English*, to have such a constant Veneration for the lawful Sovereign, that no Pretences or Colours, not even of Religion it self, can draw 'em from their Loyalty: Of which Truth, the unhappy Fall of Lady *Jane*, which we shall presently relate, was a memorable Example. For tho' the Foundation of her Government was laid with all possible Strength, and the Superstructure carry'd on with the utmost Art; yet as soon as the true and undoubted Successor appear'd, and made her Claim, the whole Fabrick fell at once, and was dissipated in a Moment, and that chiefly by the Means of those very Persons, who for the sake of Religion were expected to continue most firm to Lady *Jane*. 1553.

The Preachers whom *Northumberland* had appointed in great Numbers at *London*, to oppose Queen *Mary*'s Title, prevail'd but little in the City it self: Nor was the Learned and Pious *Ridley*, who had been made Bishop of *London* after *Bonner*'s Deprivation, at all regarded upon this Subject. Indeed 'tis much to be wish'd that so Excellent a Man had avoided the false Step he now made; For, as to Lady *Mary*, if there had been nothing in what the Lawyers affirm, That the Offspring of a Marriage solemnly contracted, tho' it shou'd afterwards be dissolv'd, shall be held Legitimate, yet why it was judg'd necessary to exclude her Sister *Elizabeth* too, I can never sufficiently admire, nor do I think any probable Reason is to be assign'd by those who were dissatisfy'd with *Mary*' Birth. To say nothing of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, to whom, after King *Henry* the Eighth's Offspring, the Right of Succession undoubtedly belong'd. But whatever were the Reasons alledg'd by the Preachers, 'tis certain they had no Influence upon the Common People, who continually flock'd in great Multitudes to Queen *Mary*; and not the common sort only, but a considerable Number of the best Interest and Quality, took the first Opportunity to join her. Among these are reckon'd particularly the Earls of *Bath*, and of *Sussex*; *Wharton* and *Mordant*, both Barons eldest Sons; Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Benefield*, Sir *Henry Jernigam*, *Sulierd*, *Preston*, and o-

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Transactions of Queen Jane *at home.*

(a) This was done at home by Queen *Jane* and her Council. Some Days before, the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral, was made Constable of the *Tower*, who presently planted the *Tower* round with Great Guns, made ready for Service: And the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties had their Commissions confirmed to them by this Temporary Queen, whose Letters, I suppose, ran in the same Tenor with that to the Marquis of *Northampton*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Surrey*, *Northampton*, *Bedford* and *Berks*, which bore Date *July* the 10th. wherein she shewed him, That she had entred upon the Possession of the Kingdom, stiling it, Her *Rightful Possession*, as was evident by the Will of her late Cousin, K. *Edward*, and several other Instructions to that Effect, Signed with his own Hand: Ordering him to defend her right Title against the Lady *Mary*, whom the Letter stiled BASTARD to her Great Uncle King *Henry* VIII.

And abroad.

Now as to what was done for setling Matters Abroad with Foreign Princes. *July* the 8th, Letters were sent from the Council to *Hobby*, *Morison*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, Ambassadors at the Emperor's Court at *Brussels*, importing the Death of K. *Edward*, and that they should declare it to the Emperor, and to pray him to remember the ancient Amity between the two Crowns, and to continue it. *July* the 11th *Richard Shelley* was sent Ambassador to the Emperor, to whom he carried a Letter from *Jane* herself: She also wrote another, dated *July* the 10th, to the foresaid Ambassadors at that Court, setting forth her Title to the best Advantage; as, that she was possest of the Crown by her Cousin King *Edward*'s Lawful Determination, and by the Assent of the Nobility and States of the Realm; calling her self the *Lawful Heir and Successor in the whole Blood-Royal*. Sir *Philip Hobby* she appointed to reside at the Emperor's Court, as her Ambassador there; and both him and the two other to repair to the Emperor, and offer their Mediation, as they had before employed it by the Command of her Predecessor K. *Edward*, for the begetting of a good Peace between him and the *French* King. *July* the 16th the Ambassadors had Admittance and Speech with the Emperor; who spake to them many good Words, and Commendations of his good Brother King *Edward*, Deceased; and declared his ready Mind, to keep and observe the Amity and good Correspondence that he had before with this Realm, and thanked the Council for their good Will towards him. *July* the 17th the Ambassadors, by Letters, signified to the Council the Contents of the Emperor's Discourse with them; and yet, to try him further, advised their Lordships to offer a new League to him, or to confirm the old, or to use some other Means.

Cott. Librar. Galba B. 12.

But *Shelley*, that lately came, understanding the Inclination of the People of *England* towards the Lady *Mary*, made some Delay, and delivered not his Letters at all: And the others as yet moved nothing concerning the new Queen to the Emperor. *Shelley* makes haste home: The Ambassador's hearing of Queen *Mary*'s Success and Access to the Crown, and having no Letters sent to them, were in a Maze what to do, and upon *Shelley*'s Departure, signified as much by their Letters to the Council.

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1553. thers; but the principal of all was Sir *Edward Hastings* (b), the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother, who having a Commission from *Northumberland* to raise 4000 Foot, went over with 'em to Queen *Mary*; for which Service she afterwards created him Baron of *Loughborough*. Sir *John Williams* too was rais'd to the same Rank of Quality, in Reward for his faithful Performances at that time; and Serjeant *Morgan* having done his utmost among the rest, was soon after made one of the Lords Chief-Justices.

An Accident favourable to Queen *Mary*.

But there was an Accident that prov'd of very great Advantage to *Mary*'s Affairs; *Northumberland* had order'd 6 Men of War to lie upon the Coast towards *Holland*, to intercept her, if she should attempt her Escape; or to be ready against any extraordinary Occasion. It happen'd that they were driven, by stress of Weather, into *Yarmouth* Harbour, at the same time that there was a Levy of Forces for Queen *Mary*; the Seamen and Soldiers being prevail'd upon, both by Threatnings and Promises, to revolt, deliver'd their Ships to Sir *Henry Jernigam*, one of *Mary*'s Commanders, which gave such a fortunate Turn to her Affairs, that she receiv'd the News with the greatest Joy imaginable; for being now furnish'd with Men, Ammunition, and a Train of Artillery, she resolv'd to march against her Rival, not in the least fearing *Northumberland*'s Troops.

The Lords who were with Lady *Jane*, as soon as they heard of this were in very great Dread what might be the Result of it. And *Mary*'s Friends at Court being grown bolder, began to open their Minds to each other; desiring nothing more than the Liberty of going out of the *Tower*, that they might confer more freely. *Northumberland* had now written to the Council, to desire a Reinforcement. After he began his March, besides his four Sons, and the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Gray*, and several others of the first Rank, he had 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, when he arriv'd at *Cambridge*. But by that time he was come to St. *Edmund's-Bury*, he found great Numbers of his Men had deserted, and was vehemently afraid that most of the rest would follow 'em. For this Reason he mov'd back again to *Cambridge*, and ply'd the Council with continual and earnest Applications for Recruits. *Mary*'s Party taking hold of this Opportunity, came to a Resolution, That the necessary Forces should be rais'd as soon as possible. But they said, None except themselves ought to be trusted with the Command of 'em, for fear of the same Trick that was play'd 'em a little before by Sir *Edward Hastings*. Thus by *Suffolk*'s leave they got out of the *Tower*, where they had been in effect Prisoners, and dispers'd themselves over the City. Those of 'em that appear'd most devoted to Queen *Mary*'s Interest, were, the Marquis of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer; *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*; the Earl of *Arundel*, (who with *Paget* not long before had been kept Prisoner a whole Year by *Northumberland*,) and Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports. By the Care and Industry of these, all of the Council that cou'd be found (except *Suffolk* only) and several others of the Nobility who were known not to be ill-affected to Queen *Mary*, were assembled at the Earl of *Pembroke*'s House, known by the ancient Name of *Bainard Castle*, under Colour of treating other Matters, but in reality to concert Measures for reducing Lady *Jane*.

1553.

Northumberland's Soldiers desert.

In this Assembly the Earl of *Arundel* fell foul upon *Northumberland* with the utmost Severity. He ran over the History of the late Times, and reckoning up every Act of Mismanagement, Cruelty, and Injustice, committed in King *Edward* the VIth's Reign, threw the *Odium* of all upon him only; then he

(b) And no question this Sir *Edward Hastings* was excited the more to put himself forward in aiding Queen *Mary* in this Juncture, by the earnest and gracious Letters she had sent him; which was to this Tenor.

Lady *Mary* to *Hastings*.

MARY the Queen,

MSS.G.Petyt, Armig.

RIght Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin, We grete you well: Advertising you that to Our great Grief and Heaviness of Heart, We have received woful News and Advertisement, that the King Our dearest Brother, and late Sovereign Lord is departed to God's Mercy, upon *Thursday* last at Night. By means whereof, the Right of the Crown of this Realm of *England*, with the Governance thereof, and the Title of *France* is justly come unto Us by God's mere Providence; as appears by such Provisions as have been made by Act of Parliament, and the Testament and last Will of Our late dearest Father King *Henry* VIII. for Our Preferment in this Behalf. Whereby you are now discharged of your Duty of Allegiance to Our said Brother the King, and unburthened and set at large to observe, execute, and obey any Commandment heretofore, or hereafter to be addrest unto you by Letter or otherwise, from or in the Name, or by Colour of the Authority of the same King, Our late Brother; and only to Us and Our Person are, and owe to be Our true Liegeman.

Wherefore, Right Trusty, and Right Welbeloved, for the special Trust and Affiance We have in you, and as you be a Nobleman, We require, command and charge you to have an Heart and Eye vigilant and fully bent to God's Glory, Our Honour, the Surety of Our Person, and the Universal Quietness of the whole Realm; especially of those Our Counties of *Middlesex* and *Bucks*, where your Habitation and Mansion is: And that ye stir not in a forcible Array at the Commandment, Call or Bidding, by Letters or otherwise, of any Person or Persons whatsoever, except of Us your Sovereign Lady: And except also, if any wilful Person, as God forbid, will dare and attempt otherwise violently and by force, that to you shall seem prejudicial unto Us, Our Right and Title aforesaid. For the prevention of which Cause, and also to the Intent you shall and may be ready to serve Us, at Our Command hereafter, to be addrest to you, We will you shall to the best of your Power fortify and prepare your self. And this Our Letter, Signet with our Hand, shall be your Warrant and Discharge in this Behalf. Willing you further, not to doubt, but that We shall in the Ballance of Equity, Reason, and Justice, consider your Endeavour; and also employ Our own Person and Study accordingly: And so prosecute you with such our good Favour and Grace, as shall avaunce God's Glory and the Commonweale, to your Comfort with the help of God, who have Us all in his blessed Keeping. Yeoven at Our Mannour at *Kenningale*, the ix of *July*, in the Year of Our Lord God, 1553.

The People of *Buckinghamshire*, to the Number of Four Thousand, being got into Arms for the Lady *Mary*, headed by this Gentleman, Sir *Edward Hastings*, *Jane* wrote to several Gentlemen of the best Rank, of the same County, immediately to levy their Servants and Tenants to quell these *Rebels*, as she stiled them. Her Letter to Sir *John Bridges*, and Sir *Nic. Poyntz*, which she wrote *July* the 18th, is reposited in the *Appendix* to the Memorials of Archbishop *Cranmer*. Wherein she ordered them to forbear raising the Servants and Tenants of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, as relying on them otherwise for her Service, tho' they were at that Instant plotting and contriving her Overthrow.

1553.

made expostulating Complaints, that the Children of K. *Henry* the VIIIth shou'd, contrary to all Right, be thrust from the Succession; and profess'd himself amaz'd, to think how *Northumberland* had brought such Great and Noble Persons (meaning those present) to so mean Servitude, as to be made the Tools of his wicked Designs: For 'twas by their Consent and Assistance that the Crown was put upon the Daughter of *Suffolk*, the same *Northumberland*'s Daughter-in-Law; the Sovereignty in effect remaining in him, of exercising the most uncontroulable Rage and Tyranny over their Lives and Fortunes. To accomplish this Usurpation indeed, the Cause of Religion was pretended; but tho' they had forgot the Apostle's Advice, not to do Evil that Good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of Fear, but for Conscience sake; yet who, he ask'd, had seen Cause to think, that in Matters of Religion Queen *Mary* intended any Alteration? For when she was lately address'd about this in *Suffolk*, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory Answer. And what a Madness is it, says he, for Men to throw themselves into certain Destruction, to avoid an uncertain Danger. I heartily wish there had been no such Transgression; but since there has, the best Remedy for a past Error, is a timely Repentance; wherefore 'tis my Advice, that we all join our utmost Endeavours, that so by our Authority, *Mary*, the Rightful and undoubted Heiress of these Kingdoms, may be proclaim'd Queen.

The Lords resolve for Q. Mary.

After he had ended his Speech, the Earl of *Pembroke* generously profess'd aloud his Approbation of *Arundel*'s Proposal; and clapping his Hand to his Sword, added, That *he was ready to dispute that Matter at the Peril of his Life, with any who durst oppose it.* Upon this, they all went into the same Resolution; and sending for the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, proceeded in a full Body into *Cheapside*, and there, with Sound of Trumpet, Proclaim'd Queen *Mary*; from thence they all went to St. *Paul's*, where *Te Deum* was sung; after which, they sent some to seize upon the *Tower*, and oblige *Suffolk* to appear before the Council. Upon the first hearing of what had pass'd, the Duke, as much dejected now as he had before been exalted, went into his Daughter's Apartment, order'd all the Ceremonies of Royalty to cease, and admonish'd her to bear with what Patience she cou'd, her Return to a private State. She answer'd him with a Countenance not at all discompos'd, That *this was a more welcome Summons to her, than that which forc'd her against her Will to such an Elevation. In Obedience to you, my Lord*, said she, *and to my Mother, I acted a Violence on my self, and have been guilty of a grievous Offence. But this present is my own Act, and I willingly resign, to correct another's Fault, if so great a Fault can be corrected by my Resignation and sincere Acknowledgment.* Having said this, she retir'd to her Closet, more solicitous for her Life, which she knew to be in danger, than concern'd for the Loss of her Crown.

Jane dethron'd.

Suffolk went directly to the Council, and subscrib'd their Decree; on the 19th of *July* it was Proclaim'd, with such rejoicing of the People, that after the Name of *Mary* was read, not a Word more cou'd be heard for the general Acclamations. *Arundel* and *Paget* having seen this accomplish'd according to their Minds, took Horse the same Night, and with a Party of 30 Horse more, made all possible haste to the Queen, who was transported with the News of so happy a Revolution. The Council in the mean time dispatch'd Letters to *Northumberland*, to certify him of what had pass'd, and requir'd him to subscribe the Decree, and disband his Army. But before he receiv'd 'em, suspecting a Revolution, and cunningly hiding his Concern, he had Proclaim'd Queen *Mary* at *Cambridge*, and throwing up his Hat in the Croud, pretended to express his Joy. Then the Army was Disbanded, and all the Nobility going over to Queen *Mary*, obtain'd a Pardon, by throwing the whole Guilt on *Northumberland*.

Northumberland proclaims Queen *Mary* at *Cambridge*.

The Unhappy Lady *Jane*, having thus as it were in a Play, acted the Part of Queen for a short space of ten Days, was seiz'd, and her Attendants remanded to their respective Homes; *Northumberland* too, by Order of the Queen, was arrested by the Earl of *Arundel*, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*. Some say that while he was doubtful what to do, and thinking how to make his Escape, as he was drawing on his Boots, the Guards (who under the Command of Sir *John Gates* follow'd him in that Expedition) seiz'd him, saying, *'Twas just he should bring 'em off from the Guilt of Treason.* While he resisted, and a Contention arose between 'em, the Letters came from the Lords of the Council, with the Contents above-mentioned; and a Command that every Man shou'd lay down his Arms, and be gone to his own Dwelling. Upon the reading of these, the Duke was suffer'd to go free. But his Liberty lasted not long; for the very next Morning, as he was preparing to take Horse, *Arundel* coming from the Queen seiz'd him, and carry'd him away, together with several others, particularly his eldest Son the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Ambrose*, and Lord *Henry Dudley*, his younger Sons; Sir *Andrew Dudley* his Brother, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *John Gates*, with his Brother *Henry Gates*, and Doctor *Edwin Sands*.

Lady *Jane* seiz'd. And *Northumberland*.

With other Lords and Gentlemen.

On the 25th of *July* they were brought to *London*, and immediately confin'd in the *Tower*. *Huntington* not long after was Discharg'd, as his Son was at first. Sir *John Gates*, whom *Northumberland* accus'd as the Projector of all this Mischief, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were Executed; the Earl of *Warwick* dy'd in Prison; the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry Dudley* were pardon'd, the latter of which was afterwards kill'd by a Shot at the Battle of St. *Quintin*; the other had the good Fortune to live to the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was created by her Earl of *Warwick*, and flourish'd many Years in great Authority and Favour with her. Sir *Andrew Dudley* receiv'd Sentence of Death, yet had the Queen's Pardon. Dr. *Sands*, who was Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, by *Northumberland*'s Order, had preach'd against Queen *Mary* at the University, and defended the Title of *Jane*, but with that Prudence and Moderation, tho' he had but a few Hours to compose his Sermon, that the Duke was abundantly satisfied; and yet the Offence to the other side was not so great, but that his Friends prevail'd for his Pardon. So that after almost a Year's Imprisonment he was Discharg'd, and presently fled to *Germany*; from thence returning after Queen *Mary*'s Death, he was first made Bi-

July 25.

1553. Bishop of *Worcester*, then translated to the See of *London*; and lastly to the Archbishoprick of *York*. A Man very eminent for his Learning, Probity, and Prudence; to which I may likewise add, his Birth and Family, and above all, his peculiar Happiness in an Offspring; for he left several Children, of whom Three were made Knights, and adorn'd with all the Felicities of Body and Mind.

July 26. *Northampton*, *Ridley*, and others brought to the *Tower*.

On the 26. of *July* were brought to the *Tower* likewise, the Marquis of *Northampton*, (who afterwards receiv'd Sentence of Death, but was pardon'd.) *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, Burn'd two Years after at *Oxford*; and besides several others, *Robert Dudley*, another of *Northumberland*'s Sons: This was the Great Earl of *Leicester*, afterwards under Queen *Elizabeth*, by whom he was rais'd to the highest Honours; but Death snatch'd him from his mighty Power, before he reach'd any considerable Age. *July* the 27th the Duke of *Suffolk* was brought in, and four Days after, by a wonderful Instance of the Queen's Mercy, receiv'd a Pardon. *Cheek*, King *Edward*'s Preceptor, and the Chief Justices *Chomley* and *Montague*, were committed too at the same time, but on the 3d of *September* were set at Liberty.

July 27. Duke of *Suffolk* Pardon'd.

July 30. Lady *Elizabeth* goes to meet her Sister.

July the 30th the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queen *Mary*'s Sister, with a great Number of Quality and Gentry of both Sexes, (some say 500, others 1000) went in State from her House thro' the City to meet her Sister, and to congratulate her Accession to the Throne; who on the 3d of *August* having disbanded her Army, (which had not yet exceeded 13000 Men) was attended at *Wansted* by the chief Noblemen and Ladies of the Kingdom; and thus entring the City with a numerous Train, she came to the *Tower*. There met her, as humble Supplicants, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been a Prisoner ever since his Son the Earl of *Surrey* was put to Death by King *Henry* the VIIIth, *Edward Courtney*, Son of the Marquis of *Exeter*, Executed in the Year 1538. *Gardiner*, depriv'd of his Bishoprick of *Winchester* about two Years before; and the Dutchess Dowager of *Somerset*, whose Lord had been Beheaded. They presented themselves on their Knees, and *Gardiner* in the Name of them all, made a Congratulatory Speech to the Queen, who kindly rais'd 'em, one after another, saluted 'em, saying, they were her own proper Prisoners, and order'd their immediate Discharge. The next Day she restor'd *Courtney* to the Honour of his Family; *Gardiner* not only obtain'd his Bishoprick again, but, on the 23d of *August* following, was made Lord Chancellor, tho' he formerly subscribed the Sentence of Divorce against the Queen's Mother, and had written in Defence of K. *Henry*'s Proceedings.

1553. The Queen comes to *London*.

Lord Chancellor *Gardiner*.

On the 5th of *August*, *Bonner*, formerly Bishop of *London*, and *Tunstall* sometime Bishop of *Durham*, were restor'd; (*b*) and a little after *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Heath* of *Worcester*, the late Incumbents being ejected without due Process of Law. (*c*)

Aug. 5. Several Bishops restor'd.

August

(*b*) Bishop *Bonner* pretended that his Deprivation during his Appeal to King *Edward* from the Commissioners, was illegal: Whereupon the Queen appointed several Judges Delegates, to examine his whole Cause. These Delegates were *John Tregonwel* and *William Roper*, Esquires; *David Pool* Archdeacon of *Darby*, *Anthony Draicot* Archdeacon of *Huntington*, and divers others, Doctors of the Civil Law. And to countenance his Business the more, to these were join'd the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and several other Persons of Quality. To these, *Bonner*, in much Formality presented his Libel, stiled, *An Appellatory and Querelatory Libel* against K. *Edward*'s Commissioners; who were Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Dr. *May*, and others: And at length Sentence Definitive was pronounced in Favour of *Bonner*, by the said Dr. *Tregonwel*; and the former Sentence was said to be rashly attempted to his Prejudice, and Null in Law: And further, declared him to be restored as well to the Possession of his Bishoprick, as to all his Goods and Things, with their Rights and Appurtenances; and allowed him to take his Course against the said Commissioners, for his Expences, Losses, and Incommodities of his Imprisonment. But it must be noted here, (to see the hard Measure of these Times) that upon the Appeal *Bonner* had made to K. *Edward* from the foresaid Commissioners, that King did accordingly appoint the Lord Chancellor *Rich*, the Lord Treasurer, and many other Persons of great Eminency and Learning, both in the Common and Civil Law, to examine all the Transactions with him, and whether his Appellation were to be deferred to: and in the End, they gave their resolute Determination, That the said Appellation was naught and unreasonable, and that the Sentence against him was rightly and justly pronounced.

Bonner's *Restoration upon his Appeal.*

Fox's *Acts and Mon. p.* 1210. *Edit.* 1610.

And as for the Deprivation of *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *Durham*, the Queen set forth her Commission to examine also the Causes thereof: Which, (as the Act ran favourably) the Commissioners found to be upon untrue Surmises, and false Accusations of such as were inticed and provoked thereunto by ambitious Persons; whereupon the Sentence of Deprivation was repealed and reversed, and a certain Instrument was made thereof. Then the Queen did erect and establish again by Letters Patents the said Bishoprick, endowing it with all its Honours, Manours, and Possessions, which were in her Hands by vertue of the Act that gave K. *Edward* the said Bishoprick and its Revenues; and she gave and disposed the said Bishoprick to the said *Cuthbert*, and his Successors. So far the Queen went. But because, notwithstanding the Repeal of the Sentence of the Deprivation, the Bishop could not enjoy by Law all the said Honours, Manours, *&c.* because of the foresaid Act, therefore an Act was made in the Second Year of this Queen, to confirm her Donation to him and his Successors.

Bishop of Durham's Sentence reversed: Vid. *the Act for the repeal of the Act for the Dissolution of this Bishoprick*, 1 Mary.

(*c*) These Bishops, with Bishop *Gardiner* aforementioned, being restored, were to be made use of in Commissions to depose and thrust out the other Bishops that favoured the Reformed Religion, and so stood in the way to the Courses now taken to overthrow it: For in the Month of *March* following, were two Commissions issued out from the Queen; one dated on the 15th and another on the 16th Day, for the removing of them.

Commissions against K. Edward's Bishops. *Collect. Record. in the Hist. Ref.* Vol. 2.

In the former, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Tonstal*, *Bonner* and *Day*, with the Bishops of St. *Asaph* and *Landaff*, or any two of them, were empowered to call before them, if they thought good, *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Hooper* of *Worcester* and *Glocester*, and *Harley* of *Hereford*; and to proceed to declare their Bishopricks void, for the making room for other meet Persons to be elected thereunto: Their pretended Bishopricks being said, in the said Commission, to be given to them by Letters Patents of K. *Edward*, to hold the same during their good Behaviour, with the express Clause, *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*; which was looked upon to be a Defect in their Title. It was urged against them further in the Commission, That they had declared themselves unworthy of the Vocation, by their Preaching and seting forth Erroneous Doctrines, and by inordinate Life and Conversation, [perhaps in respect of their Marriage] contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and the Use of the Universal Church: Whereupon their Places were said to be *in Deed Void*; As tho' nothing were wanting, but the *declaring* them Void, as the Commission gave *Gardiner* and the rest Authority and Warrant to do.

The other Commission dated the next Day, was directed to the same Six Bishops, to Amove, Deprive and Exclude from their Bishopricks four more of these Bishops, *viz.* *Holgate* Archbishop of *York*, *Farrar* Bishop of St. *David's*; *Bird* of *Chester*; and *Bush* of *Bristol*: And that because they had been guilty of very great and enormous

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Aug. 10. King *Edward's* Funeral.

August the 10th the Funeral Rites of King *Edward* were perform'd: A Sermon was preach'd on this Occasion by *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who read Prayers in *English*, and administer'd the Sacrament to those who were present, after the Manner Ordain'd by King *Edward*; for no Change was yet made in Religion (*e*). So that when *Bourn*, Canon of St. *Paul's*, and afterwards Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in a Sermon at *Paul's-Cross*, inveigh'd against the Reformation under King *Edward*, and extolling *Bonner*, observ'd that he was unjustly Depriv'd for a Sermon preach'd four Years before in the same place, and had ever since been kept a close Prisoner, but was now by the Queen's Goodness restor'd, the People rais'd a Tumult, and somebody in the Croud flung a Dagger at the Preacher, which narrowly miss'd him. This Action it seems was so much with the Consent of the Standers-by, that though the strictest Enquiry was made, the Author of it was never discover'd; Others at the same time making a Clamour, and some endeavouring to force the Pulpit: *Bradford* and *Rogers*, two very popular Ministers, who were afterwards Burnt, sav'd *Bourn* from the Danger which threaten'd him, and with great Difficulty convey'd him unhurt into the neighbouring School of St. *Paul's*.

And now on the 18th of *August*, the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting as Lord High Steward, those concern'd in the Rebellion were Try'd at *Westminster*; where the Duke of *Northumberland*, with his eldest Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquis of *Northampton*, were found Guilty of High-Treason. The Account of that Day's Proceedings, and of the Day following, I shall here transcribe from *Thuanus*, a Writer of great Fame; because, tho' I do not entirely approve all he has set down, I think he keeps very near to Truth, and the Reader, perhaps, will not be ill entertain'd with the Variety of Opinions upon this Matter.

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The D. of *Northumberland* and others condemn'd.

"The Duke of *Northumberland*, says he, "alledg'd, That he did nothing but by Order "of the Council, yet this would not excuse "him; so that he was Condemn'd as a Tray-"tor. When the Sentence was pronounc'd, "he beg'd that it might be mitigated, as to the "Manner of his Death, and that his Chil-"dren, in regard to their tender Years, might "find Mercy; and that he might have the "Liberty of speaking with some Learned "Divine, (for the settling of his Consci-"ence.) And lastly, that Her Majesty wou'd "be pleas'd to send to him Four * of Her "Privy-Council, to whom he had some "things to communicate, relating to the Pub-"lick. Then came on the Tryal of the Mar-"quis of *Northampton*, who pretended, that "he had not any Hand in the Rebellion, nor "was engag'd in any Party, but having no pub-"lick Post, † had spent all the Time in his usu-"al Diversion of Hunting, and other Sports. "However, it appear'd that he was engag'd "on *Northumberland's* side, and therefore he "was likewise condemn'd. Afterwards, the "Earl of *Warwick*, *Northumberland's* Eldest "Son, when the Plea of his Youth wou'd not

* Two, according to *Hollingshead*.

mous Crimes and Sins; [but not expressed] and among the rest, that after express Profession of Chastity, they had contracted Marriage with certain Women *de facto*, which *de jure* they ought not; and had lived with them as Wives, in contempt of God, and the manifest Scandal of all Orders, as well of Clarks as Laymen. And that they the said Commissioners, or any three of them, should send for these Bishops, or go to them [for indeed they, or some of them were in Prison] and proceed against them *summariè & de plano*, and Depose them; and also injoin them salutary Penance.

Here were two distinct Commissions for the Deprivation of these Seven Bishops, whereas one seemed to have been sufficient. But the former Commission was directed against those that were *Seculars*, and had not made any Vow of Single Life; the latter against such as were *Regulars*, and so had made an express Profession of it, when they entred into the Rules of their Orders; and therefore to them were enjoined Penances, which the others were not.

Seven Bishops Deprived. *Regist. of* Canterb. *A. Harm. Specim.*

Both these Commissions were set upon and executed in one Day, *viz.* the 20th of *March*. When the Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced upon all Seven, *viz.* Upon *John Taylor* for *the Nullity of his Consecration* (as it is set down in the Register of *Canterbury*) *and for a Defect in his Title which he had from* King Edward *the Sixth, by his Letters Patents*, with this Clause, *Dum bene se gesserit:* Upon *Hooper* for his Marriage, and other Demerits, and a faulty Title, as before: Upon *Harley*, for his Marriage and Heresy, and as before: Upon *Farrar*, for the Causes aforesaid: And upon Bird for his Marriage. *Bush* (strictly speaking) was not at this time deprived: He, it seems, by some Compliances, had some Favour shewn him; but about two Months after he resigned.

As for the rest of the Bishops who were more active and eminent for the Reformation, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was soon imprisoned for Signing K. *Edward's* Will for the Succession of the Lady *Jane*, as a Traitor; and besides, was Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope for Notorious Heresies; and that by a solemn Sentence, mentioned in the Bull of Provision to Cardinal *Pool* for the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, dated *Decemb.* 11. 1555. stiling him there, *Thomas Cranmer the Child of Iniquity, formerly Archbishop of* Canterbury. His Bishoprick became void immediately upon his Attainder, and the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury* assumed the Administration of the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Archbishoprick: And *December* 16. 1553. the said Dean and Chapter gave out Commissions to several Persons for the Exercise of the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction in their Names, and by their Authorities; and continued in the possession of this Jurisdiction, till the publishing of Cardinal *Pool's* Bull of Provision to the Archbishoprick.

Coverdale the Bishop of *Exeter* was deprived by the Restoration of *Veysy*, by Patent from the Queen; because, as it was pretended, he had been induced by Fear to resign, under K. *Edward*.

Barlow Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* Resigned. The Bishops that were Temporizers remained in their Bishopricks; as *Sampson* Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, who died soon after, in *May* 1554. *Thirlby* Bishop of *Norwich*; *Salcot*, alias *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*.

Archbishop Cranmer *burieth K.* Edward *by the* English *Office.* *Hist. Reform.* Vol. II. p. 244.

(*e*) It is very unlikely a Popish Bishop, and one that had suffered for his Opinion, should himself, and at this Time, use the Protestant Service, so much by him disliked. *Day* indeed preached the Funeral Sermon; but it was Archbishop *Cranmer*, however now under a Cloud, that Officiated at the King's Interrment, after the Reformed way appointed in the *English* Service-Book: To which he joined a Communion, by him also Administred, tho' with much Opposition, as we are told. The last publick Office, I suppose that Archbishop performed. Mass also of *Dirige* and *Requiem* was said for the King, at the *Tower*, before the Queen, the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Shrewsbury* being chief Mourners; and the Bishop of *Winchester*, with his Mitre on his Head, executed after the old Popish Form.

† The contrary to which was Notorious; for *Northampton* was one of Queen *Jane's* Privy-Counsellors, and Signed a Letter, *July* the 9th, among the rest of her Privy-Council, to the Lady *Mary*, (as they stiled her) requiring her to desist, and be quiet and obedient; besides his going along with the Duke in all his Counsels.

be

1553.

"be admitted in Excuse of so great a Crime, "receiv'd his Sentence of Death with a wonderful Constancy; and only pray'd her Majesty, that out of his Estate Confiscated, his "Debts might be discharged. These were "presently sent back to the *Tower*. The "next Day, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, *Northumberland*'s Brother, and Sir *John Gates*, who was "suppos'd the first Author of setting up Lady "*Jane*, with his Brother *Henry Gates*, and Sir "*Thomas Palmer*, were Condemn'd. The "22[d] of *August* they were brought out to Execution, having two Days before receiv'd "the Sacrament in Prison. *Northumberland*, "by the Persuasion of *Heath* (afterwards "Archbishop of *York*) made a Speech to the "People, in which he confess'd his Crime "and Repentance, and advis'd all who were "present to adhere to the ancient Religion of "their Forefathers, and rejecting the new "Opinions, as the Source of all the Evils that "had befallen 'em for 30 Years past, to drive "the Preachers of 'em, as Trumpeters of "Sedition, out of the Kingdom, if they "wou'd approve themselves innocent before "God and the Publick. He declar'd that in "his Heart he had always been for the old "Religion, and appeal'd for the Truth of this "to his intimate Friend the Bishop of *Worcester* †, but he had temporiz'd out of Ambition, for which he now was a sincere Penitent; And lastly, that he willingly submitted to his Death, which he own'd he had "deserv'd. Having said this, he recommended "himself to God, and desiring the Prayers of "the Spectators, prepar'd to receive the "Stroke; and immediately the Executioner "perform'd his Office. *Northumberland*'s Exhortations variously affected the Minds of "the People, who were amaz'd to hear him "speak against that Religion, which he had "profess'd for above 20 ‖ Years; and on the "Account of which chiefly he had advis'd K. "*Edward* to exclude his Sisters. Most have "written, that being a cunning Man, and "fond of Life, he did this in hopes of a Pardon; and that when he look'd round him and "saw he was deceiv'd, he repented of it (*f*). "He was charg'd (upon no trivial Conjectures) "with having Poison'd the late King. But "nothing of this was mention'd at his Trial, "because his Judges undertook not the Examination into K. *Edward*'s Death, but only "the Business of the Rebellion against Queen "*Mary*. *Gates* too and *Palmer* underwent the "same Punishment." Thus far *Thuanus*. (*g*) About

Aug. 22. Northumberland beheaded.

† *Heath.*

‖ Sixteen Years, according to the last *English* Edition.

(*f*) *Fox*, who lived in these Times, confirms and clears this Matter: who writes, that the Duke had a Promise made him of a Pardon; yea, tho' his Head were upon the Block, on Condition he would recant, and hear Mass. On which Promise he firmly relied, and did what was required; and still born up with the same Hope, on the Scaffold denied, in Word and outward Profession, that true Religion which he had often, both in K. *Henry*'s and K. *Edward*'s Days, evidently declared himself to favour and further.

Northumberland promised a Pardon, but deceived.

(*g*) Two Things the Queen now did as publick Acts of Favour, to ingratiate her self with her People, upon her late Accession to the Throne; which our Historian takes no notice of. The one was, To redress the Wrong done to her Subjects by the passing of Monies beyond their true Values; and a Promise that she would have several sorts of Money coined of fine Sterling: This was granted, *August* the 20th. The other was for the Remission of part of the Tax granted in K. *Edward*'s Reign. For which she Signed Letters Patents, bearing Date the 1st of *September*; and confirmed what was granted in those Letters, in the next Parliament. The Purport of these she declared in two Proclamations, drawn up in the most endearing Manner.

The Queen's Acts of Favour.

The former was to this Tenor, That she of her great and abundant Clemency, calling to her gracious Remembrance, what great and intolerable Charges had come and chanced both to her and to her Loving Subjects, by reason of the base Monies of late made within the Realms; and also by great Quantities of the like base Monies made and counterfeit in other Realms, and issued out here and in other her Dominions: For the tender Zeal her Grace bore to her loving Subjects, could in no wise longer suffer the same Inconveniency, but was fully resolved and determined, with all convenient Speed, to cause to be made and set forth certain Coins, as well of Gold as of Silver, of the perfect Fineness; which would redound much to her Honour, and her Subjects great Wealth, Commodity and Profit.

She restores the Monies to their Fineness.

That therefore she had ordered within her Mints, these several Coins, as well of Silver, in Fineness of the Standard Sterling, as also of Gold, as ensueth:

The whole Sovereign of fine Gold, to be current for xxx Shillings.

The half Sovereign of fine Gold, to be called the *Royal* of Gold, for xv Sh.

The Angel of fine Gold, current for x Sh.

The half Angel of fine Gold, for v Sh.

And of Coins of Silver:

One Piece of Silver Monies, which should be called the *Grote*, to be current for 4 Pence of the lawful Monies of *England*.

Another Piece to be called the *half Grote*, to be current for 2 Pence.

Another Piece, *half* of the half Grote, which should be called the *Peny*, to be current for one Peny.

All which Monies aforesaid the Queen straitly charged and commanded all manner of Persons within her Realms (the Realm of *Ireland* only excepted; forasmuch as her Coins there had a special Standard) to receive and pay the said several Pieces of Money, at the several Rates before rehearsed.

And her express Commandment was, That all such base Monies, as had been reduced to a lower Rate, should go current in Payment, as the same was current at that Day; as was declared in a Proclamation made in the Time of K. *Edward* VI. in that behalf, until such time as she could, with the Advice of her Council, take further Order touching the same.

The other Act of Grace of the Queen ran to this Tenor, that she graciously considering the Good wills, Forwardness, and hearty Dispositions of her true loving Subjects always heretofore exhibited, to the Aid and Succour of the Commonweal, with their proper Substance and Goods, when the Service, the Necessity and Honour of the Realm had so required; as well in the Times of her Father and Brother, but specially since the Time of her Vocation to the Crown, in the Defence of her Royal Person, against the malicious Force of the most arrand Traitor Sir *John Dudley*, late Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Complices: Notwithstanding it was well known to the Multitude of her said good Subjects, how by the evil Government of the Realm in those late Years, especially since the said Duke had born Rule, the Treasure of the same was marvelously exhausted, and she now presently charged with Payment of notable great Sums, being the Debt of her said Brother the King, partly due to divers of her Servants and Subjects, and partly to certain Merchant Strangers and others; which for her own Honour, and the Honour of the Realm, she determined, by the Help of God, truly to discharge, content, and pay, in Times convenient and reasonable. That yet having a special Mind to the Weal of her Subjects, and accounting their loving Hearts and Prosperity as her own Weal, and the chiefest Treasure that she desired, next the Favour and Grace of God; and having a full Affiance in her said Subjects, that if the State, the Cause, and Honour of the Realms should so require, they would at all Times hereafter exhibit their semblable Service; tho' in the latter Session of the last Parliament holden in the Time of the said K. *Edward*, towards the Payment and Discharge of the said notable Debts, were granted two Dismes, and two Fifteens, and one Subsidy of Four Shil-

She forgives a Subsidy of 4 s. in the Pound.

1553.

Bishops Imprison'd.

About the fame time, feveral Bifhops who had appear'd with more than common Zeal in the Caufe of Religion, were taken into Cuftody; as *Hooper*, Bifhop of *Worcefter* and *Gloucefter*; *Ferrar*, Bifhop of St. *David's*, (who were afterwards burnt); and *Coverdale* Bifhop of *Exeter*, who, upon a Letter in his Favour from *Chriftian* the III^d, King of *Denmark*, obtain'd a Pardon. But all Ecclefiafticks who refus'd to put away their Wives, or enjoy'd Benefices whereof the former Incumbents had been deprived for Defence of Popery; and even thofe too who wou'd not promife by Oath to defend it, were forced to relinquifh them without Exception.

Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr was then Profeffor at *Oxford*; who, as foon as King *Edward* dy'd, was confin'd to his Houfe; but afterwards, upon the Application of his Friends, he had Leave to come to *London*, and there he put himfelf under the Protection of *Cranmer* Archbifhop of *Canterbury*. But *Cranmer* was already near his Fall, being in very great Difpleafure with the Queen; who befides that fhe was entirely manag'd by *Gardiner*, his mortal Enemy, cou'd never forgive him the Bufinefs of the Divorce.

Archbishop Cranmer's prefent Condition.

—— *Manet altâ mente repoftum*
Judicium latum, fpretæq; injuria matris.
For deep imprinted in her Breaft remains
Th' opprobrious Sentence, and her Mother's (Stains.

Cranmer's Merits with the Queen.

'Tis faid that when *Henry* the VIIIth. had refolv'd to Imprifon his Daughter *Mary*, for her Contumacy in Defending the Caufe of Popery, he chang'd his Refolution at the fole Mediation of *Cranmer*. Afterwards, when fhe was to be difinherited by King *Edward*, the Archbifhop in a long Speech ftrenuoufly oppos'd it, tho' without Succefs; nor cou'd he be prevail'd with to fubfcribe the Decree, till the Judges having unanimoufly affirm'd that it might Lawfully be done, the dying King himfelf with continu'd Importunity gain'd him to it. But the Memory of one Injury has more Force on an ungrateful Mind, than that of a thoufand Obligations. At that time there was an uncertain Rumour, that *Cranmer* had chang'd his Religion with his Fortunes; fo that to gratify the Queen, he had promis'd to celebrate the Exequies of King *Edward* after the *Romifh* Manner. *Cranmer* therefore, by a Writing which he publifh'd about the beginning of *November*, vindicated himfelf from this, and offer'd to defend the Inftitutions of K. *Edward* about Religion, as conformable to the Doctrine of Chrift and his Apoftles; in which Refolution having been confirm'd by *Peter Martyr*, he nam'd him for his Second in the Difpute. But the Controverfy was foon decided another way; for his Death was pofitively refolved, but which way to bring it about was the Queftion. 'Twas determin'd therefore to proceed againft him as a Traitor: So that on the 13th of *November*, after he had been confin'd for fome Time in the *Tower*, to leffen the Peoples Veneration for him, he was Arraign'd for High-Treafon, together with the Lords *Ambrofe* and *Gilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane*, who fo lately had fuftain'd the Perfon of Queen: They were all Condemn'd as Accomplices in this Crime. As to *Cranmer's* Particular, his Enemies were fo afham'd of the Part they had undertaken, that they procur'd him the Queen's Pardon for Treafon: yet afterwards had him Profecuted for Herefy. Before he had been Apprehended, his Friends advis'd him to fly into *Germany*, and avoid certain Ruin, as fome of his Brethren had done: He anfwer'd 'em, That if he were in Danger of being taken up for Theft, Parricide, or any other fuch horrid Crime, tho' he knew his Innocence, he might perhaps be prevail'd with to fly; but *fince the Caufe now depending*, fays he, *is my Faith in God, and the Truth of the Holy Scriptures, in Oppofition to the Errors of Popifh Doctrines, I have determined to fhew a Conftancy worthy of a Chriftian Prelate, and to lofe my Life, rather than withdraw at fuch a Time.*

Nov. 13.

Cranmer, Lady Jane, and Lords Ambrofe, and Gilford Dudley Condemn'd.

Peter Martyr fuffer'd to depart the Kingdom.

But for the prefent let us leave *Cranmer* in Prifon, fince the reft of his Story will be related hereafter in its proper Place. There was a Debate a long time in Council, concerning *Peter Martyr*, whether they fhou'd not Try him for a Heretick too, as one that had done a World of Mifchief to the Catholick Caufe. But 'twas concluded, that fince he came into *England* upon the Publick Faith, he fhou'd be fuffer'd to retire in Safety out of the Kingdom. So that a Pafs being granted him, he went with his Friend *Ocheinus* to *Antwerp* firft, then to *Cologn*, and laftly to *Strasbourg*, from whence he came.

The Queen's Coronation, Oct. 1. Oct. 5. a Parliament.

In the mean time came on the Coronation of Queen *Mary*, which was perform'd at *Weftminfter* on the firft of *October* by *Gardiner*, Bifhop of *Winchefter* (*b*). On the 5th of the fame Month, a Parliament was call'd, in which almoft all the Laws and Orders made by the late Kings *Henry* and *Edward* againft the Pope

Shillings in the Pound, to be raifed and levyed of the Manours, Lands and Tenements; and Two Shillings Eight-pence of the Goods and Chattels of her Subjects; which Grants were now due unto her by the fame Act, and would difcharge one great Piece of the faid Debts; her Majefty, of her meer Grace and great Clemency, for the Relief and Succour of her faid good Subjects, had freely, for Her, her Heirs and Succeffors, pardoned and remitted to them the faid Subfidy of Four Shillings the Pound, and two Shillings Eight-pence the Pound. Trufting her good Subjects would have loving Confideration thereof; whom fhe required heartily to bend themfelves wholly to ferve God to his Glory, with continual Prayer for the Honour and Advancement of her Grace and the Commonweal.

Honours conferr'd.

L. Paget: great Honour to him.

(*b*) Thefe Matters following were as honourable Preliminaries to her Coronation. The *Sunday* Sevennight before, being the 24th of *September*, *Feckenham*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, and after Lord Abbot of *Weftminfter*, preached at *Paul's-Crofs*. And fome few Days before the faid Coronation, Honours were conferred upon certain Perfons, from the Queen: Whereof one was, (and that was moft remarkable) the Reftoration of the Lord *Paget* to the Order of the Garter, which he had once received, but was with great indignity deprived of, by the Malice the Great Duke of *Northumberland* bore him, for his Faithfulnefs, as it feems, to the Duke of *Somerfet*, upon the Pretence that he was not a Gentleman of Blood. For his honourable Reftoration there was a Decree made, *September* the 27th at St. *James's*, where the Queen now was, by a Chapter of the Heralds; And forthwith the Garter was buckled on his Leg, by two of the Knights Companions prefent; and the Collar of the Order put about his Shoulders,

1553.

A Dispute in Convocation.

Pope and the *Roman* Modes of Worship were repeal'd (*i*). In the Convocation, which was summon'd at the same (*k*) time, a Dispute was held with great Contention for several Days, concerning the Lord's-Supper. *Weston* the Prolocutor, and many others, defended the Doctrine of Christ's Bodily Presence. Among the few that maintain'd the contrary Opinion, are reckon'd as chief, *John Ailmer*, and *Richard Cheiny*, (the latter of which enjoy'd the See of *Gloucester* under Queen *Elizabeth*, and the former that of *London*,) *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of *Winchester*, who at last Seal'd that Doctrine with his Blood; *James Haddon*, Dean of *Exeter*, and *Walter Philips*, Dean of *Rochester*. These, after a long and sharp Controversy, were overpower'd by Multitudes, not by Reason; and the re-establishing of Popery was concluded. So that by the Authority and Order of the Convocation, on the 21st of *December*, Mass began to be celebrated in all the Churches of the Realm.

Popery restor'd.

At the same time the Marquis of *Northampton*, and *Henry Gates*, who had receiv'd Sentence of Death a little before, were Pardon'd and Discharg'd; and the Two *Dudleys* and Lady *Jane* not being so strictly confin'd as before, had some hopes of a Pardon too.

Anno

Shoulders, with the *George* depending thereat: And a Command given to Garter, that his Atchievements should be publickly set up over his Stall at *Windsor*, being the same he before possess'd. And the Records of the Order brand his Degradation with Injustice; asserting, that when Honour is conferr'd upon the Score of Virtue or great Endowments, the Consideration of this suppleth the Defect or Obscurity of Extraction. And the Sovereign then present declared, *That he had highly deserved of the Nation by his Prudence and Counsel.* And as a Token how much the Queen esteemed him, at her Coronation he was one of the Four Knights that held the Pall over her in her Traverse, when she was Anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Blue Book of the Registry, from Ashmole's Instit. of that Order.

September the 28th, being *Thursday*, the Queen removed from St. *James's* to *Whitehal*, and took Barge to the *Tower*, where she lay that Night. The next Day she made fifteen Knights of the *Bath*, who were Knighted by the Earl of *Arundel*, Steward of the Queen's House, by Commission from her. The first whereof, was the Earl of *Devonshire*; the next the young Earl of *Surrey*; then the Lord *Bergavenny*, the Lord *Cardiff*, Lord *Barkley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Lord *Lumley*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *Hugh Rich*, [the L. *Rich's* Son] Sir *Henry Clinton*, Sir *Henry Paget*, Sir *Robert Rochester*, Sir *Henry Jernigam*, Sir *Edward* [or *William*] *Dormer*. The Oath then Ministred to these Knights, was in these Words, "Right dere Brother. Grete Worship be thys Ordre unto you: Almighty God "geve you the Preysynge of all Knyghthode. Thys is the Ordre of Knyghthode: You shall ho-"nour God above all thynges; You shall be stedfast in the Feith of Holly Churche, and the same "maintein and defend to your Power. You shall love the Sovereygn above all earthly Creatures; "and for the Sovereygn and Sovereygn's Ryght and Dygnite, lyve and dye. Yee shall defend "Wydows, Maydens, and Orphelyns in there Ryght: Yee shall suffre no Extortion, as far forth "as ye may; nor syt in place where any wrongful Judgment shall be given, to your knowledge. "And as grete Honour be thys Noble Ordre unto you, as ever it was to any of your Progenitors.

Knights of the Bath.

Saturday, Sept. the 30th. she passed from the *Tower* thro' the City to *Westminster* in great Triumph, sitting in an open Chariot to be seen. All this glorious Cavalcade is set down by *John Stow* in his Chronicle.

Q. Mary's Coronation.

Sunday, Octob. the 1st, the Ceremonies of her Coronation were perform'd in St. *Peter's Westminster*, by *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*. After divers Ceremonies were dispatch'd, she walked into the four parts of the Mount, shewing her self to all the People. Beside her, the said Bishop of *Winchester* in his *Pontificalibus* stood, and declared to the People the Purpose of the present Solemnity, with Demand of their Consent in these Words. "*Sirs*, Here present is *MARY*, rightful and undoubted Inheritrix, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Crown "and Royal Dignity of these Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. Whereupon you shall understand, that "this Day is prefixed and appointed by all the Peers of this Land, for the Consecration, Inunction, and Corona-"tion of the said most Royal Princess *MARY*. Will ye serve at this Time, and give your Good Will and As-"sents to the said Consecration, Inunction, and Coronation? Whereunto the People answered all in one Voice, "*Yea, Yea, Yea*; God save Queen *MARY*." The Coronation-Sermon was Preached by *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*; who had also in *August* before, preached at the Funeral of King *Edward*; being, it seems, a celebrated Orator.

The next Day, being the Morrow after the Coronation, the Queen made Fourscore and Ten Knights of the Carpet, Dubb'd in her Chamber of Presence at *Westminster* by the Earl of *Arundel*, who had Knighted before the Knights of the Bath. Some of these Knights were the Lord *Gerrard*, the Lord *Burrugh*, the Lord *Dudley*, *Thomas Stanley*, *Edmund Windsor*, *Henry Ratcliff*, *Tho. Hastings*, *Will. Walgrave*, *John Browne*, *Rafe Chamberlain*, *John Tirwhit*, *John Hudelston*, *Robert Peckham*, *Henry Ley*, *Christopher Allen*, *Richard Freston*, *Will. Kellway*, *Henry Gaston*, *John Tregonwel*, *Ambrose German*, *Leonard Chamberlain*, *Tho. Gerrard*, *David Brook*, Lord Chief Baron, *Richard Morgan*, Lord Chief Justice; and, among the rest, *Tho. White*, Lord-Mayor of *London*.

Knights made. Ex Offic. Armour. *No.* I. 7.

(*i*) This first Parliament of the Queen was short, having but two Sessions, and ending the 6th Day of *December*. Sir *John Pollard* esteemed excellently Learned in the Laws of this Realm, was chosen Speaker, by the Recommendation of Mr. Treasurer of the Queen's House, and sate in the Chair. Here something in the beginning of the Session happened to one of the Members elected, that deserveth a Remark: Which was, that *Alexander Nowel*, a Learned Man, and Favourer of King *Edward's* Reformation, was called into Question; Whether he, being a Prebendary of *Westminster*, might Sit in the House? And the 13th of *October*, It was declared by the Commoners, that he being Prebendary of *Westminster*, and hereby having Voice in the Convocation-House, [so it is in the Journal of the House of Commons] could not be a Member of this House; and that the Queen's Writ should be directed for another Burgess in that Place. There was another Prebendary of *Westminster*, namely, *Tregonwel*, a Member of the House of Commons at this Time: And but the Day before, that is, *Octob.* 12. the Bill for avoiding Treasons and *Premunire*, was brought from the Lords by several of the House of Commons, and *Tregonwel* among the rest, with this Clause added in the Journal, *If he may be of this House.* And that he remained in this House, and acted in it the second Session, appears in the said Journal; and particularly *October* 27. Mr. *Tregonwel*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *Price*, &c. were appointed to Examine the Case of Mr. *Foster*, Burgess Elect. But he was a Civilian, and a Man for the Turn.

Some Account of this first Parliament. Journ. of the House of Commons. Alexander Nowel, *a Prebendary of* Westminster, *not admitted to be a Member.* Tregonwel *another Prebendary.*

October the 20th. *Saturday* the Queen came to the Lords House, and sitting in her Royal Seat, the Lords and Commons present, she gave her Royal Assent to Three Bills; One publick, and Two private; *viz.* For Restoring in Blood the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*. The publick Act was, That no Act, Deed or Offence, shall be made Treason, Petty Treason, or Misprision of Treason, but what is declared so in the Act of 25 *E. III.* And that all Offences made Felony, or limited to be within the Case of *Premunire*, since the first Day of the first Year of K. *Henry* VIII. not being Felons before, or not within the Case of *Premunire*, are repealed and made utterly void. By divers Acts and Statutes of the said K. *Henry*, the Papists and such as asserted the Pope's Superiority over the King here in his own Realms and Dominions, were sufficiently check'd and kept in awe; but were now at their Liberty again. And there was a Sting in this seeming Act of Grace, towards all that were taken up and imprisoned for Treason, Petty Treason, or Misprision of Treason till the last Day of *September*, who were to be exempted out of this Statute.

First Session.

1553. *Second Session.*

In the second Session of this Parliament, which began *Octob.* 24. after a few Days Prorogation, some Bills were brought in for the Discouragement and Terror of such as should continue to profess the late Reformed Religion: As a Bill for such as came not to Church, or received not the Sacraments. Another Bill for divers Punishments reserved to the Ecclesiastical Power, for such as say not their Service, or come not to the Church: But these Bills passed not. Yet there was another Bill that now passed into an Act, in Favour of the old Popish Religion, and the Overthrow of the Reformation, which was instead of an Hundred: Wherein no less than nine Acts, all for the Establishment of the true Religion, were repealed at a Clap. These were,

Nine Acts Repealed at once.

An Act against such as should speak unreverently of the Sacrament, and for receiving thereof in both Kinds.
An Act for the Election of Bishops.
An Act for Uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments.
An Act to take away positive Laws against the Marriage of Priests.
An Act for abolishing and putting away divers Books and Images.
An Act for the ordering of Ecclesiastical Ministers.
An Act for the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments.
An Act made for the keeping of Holy-Days and Fasting-Days.
An Act made for the Declaration of a Statute made for the Marriage of Priests.

All these by this one Act of Q. *Mary*, were utterly repealed; and the Divine Service, and the Administration of the Sacraments, as in the last Year of K. *Henry* VIII. was to be used and frequented, from the 20th of *December*, *Anno* 1553. I find by the Commons House Journal, that this great Bill was discoursed and argued the last Day of *October*. Arguments upon this Bill again *Novemb.* the 6th, and ordered to be Engrossed. It was read again the 7th of *November*. Argued again the 8th Day.

Some Account of this Convocation. *The Sermon.*

(*k*) The Convocation also now began about the 16th of *October*, with much Solemnity, and as great Heat and Resolution to overturn all that had been done in Religion before. It was opened with a *Latin* Sermon preached by *Harpsfield*, B. D. Bishop *Bonner*'s Chaplain, from St. *Paul*'s Words to the Elders of *Ephesus*; *Attendite vobis, & universi Gregi, &c.* i. e. *Take heed to yourselves, and the whole Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers; to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood.* He first divided his Matter he intended to discourse of; and then he proceeded to bidding the Prayers. And here he recommended the Queen to the Peoples Devotions in the first place, whom he took occasion to run out very largely in the Praise of; and particularly commended her in the same Words that *Ozias* did *Judith*, *viz.* "Blessed art thou Daughter of the Most High God, above all Women upon the Earth. Blessed be the Lord God, who hath created the Heaven and the Earth; which hath directed thee to the cutting off the Head of the chief of our Enemies*; which this Day hath so magnified thy Name, that thy Praise may not depart from the Mouth of Men, who have remembred the Power of the Lord for ever: For whom thou hast not spared thy Life, by reason of the Straits and Tribulations of thy Nation, but hast prevented our Ruin before the sight of our God." At last he put the Words of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* in Queen *Mary*'s Mouth: "That she being most gloriously magnified in our Eyes, might sing with her, *Behold! from henceforth all Generations shall call me Blessed.*

* *This hit pat to the Duke of* Northumberland, *Beheaded but a little before, who set* up Jane *against her.*

In his Sermon he fell foul upon the late Times of K. *Edward*, and the Preachers then; and called them Wolves that entred into the Flock: And that they did savagely butcher the Lord's Flock, and plunged numberless Souls into Hell. Afterwards he proceeded to Directions how to reform these Evils: And he told his Reverend Fathers and Brethren, that he thought it the wisest Course to recal those Ecclesiastical Laws which had been made before, and no need of great Labour to make any new Canons.

The Prolocutor's Speech.

The Sermon ended, at the same Session the Bishop of *London*, as the Mouth of the Upper House, (there being no Archbishop) bad the Lower House chuse them a Referendary or Prolocutor; and so they adjourned. The next Session Dr. *Hugh Weston*, Dean of *Westminster*, being chosen, was presented to the Bishops by *Py* Dean of *Chichester*, and *Wimsly* Archdeacon of *London*. Both which making their Speeches, and *Weston* accordingly accepted, he began his Harangue, and went on to a great Length, extolling the Bishops that underwent some Troubles in the late Reign, and aggravating their Sufferings, comparing them with *John* the Baptist, who was Beheaded; but that they had suffered far more bitterly: He for a short time lost his Head, but they for a long time struggled with Dolours, Terrors, Threats, Bonds, *&c.* And concerning the Book of Common-Prayers, he said, It was stuffed with Blasphemies, stored with Errors; which under the Name of Religion, took away Religion, *&c.* And that to the obtruding of this Book, they [meaning the Convocation of the Clergy] never gave their Consent; and for which they did now congratulate themselves.

Weston having done, the Bishop of *London* made a concluding Speech.

D. Matth. Parkeri, MSS.

In this Synod great Pains was taken to restore the abandoned Doctrines, and especially those of the Mass: Yet those few Learned Persons of the Reformation that were present, tightly disputed these Points with the rest, prevailing much in their Numbers. These brave and stout Men were *Philpot*, *Haddon*, *Aylmer*, and one or two more; whose Disputations may be read in *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments. At last Four Points were defined by the Upper House, I. Of the Sacrament of the Altar. II. Of Transubstantiation. III. Of the Adoration of the Eucharist, and the Reservation of it. IV. Of the Substance of the Sacrifice of the Church, and of its Institution; and by whom, and for whom, and to whom it is to be offered.

Out of these Doctrines were framed by this Synod Three Questions, to be disputed on at *Oxford*, by some Members of the same, and others, against Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, and Mr. *Latimer*, who were sent down thither from *London* on purpose. The first was, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, by vertue of the Word of God uttered by the Priest, is present under the Kinds of Bread and Wine, really the true and natural Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin; and also his natural Blood. The Second was, That after the Consecration there remaineth not the Substance of Bread, nor any other Substance, besides the Substance of Christ, God and Man. The Third was, That in the Mass is the Lively Sacrifice of the Church, propitiatory for the Sins as well of the Dead as of the Living.

On the 13th of *December*, the Queen sent her Mandate to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, forthwith to dissolve and break up this Convocation, and to signify to the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy this her Pleasure.

Anno

Anno Domini, 1554. *Reginæ* 1 & 2.

1554.

The Queen inclines to Marry.

THE Queen was in her 37th Year, and had hitherto been thought averse to Matrimony; whether by Nature, or from a Sense that her Person was none of the most engaging; yet she began now to yield to the Necessity of her Affairs, and to think of a Husband. She was afraid that her Sex's Weakness might expose her to the Contempt of her People, while her Throne was not yet fix'd, nor the Nation well recover'd from the late tempestuous Factions. There were Three at that time allotted by common Fame for her Choice: *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, Son to the Emperor; Cardinal *Reginald Pool*, and *Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*. The two latter had their Country and the Splendor of their Ancestors to recommend 'em; and there was Hopes that under either of 'em the Liberty and Privileges of the Kingdom wou'd be preserv'd. Affinity of Blood was respected in 'em all; *Pool* was much in the Queen's Affection, for his Gravity and Holy Life, join'd with the greatest Courtesy and Prudence; and *Courtney* for his Youth, Good Humour, and his Courtly Address. But some Suspicions were rais'd against the latter, as if he favour'd the Reformation; and *Pool* being above Fifty Three Years of Age, 'twas thought too great a Chance, whether the Queen might have Children by him or not. Therefore 'twas resolved to follow the Advice of those, who judg'd that the unsettl'd State of the Kingdom requir'd some Potent Prince to compose Domestick Troubles, and to make War upon *France*, which was now become a very troublesome Neighbour. These Motives easily wrought upon an Ambitious Woman, and gain'd her Consent to marry *Philip*.

An Embassy from the Emperor to treat of a Marriage betwixt the Qu. and Philip of Spain.

To Treat of this Match, about the latter End of the last Year, the Emperor had sent over an Extraordinary Embassy, of which *L' Amiral* Count *Egmont*, was chief, and with him were join'd in Commission *Charles* Count *Lataine*, and *John Memorancy*. In the beginning of *January*, the Ambassadors being come to *London*, soon accomplish'd the Business. The Conditions of Marriage were these.

Articles of Marriage.

" That *Philip* being marry'd to Queen *Mary*, shall take the Title of all the Dominions " belonging to his Wife, and share with her " in the Administration; but that all the Pri- " vileges and Customs of the Realm shall be " preserv'd, and the free and full Power of " bestowing Preferments, Rewards, and Offi- " ces, shall remain in the Queen. The Queen " shall reciprocally share in all the Dominions " which *Philip* her Husband has now, or " which shall come to him hereafter; and if " she Survive him, for a Dowry, she shall " receive the Yearly Sum of Sixty Thousand " Pounds, as was formerly allow'd to Lady " *Margaret*, Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, " and Dowager to *Charles* of *Burgundy*. Of " this, Forty Thousand Pound shall be rais'd " in *Spain* and *Aragon*, and 20 Thousand in the " *Low-Countries*. And to prevent all future Dis- " putes and Contention about dividing the " Inheritance, 'tis covenanted, that the Chil- " dren which shall spring from this Marriage, " shall succeed to all the Kingdoms and Do- " minions of her Majesty; and moreover " to all the Dominions of which the Empe- " ror stands possess'd in the *Low-Countries* and " in *Burgundy*. *Charles*, *Philip*'s Eldest Son " by his former Marriage, shall for his Share " succeed to all the other Dominions in *Spain* " and *Italy*, both of his Father and of his " Grandfather the Emperor, but shall be o- " blig'd to pay the forementioned Forty Thou- " sand Pounds. If the Offspring of this Mar- " riage be Daughters, the Eldest shall succeed " to all the Dominions in the *Low-Countries*, " on Condition that she choose a Husband in " *England*, or in the *Netherlands*, with the " Consent of her Brother *Charles*; but if she " choose one elsewhere, without her Brother's " Consent, she shall lose her Right of Succes- " sion to the *Netherlands*, and it shall devolve " on her Brother *Charles*. But to her and her " Sisters shall be assign'd a convenient Dowry " according to the Laws and Customs of the " Places. If *Charles*, or his Successors, die " without Issue, then the First-born of this " Marriage, tho' it be a Female, shall succeed " to all the Dominions of both these Princes, " as well in *Spain* as the *Low-Countries*, and " to all the Principalities in *Italy*; and shall " be oblig'd to preserve inviolate the Rights, " Privileges, Immunities, and Customs of " each Kingdom. That between the Empe- " ror *Philip* and his Heirs, and the Queen of " *England*, her Children and Heirs, and both " their Realms and Dominions, shall be con- " stant Friendship, Peace, and a perpetual " and inviolable League. That the Leagues " made at *Westminster* in the Year 1542. and " four Years after at *Utretcht*, shall be renew'd " and confirm'd.

The People uneasy at the Spanish Match.

When the Resolution of concluding this Match was generally known, many who were displeas'd at it took occasion to raise Calumnies, as if a *Spaniard* was to be set at the Head of Affairs, that he and his Creatures might govern at will, and overturning the Ancient Laws and Institutions, might enslave *England* like a Conquer'd Nation (*l*). These Murmurs were common and openly utter'd. But in private, Mens Censures were according to the Temper of those with whom they Convers'd; to some they complain'd of the Changes in Religion, contrary to what the Queen had promis'd

(*l*) And so many wise Men did think and believe, and assert long after; namely, That the chief Intent of this Marriage of *Philip* with Queen *Mary*, on the part of *England*, was for the better and surer Establishment of the Papacy here: But the *Spaniards* secret Design, was to get the Possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm to himself, and to make the *English* his Vassals for ever. And to this Purpose Sir *Francis Hastings* (who lived in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign) writeth, and had good Testimony for it; which may not be amiss to be here set down, as illustrating this Article of Queen *Mary*'s Reign. 'This Marriage, saith he, was sought and intended also in ' shew, only to strengthen the Hand of the Queen of *England*, to bring in the *Romish* Religion and Government ' into

The Spaniards Intent in this Marriage.

Watch-word, p. 50, &c.

1554. mis'd to the People of *Suffolk*. To others, they commiserated and bewail'd the Misfortune of Lady *Jane*, that so illustrious a Person shou'd be precipitated from the Throne, and condemn'd to a shameful and unmerited Death. Pity mov'd many, Religion some, but most the Dread of a Foreign Yoke; And others were excited by their private Hopes, and the Affectation of Change; so that an Insurrection was ripe, and seem'd to want nothing but a Leader: This Post therefore was undertaken by Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, who having communicated the Design to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to Sir *Peter Carew* of *Devonshire*, and some others, declar'd that no Attempt ought to be made till *Philip*'s Arrival, that so whatever they intended, it might appear to the Publick they had taken Arms for no other Cause than to defend their Liberty from the Tyrannical Administration of a Foreign Prince. The rest agreed to this, and for the present they all retir'd home to their several Counties. There they apply'd themselves privately to provide Arms, Money, and all Things necessary, and gain'd as many as they cou'd into their Conspiracy. But *Carew*, whether mov'd by his Destiny, or because he thought Delays wou'd be hazardous, began to raise Men in *Cornwal*; and thus discovering the Design before 'twas ripe, he was soon oppress'd, and forc'd to fly into *France*, where he lay hid for a while, till at last being in Appearance reconcil'd to the King, he was taken at *Brussels*, and brought a Prisoner into *England*. How he escap'd afterwards I do not find; but 'tis certain that he flourish'd for many Years under Queen *Elizabeth*; and at last dy'd peaceably in *Ireland*, in the Year 1577, as appears by his Monument in *Exeter* Cathedral (*m*). 1554.

Wyat's Rebellion.

Sir *John Cheek* seiz'd.

With this Gentleman was taken, at the same time, Sir *John Cheek*, Preceptor to K. *Edward*, who with Publick Licence had come from *Strasburg* to *Brussels* to visit the Queen's Agents there, as *Fox* says; or rather, upon a Business of Matrimony, if we may credit *Thuanus* (*n*). But be that as 'twill, 'tis certain he was pull'd from his Horse, in the Road between *Antwerp* and *Brussels*, then bound with Cords in a Waggon, and lastly hoodwink'd, and hurry'd on Board a Vessel, while he knew nothing whither he was a going, till he was brought into the *Tower* of *London*. There with Threatnings he was terrify'd to a Recantation, tho' in his Heart he utterly abhorr'd Popery. His Affliction and Regret at this Action threw him afterwards into a Fit of Sickness, which cost him his Life. I have been more particular in this Story, because some have related,

'into this Land, and to Establish It with Continuance; with Purpose and Meaning to add Strength to all the 'Corners of *Christendom*, to continue Popery where it was, and to bring it in where it was not. That so the 'Archprelate of *Rome* might hold the Scepters and Powers of all Princes and Potentates of *Christendom* in his Hand, 'to dispose at his Pleasure. But the Plots and Practices laid and pursued by the *Spanish* King had made a woful 'Proof to *England* of a further Mark shot at, (which was discovered in a Letter to some of our Nobles, from a 'true-hearted *Englishman* in *Spain*) had not God Almighty in his rich Mercy prevented their Purposes, and de'feated them in their Determinations, *&c.* When he made way to join in Marriage with Queen *Mary*, he made 'semblance of great Conscience to Catholic Religion, and great Care to bring in the whole Land into the Obedi'ence thereof; and seemed to glory much, when it was brought to pass, as his Letter to his Holy Father at *Rome*, 'written out of *England*, doth make shew; wherein he expresseth what a worthy Work he hath done, when he had 'drawn the Nobles and Commons of the Land to submit themselves to his Holiness, as their *Chief* (those are the 'very Words.) Yet little did the Nobles and Commons know what was intended towards them by this Catholic 'Child of *Rome*. For under this colourable Name of *Catholic Religion*, was hidden the ambitious Humour of a 'most proud usurping Tyrant, whose Resolution was, upon mature Deliberation and Consultation with his *Machavillian* Counsellors, to seek by all the possible kind means he could, to win the principal of our Nobles to affect 'him; and in their Affection to possess him of the Crown; and so to establish him in an absolute Power over *Eng'land*. And to bring this to pass, he decreed to spare neither Cost nor Kindness.

'And if once he had obtained the Crown and Regal Power into his Clutches, then (as in that Letter of Disco'very is laid open) the Council-Table must be filled with his Counsellors: The Haven Towns must be possessed 'with Governors of his appointing; Fortifications must be made by his Direction; and Soldiers of his own must 'be placed in Garison, at Places most apt for Strength to himself, and Annoyance to this Nation. Then must the 'Common Law of this Land be altered: By which Justice is truly taught to all sorts; the Prince to Govern, the 'People to Obey; the Nobles to live of their own, without wronging the Inferiors; the Inferiors to live under 'the Nobles, with all Love, Reverence and Duty; the Rich to dwell among the Poor without Oppression; the 'Poor to dwell with the Rich without Disorder; the Offenders to be punished without Partiality; and the Well'disposed to be defended without Respect of Persons. This the Law of the Land doth offer unto us, to our Com'fort; and from this he purposed to make an Exchange to his *Spanish* Laws. Which being no better than his *Spa'nish* Inquisition (as indeed they are not) we could not without Question receive great Comfort by the Ex'change, *&c.* Their intolerable Taxes also we must have been pestered with, being such (as the Author report'eth, who knew them well) as *England* was never acquainted with. The said Author did further unfold his trea'cherous Purpose towards this Land, by discovering, upon his own Knowledge and Hearing, this King's Intentions 'to be, by little and little to root out the Nobility; to keep the Commons in Beggary; and not to suffer one to 'live here that was born in Twenty Years before; but either to destroy them, or to make them Slaves amongst the 'Moors. The Colour whereof was, because they were born out of the Faith of the Catholic Church of *Rome*. 'And lastly, the faster to settle the Crown upon his Head, (if he had gotten it) he laid his Plot to destroy Queen '*Elizabeth*, having decreed with himself, that neither She, nor any of that *Cursed Nation* (so he termed it) should 'Govern *England* any more, *&c.* While this Plot was laid, and the Practice was in hand, to set the Crown upon 'the *Spaniard*'s Head, the *Spaniards* themselves (in the Author's hearing) often cursed the Time that ever their 'King married Queen *Mary*, unless they might get the Crown: But if that should be brought to pass (which was 'meant by making the Marriage) they should do well enough, *&c.* And to knit up all, this Marriage could not 'draw the least Spark of true Love from him to this Noble Queen, who so lovingly made choice of him to be her 'Husband: Nor the honourable Acceptation of him by the Nobles, could work any sound Love in him towards 'them.

(*m*) He died at *Rosse* in *Leinster*, a Province of *Ireland*. His Monument was erected at the Costs of his Nephew *Peter Carew*, who was Brother to *George*, whom K. *James* I. for his many Virtues created a Baron. So in the former *English* Edition.

Sir *John Cheek*.

(*n*) *Cheek* was Married already; and left his Wife in *England*, when he went Abroad: And seeing little hope of his safe or comfortable Dwelling in his Native Country, resolved to settle himself at *Strasburg*, among other *English* Exile, both Learned and of Quality; where he also undertook the reading of a *Greek* Lecture, there being an University there. And now, as it seems, had sent for the Lady *Cheek* his Wife to come over to him: and in his way to fetch her, and to conduct her home, (not to marry her) he met with his Disaster. For so we must interpret that Clause of *Sleidan*, (and *Thuanus* probably from him) *ut Uxorem* (not *duceret*, but) *educeret*.

that

1554. that *Carew* and *Cheek* were both bound to the Stake together, and burnt for the sake of Religion.

But let us return to *Wyat*; When he saw his Design was laid open, and that he had nothing to rely upon besides his Courage, he made an Insurrection in *Kent*, using that Argument common to almost all the Heads of Sedition, That the Queen being influenc'd by Evil Counsellors, had already done several things, and was daily contriving more, which were pernicious to the good of the Kingdom; that therefore some Course must be taken to get those Ministers remov'd, and others put in their Places, who might discharge their Trust like faithful Counsellors, and such as were more studious of the publick Advantage than of their private Gain. But above all, he clamour'd against the *Spanish* Match, and that 'twas highly necessary to try all means to break it off; an Alliance by which he plainly foresaw *England* was doom'd to the most insupportable Slavery, and the Popish Superstition wou'd be for ever Establish'd. Therefore what he had now in Design wou'd be for her Majesty's Service, (to whom he wish'd all Happiness) and for the Universal Benefit of the Nation.

But whatever his Pretences were, when about the same time the News was spread, that *Suffolk* was raising Forces in *Warwickshire*, no body was so blind, as not to perceive, that the Drift of all these Efforts was to depose Queen *Mary*, and restore Lady *Jane*.

Jan. 25. The Duke of *Norfolk* sent to suppress the *Kentish* Sedition.

On the 25th of *January*, News came to *London* of the *Kentish* Rebellion; and the same Day the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to suppress it, with a small Force, consisting chiefly of the Queen's Guards. The next Day 500 Men were rais'd in the City, who being sent down the River to *Gravesend*, where the Duke waited for 'em; with these he resolv'd to attack *Wyat*, who lay at *Rochester*, and kept his Head-Quarters in the old ruinous Castle of that Town. This Place is situate near the River *Medway*, where falling into the *Thames*, it is extremely violent: Over it is a Stone-bridge, of which *Wyat*'s Party had possess'd themselves, and fortify'd it with some Brass Guns, that they might oppose the Duke's Passage, whom their Scouts had inform'd 'em to be at hand. But he continu'd his March, not in the least daunted, and sent a Herald before, to proclaim a Pardon to all who wou'd lay down their Arms, and quit the Rebels Camp.

This was perform'd, but in so low a Voice, that the Proclamation was heard by very few; for one that stood by, held a Pistol to the Herald's Breast, and oblig'd him, upon Pain of immediate Death, to deliver his Message softly: To which, all that were nigh enough to hear it, made Answer, That they were conscious of no Crime that needed her Majesty's Pardon. Sir *George Harper* only feigning Repentance, came over to the Duke of *Norfolk*, with Design to try his Skill upon *Bret*, who Commanded the 500 Men we mentioned before, and persuade him to Desert.

Bret with 500 *Londoners* revolt to *Wyat*.

He accomplish'd this so luckily, that before they came up to the Enemy, *Bret* suddenly drew his Sword, and turning to his Men, entreated 'em to consider what they were going to do, and against whom they were Marching: *Are they not*, says he, *our Friends and Countrymen, who have taken Arms to preserve the ancient Glory of the* English *Name, and to set us free, at the Hazard of their Lives, from* Spanish *Pride and Cruelty? You then, that are content to be made Slaves, may tarry a God's Name with your General there, the Duke of* Norfolk: *For my self, who had rather die a thousand times than be a Slave to the* Spaniard; *I'm resolv'd to seek better Fortune under the Noble* Wyat; *and I hope there are some at least among you, who will have the Wisdom and Bravery to accept of my Advice, and follow my Example.*— He had scarce ended his Speech, when they all cry'd out, *A Wyat! A Wyat!* and began to turn their Arms upon those that follow'd 'em.

Norfolk abandon'd by his Forces is forced to fly.

Norfolk was confounded at this sudden Revolt, and immediately fled, together with the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Jernegam* Captain of the Guard. But *Wyat* came up that Moment with a Party of Horse, and intercepted the rest: He seiz'd 8 Brass Guns, and all *Norfolk*'s Baggage; then addressing himself to the Queen's Forces, he exhorted 'em to join him in so just a Cause; but declared at the same time, That if any Man had a Mind to return to the Queen, he should have his Freedom: This only, he said, he would request of those Deserters of their Country, that at their Return they wou'd let her Majesty and the People know, That *Wyat* call'd Heaven and Earth to witness, that he did not take up Arms against his Sovereign, but only to oppose the Designs of Foreigners upon the Liberty of his Country. Then the 500 under *Bret*, with many of the Guards, and the greatest part of the rest, presently join'd *Wyat*; who being flush'd with such a Reinforcement, resolv'd to march directly to *London*.

The D. of *Suffolk* solicits an Insurrection in vain.

While these Things pass'd in the City, and in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who left the Town on the 25th of *January*, with his two Brothers, publish'd Declarations in many Places, inviting the People to take up Arms against the approaching *Spaniards*; but finding 'twas to no purpose, he began to think of making his Escape, when he heard that the Earl of *Huntington* with a Body of Horse was come from the Queen to seize him. He had then about Fifty Men with him: He knew 'twould be in vain to make any Resistance with so small a Party, in a Country that was not likely to assist him; therefore distributing his Money among 'em, he feign'd a Flight, and sending away his Brothers and the rest, he committed his Life to the sole Fidelity of one *Underwood*, whom he had made his Ranger at *Astley*. This Fellow promis'd to conceal him, till he shou'd have Time to resolve on something for his Safety: But whether wrought upon by Fear, or by the hopes of a Reward, he deliver'd his Master to *Huntington*, by whom, with a Guard of Three Hundred Horse, he was brought to *London*, and imprison'd in the *Tower*, on the 11th of *February*.

He is carry'd Prisoner to the *Tower*.

Feb. 5. The Queen's Speech to the Citizens.

In the mean Time the Queen being concern'd to keep the *Londoners* in their Duty, and more particularly when she heard of the Desertion of *Bret*'s Men, came into the City, *February* the 1st, attended by most of the Nobility, and in *Guild-Hall* made a Speech to the Citizens, in which vehemently inveighing against *Wyat*, she represented his Rebellion as black as possible; saying, "That he only "made use of the Pretence of breaking the "*Spanish* Match, to cover the most Villanous "Designs. That having a little augmented

"his

1554. "his Forces, he had proceeded to that Degree "of Madneſs and Impudence, as not only to "pretend in the Affair of the Marriage, but "to aim at the Cuſtody of the Queen's Perſon, and to give Orders what Counſellors "ſhou'd attend her, and who ſhould be diſcharg'd and puniſh'd. That in the Treaty "of the Match, ſhe had done nothing without the Advice of her Nobles: That having liv'd a Virgin the better part of her "Time, ſhe was not now ſo fix'd upon Marrying, but that if the States of the Realm "thought proper, ſhe would gladly continue "in the ſame Condition. For it wou'd go to "her Heart, to think that by reaſon of her "Contract, *England* ſhou'd be expos'd to the "Miſeries of Fire and Sword, and all manner of Confuſion. Therefore ſhe exhorted "'em to keep firm to their Allegiance, and be "ready to aſſiſt her juſt Revenge upon Traitors. For this was their Duty, as having "with one Conſent receiv'd her for their "Queen, and the rightful Succeſſor of her "Father and Brother.

Having thus confirm'd the Minds of the *Londoners*, ſhe Arm'd Five Hundred Men, moſt of 'em Foreigners; of which a ſelect Party were poſted to defend the *Bridge*, and the reſt diſpos'd in proper Places thro' the City.

Feb. 3. Wyat comes to London. Two Days after, on the 3[d] of *February*, *Wyat* came to *London* with Three Thouſand, or as ſome ſay Four Thouſand Men: He had conceiv'd mighty Hopes that he ſhou'd preſently be admitted into the City, and accompliſh his Ends without ſtriking a Stroke; but he was deceiv'd. For advancing to the *Bridge*, he found it poſſeſs'd by the Queen's Forces: However he remain'd in *Southwark* two Days, expecting that his Friends in the City wou'd in that time contrive ſomething for his Aſſiſtance. But when he ſaw he did but loſe his Time, he march'd to *Kingſton*, Ten Miles from *London*, to take the Advantage of the *Bridge* there: He found it cut down, and Two Hundred Men poſted on the oppoſite Bank; but theſe were ſoon diſpers'd at the ſight of two Pieces of Ordnance brought up againſt 'em. After which, *Wyat* with great Diligence got the Bridge repair'd, and in the Evening brought over his Army: Then thinking that every thing now depended upon the ſwiftneſs of his Motion, without allowing his Soldiers any Reſt, he march'd for *London*, hoping to reach it before Break of Day, and ſurprize the Queen unprepar'd to oppoſe him. Perhaps too he had not been diſappointed, if Providence, which ſeldom proſpers Rebels, had not by an unexpected Event retarded their March, or rather infatuated their Minds, that for a Trifle they might loſe the Opportunity of effecting their Deſign. They were now within ſix Miles of the City, when it happen'd that a Carriage of one of their Great Guns broke; ſo that it cou'd not be brought any further. Some Hours were loſt in repairing it, and *Wyat* wou'd not be perſuaded to leave it behind him; ſo that by this means he was not able to come up at the Hour appointed by his *London* Friends. Upon which, many deſpairing now of Succeſs, fled from their Colours, and left him not above half the Number of his Forces. Among the reſt, Sir *George Harper*, who had ſhar'd all his Secrets, to expiate his feign'd Revolt by betraying his Companions, went directly to the Queen, and diſcover'd the whole Conſpiracy.

Harper goes to the Queen and diſcovers the whole Conſpiracy.

1554. Her Majeſty was in great Conſternation at it, and raiſing in all haſte ſome Forces, gave the Command of 'em to the Earl of *Pembroke*. *Wyat* hearing of this, ſlacken'd his March, that he might not bring his Men fatigu'd againſt freſh Soldiers; ſo that by a ſlow Motion he reach'd the Suburbs about Noon. Then planting his Ordnance on a Hill beyond St. *James's*, he left there the greateſt part of his ſmall Army, and advanc'd with five Companies towards *Ludgate*, while *Cuthbert Vaughan*, with two Companies more, leaving St. *James's* on the Left, march'd towards *Weſtminſter*. This was probably intended to make a Diverſion, and favour *Wyat's* Paſſage, by terrifying that Part of the Town. At *Charing-Croſs* Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain, with the Guards, and ſome other Soldiers, oppos'd *Wyat*. But whether unable to ſuſtain the Shock, or having receiv'd new Orders from the Queen, who perhaps was fearful of *Vaughan*, they ſoon retir'd in Diſorder to the Court, and fill'd it with Tumult and Confuſion. The Earl of *Pembroke* in the mean time infeſted the Enemy's Rear, who haſting forward, and not facing about to receive him, loſt a conſiderable Number. But the Rebels boldly continu'd their March, crying out, *Long Live Queen Mary*; and pretended that ſhe had graciouſly granted their Requeſts. Then coming to *Ludgate*, they demanded Entrance; but being anſwer'd with nothing but Reproaches, they determin'd to return to their Companions, the ſame way they came, when unexpectedly they found themſelves ſurrounded by the Earl of *Pembroke's* Horſe. *Clarenceux* King at Arms preſs'd *Wyat* to yield, and not by drawing on himſelf the Blood of ſo many Valiant Men, forfeit all Hope of the Queen's Mercy. The Soldiers ſeem'd reſolute to try the worſt of their Fortune, but *Wyat* in Deſpair ſurrender'd himſelf to Sir *Maurice Barley*, who carry'd him directly to the Queen. The Rebels having loſt their General, made no further Attempt; ſome of 'em fled, the Priſons were fill'd with the reſt. Thus on the 6th of *February* was this Flame of Rebellion extinguiſh'd.

The Earl of Pembroke ſent againſt the Rebels.

Wyat ſurrenders himſelf.

The Puniſhment of the Priſoners was next taken into Conſideration; the firſt Thing reſolv'd, was the Execution of Lady *Jane*, who had been Sentenc'd on the 13th of *November*, but was Repriev'd till now, not without ſome hopes of a Pardon. But ſince 'twas plain by Experience, how dangerous it wou'd be to let her live; to remove all Cauſe of Sedition, 'twas thought fit to haſten her Death. To prepare her for it, Dr. *Fecknam* Dean of St. *Paul's*, and afterward Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her, and had Orders to endeavour her Converſion to the *Roman* Religion. She was ſo far from receiving this fatal Summons with Terror, that ſhe devoutly bleſs'd God for it, but ſaid, ſhe had no Time to ſpare now for Controverſies, and thought that little which was allow'd her ought rather to be ſpent in Prayers and Supplication. *Fecknam* miſtaking her Deſign in this Anſwer; as though ſhe deſir'd a Reprieve, went to the Queen and obtain'd three Days. Then returning immediately, told her what he had done, and exhorted her to hearken to his Arguments, and to learn a better Faith. She anſwer'd with a pleaſant Countenance,

The Lady Jane Repriev'd.

Alas!

1554. *Alas! Sir, I did not intend that what I ſaid ſhou'd be reported to the Queen, nor wou'd I have you think me covetous of a Moment's longer Life, which ever ſince your Departure has been ſo burdenſome to me, that I am only ſolicitous for a better Life in Eternity, and will gladly ſuffer Death, ſince 'tis her Majeſty's Pleaſure.* When the Dean continu'd ſtill to urge her Return to the *Romiſh* Church, ſhe made ſuch extraordinary Anſwers, that whoever reads that Diſpute, (for it was afterwards publiſh'd) muſt be aſtoniſh'd to obſerve in one of her Age and Sex, ſuch Conſtancy of Mind, ſound Learning, and acute Wit. Her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, being firſt to ſuffer, had obtain'd Leave to ſee her, and take his laſt Farewel; but ſhe wou'd by no means conſent to it, beſeeching him to omit this as a fomenting of Grief, rather than a Conſolation in Death, for they ſhou'd ſhortly have an Interview in a better Place, and be join'd in a ſtricter Union. Yet ſhe had ſuch Preſence of Mind, as to look on him through the Window, when he paſs'd to the Scaffold, and ſaw his Headleſs Body afterwards brought back in a Carr, to be interr'd in the Chappel of the *Tower*. There was no doubt but the Death of this innocent unhappy Lady wou'd excite Pity and Regret. 'Twas determin'd, therefore, not to bring her to the uſual Place of Execution. But a Scaffold was erected within the *Tower*, where, about an Hour or two after her Lord, on the 12th of *February*, ſhe was Beheaded. When ſhe was brought out to ſuffer, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* deſir'd her to favour him with ſome Memorial of her, upon which ſhe ask'd for a Table-Book, and wrote Three ſhort Sentences in *Greek* and *Latin* (of both which Tongues ſhe was a wonderful Miſtreſs) and in *Engliſh*, by which ſhe aſſerted her Innocence; and tho' ſhe own'd ſhe had commited a Capital Error, yet ſhe thought that among Men, her Ignorance might, without Injury to the Laws, have been allow'd in Excuſe of it. At laſt, having ſaluted the Crowd as ſhe went, with an unconcern'd Countenance, and deſir'd their Prayers, ſhe came to the Scaffold, holding Doctor *Fecknam* by the Hand, whom ſhe kindly embrac'd, ſaying, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your Humanity to me, tho' it gave me more Uneaſineſs than all the Terrors of my approaching Death.* Then turning to the Spectators, ſhe modeſtly related her Misfortune after this manner.

Lord Guilford Beheaded.

And Lady Jane, Feb. 12.

"I am Condemn'd, not for graſping a Scep-"ter, but for not refuſing it when offer'd; "and my Death will be a memorable Inſtru-"ction to Poſterity, that Innocence is no "Excuſe for great Facts which tend to the "publick Detriment; for 'tis criminal enough "to be made, tho' never ſo unwillingly, the "unhappy Inſtrument of another's Ambi-"tion.

Having ſaid this, ſhe commended her ſelf to the Divine Mercy; then with the Aſſiſtance of the Ladies her Attendants, ſhe took off her Gown, and the Ornaments of her Head and Neck, and having cover'd her Eyes with a Handkerchief, laid her Neck on the Block, and haſten'd the Executioner when he delay'd to do his Office, which was at laſt perform'd, and drew Tears from the Eyes of the Spectators, even of thoſe who from the firſt had eſpous'd Queen *Mary*'s Party.

Such was the End of Lady *Jane*, a Perſon illuſtrious by Birth and Titles of her Anceſtors, but much more ſo by her own Virtue and noble Endowments of Mind, who, ſays *Thuanus*, ſway'd by the Ambition of her Father-in-Law, and of her imperious Mother, aſſum'd the fatal Title of Queen; and being ſuddenly hurry'd from a Throne to a Scaffold, ſuffer'd for Guilt not her own, ſurmounting all theſe Inflictions of adverſe Fortune by her Innocence and amazing Conſtancy. 1554.

The Death of this illuſtrious Lady was follow'd two Days after by the much juſter Execution of *Wyat*'s Accomplices. Twenty Gibbets were erected in ſeveral Parts of the City, on which, upon the 14th and 15th of *February*, Fifty of the Rebels were hang'd. On the 18th of the ſame Month, *Alexander Bret*, who carry'd over the five hundred *Londoners* from the Duke of *Norfolk* was ſent down to be Executed in *Kent*, with abundance more, many of which were Perſons of Condition and Figure. On the 20th, Four hundred of *Wyat*'s Party came with Halters about their Necks, and obtain'd the Queen's Pardon. *February* 23. *Henry Grey*, Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to Lady *Jane*, whom the Queen had formerly pardon'd, having receiv'd Sentence of Death on the 17th of the ſame Month, was Beheaded, as indeed he deſerv'd, being the chief Cauſe of all the Troubles which had hitherto diſtracted this Reign.

Wyat's Accomplices executed. Feb. 14, 15.

20th 400 Pardon'd.

23. D. of Suffolk Beheaded.

On the Eleventh of *April* came on *Wyat*'s Execution, who in hopes of a Pardon, and inſtigated (as 'tis ſuppos'd) by ſome malicious Inſtruments, among others whom he diſcover'd as privy to the Conſpiracy, nam'd the Marquis of *Exeter*; inſinuating, that in Revenge of Queen *Mary*'s refuſing him the Honour of being her Husband, he had conſpir'd to Depoſe her, and by Marrying her Siſter uſurp the Throne. Upon this Accuſation, the Marquis was committed to the *Tower*, on the 12th of *February*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* on the 18th of *March*. But *Wyat*, as he was going to Execution, being touch'd in Conſcience, deſir'd to ſee the Marquis, and on his Knees begg'd his Pardon for having been induc'd, by Hopes of Life, to load him with ſo foul a Calumny. This was afterwards teſtify'd by the Sheriffs, and many others, who ſaw and heard it. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellor, who fearing a Change of Religion by the Lady *Elizabeth*, was obſerv'd to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to take her off, declar'd openly in the Star-Chamber, and cited the Lord *Chandois* as Witneſs to it, That *Wyat* a little before his Death had preſs'd the Marquis of *Exeter* to plead Guilty, and throw himſelf on the Queen's Mercy. This however had not the leaſt Face of Probability; for 'twas certain, and univerſally known, that *Wyat*, at the Place of Execution, ſeeing no hope of a Pardon remain, when he was preparing to die, did in the moſt ſolemn and religious Manner declare aloud, that the Lady *Elizabeth*, and *Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*, were not at all concern'd in his Treaſon.

Wyat's Execution.

Lady Elizabeth and Marquis of Exeter Priſoners.

April the 27th, Lord *Thomas Grey* was Beheaded for having puſh'd forward his Brother the Duke of *Suffolk*, and been the chief Inſtrument to engage him in *Wyat*'s Conſpiracy. On the 19th of *May* the Lady *Elizabeth* was remov'd from the *Tower* to *Woodſtock*; and on the 25th, the Marquis of *Exeter* to *Foderin-*

Lord Thomas Grey Beheaded, April 27.

gay;

1554.

gay; but both still remain'd close Prisoners.

A Dispute at Oxford.

About the same time, *Cranmer*, yet Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ridley*, lately depriv'd of the See of *London*; and *Hugh Latimer*, who long before resign'd his Bishoprick of *Worcester*, were remov'd from the *Tower* to *Windsor*, and thence to *Oxford*, there to Dispute publickly with the Divines of both Universities, concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They were forc'd to engage in this upon the most unequal Terms imaginable; for, having but two Days allow'd 'em to prepare for it, they were all the while kept close Prisoners, and not suffer'd to speak with any Friend, nor allow'd the Use of their own Papers and Books. The Controversy was nothing but Clamour and Confusion; and they were attack'd by several asking the same Questions at once, without either Order or Civility. On the 14th of *April*, being brought from their Prisons to St. *Mary's*, they were commanded to Subscribe to the Popish Doctrine; which when they refused, several Days were appointed 'em for Disputing. The 16th for *Cranmer*, the 17th for *Ridley*, and the 18th for *Latimer*; at which times they were singly to answer to all Opponents. Tho' they were confounded with Noise, and distracted with the Multitude and Variety of Questions propos'd together; tho' they were abus'd with Scoffs and Reproaches, and over-born with Numbers, yet they extorted the unwilling Admiration of their Adversaries: For *Cranmer* answer'd with the greatest Learning, and with a Gravity becoming that Dignity he had so many Years possess'd; *Ridley* with wonderful Promptitude and Acuteness; and *Latimer* with a pleasant Sharpness, and with more Strength of Reason than cou'd be expected from a Man who was near Fourscore. After this Dispute, on the 20th of the same Month, they were brought again to St. *Mary's*, and being ask'd, Whether they persisted in their Opinions; when they affirm'd that they did, they were adjudg'd Hereticks, and condemn'd to be Burn'd. They all receiv'd the Sentence with admirable Constancy; *Latimer* even Triumphing, that God wou'd honour him with so glorious a Period of a long Life, which according to Nature must quickly have expir'd. What became of these Excellent Persons afterwards, we shall relate in the next Year's Transactions.

Cranmer, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* condemn'd to be Burn'd.

Apr. 2. A Parliament.

In the mean time, on the 2d of *April*, the Parliament met (*o*), to whom the Queen propos'd Two Things; her Marriage, and the restoring the Pope's Supremacy. The last of these she cou'd not yet obtain; the other was assented to on certain Conditions, such as follow:

The *Spanish* Match assented to.

Account of the Queen's second Parliament.

(*o*) This Second Parliament began *April* 2. on a *Monday*, in this first of the Queen. Then the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, declared the Parliament to be called for Two Causes; *viz*. For the Corroboration of true Religion; And touching the Queen's Highness Noble Marriage. *The Knights*, *Citizens* and *Burgesses*, chose *Robert Brook* Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of *London*, for their Speaker: Who on *Friday* following made his Eloquent Speech before the Queen, the Lords and the Commons, in the Waiting-Chamber at *Whitehal*, within the Palace at *Westminster*. *Saturday*, *April* 7. the Second Bill that was read was, touching the Regality of any King in this Realm, that the same is as much invested in the Queen; that is, in the Females, as in the Males. The 9th Day it was ordered to be engrossed, and the 10th it underwent this Title, That the Regality and Crown of this Realm is as much invested in the Queen's Highness, as in any of her Noble Ancestors. Being assented to, it was sent to the Lords by Mr. Speaker. The Author of the Reformation of the Church of *England* giveth secret Reasons for this Bill. I am apt to think this Reason ought not to be excluded: *Viz*. To prevent any Disturbance that might arise from an Opinion broached by some of Q. *Mary's* Enemies, That it was unlawful for a Woman to Govern: To prove which, *Knox* and others published Books in *English* some time after.

Vol. II. *p.* 277.

The 10th Day was the Bill first read, touching the Articles agreed on for the Marriage between the Queen and the Noble Prince *Philip* of *Spain*, Son and Heir to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. Which Bill was read again the 11th. And again the 12th Day.

Another considerable Bill brought into this Parliament, and past at last, was for the restoring and erecting the Bishoprick of *Durham*; which the Queen had done as much as she could before, by Letters-Patents. This Bill (whereby many were like to become Losers) met with much Opposition; because King *Edward* had given and sold away to the Town of *Newcastle*, and to other particular Persons, some Parts of the Lands and Revenues of the said Bishoprick: First, the Burgesses of *Newcastle* exhibited a *Proviso* for the Town of *Gateside*, and the Salt Meadows to continue annexed to *Newcastle*, according to an Act made in the late Reign. Another *Proviso* was brought in upon another Reading of the Bill, for certain Lands, parcel of the Bishoprick, that had been granted to Sir *John Jobson* by King *Edward* VI. and another Proviso general for Sir *Francis Jobson*, for his Patent of those Lands. *Tonstal* the Bishop of *Durham* finding the Bill thus like to be clogged, came into the Lower House himself, and declared his whole Cause concerning his Bill, and his Troubles occasioned by the late Duke of *Northumberland*; and afterwards required the House to consider his Bill. The Day after, which was the 10th Day of *April*, there was an Argument upon the Bill; and upon the Question the House divided, and the Number that said *Yea* to the Bill was 201; and the Number against it was 120. But it was agreed by the House, that Mr. Speaker, in their Names, should require the said Bishop to shew Favour to Sir *Francis Jobson* in this Suit. But in the Act there is neither Consideration nor Proviso made for the Town of *Newcastle*, or any other Persons, except *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to enjoy the Bishop's House of *Coldherber* in the Parish of *Alhallows*, *Barkin*, *London*, and three other Messuages or Tenements in the Parish of *Gracechurch*, *London*, which K. *Edward* had given him.

There were several Bills brought in and read about Religion (which was the second great Business of calling this Parliament) but passed not into Acts: As a Bill to revive certain Statutes touching Heresies and Lollardies. Another (to be even with that) to avoid the Statute of the Six Articles, made 31 *H.* 8. And another, that the Bishop of *Rome* shall not convent any Person for any Abby-Lands. Which was read again; to the Bishop of *Rome* was added, *or any other Spiritual Person*; meaning, perhaps, Cardinal *Pool*, who was e're long to come as his Legate. Another, for extirpating Heresies, and Erroneous Opinions and Books: Another, to avoid Pensions of Married Priests: Another, for the Election of Scholars in the Universities: Perhaps that such only should be elected in such Places, as should subscribe or swear certain Matters for the surer preserving them in Papistry. Another Bill for avoiding Playing-Houses. Another for Unlawful Assemblies.

These Bills either could not, or perhaps were not thought convenient now to pass, and so were stopt either in the Lower or Upper House; the Matters for the further Establishment of the Popish Religion, being as it seems intended to be more fully prosecuted in a longer Session than this could be; and another Parliament being likely to be better disposed to do it, after the Marriage with Catholic *Philip*.

Journ. Comm. House.

This may be noted further in this Parliament, that one Mr. *Beaumont*, of the House of Commons, and his Wife, had served a *Subpœna* upon the Earl of *Huntington* in Parliament-time. Whereat the Lords were offended: And, *April* 17. sent some of the Judges to the Lower-House, bringing the *Subpœna* with them; and prayed the Order of the House for that Offence. And it was ordered that Eight of the said House should declare to the Lords, That they took this Writ to be no Breach of Privilege.

May the 5th in the Afternoon, the Queen came into the Parliament-Chamber, and gave her Royal Assent to 15 Acts, and then that Second Parliament was dissolved.

" That

1554.

"That the Prince of *Spain* shou'd not advance any to publick Offices, but such as were Natives of *England*, and Subjects to the Queen. That he shou'd admit a certain Number of *English* in his Houshold, whom he shou'd treat with Respect, and not suffer 'em to be insulted by Foreigners. That he shou'd not carry the Queen out of *England*, unless she desir'd it, nor any of the Children which might spring from this Marriage; who shou'd be Educated in *England*; nor suffer'd to go out of the Realm, but upon Necessity, or some good Reason, and that with the Consent of the *English*. That if the Queen shou'd Die without Issue, the Prince shou'd have no Claim in the Kingdom, but shou'd leave it free to the Legal Successor; and shou'd make no Innovations in any of the Rights, either publick or private, the Immunities or Customs of the Realm, but shou'd preserve 'em entire and inviolate. That he shou'd not be permitted to Transport any Jewels, or Goods belonging to the Crown, nor to alienate any of the Royal Patrimony. That he shou'd preserve the Shipping, Artillery and Stores, and keep in good Repair the Castles and Fortify'd Places. Lastly, That this Match shou'd not at all derogate from the League lately concluded betwixt the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*; but the Peace shou'd remain inviolate between the *English* and *French*: Yet the Prince shou'd be at Liberty to send Aids out of other Kingdoms and Dominions to his Father the Emperor, either to keep off Injuries, or to revenge those already receiv'd.

1554.

Prince Philip comes into England.

All Things being thus agreed, and no Impediment remaining to obstruct the Nuptials, *Philip* Embark'd, and setting Sail *July* 26. from the *Groine*, arriv'd Three Days after at *Southampton*, with a Fleet consisting in all of a Hundred and Sixty Sail; among which were 20 *English*, and as many *Flemish*. From *Southampton*, where he rested Three Days, attended by a numerous Train of *Spaniards* and *English*, on the 24th of *July*, in a very wet Day he came to the Queen at *Winchester*. The Festival of St. *James*, the tutelary Saint of the *Spaniards*, was the Day appointed for the Nuptials, which were celebrated at *Winchester*, with great Magnificence. At which Time Don *Juan Figueroa*, in the Emperor's Name, resign'd the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and transferr'd all Right therein to *Philip*. Then were their Titles publickly proclaim'd by the Heralds, in *Latin*, *French* and *English* (p) About the beginning of *August*, the Royal Pair came to *Basing*, and thence to *Windsor*, where King *Philip*, on the 5th of the same Month, was install'd Knight of the Garter. *August* the 11th, they made a splendid Entry at *London*, being receiv'd by the City with all manner of Expence and Solemnity.

The Nuptials.

Aug. 11.

A Parliament, Nov. 11.

Cardinal Poole's Arrival in England.

On the 11th of *November*, a Parliament met again. (q) About the beginning of this Session, *Poole* came into *England*, who had been declar'd, by King *Henry* the Eighth, an Enemy to the State, had been created Cardinal, by *Paul* the IIId, and might have been chosen Pope, if he had consented in time, and who (as we before observ'd) had been mark'd out by some, as a proper Husband for the Queen. After he had lost the Chair, by the Fault

(p) But neither the Queen, nor the Nation, were likely to have any great Blessing of this *Spanish Philip*: For (as it was recorded of him, and experienced in his Reign very amply) in Dissimulation he surpassed all Nations, till he had obtained his Purpose; and when he could once prevail, he went beyond all in Oppression and Tyranny. Also, that he disdained all other Nations; and in Pride and Carnal Voluptuousness, no Nation came near him. And these were the Qualities of this Prince, whom the Queen had now, against the Grain of the *English*, obtained for her Husband. *Sir Fran. Hastings's Watchword, p. 92.*

(q) Queen *Mary*'s Third Parliament, commonly called the 1 and 2 of *Philip* and *Mary*, began the 12th of *November*. The Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament to be called for Confirmation of True Religion, and other weighty Affairs. After his Oration was ended; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, came to the Commons House, and there did elect and chuse *Clement Higham*, Esq; one of the Privy Council, to be their Mouth and Speaker; who was brought to the Chair by Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller. The said Mr. Speaker, *Nov.* 15. made an excellent Oration, comparing the Body Politick to a Body Natural: And in the End, made Three Petitions, *viz.* For free Speech in the House. Liberty from Arrest and Trouble for the Commons, and their Servants: And to have ready Access to the King and Queen, for the Ease of the House. Which being granted, the Lord Chancellor Prorogued the Court until *Saturday* following, which was the 17th Day of *November*. *Journ. House of Commons.*

This Parliament made it self remarkable for Two Things: One was for taking off the Attainder of Cardinal *Poole*, 31 *H.* VIII. The other for obtaining a Reconciliation for the Realm to the Pope, all whose Power and Supremacy had for many Years been abolished. The former was done with great Speed, and much Honour to the Cardinal: For on the 19th of *November*, the Bill to take off his Attainder was brought from the Lords, by the Master of the Rolls, and Master Sollicitor: And the same Day it was read once, and a second Time: And the next Day, being the 20th, it was read the third Time, and past. And the 21st it was sent up to the Lords by Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Speaker; and Mr. Treasurer declared to the House, that the King and Queen would be the next Day in the Afternoon in the Parliament-House, to give their Assents to this Bill: And accordingly, about Three a Clock, in the Parliament-Chamber, the Royal Assent was given to the Bill, and so made it a perfect Act. *What was done in this Parliament.*

On the 27th Day of *November*, Mr. Speaker declared, it was the King and Queen's Pleasure, that the House should be to Morrow at the Court, to hear a Declaration of the Lord Cardinal, concerning his Legatie. On the Day after hearing the said Cardinal's Declaration, Mr. Speaker shewed, that the said Legate had moved them the Commons, to come again to the Unity of the Church from the which they were fallen. And the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Sollicitor declared, from the Lords, that they had appointed the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, four Barons, to confer with a Number of the Commons House; who immediately were sent unto them. The Lords aforesaid, together with the Commons, appointed certain Persons to draw up a Supplication to the King and Queen: Which was Engrossed; and then it was agreed by the House to be presented to the King and Queen. Whereby it was implored, that these Realms and Dominions might again be united to the Church of *Rome*, by the Means of the Lord Cardinal *Poole*. The next Day, *viz.* the last of *November*, being *Friday*, in the Afternoon, the Lords and Commons being present at the Palace before the King and Queen, the Supplication was read in *Latin*, and then exhibited by their Majesties to the Lord Legate: who, after making an Oration of the great Joy that was for the Return of the lost Sheep, did, by the Pope's Holiness's Authority, give Absolution to this whole Land, and the Dominions of the same.

The Copy of this Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queen, by the Lords and Commons of Parliament, and the Absolution pronounced by the Cardinal hereupon, are both preserved by Master *John Fox*. *Act. & Mon. Book* 10.

1554. fault of another rather than his own, with the Leave of the new Pope *Julius*, he withdrew into the Territory of *Verona*, to a Monastery of *Benedictines*, call'd *Maguzano*; of which Order he had been Patron, while he continu'd at *Rome*. While he thought to live in private there the Remainder of his Days, the News of King *Edward*'s Death, and Queen *Mary*'s Succession, drew him once more to *Rome*. He knew very well how zealous a Daughter of the *Roman* Church the Queen was, and hop'd, with very good Reason, that *Julius*, who much esteem'd him, having by *Poole*'s Delays been chiefly assisted to obtain the Papacy, wou'd now send him with the Honour and Authority of a Legate into *England*. From this he promis'd to himself the absolute Direction of the Church at least, if not the State, by vertue of his Legantine Commission, and the Dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury*. While he was a Child, Queen *Mary* had been Educated for some Time under the Care of his Mother, *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, by the Direction of Queen *Catharine*; who was suppos'd to have design'd a Match for her with one of the Countess's Sons, to strengthen her Title to the Crown, in case King *Henry* dy'd without Male-Issue; for this Lady was Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth. The Cardinal, whether for this, or for any other Reason, knowing himself to be in great Esteem with the Queen, was sure, if not of the Crown by Marriage, yet of all the highest Advantages of her Favour. Nor was he deceiv'd: For *Mary* no sooner was advanc'd to the Throne, than she invited him over with very great Promises; and the Pope knowing he wou'd be a faithful Sollicitor of his Interest in *England*, at the Queen's Request, sent him immediately with ample Authority (r). But the Emperor, who seems somewhat jealous of the Cardinal's Project, and had another of his own, in favour of his Son *Philip*, which he design'd by all possible Means to promote, began to treat earnestly with Cardinal *Dandino*, the Pope's Legate at his Court, about concluding of a Peace between himself and the *French*. By this Stratagem he design'd to retard *Poole* in his Journey, that he might not arrive in *England* soon enough

The Emperor's Stratagem to detain *Poole* at his Court.

The News of this Reconciliation King *Philip* wrote in a Letter in *Spanish* to the Pope, with wonderful Joy; and Cardinal *Poole* in *Latin*: Both dated *November* the 30th; that is, the very Day wherein the Matter was done. The Translation of both are likewise preserved in *Fox*'s Martyrology.

The Evil of this Submission to the Pope, and Union with the pretended Catholick Church, soon appeared, by the several bloody Acts that passed this Session, and the bloody Actions that followed in this Kingdom, during the rest of the Reign. The Acts were these:

An Act to revive three Statutes made for the Punishment of Heresy; *viz.* The 5 *R. II.* the 7 *H. IV.* and the 2 *H. V.*

An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles and Provisions, made against the See Apostolic of *Rome*, since the 20th Year of King *Henry* VIII.

An Act for Traiterous Words, spoken or to be spoken against the Queen.

An Act whereby certain Offences are made Treason.

Besides these Bills that past, other Bills were brought in that passed not, intended for the hampering of Ministers, and People of the Protestant Religion; as,

A Bill for those that had been Married Priests, or Seditious Preachers, not to be Schoolmasters.

A Bill against Seditious Schoolmasters. This Bill was, as it seems, new made, and intitled, *A Bill against Erroneous Schoolmasters.*

A Bill to avoid Leases made by Married Priests.

Another Bill, (which perhaps was the same new-modelled) touching Leases by Spiritual Persons, to be avoided after Resignation and Non-Residence.

January 16. in the Afternoon, the King and Queen gave their Royal Assent to One and Twenty Bills; Seventeen whereof are printed. And thereupon this Parliament was dissolved, having done and undone enough of Conscience.

(r) This *ample Authority*, wherewith the Pope dispatched our Cardinal, will appear by the Bull wherein he constituted him his *Legate de Latere*, and by a Commission he gave him for the reconciling of the Clergy and Laity of *England* to the Church of *Rome*: Which Commission is extant in an Act of Parliament in the 1 and 2 of *Philip* and *Mary*, *cap.* 8. and may there be read. But the Bull being not so common, may not be unworthy to be set down in this Place.

Poole's *Regist. transcrib. thence in Ant. Har. Collect.*

'*JULIUS Episcopus Servus Servorum, &c.* i.e. *JULIUS* Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Son called *REGINALD POOLE*, Cardinal, Deacon of St. *Mary* in *Cosmedin*, Our and the Apostolic See's Legate *de Latere*, to our most dear Daughter in Christ, *Mary* Queen of *England*, and the whole Realm, Health and Apostolical Benediction. It began with this Preface; 'That if at any Time it might be said, *The Right Hand of the Lord hath done mighty Things*, now certainly it might most evidently be so spoken; yea, now was the Time, that most joyful Sentence might be celebrated by all Pious People with Gladness and Acclamation. For what should we say else, but that the Right Hand of the Lord hath brought to pass this so surprizing Change of Things; that the most flourishing Realm of *England*, after it had been seduced by *Henry* VIII. into a Separation and Departure from the Catholic Church, and next by the Succession of his Son *Edward*, strengthned and confirmed in his Father's (and so Hereditary) Error, should now on a sudden come to that State, to be (as it seems) in a very fair and ready Way to be recalled into the Holy Sheep-Fold of the Catholic Church. Truly this was nothing else but a Change wrought by the Right Hand of the Most High." And so the Bull went on, shewing the wonderful Manner of the Queen's Access to the Throne: Then proceeding unto Pope *Julius*'s part, 'That he, according to his Paternal Care of the Universal Church, committed to him by God, and according to that Charity with which he ought more especially to be endowed towards the *English* Nation, as a peculiar Daughter of this Holy See, over which he presided, without any Merits of his own, but by the only Providence of God, being begotten by the Seed of God's Word scattered there in former Times by the Procurement of his See, neither could, nor ought to be wanting to the Hope and Holy Confidence, that this said Land, having a Catholic Prince, would easily be turned into the Way of the Catholic Faith, and restored to the Communion of the Church.

'That therefore after very mature and deliberate Thoughts, he the Cardinal, was not only the first, but the only Man that occurred to his Mind, to whom, above all, he might commit this Care: And that consulting with his Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, by their unanimous Assent and Consent, he made Choice of him, as his and the Apostolic See's Legate to the same Queen *Mary*, and the whole Realm of *England*. For whether he had Regard to the Place of his Birth, or the general Love that all had towards him, which ought to be, and so was very great; or the Knowledge of the Language of that Country, and their Customs and Inclinations; or his Authority and Esteem, by Reason of the Royal Blood whence he was sprung, or of his singular Prudence and Eloquence in all Respects; or (which was the chief of all) his most ardent Love and Duty towards God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Catholic Church, now well known and experienced, or, lastly, whether he regarded his Person, which the high Giver of all good Gifts had adorned with these and many other Virtues; he judged him most fitly qualified for this Legation.

'Wherefore

1554. enough to disconcert his Measures. *Dandino* therefore, to gratify the Emperor, sent Letters to *Poole* by *Francisco Commendano*, advising him not to set forward yet, for the Emperor was displeas'd with that Legacy, which was undertaken without his Approbation; besides, that the *English* for the most part, and especially the *Londoners*, had such an Aversion to the Pope, that a Legate ought not to be sent, till they were brought to a Temper to admit of it. *Poole* having receiv'd these Letters at the Monastery of *Maguzano*, thought it not proper to proceed, till he had further Orders from the Pope; who being jealous of the Emperor's Increase of Power, by the Accession of so many Dominions, resented *Dandino's* officiousness, and recalling him, conferr'd on *Poole* the whole Legatine Power, both into *England*, and to the Emperor and the *French*, for transacting a Peace.

Poole willingly undertook this double Charge, and now began his Journey; when he came to *Trent*, he dispatch'd Expresses both to the Emperor, and the King of *France*, to certify them of his Commission. The Emperor perceiving that he was no longer to be delay'd by Stratagems, sends *Mendoza* to him, with Letters plainly confessing his Fear, that *Poole's* further Progress wou'd obstruct some Affairs of great Moment depending; and therefore he desir'd him to stay where he was, till those Affairs were concluded, or to proceed to *Liege*, and there expect his further Orders. *Poole*, upon the Receipt of these Letters, return'd to *Dilling*, not far from *Trent*, from whence he certifies the Pope of the whole Business, and writes at the same Time an Expostulation to the Emperor, representing what an Indignity 'twas, that his Holiness's Legate, sent to transact the Cause of Peace and of Religion, shou'd be stop'd in the midst of *Germany*, in the View of Hereticks, and that by his Imperial Majesty's own Direction, to the utmost Disgrace of the Holy Chair. *Domingo Soto*, a great Divine, and Preacher in ordinary to the Emperor, was then at *Dilling*. By him he presses the Emperor that he wou'd no longer retard him, to the great Detriment of Christianity, and especially of the *English* Nation. At last, when his Imperial Majesty had receiv'd Advice, that the Marriage Articles were agreed on, *Poole* with much Difficulty obtain'd leave to come to him at *Brussels*, but on Condition that he should tarry there till the Nuptials of *Philip* and *Mary* were solemniz'd. To *Brussels* therefore he came, where having pay'd his Devoirs to the Emperor, who receiv'd him with a World of Civility, that his Time might not be consum'd to no purpose, he enters upon the other Part of his Commission, to mediate a Peace between his Imperial Majesty and the King of *France*. He try'd the Emperor first, who seeming not averse to it upon reasonable Terms, the Cardinal goes to *France* to treat the same Affair, but in short, such was the inveterate Hatred betwixt these Princes, that he cou'd effect nothing; yet King *Henry* had made as fair a shew as the Emperor, and embracing *Poole* at his Departure, declar'd a wonderful Sorrow that he had not the Happiness to know him sooner; for he wou'd not have wish'd to see any other in the Pontifical Chair, if he had been truly appriz'd of his great Virtues. 1554.

A little after his Return to *Brussels*, came the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings*, Embassadors to the Emperor from *Philip* and *Mary*, who signify'd their earnest Desire to see the Cardinal, and desir'd his Dismission by the first Opportunity, that by the Pope's Authority he might settle the Ecclesiastical Affairs in his own Country, which by a long Schism had been miserably disorder'd. In *September* he had leave for his Departure, but was detain'd till the next Month by adverse Winds, and then embarking, soon arriv'd at *Dover*.

Poole's Reception in *England*.

He was receiv'd by the King and Queen, with the highest Marks of Honour, as likewise by all the Nobility, who seem'd at least to be full of Joy. And because in the Year 1539 he had been attainted by the Parliament, the Act of Attainder was now repeal'd, the King and Queen coming to the House after an extraordinary Manner to sign the Repeal, before his Arrival at *London*. A little after his coming, both Houses were assembl'd, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notify'd the Cardinal's grateful Arrival, *Poole* himself, in his Native Tongue, made a long Speech, full of extraordinary Acknowledgments to Their Majesties, to the Lords, and Commons, by whose Favour his Banishment and Proscription being repeal'd, he was restor'd to the Rights and Privileges of his Native Country: "And the best "Return, he said, which in Duty and Gratitude he cou'd make for so great an Obligation was this, that since by the late Schism "they had become Exiles from the Unity of "the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven, "he wou'd, by Authority from Christ's Vicar, bring 'em back to the Fold, and so re"store 'em to their Heavenly Inheritance. "Therefore he exhorted 'em, ingenuously to "acknowledge and detest the Errors of the "late Times, and with sincere Alacrity of "Mind to accept and retain the Benefit which "God, by his Vicar's Legate, offer'd to 'em. "For, since he was come with the Keys to "open to 'em the Church Gates, nothing now "remain'd, than that as they had open'd a way "for his Return, by abrogating the Laws "which made him an Exile, so they should "abrogate all those Laws too, which being "lately made against the Apostolical See, "wholly separated them from the Body of the "Church.

His Speech to the Estates in Parliament.

After he had made a long Harangue to this Effect, and ransack'd Antiquity for Examples, to shew how religiously their Forefathers were

'Wherefore by these present Letters he recommended this Office to the Cardinal's Circumspection: That he 'taking it upon him, according to that his Piety towards God, that Reverence towards him [the Pope] and 'the Holy See, with that Study and Love of his towards the Christian Commonwealth, would perform it with 'Faithfulness, Diligence and Dexterity; and would omit nothing to obtain, by the Assistance of God, the desired 'Fruit of his Legation, by comforting those that were fallen into Error, and restoring them to the Grace of God, 'and the Communion of the Holy Catholic Church. The Hope of which he especially placed in the Mercy of 'God, and, next to God, as well in his Care, Prudence, and Virtue, as in the Godly Piety, Wisdom and Devotion 'of Queen *Mary*. It was dated at *Rome*, at *St. Mark's*, the Year of our Lord 1553. *August* the 5th, the Fourth Year of his Pontificate.

1554. devoted to the See of *Rome*, the Gravity of his Countenance, his smooth Language, and the elegant Method of his Discourse so sensibly affected the Devotees of Popery, that they believ'd themselves just then regenerated to the Hopes of Salvation: Yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously oppos'd the submitting again to the *Roman* Yoke; but in fine, by the pressing Instances of the King and Queen, all Things were concluded to the Cardinal's Satisfaction. The Pope's former Authority in this Realm was restor'd, and the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* abrogated from the Crown; a Petition for absolving the Clergy and Laity from the Crime of Heresy, was presented by the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, to the Legate, who pronounc'd the Absolution in *English*, all the Estates kneeling. After this, they went in Procession to the Chappel Royal, singing *Te Deum*; and on the *Sunday* following, at *Paul's-Cross*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Sermon, related the Particulars of that Day's Proceedings.

The Pope's Supremacy restor'd, and the Realm absolv'd.

Things being thus order'd, a most honourable Embassy is appointed to the Pope, which the Queen had promis'd upon her first coming to the Crown. For as she then resolv'd to re-establish Popery, she had privately written to *Poole*, and inform'd him of her Designs. The Pope, upon this, had dispatch'd *Giovanni Francisco Commendano*, his Chamberlain, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, into *England*, to inspect the State of the Nation. He had some secret Conferences with the Queen, and receiv'd a Paper from her, in which under her Hand she promis'd Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and desir'd that the Realm might be absolv'd from the Interdict; to obtain which, she oblig'd her self to send a solemn Embassy as soon as the State shou'd be settl'd. Accordingly, about the End of this Year, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and *Edward Carne* Doctor of Laws, are sent to *Rome*, in the Name of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to promise Obedience to his Holiness and the Apostolick Chair. But all this Preparation was to no Purpose; for before they arriv'd, the Pope was dead.

An Embassy sent to *Rome*.

In the mean time, the Queen finding all her Measures hitherto crown'd with Success and Applause, while the House was still sitting, began to try the Nobility, upon permitting *Philip* to wear, if not the Imperial Crown, which the Kings of *England* wear at their Coronation, at least the Crown of the Queen-Consort. But finding 'em averse to this *, she forbore any further Motion of it.

* As being a Matter without precedent, and that might perchance, to an ambitious Prince, give some Colour for Claim to the Kingdom. Last Engl. Edit.

Her next Endeavour was the Restitution of the Church-Lands; but because the greatest part of 'em had been many Years possess'd by the Nobility, nothing cou'd be effected. Only 'twas decreed that the First-fruits and Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy, in the Year 1534. should now be remitted. Yet this Decree was soon revok'd, because the Treasury was so low, and so great the Pensions to be paid yearly to the ejected Monks, that such a Branch of the Revenue cou'd not be spared. 1554.

The Queen's Endeavour to restore the Church Lands.

About this Time happened an absurd (not to say a ridiculous) Thing, occasion'd by the Queen's Credulity, and increas'd by the Flattery of those about her. She had a Swelling in her Belly, by a Distemper which Physicians call a Mole, or something of the like Nature. And other Symptoms seeming to concur, she gave her self up to the Tales of Midwives, and neglecting the Advice of Physicians, believ'd so certainly she was with Child, that she affirm'd she felt the Motion of the Embryo. 'Tis usual, it seems, in that Distemper, for the fleshly Substance which is call'd the Mole, to seem sometimes to move, and that with a slow and gentle Agitation of the whole Belly. But there were other Indications, if she had taken proper Advice, which made it not difficult to know the Distemper, which is generally incurable, if not apply'd to at first. So that in Process of Time, her Liver being over-cool'd, she fell into a Dropsy, which is usual, as *Fuchsius* and other Physicians write. In the mean time, the Queen's Error being fomented by Sycophants, not only was fatal to her in a few Years, as she afterwards own'd, but in the mean Time expos'd her to the infinite Scoffs and Ridicule of her Enemies. For on the 27th of *November*, the Privy-Council sent some Mandates to the Bishop of *London*, requiring him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung, and a general Thanksgiving to be given to Almighty God for his great Mercy to this Realm, in giving her Majesty certain Hopes of an Offspring, by quickning the Embryo; and that the Priests shou'd pray for the Preservation of the Queen and the Infant, and for her happy Delivery. A Form of Prayer was compos'd for this Occasion, and printed Copies of it dispers'd through the whole Kingdom. Several Things were enacted in Parliament, relating to the future Education of the Babe; and much ado there was with all the necessary Preparations of Cradle, Swadling-Clouts, and such Trumpery, to no Purpose, for at last in the Month of *June* they were undeceiv'd, and the Nation wak'd from this ridiculous Dream. (*s*).

The Queen suppos'd to be with Child.

This

(*s*) *Hollingshead* in his Chronicle hath exemplified the Letter of the Privy-Council to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, concerning the Queen's supposed quickening with Child: The Contents whereof were, to direct and order him that the good News of it should by him be published in all Parts of his Diocese; and that he himself should give God Thanks, in his own Person, for this special Grace; and to give out his Commands, that Thanks be returned openly by singing of *Te Deum* in all Churches; and that all Priests and Ecclesiastical Persons, in their Masses and Divine Services continually pray to God, that this Thing, begun by his Omnipotent Power, might be continued and brought to good Effect. There be also the Prayers to be used on this Occasion, set down in the said Chronicle, which are Three in Number, whereof one, used, I suppose, in the Abby-Church of *Westminster*, is said to be made by Dr. *Weston*, Dean of that Church.

And that which was done by Parliament upon this expected Heir of the Crown to be born, was, That King *Philip* the Father, being requested by the said Parliament, that if the Queen should be taken out of the World during the young Years of the Issue or Issues of her Majesty's Body, he would take upon him the Rule, Order, and Education of the said Issue. Upon which Request, the King did promise to accept and take upon him the said Care and Charge of the Education of such Child, and that during the Time of such Government of such Child, he would study and travail to advance the Weal of this Realm, according to the Trust in his said Majesty reposed: And so according to that Purport an Act was made. But happy it was, that the Heir of this Kingdom, and the Kingdom it self had no Occasion for the Government of that King of *Spain* and his *Spaniards*.

In

1554. Lords created. † *March* 11. * *April* 5.

This Year ſeveral Lords were Created; as † *William Howard*, Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*; he was Father to *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, and Earl of *Nottingham*: *John Williams* was made * Lord *Williams* of *Tame*; *Edward North*, * Baron *Chartlege*; *John Bruges* † Lord *Chandois*; *Gerard Fitz-Gerard*, ‖ Earl of *Kildare*; *Anthony Brown*, ⸸ Viſcount *Montague*. And in *September* dy'd *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*.

1554. * *April* 7. † *April* 8. ‖ *May* 14. ⸸ *Sept.* 2.

Anno Dom. 1555. *Reginæ Mariæ*, 2 & 3. *Philippi* 1 & 2.

Priſoners diſcharg'd, *Jan.* 18.

ON the 18th of *January*, the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, with ſix others of the Privy Council, coming to the *Tower*, diſcharg'd ſeveral Noble Priſoners; *viz.* The Archbiſhop of *York*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *James Croft*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gawin Carew*, and Sir *Andrew Dudly*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Brother; and beſides theſe, *William Gibs*, *Cuthbert Vaughan*, *Harington*, *Tremain*, and others. The Archbiſhop for having Marry'd was Depriv'd, and his See fill'd with *Nicholas Heath*, formerly Biſhop of *Worcester*, remov'd by King *Edward*, and lately reſtor'd by Queen *Mary*; *Hooper* (the former Biſhop) being ejected, and condemn'd to be Burn'd. *Rogers* and *Crofts* were afterwards of the Privy-Council to Queen *Elizabeth*, and flouriſh'd many Years in great Authority with her. *Throgmorton*, a very ſubtle Man, was thought to have been the Contriver of *Wyat*'s Rebellion; his Life therefore was principally aim'd at: But when he was Arraign'd, by his moſt ingenious Anſwers he ſo eluded the Accuſation of his Adverſaries, that after Ten Hours ſpent in his Trial, the Jury brought him in *Not Guilty*; for which they were afterwards ſeverely Fin'd.

The Marquis of *Exeter* diſcharg'd.

About the beginning of *April* the Marquis of *Exeter* was ſent for; and a little after, the Lady *Elizabeth*, who were brought from the *Tower* to Court. The Marquis was ſoon diſcharg'd: But it was long debated, what ſhou'd be done with Lady *Elizabeth*; for the Papiſts were reſolv'd to take away her Life by the firſt Opportunity, if they cou'd have found the leaſt Colour for it. The Biſhop of *Winchester*, upon any Diſcourſe concerning puniſhing Hereticks, is reported to have ſaid, *We may ſhake off the Leaves, and lop the Branches, but if we do not deſtroy the Root, the Hope of Hereticks*, (meaning the Lady *Elizabeth*) *we do nothing*. But after the ſtricteſt Scrutiny, no probable Ground of Accuſation appearing, tho' 'twas ſuggeſted by ſome that her Liberty wou'd indanger the Queen, yet at the Interceſſion of *Philip*, who affected the Reputation of Clemency, about the latter End of *April* ſhe obtain'd her Freedom: But 'twas with this Condition; That ſhe ſhou'd be oblig'd to keep in her Family *Thomas Pope*, one of the Privy-Council, *Gage*, and ſome others, who were to be conſtant Spies upon her Actions.

And Lady *Elizabeth*.

This ſmall Spark of Clemency was obſcur'd by very great Flames of Cruelty which broke out this Year, to the deſtroying of great Numbers of Pious Men, on the ſole Account of Religion. On the 4th of *February*, *John Rogers* was burn'd, the Proto-Martyr of thoſe Times. He was the Companion of *Tindal*, who firſt tranſlated the Bible into *Engliſh*; after whoſe Death, fearing Perſecution, he declin'd returning into his own Country, but (being newly Marry'd) went with his Wife to *Wittenberg*: There having attain'd a competent Knowledge of the *German* Tongue, he became Paſtor of a Church; which Truſt he faithfully adminiſter'd, till in King *Edward*'s Reign he was recall'd from Baniſhment, and made a Prebend and Lecturer of St. *Paul*'s by *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*. When *Mary* was fix'd in the Throne, the Papiſts endeavour'd to terrify him with Threatnings, that he might fly to a voluntary Exile, forbidding him to ſtir from his Houſe. Thus he liv'd for almoſt a Year; till at laſt, ſince he refus'd the Occaſion given him for Flight, they threw him into Priſon, and condemn'd him to the Flames; which cruel Death, tho' he had a Wife and Ten Children, he endur'd with an intrepid and amazing Conſtancy.

Feb. 4. *Rogers* Burn'd.

The ſame Death, on the 9th of *February* ſuffer'd *John Hooper*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter* firſt, and afterwards by King *Edward* made Biſhop of *Worceſter* too. He had been very diligent in procuring *Bonner*'s Deprivation, which probably now prov'd his Ruin: For no ſooner had *Mary* got the Crown, than he was ſent for to *London*, impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and finally condemn'd as a Heretick. In K. *Henry*'s Reign he paſs'd much Time in *Germany*, where he marry'd a *Burguignon*; and among ſeveral Learned and Pious Men with whom he convers'd, had peculiar Intimacy with *Bullinger*, to whom he was extremely indear'd by his Knowledge, and the agreeable Sweetneſs as well as Sanctity of his Manners. After his Condemnation, he was ſent to *Glouceſter*, that he might ſuffer in that Place where he was thought to have done moſt Harm, by ſowing the Seeds of Hereſy; while he himſelf was not a little joyful that he had an Opportunity of ſealing with his Blood the Truth of his Doctrine, before the Eyes of thoſe to whom he had ſo often preach'd it.

Feb. 9. And *Hooper*.

The ſame Courſe was taken with *Ferrar*, who was brought from *London* to his own Dioceſs of St. *David*'s, to be judg'd there by the new Biſhop *Morgan*; by whom being Condemn'd, he was Burn'd on the 3d of *March*, in the Market-Place at *Carmarthen*. He was a Man of a rigid Temper, and rough Beha-

Ferrar. *March* 3.

In fine, concerning this *Spaniſh* Match, and this miſtaken Preſumption of an Heir, it was the grave Obſervation of a Wiſe and Reverend Man of that Time; *viz.* 'If open Contempt of true Matrimony were not throughly puniſh-'ed and plagued in ſome certain Marriages, which then were ſo glorioſly begun, ſo gorgeouſly ſet out and advanced, 'ſo greatly rejoiced at, and ſuch wonderful Fruit certainly looked for; and in Concluſion, how it ſucceeded, how 'it ended; what it brought forth, *&c.* Here I ceaſe, and leave it untouched. *Pref. to the Def. of Prieſts Marr.*

viour;

1555.

viour; which drew on him much Trouble, even in King *Edward*'s Days, and was now, perhaps, his Deſtruction: For having been preferr'd to that Dignity by the Duke of *Somerſet*, after his Death this good and learned Man, by the unhappy Moroſeneſs of his Manners, which even border'd upon Arrogance, rais'd againſt himſelf Accuſers. Two of theſe, who were Biſhops afterwards under Q. *Elizabeth*, eaſily prevail'd with the Faction againſt *Somerſet*, to get *Ferrar* impriſon'd. Thus being in Cuſtody, at Queen *Mary*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, he was brought before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and 'tis very probable, that by a little Temper in his Anſwers, and a diſcreet Regard to the Times, he might have ſav'd himſelf (without Wrong to his Integrity) from the Hands of bloody Men, as ſeveral had done, who were not engag'd in the Cauſe of Lady *Jane*, nor had any other way notoriouſly affronted the Patrons of Popery; whoſe Flight was therefore conniv'd at; or if they were taken, they were ſoon diſcharg'd again at the Interceſſion of their Friends. But *Ferrar*, ſway'd by his natural Severity and ungovern'd Paſſion, gave ſuch bold and provoking Anſwers to the Biſhops, that 'tis not to be admir'd it went ſo hard with him.

Beſides theſe, *Laurence Saunders* an excellent Preacher was burn'd * at *Coventry*; Doctor *Roland Taylor* at *Hadley*; *John Cardmaker* Chancellor of *Wells*, at *London*; as likewiſe that eminently good and learned Man, *John Bradford*: And, not to enumerate all Particulars, a great Number of both Sexes were Sufferers this Year, for their Faith in God; the greateſt part of which were deſtroy'd by *Bonner*'s Butchery.

1555. * Feb. 8. 9. May 31. July 1.

Ridley and *Latimer*, Octob. 16.

But I muſt not paſs by in Silence *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who being Sentenc'd the laſt Year, were now brought out, on the 16th of *October*, and bound to a Stake in the *Town-Ditch*, over againſt *Baliol*-College in *Oxford*, where, in the Sight of the Students, they were burn'd. 'Tis ſaid that *Cranmer*, from the Top of the Houſe where he was a Priſoner, beheld that mournful Spectacle; and falling on his Knees, begg'd Conſtancy of Hope and Faith for his Companions, to ſupport 'em in their Torments; as likewiſe for himſelf, who was not ignorant that he muſt ſhortly follow 'em. But his Execution was deferr'd for the preſent, by the Means (as 'tis reported) of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and that not out of Pity, but Ambition, and a Regard to his own Profit. (*t*)

On

Matters of this Parliament.

(*t*) The Queen's Fourth Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, *Monday*, *Octob.* 22. called 2 and 3 of *Philip* and *Mary* In the Houſe of Lords ſat the Queen, and next in Place the Lord Cardinal *Poole*, now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament was called for neceſſary Aid to be made to her Majeſty. The Commons Houſe by entire Voice, choſe *John Pollard*, Eſq; profoundly Learned in the Laws of this Realm, their Speaker. One of the main Things done this Parliament, (beſides the Subſidy) was the reſtoring of the Firſt-fruits and Tenths, and Impropriations in the Queen's Poſſeſſion, to the Church. The Bill for which, how it was carried, ſhall be ſhewed by and by.

On *Wedneſday* the ſaid Speaker made his Speech. Then a Bull was read from the Pope's Holineſs, confirming the Declaration of the Lord Cardinal, touching the Aſſurance of Abby-Lands to the preſent Poſſeſſors. After which, the Speaker, with the Commons, departed to their Houſe.

I ſhall ſpecify ſome Things of more ſpecial Remark, done in this Parliament. When they had given the Queen a Subſidy, and two Fifteens, the Speaker declared, the Queen gave them Thanks for the two Fifteens, but was contented to refuſe them.

First-fruits and Tenths, and Impropriations given back.

Journ. Houſe of Lords.

November the 16th. The Speaker declared the Queen's Pleaſure to be, that he, with a convenient Number of the Houſe, ſhould be before her Highneſs that Day in the Afternoon. Whereupon Fifty were nominated. The next Day, *Bourn*, Secretary of State, and Mr. Speaker, declared the Queen's Pleaſure ſpoken to them the Day before; *viz.* That ſhe was minded to part with the Firſt-fruits and Tenths, and all the Impropriations of Benefices in her Hands: And how the Lord Cardinal at the ſame Time ſpake, that theſe were Spiritual, and ſo to be applied to the Church, and Spiritual Uſes. The Bill brought in for this Purpoſe, ran in theſe Words; That the King and Queen did ſurrender, and give into the Hands of the Pope's Holineſs, the Firſt-fruits and Tenths, *&c.* from the 8th Day of *Auguſt* laſt. The next Week it was read again twice; *viz.* on *Thurſday*, and *Saturday*. Then, (as it is in the Lords Journal) it was thus worded, Read the Third Time, the Bill *for the Extinguiſhment of the Firſt-Fruits, and touching Order and Diſpoſition of Rectories and Parſonages Impropriate, and touching Tenths of Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, remaining in the Queen's Majeſty's Hands.* Which was concluded, the Viſcount *Hereford*, and Lord *Cobham* diſſenting; and committed to *James Dyer*, Serjeant at Law, and the King and Queen's Attorney, [Sollicitor, as the Journal of the Commons Houſe] to be carried to the Commons. The Day when it was brought, (being *November* 23.) it was read, and committed to *Cecil* and others to be Articled. The 26th of *November* it was read the Third Time; and the 27th long Arguments were in the Houſe upon it. The laſt Time I meet with it was *December* 3. and then I ſuppoſe it paſt, tho' with Difficulty; and was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, with a Schedule annexed to it, requiring certain Things to be added to the Bill; whereunto the Lords, upon Debate, aſſented.

A barbarous Murther Examined in Parliament.

The barbarous Murder of one *Giles Rufford* of *Edleſburgh*, in the County of *Bucks*, Eſq; procured by one *Benedict Smith*, of the ſame Place, gave Occaſion to a ſpecial Act of Parliament, to prevent his eſcaping Death, that he had ſo juſtly deſerved, by the Favour of the Law of the Clergy. This *Smith*, upon an old Grudge againſt the ſaid *Rufford*, had hired two Ruffians, named *Coniers* and *Spencer*, with the Promiſe of 40 *l.* to kill the ſaid Gentleman; and gave them two Javelins and a Dagger to commit the ſame Murder. After divers Attempts to do it, *Coniers* did at laſt execute the bloody Fact in *Huntingdonſhire*, *September* 10 laſt; for which the ſaid *Smith* ſent him a Gold-Ring, and 20 *s.* in part of Payment. This Murder being (as it is in the Act expreſſed) one of the moſt deteſtable and heinous ones, all the Circumſtances conſidered, that had been done or committed within the Realm in any Man's Remembrance; they enacted, That if the ſaid *Benedict Smith* were hereof lawfully Indicted, or appealed as acceſſary to the ſaid Murder, for procuring the ſame, and were thereupon found Guilty, he ſhould not be admitted to the Privilege and Benefit of his Clergy, but put from the ſame. The Fact was ſo notorious, that the Houſe was reſolved to examine all the Parties concerned in it: So on the 18th of *Novemb.* the Houſe ordered two of their Members, that were of the Queen's Council, to move her, that *Smith*, who was in the *Tower*, and his Accuſers might be brought perſonally to the Houſe, to be tranſmitted before them to examine the Crime. The 22d of *November*, *Spencer* was brought in by a Serjeant; who declared at length, that *Smith* promiſed *Coniers* 8 *l.* to kill *Rufford*; and alſo the Manner how he was killed by *Coniers* beyond *Huntingdon*. *Coniers* next brought in, confeſſed the ſame; and that he himſelf killed him, and not *Spencer*; but that he was with him then. When *Smith* was brought in, he utterly denied the Fact, and all the Circumſtances. *Godfrey*, Servant to *Smith*, declared that he carried a Letter, a Ring, and 30 *l.* in Money, by his Maſter's Command, to *Spencer*, after the Murder was done; and juſtified to *Smith*'s Face the ſame. *Rowland* a Taylor confeſſed before *Smith*, that he ſent him to *Coniers* and *Spencer*, to go out of the Realm for *Flanders*: For which Meſſage *Smith* gave *Rowland* 10 *s.* *Coniers* and *Spencer* avowed to *Smith*'s Face all his Procurement to the Murder; which he ſtill denied. Whereupon all, ſave *Smith*, were had out of the Houſe; and then *Smith* confeſſed that he conſented to the Murder, and promiſed to give *Coniers* 20 *l.* for doing it. The ſame Day the Bill againſt *Smith*, for the Murder of *Rufford*, was aſſented to, after a Third Reading.

The

1555.

The Death of Pope *Julius* III.

On the 24th of *March* dy'd Pope *Julius* III^{d}. *Marcello Cervino* was elected to succeed him; a Man of extraordinary Learning and Sanctity, and particularly remarkable for his Saying, ----*That he did not see how 'twas possible for a Pope to be sav'd.* From his distinguishing Character 'twas reasonable to hope for a Reformation of the Church; but he fill'd the Chair but two and twenty Days, and then dy'd. His Successor, Cardinal *Caraffa*, who took the Name of *Paul* the IVth, had engag'd formerly in sharp Contentions with Cardinal *Poole*, of which the Bishop of *Winchester* was not ignorant, and therefore deals privately with the new Pope to make him a Cardinal, and transfer to him *Poole*'s Legatine Authority. The Pope, by his Hatred to *Poole*, was easily inclin'd to grant this Request, designing moreover to cite his old Enemy to *Rome*, there to accuse him of Heresy, and treat him as he afterwards did Cardinal *Moreno*, *Poole*'s most intimate Friend, whom he kept in Prison as long as he himself liv'd. By this means, *Gardiner* well hop'd he shou'd get into the See of *Canterbury*, which *Poole* yet held in Sequestration, nor wou'd enter upon it any otherwise, so long as *Cranmer* liv'd; 'Twas with this cunning Prospect, that *Gardiner* is believ'd to have protracted *Cranmer*'s Execution, that *Poole* might not settle in the Archbishoprick. But while his whole Thoughts were thus engag'd, he was seiz'd with a Dropsy, which swelling from his Feet and Legs up to his Belly, put a Period to his Life, on the 12th of *November*. He was buried with great Pomp in his Cathedral at *Winchester* (u).

Paul IV. succeeds.

Gardiner, Bishop of *Winchester*, sues to be made a Cardinal.

His Death. *Nov.* 12.

This Year, on the 25th of *October*, the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, having determined to resign his Dominions, at *Brussels*, in a Convention of the Estates, transferr'd his Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son *Philip*, whom he had before made King of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

The Emperor *Charles* V. Resignation.

1555.

The 7th of *December*, *Saturday*, Mr. Comptroller declared the Queen's Pleasure to dissolve this Parliament on *Monday*. So on *Monday*, *December* the 9th, about One of the Clock, the Lords, with Mr. Speaker and the Commons, came before her Highness at the Palace at *White-hall*; and after the Royal Assent given to 24 Bills, the Parliament was Dissolved by the Marquis of *Winchester*, upon the Queen's Commandment, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor being now Deceased.

Many other Bills were read in this House, which proceeded not to Acts: Some whereof were these.

Bills not passed.

A Bill touching the Absence of Knights and Burgesses in Parliament-time: Afterward the Bill was Worded, For their Appearance in Parliament. A Bill that went through all this Queen's Parliaments, and in the Reign of the King before her, but never perfected; though it were engrossed 26th of *October*; and a new Bill to the same Purpose brought in under this Title; *For Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, to be attendant at Parliament.*

A Bill touching Leases made by Spiritual Persons, [to the Damage and Prejudice, I suppose of their Successors.]

A Bill, that no Mens Servants, wearing their Cloths, [or Liveries,] should be Justices of Peace, but the King's and Queen's. To prevent, as it seems, the Inconvenience and Prejudice that might happen to the Queen's Subjects from the Dependants of Noblemen, [or other Great Men, who might distribute Justice partially, in Favour of their Lords and Masters.]

A Bill, that certain Persons might peruse the Penal Laws, for Reformation; for the Continuation of certain Statutes. This passed the next Parliament.

A Bill, that Out-Lawries should be declared once in the Parish-Church where the Defendant is dwelling.

A Bill, that the late House of *Black-Fryers* may be within the Liberty of *London*.

A Bill for Silk-Weavers, and Silk Woven, and for wrought Silk from beyond the Seas. Another Bill for Silk-Workers of *London*. [Perhaps the same new-modelled.]

A Bill for the Town and River of *Stamford*.

A Bill for a more grievous Punishment of Murther. [Occasioned, perhaps, from the Murther of Mr. *Rufford*.] [As also another Bill, *viz*.]

To punish Procurers of Murthers and Felonies, not to have the Benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. That such should not have the Benefit of Clergy, was made an Act the next Parliament.

A Bill to review the Act for killing of Crows.

A Bill for the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and other Persons gone over the Seas, without the Queen's Licence, and contemptuously remaining there, notwithstanding the King's and Queen's Letters Patents to them, or Proclamations openly made for their calling home. [This was to be a Check upon the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Learned Men, and other Exiles, that were fled abroad for the Liberty of their Religion and Consciences.]

A Bill to avoid Licences made by the Queen, her Father, or Brother. [These Licences therefore were not Licences from *Rome*, as the Author of the History of the Reformation writes; but Licences, (too common in those Times) that dispensed with some Ecclesiastical or other Laws of the Land: As Licences to Great Persons to eat Flesh in *Lent* and other Fasting-Days, for themselves, and as many as should come to their Tables: Again, Licences to some, to give Licences to any of their Servants, to shoot in Crosbows or Handguns at any Fowl; or with Licence of the Owner, at any manner of Deer, Red or Fallow. Licences for Merchants to bring into the Realm Merchandizes forbidden. Many such kind of Licences and Warrants may be met withal in these Times. This Bill against Licences was read the 16th of *November*; the 20th following, the Speaker, with others of the House, waiting upon the Queen, and making no mention of these Licences to her; *Story*, one of the Members, kneeled down to her, and complained, that Mr. Speaker did not open to her, that Licences might be restrained, as had been spoken in the House. This Act of *Story*'s, the Speaker reported to the House, and prayed their Advice therein. To which it was answered, That It seemed to the House that *Story* spake of good Zeal; and therefore his Fault towards the Speaker and the House was to be remitted, he confessing the same. The next Day he confessed his Fault, saying, That he would hereafter use more Discretion; and required Mr. Speaker and the House to remit it. And thus much of this Parliament.

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Story, *a Member, his irregular Forwardness.*

(u) Where his Effigies upon his Monument is yet to be seen, but broken and defaced. No Inscription appears on his Tomb. He died after the Queen had, by his Means, Pains, and Policy, above the rest, brought back the Church of *England* to downright Popery, and unravelled all that King *Henry* and King *Edward* for many Years had been doing, for casting off the Yoke of a Foreign Power, and promoting a Reformation of corrupt Religion. He came to the Parliament the first Day of its Sitting, which was *October* 21, *Monday*; and was there again the *Wednesday* following, when the Queen was present, and the L. Cardinal, and a splendid Appearance of Both Houses: Absent ever after; and from the 13th of *November*, and so downward, his Name is left out of the Journal-Book of the Lords House. So that it seems he fell sick, *October* the 23d or 24th, and so continued till the Day, or the Day before his Name is wanting in the said Journal. This Character must be left of him to Posterity, That he was a most bitter and cruel Persecutor to Death of those that conscientiously adhered to King *Edward*'s Reformation. And one that lived in his Time, and succeeded in his Bishoprick in King *Edward*'s Time, gave this Description of him; 'That he was of a swarthy Colour, hanging Look, frowning Brows, Eyes an Inch within his Head, hooked Nose, 'wide Nostrils, ever snuffing into the Wind, a Sparrow-Mouth, great Hands, and long Talons, rather than Nails, 'upon his Toes; which made him go very uneasily; but a notable natural Wit, improved by Study and Experi-'ence.' In his younger Years bred under Cardinal *Woolsy*, and so brought up to State-Business: Upon *Woolsy*'s Disgrace, he was taken by King *Henry* into his Service, and became his Secretary of State; and was sent Ambassador to the Pope. He was very Obsequious to that King, and forwarded all his Inclinations; and especially was very instrumental in his Divorce from Queen *Katherine*; under whose Daughter nevertheless, this present Queen, he obtained so much Favour and Honour.

Bishop Gardiner's *Doings*.

And Character. Ponet *his Treat. of Politic. Power.*

Anno

Anno Dom. 1556. *Reginæ Mariæ,* 3 & 4 *Philippi* 2 & 3.

1556. *Jan.* 1. *Heath* Archbishop of *York* made L. Chancellor.

ON the first Day of the New Year, *Nicholas Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, receiv'd the Seal, and was made Lord Chancellor.

March.

In *March* a Comet appear'd for Twelve Days, (*viz.* from the Fifth to the Seventeenth) in the 20th Degree of *Libra*.

A Counterfeit *Edward* VI.

On the 13th of the same Month one *William Fetherstone*, a Counterfeit King *Edward*, was Executed. This Fellow was a Miller's Son; and being somewhat like the King in Stature and Features, and about the same Age, he acted this Imposture, for which he had been whip'd through the City the last Year. But not being reclaim'd, he continu'd his Boasts, and caus'd Letters to be dispers'd, that King *Edward* was yet alive, for which he was at last deservedly hang'd.

Cranmer examin'd at *Oxford*.

And now we come to give an Account of the memorable Martyrdom of Archbishop *Cranmer*. *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, being dead, *Poole*, who was yet the Pope's Legate, appointed *James Brook*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, for *Cranmer*'s Trial, because 'twas thought unlawful to punish an Archbishop without Leave from his Holiness. With him were joined *John Story* and *Thomas Martin*, Doctors of Laws, and Commissioners from the Queen, who accompany'd the Bishop to *Oxford* for this Purpose. They had lofty Seats prepar'd for 'em in St. *Mary*'s; *Brook* took his Place under the Consecrated Host, which hung in a Pix after the *Roman* Manner: On each side, a little lower, were seated *Martin* and *Story*; then *Cranmer* was brought before 'em, not habited like a Bishop, but only as a Doctor of Divinity; and being inform'd, that besides her Majesty's Representatives, there was present too, the Representative of their most holy Father the Pope, he saluted the former with the greatest Reverence, but wou'd not so much as turn his Eyes on the Bishop of *Gloucester*; and that, as he afterwards confess'd, not out of Contempt of his Person, but lest he might appear to pay any Deference to the Pope's Authority, which he said, he had obliged himself by Oath to King *Henry*, never to acknowledge, at least in *England*, where, he said, the Pope cou'd have no Pretension of Right. Upon this, each of 'em with many Persuasions urg'd him to change his Opinion, and return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. When he refus'd to comply with this Advice, they cited him to appear, within Fourscore Days, before his Holiness, which, with her Majesty's Leave, he undertook to do. But the Pope, not expecting his coming, in less than Twenty Days, by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded that he should receive Condemnation, and be deliver'd to the Secular Arm. A little afterwards therefore, new Powers were granted by the Pope, to *Thirlby*, Bishop of *Ely*, and *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, to degrade *Cranmer* from his Orders Presbyteral, as well as Archiepiscopal, and give him up to the Civil Magistrate to be Burn'd; which, on the 14th of *February*, was accordingly perform'd. 1556.

Condemn'd, by Order of the Pope, *Feb.* 14.

While *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* liv'd together, these Holy Men, by frequent Letters, mutually animated one another with unshaken Courage, to suffer Death it self for the Truth of the Christian Faith. But this Intercourse being put to an end, by the taking away the two latter, the Desire of Life began to seize upon *Cranmer*, and his Constancy was weaken'd by the Subtilty and restless Importunity of a *Spanish* Fryar. So that, seduc'd with the Hopes of a Pardon, he retracted in writing the Doctrines he had formerly taught; which Retractation was afterwards printed and publish'd: But this avail'd him little; for whether it were that *Poole* wou'd no longer endure to be kept out of the Archbishoprick, or (which is more probable) that the Queen's deadly Hatred of him, and Thirst of Revenge for her Mother's Divorce, wou'd be satiated by nothing but his Blood; after he had been deluded into the firmest Confidence of Life, he was barbarously hurry'd to Death, and burn'd with the most savage Cruelty, in the same place where, Five Months before, his Friends *Ridley* and *Latimer* had been crown'd with Martyrdom. The Day being fix'd for his Execution, one *Cole*, by the Appointment of Cardinal *Poole*, preach'd a Sermon on the Occasion, at St. *Mary*'s. *Cranmer* was brought thither, and plac'd over against the Pulpit, and exhorted, by the Preacher, *to persist in the Faith of which he had lately publish'd a Confession, and that to Death it self; which*, he told him, *'twas the Will of the Magistrate to inflict on him this Day. That the Divine Vengeance, for the Death of* Moor *and* Fisher, *under King* Henry, *cou'd not otherwise be satisfy'd. But before his Execution, 'twould be most acceptable to God, and all good Men, if he wou'd make publick Declaration, that his Conversion to the Unity of the Catholick Church was real and sincere.*

'Tis no wonder that *Cranmer* was in the utmost Consternation at such an unexpected Denunciation; yet recollecting himself, he rose from his Seat, and without the least Discovery of Fear, made an excellent Speech to the People, in which having promis'd many things concerning Reformation of Life and Morals, he repeated the principal Heads of his Doctrine, and briefly explain'd his Faith, affirming, that in the Power of the Pope was contain'd and establish'd the Kingdom of *Anti-Christ*; and finally, represented how heinously he had offended God, by renouncing the Truth. He declar'd therefore his Resolution, *That his Right Hand which had so impiously sinn'd, in subscribing the Doctrines propos'd by the Enemies of Truth, should be the first to suffer Punishment*—— He wou'd have proceeded, but was hinder'd by the Clamours and Reviling of the *Romanists*, whose Hopes he had so fairly eluded, and hurry'd immediately to the Place of Torment. There he stood, expos'd, the most

1556. piercing Spectacle in the World, sufficient (one wou'd,think) not only to extort Compassion from his Enemies, but to melt inanimate Things into Tears: The Primate of *England*, that lately Flourish'd in the highest Honour and Authority with Princes, most venerable for his great Sanctity of Life, for his Age, Person, Learning, Gravity, and innumerable Excellencies of Mind, now by the Malice of the *Romanists* drest in a ridiculous old Habit, baited with Scurrility and contemptuous Revilings, and drag'd to a most inhuman and tormenting Death. *And burn'd.* When he was bound to the Stake, as soon as the Fire was kindl'd, he rais'd his Left Hand to Heaven, and thrusting out the other, held it in the Flames, not removing it, except once to stroak his Beard, till it was quite consum'd, at last, as the Flame encreas'd, lifting up his Eyes, he cry'd out, *Lord, receive my Spirit!* and continuing as motionless as the Stake to which he was ty'd, endur'd the Violence of the Torture till he expir'd. Tho' his Body was consum'd to Ashes, his Heart was found intire and untouch'd: Which remarkable Accident, if it had happen'd to one of the other Party, must certainly have Canoniz'd him. And here let not the Reader be offended, if I make a little bold with the Rules of History, and insert these Verses written in *Latin* by our Countryman *Skinner*, on the Martyrdom of so extraordinary a Man.

Succubuit sanctus Præsul CRANMERUS, *iniqua*
Pontificum Rabie, fraude doloq; perit.
Quod Verbi *invicto dejecerat Ense Papatum,*
Quod docuit pura quærere mente Deum;
Quodq; Antichristi *subverterat impia Regna,*
Regna piis Anglis, *heu! tolerata diu:*
Hinc pius & clemens crudeli addicitur igni,
Dantur & innocui Membra cremanda Viri.
Huc ubi jam ventum est, dextram projecit in ignem,
Projectamq; tenens, talia dicta dedit:
Primum peccasti, primum & sentire dolorem
Debes, ob Christo dextra inimica meo!
Immotamque tenet, dum deflagraverat omnis,
In cineres totam dum cecidisse videt.
Cætera cum pereant flomma (mirabile dictu)
Cor manet illæsum post ubi flamma perit.
Ecce invicta fides! Cor inviolabile servat,
Nec mediis flammis Corda perire sinit.

To bloody Priests, inflam'd with savage Zeal,
A guiltless Victim martyr'd *CRANMER* fell;
Because he dar'd the conq'ring Sword employ,
Of Sacred Writ, their Empire to destroy.
Restor'd old exil'd Truth, and made Religion shine
With Native Charms Sincere, and Purity Divine.
Rescu'd his Country from the Tyrant Chain,
Too long endur'd, and crush'd the Papal Reign.
For this the Heav'nly Prelate must expire,
Doom'd, by hot Bigots, to consuming Fire.
Yet dauntless at the Stake the Hero stood, 1556.
And stretch'd his Right-Hand to the kindl'd Wood;
For to my God, this Rebel-Hand, he said,
Be tortur'd first, that first my Faith betray'd!
He held it thus, while his own Eyes survey
The ravenous Element devour its Prey.
And when his Body too fulfill'd this Fate,
To Ashes turn'd; —— prodigious to relate!
From its fierce Task, the recreant Fire withdrew,
And left his Heart unsing'd and whole to View.
Heav'n gave this Witness to his pious Fame,
And 'twas his Victor-Faith preserv'd it in the Flame.

Besides *Cranmer*, many other Professors of the Reformed Faith were this Year Sacrific'd *Eighty four Burn'd this Year.* in Flames to Popish Cruelty, to the Number of no less than Eighty four of both Sexes. Nor was the Rage of these Times exercis'd only on the living: The Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, who had been long bu- *The Bones of Bucer and Phagius Burn'd.* ry'd, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Heresy, and with much savage Ceremony publickly burn'd in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. *Peter Martyr's* Wife, who dy'd at *Oxford*, was likewise rak'd out of her Grave, and basely bury'd in a Dunghil. The Memory and just Honours of *Bucer* and *Phagius* were afterwards restor'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, with great Solemnity, and the Bones of *Martyr's* Wife being once more remov'd from so vile a Repository into the Church, to prevent the like Mockery for the future, were mingl'd with the Remains of *Frideswid*, a Female Saint, held by the *Romanists* in the highest Veneration.

On the same Day that *Cranmer* ended his Life, as we have related, *Poole* took Sacerdo- *Viz. Mar. 21.* tal Orders at *Greenwich*; and the next Day, *Naboth* being dead, he possess'd himself of his Vineyard, being Consecrated Archbishop of *Poole Consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.* *Canterbury*. Three Days afterwards, on the Feast of Annunciation, attended by many of the Nobility to *Bow-Church*, he receiv'd the Pall, with great Pomp and Ceremony.

About the same Time was discover'd a Plot to rob the Exchequer, which was now well *A Plot to rob the Exchequer.* fill'd with *Spanish* Money, to the Value of Fifty Thousand Pounds: The Names of the Conspirators were *Udall*, *Throgmorton*, *Peccam*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, besides others that made their Escape, and *White* who discover'd 'em. Being taken, they were all Executed. Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who was Apprehended on Suspicion of being concern'd in this Design, before he cou'd be brought to *London*, dy'd on the Road; And this is all I find concerning this Plot.

In the Month of *July* new Tumults and *July.* Seeds of Sedition began to spring up in *Norfolk*, but were timely suppress'd by the Apprehending and Punishing the Authors, who were one *Cleber*, and three Brothers nam'd *Lincoln* (x).

Novem-

(x) This Plot extended its self as far as *Suffolk* and *Essex*. The Conspirators were certain *English* that lurked in *France*; who, by dispersing Letters and Proclamations, did all they could to blow up into Heats and Insurrections the People in those Three Counties; many whereof were Well-wishers to K. *Edward's* Reformation, and had been hardly used by the Queen, from whom they had deserved very well: But they of themselves, without any Commandment, apprehended the Practisers, as many of them as they could find. These, for the better furthering of their Design, had sent over a bold Man, one Condemned, called (not *Cleber*, as this Author calleth him from *Stow's* *Extent of this Plot.*

1556. Nov. 21. Monks begin to flourish again.

November 21. *Fecknam* Dean of St. *Paul's*, was install'd Abbot of *Westminster*, which *Henry* VIII. had erected into an Episcopal See. And there being no Monks then in *England*, Fourteen were found who were content with *Fecknam* to take the Habit of *Benedictines*. 1556.

Anno Dom. 1557. *Reginæ Mariæ*, 4 & 5 *Philippi* 3 & 4.

1557. * ABout the Beginning of this Year arriv'd in *England*, *Osep Napea*, Embassador from *Basiliwitz* Czar of *Moscovy*, to treat a perpetual League and Friendship between the two States. On the Coast of *Scotland* he suffer'd Shipwreck, and lost, besides abundance of rich Goods, all the Presents sent from his Master to our Court. But this Loss was a Trifle, compar'd to that of *Richard Chancellor*, worthy of Immortal Memory, a most skilful Pilot, that first discover'd the Passage to those *Northern* Parts, and now more sollicitous for the Embassador's Safety than for his own, was swallow'd up in the Sea.

* After four or five Years we found the Effect of our Northern Navigation, set on Foot by *Cabota*: *So the former English Translation begins this Relation.*

An Embassy from *Muscovy*.

England never perhaps receiv'd any Embassador with more Magnificence. On the 25th of *March*, King *Philip* having about a Week before return'd from *Flanders*, he was admitted to Audience; and having declar'd the Subject of his Embassy, stay'd at *London* till the 3d of *May*, and then, honour'd with rich Presents, return'd to his own Country.

Lord *Stourton* hang'd, *March* 6.

On the 6th of *March*, *Charles* Lord *Stourton*, for having in his own House cruelly murder'd one *Hargil* and his Son, with whom he had been long at Variance, was deservedly Hang'd at *Salisbury*, together with four of his Servants, who assisted him in the Murder. After he had knock'd 'em down, and cut their Throats, he bury'd their Carcases in a Pit Fifteen Foot deep, in hopes that the Villany wou'd be conceal'd, or if it were discover'd, that he shou'd have the Queen's Pardon; because he had always shewn himself a most zealous Partisan of Popery. But Providence wou'd not permit so horrid a Villany to lye hid; and the Queen, who had the strictest Regard to Justice, except in Matters wherein she was blinded by her Religion, was averse to all mention of a Pardon: So that this Nobleman suffer'd the Punishment due to his Crime, and had no Favour above common Murtherers, except that he was hang'd in a Silken Halter.

On the 24th of *April*, *Thomas Stafford* landing on the Northern Coast with a small Force of Exiles, and some Foreigners, took by Surprize *Scarborough*, which in Time of Peace was but slightly Guarded; and dispersing thro' the neighbouring Countries Declarations, importing, That Queen *Mary*, who had not the fairest Title to the Crown, had betray'd it to the *Spaniards*, invited the People to Arms. By the Care and Diligence of *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*, the *English* Resident at *Paris*, his Designs were discover'd to the Council before his Arrival in *England*. And six Days after the Earl of *Westmorland* got him seiz'd, and brought to *London*, where he was Executed on the 28th of *May*; and the next Day three of his Accomplices, *Streckly*, *Proctor*, and *Bradford*, were Hang'd at *Tyburn*. 1557.

War Proclaim'd with *France*.

The Queen engaging in her Husband's Quarrel with *France*, which the Emperor had bequeath'd to him, together with the Inheritance of his Crown, publish'd a Proclamation, on the 7th of *June*, in which she complain'd of "many Injuries done to her by the "*French* King, in supporting and encouraging the Duke of *Northumberland* and *Wyat* "in all their Rebellious Conspiracies against "her: That *Dudly* and *Ashton* had form'd "their Plot at the House of his Embassador, "and that his Kingdom was afterwards a Receptacle for 'em, where he yet Entertain'd, "and gave 'em Countenance. And finally, "that he had lately furnish'd *Stafford* with "Ships, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to "enable him, if possible, to Dispossess her "of her Crown. For these Reasons she "forbad all her Subjects to send any Merchandize into *France*, or Traffick with a "Nation, whose Prince she accounted her "Enemy, and against whom she determin'd "to declare immediate War.

Tho' the Matter of these Complaints was true, yet she wou'd have forborn the denouncing of War, if the Five Years Truce concluded a little before, between *Philip* and the *French* King, had not been broke by the Pope's Instigation; so that War being now commenc'd between 'em she wou'd not separate her Husband's Cause from her own. For the Pope, who had an old Grudge against the Emperor, when he knew that he had resign'd his Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son *Philip*, and was retir'd into *Spain*, by the Cardinal of *Lorrain* gave no Rest to *Henry* of *France*, to whom he had promis'd the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, till he had engag'd him in a War against the *Spaniard*.

The Pope resents it.

For this Reason the Pope highly resented Queen *Mary*'s arming in the Quarrel of her Husband: Therefore, not knowing how to be reveng'd of her, (who was the sole Cause of *England*'s Breach with *France*) he resolv'd

Stow's History, but) *Cleyberye*, or *Claybard*; who gave himself out to be the Earl of *Devon*. That Earl was now, by Leave granted, in his Travails abroad in *Flanders* or *Italy*, where at *Padua* he soon after dyed. They also made use of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Name; and the Queen her Sister first told her of It; Whereupon she wrote a very earnest Letter to the Queen, in Detestation of them and their Practices. This *Cleyberd* was afterwards taken in *High-Suffolk*, and Executed at *Bury*.

1557. to discharge his Resentment upon *Poole*, whom (as we observ'd before) he sufficiently hated: And this the rather, because *Poole*, tho' he knew the Pope was the Author of this War, yet press'd him, and that with much Earnestness, tho' with equal Reverence, by Letters and Embassadors, to mediate a Peace. Upon this Account, he took from *Poole* the Legantine Power, and recalling him to *Rome*, appointed in his stead *Peter Peyto*, a *Franciscan* Fryar, whom he created Cardinal and Legate, and design'd him afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*. When the Queen had Information of this, she took care, in the first place, to keep it conceal'd from *Poole*, prohibiting not only the new Cardinal to enter the Kingdom, but all others too whom she expected to bring any Mandate from the Pope about this Affair; and carefully intercepting the Letters, gave Orders to her Embassador at *Rome*, to represent to his Holiness how much he wou'd endanger the unsettled Catholick Religion in *England*, if he put any Disgrace upon so great a Man, whose Authority had born a mighty Sway in converting the Nation. But *Poole* in the mean time, having some way or other got Intelligence of this, laid by the Silver-Cross, the Ensign of his Office, nor wou'd afterwards exercise the Legantine Authority, till by the Intercession of *Ormaneto* the Pope's Datary in *England*, he was restor'd to his former Dignity.

And recalls *Poole*. *Peyto* design'd in his room.

Poole restor'd.

By this Time the War was grown very hot; and *Philip*, who for the managing of it had left *England* on the Seventh of *July*, was now Besieging St. *Quintin* in *Picardy* with an Army of Thirty five thousand Foot, and Twelve thousand Horse, which was afterwards augmented by a thousand Horse, Four thousand Foot, and Two thousand Pioneers from *England*. On the Tenth of *August*, the *French* endeavouring to throw Succours into the Town, were miserably defeated; and tho' not above 2500 were Slain, yet many of these were Men of Rank, and many more taken Prisoners. Among the latter was *Montmorancy* the Constable of *France*, and his Son, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, *Ludovico Gonzaga*, Brother to the Duke of *Mantua*, the Marshal of St. *Andrew*, the *Ringrave*, *Roch-dumaine*, the Count *Rochfoucault*, the Baron of *Curton*, and many others. The chief of the Slain were *John* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Anguien*, the Viscount of *Turen*, the Son of *Roch-dumain*, the Lords of *Chandenier*, *Pontdormy*, and almost all the Captains of Foot. King *Philip*'s Loss amounted not to above 50 Men. 1557.

July 7.

Aug. 10. The *French* defeated at St. *Quintin*.

On the Eighth Day after this Victory the Town was taken by Storm, and all that were in it put to the Sword, or made Prisoners of War. The Admiral *Coligny*, with his Brother *D' Andelot*, who shortly after made his Escape, *Jarnac*, St. *Remy*, *Humes*, and many other Noblemen were taken. The Son of the Lord *Fayette*, *Salevert*, *Ogier*, *Vicques*, *La Barre*, *Easting*, and *Geurdes* were kill'd. Of the *English*, among a few others, fell *Henry Dudley*, *Northumberland*'s Youngest Son, struck by a Canon Ball, and Sir *Edward Windsor*, who were the first that enter'd the Town.

The Town taken.

This Year was remarkable for a great Scarcity of Corn in *England* before Harvest, and for as great a Plenty afterwards. †

† A little before Harvest Wheat was sold at Four Marks the Quarter: Within the current of a Month it fell to the low Rate of Five Shillings. Wherein I rather admire the insuing Cheapness than the Dearth, having my self, in the Year 1595, [that is, near 40 Years after] paid double the former dear Price. *Former English Edit.*

But what I shall next relate, I shou'd think much more remarkable, if I had not lately happen'd to see the like. On the 7th of *September*, near Two Hours after Sun-set, a Rainbow was seen in the *West*, when the Moon had been risen about an Hour; 'twas my Chance (that I may compare Similar Accidents, tho' at different Times) to see the like Appearance on the 24th of *November*, 1604. When about the same Space of Two Hours after Sunset, as I was upon the Road Fourteen Mile *Westward* ‖ of *London*, a white Cloud appear'd, form'd into the Arch of a Circle, which did in all Respects resemble a common Rainbow, except only that it was but of one Colour, and instead of the Sun, had the Moon for its Opposite.

A nocturnal Rainbow.

Bishop *Godwin*'s Observation of the like Appearance in the Year 1604.

‖ Travailing towards *Colebrook*.

Anno Dom. 1558. *Reg. Ultimo.*

1558. (*x*) THE King of *France*, to repair his Loss at St. *Quintin*, resolves to attempt upon *Calais*; which *Senarpont*, Governour of *Boulogne*, persuaded him was not so strong as 'twas believ'd, but might easily be taken. *Stroffy* too having in a Disguise view'd the Place join'd in this Assurance. King *Philip* who was not ignorant of this, or had some Pre- 1558.

Calais besieg'd by the *French*.

(*x*) The Queen's last Parliament began *Thursday January* the 20th, the 4 and 5 of *Philip* and *Mary*. Where the Archbishop of *York*, now Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament called for Aid to be given to her Majesty. That Day the Commons House, by entire Consent chose for their Speaker *William Cordell*, Esq; one of the Queen's Privy-Council, learned in the Laws of the Realm, and Master of the Rolls. On *Saturday* he made an eloquent Oration to the Queen, and immediately after she made him Knight.

Matters of Remark this Sessions of Parliament.

Now for some Matters of Remark happening this Session.

January the 24th Serjeant *Brown* and Mr. *Read* came from the Lords, and required Mr. Speaker, and 10 or 12 of the House to speak immediately with certain Lords appointed. After the Meeting, the Speaker shewed from the Lords, that It was convenient to seek for the sure Defence of the Realm, and a Relief for the same. And in order to enter into that Consultation, that the Lords had appointed Three Earls, Three Bishops, and Three Barons. Unto these were nominated One and Thirty of the Lower House. This shews the Nation was at this Time under great Fears and Apprehensions; as they might well be, *Calais* being taken, and a *French* Army so near; and at open Wars with *France* and *Scotland*.

Journal House of Lords.

On the 4th of *February* the Bill was read for a Subsidy, and Two Fifteens, and Tenths. And the 10th Day Mr. Speaker declared, that he had opened to the Queen his Commission touching the Grant of the Subsidy. Which the Queen, he said, took thankfully, and gave them presently hearty Thanks, and all the Realm.

The Nation was at this Time inveterately offended with the *French*; as appeared by several Bills read in the House against them: As (1) A Bill to make void Letters-Patents made to *Frenchmen* to be Denizons. Another Bill to

1558. Presage of the *French* Counsels, had forewarn'd the Queen to take more Precaution of this City, and had offer'd his Assistance for its Security. But because it lay commodious for his adjoining *Netherlands*, in Suspicion of *Spanish* Craft disguis'd under this fair Proposal, we declin'd the accepting of it, though the Event confirm'd *Philip's* Augury: For the Duke of *Guise* † march'd suddenly thither with a great Army, and sate down before it on New-years-day, over against that part which is call'd *Sandgate*. Then dividing his Army into two Bodies; with one he attacks the *Resbank*, and with the other, *Newnambridge* at the same Time, that by taking these he might cut off all Succour from *England* by Sea, or by Land from *Holland*. The Garison being surpriz'd, and sensible of their own Weakness, presently surrender'd both Places. Then the Besiegers begun to batter the Town between the *Watergate* and the Prison, to make a Diversion, for they design'd the Attack in another Place. When they had continued this for some Time, and the *English* had no Apprehension of the Castle, the Enemy on a sudden rais'd a Battery of 15 Pieces of Cannon, and fir'd on it with such Violence, that the Noise was heard all that Day to *Antwerp*, distant above a hundred *English* Miles. Towards Night they had made a considerable Breach, yet there was no approaching the Walls because of a deep Ditch full of Water, in which the besieg'd plac'd their greatest Security. The Enemy therefore with extraordinary Diligence dug a Trench from thence to the Sea, by which when the Tide went out they drain'd it, so that they march'd through without Opposition, the Water reaching but Navel high; they found the Castle almost Defenceless, and possess'd themselves of it immediately, and had taken the Town too, if Sir *Anthony Ager* || with a small Force had not stop'd their Progress, in which Conflict that Valiant Knight was kill'd. The Lord *Wentworth*, Governor of the City, seeing 'twas impossible to maintain it, Capitulated, and after many Contestations surrender'd upon these Articles: *That the Garison and Inhabitants shou'd depart without carrying any thing away; but the Lord* Wentworth *and Fifty others, whom the Duke of* Guise *should choose, shou'd remain Prisoners.* Thus was this important Place taken, which had remain'd in the Possession of the *English* above Two hundred Years*. 1558.

† Having by the K. been declared Lieutenant General in all his Dominions, levying a great Army. Former Engl. Edit.

|| Marshal of the Town. Form. Engl. Edit.

And Surrender'd.

* Neither was the Siege long, and having it the Enemy sitting down before it on New-years-day, and yielded up on Twelfth-day. *Former Engl. Edit.*

Guisnes taken.

Seven Days after the Duke of *Guise* march'd to *Guisnes*, and took it without any Difficulty; but the Castle being defended by the Lord *Gray*, was not carry'd so easily. However, that was taken at last, as likewise *Hames* Ca-

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expulse the *French* Denizons, and other *French* Persons out of the Realm: Another, for an Imposition to be gathered of *Frenchmen* inhabiting this Realm: Another Bill for them to pay a yearly Contribution to *Melcomb Regis*, and for the Fortifications of divers other Places: Yet another Bill to expel *French* and *Gascoin* Wines. But none of these Bills past into Acts: Yet the Bill for the Expulsion of all *French*, Denizons as well as others, was very near passing, there being 106 with the Bill, and 111 against it. But the Bill that passed, and was made an Act, was severe enough; *viz*. To Expel all *Frenchmen*, and other Persons born under the *French* Obeisance, not being Denizons, and not to return again during the Wars between the *French* King and the Queen: And that upon the Misdemeanor of any Denizon, committed contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the Queen might repeal all their Letters-Patents for their Denizonship, or as many of them as her Highness shall think good, made since 32 *H.* VIII. The Reason urged in the said Act, was, That these *French* did daily, from Time to Time, discover the Council, *State and Privities* of this Realm, and compass, imagine, and procure sundry Mischiefs and Damages to be done by that Nation.

An Act was made this Parliament, which was read two or three Times the last Parliament, That Accessaries in Murder and divers Felonies, should not have their Clergy. To which was added in the Bill at first, That they should not have Sanctuary too. But because that Addition might hinder this useful Bill to pass, the Churchmen being very fond of that Privilege of their Churches, it was thought convenient to leave it out. And a distinct Bill was brought in concerning Sanctuaries; that is, as it seems, for the putting them down.

Bill about Sanctuaries.

But *Feckham*, Abbot of *Westminster*, for the sake of his Church to which that ancient Privilege belonged, opposed it. There was now a new Bill put into the House more favourable to Sanctuaries; *viz*. what Churches should be made Sanctuaries: Which was for the restraining the Number and Commonness of them. The Abbot claimed this Privilege for his Church. And it was ordered, that he should come to the House with his Council the next Day, to declare what he could say for the Privilege of Sanctuary at *Westminster*. So on *Saturday*, *February* 12. the Abbot came, and brought divers Patents of old Kings for granting of this Sanctuary; and then desired the House to consider for the Continuance of the same. And a Day was given him to be at the House again with his Learned Council: Who then accordingly appeared, with Mr. *Plowden* a common Lawyer, and Dr. *Story* a Civilian; alledging his old Grants of Kings of this Realm, and also the present Queen's Grant.

The Queen was devoutly addicted to the Observation of the Rules of Holy Church; and the first Day of *Lent* now at hand, she thought fit, *February* the 22d, to signify her Pleasure to the House by Mr. Speaker, that they should not Sit on *Ashwednesday*.

March the 5th the Speaker told the House, that it was her Majesty's Pleasure, that as for the Bill for answering the Queen's Revenue, for that it extended to Accomptants, and that they had already accounted, they should not proceed further therein.

When the House was upon the Bill for the Confirmation of Patents granted by the Queen, or to be granted during Seven Years to come; of Honours, Castles, Manors, Lordships, Lands, Reversions, &c. one Mr. *Copley*, a Member of the House, stood up, and said boldly, That *he feared the Queen might thereby give away the Crown from the right Inheritor*. It seems as though he had in his Mind King *Philip's* getting the Crown after the Queen, or some unfair Dealing with the Lady *Elizabeth*, which indeed was a great Jealousy that possess'd the *English* Nation since that *Spanish* Match. But this Speech the House could not but take Notice of, and called them *irreverend Words* concerning the Queen's Majesty: And by Mr. Speaker the House commanded, that *Copley* should absent himself till Consultation were had thereon. After Consultation taken, and it was agreed to have been a grievous Fault, he was called in, and shewed the Sense of the House. But he required them to consider his Youth; and prayed that if it were an Offence it might be imputed to his Young Years. Upon this, it was ordered, that the whole House, by Mr. Speaker, might declare this Offence to the Queen, and to request her Majesty to extend her Highness's Mercy towards him. And in the mean time *Copley* is committed to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. Two Days after, *viz*. *March* the 7th, the Speaker acquainted the House that he had declared to the Queen the Matter touching *Copley*; and that her Pleasure was, That he should be examined, whence such Matter as he spake of did spring. And that nevertheless her Majesty would consider the Request of the House to her for him. No question it sprung from the Fears of King *Philip's* Access to the *English* Monarchy.

The same Day, about Four in the Afternoon, the Speaker, with the rest of the Commons, came before the Queen to her Royal Seat, (the Lords also there present) and made his Oration, exhibiting the Books for the Subsidy of the Clergy; and that she would give her Royal Assent unto such Bills past by the Houses, as might stand with her Majesty's Pleasure. Then her Highness gave her Consent unto Sixteen Acts, and the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament unto the 5th of *November* next.

1558. ſtle. And ſince that Time neither in *France*, which our Kings once poſſeſs'd almoſt entire, and of which our *Henry* VI. had been Crown'd King at *Paris*, in the Year 1431. Nor in *Normandy* or *Aquitain*, the ancient Patrimony of the Kings of *England*, do our Princes retain any Thing, except the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, which have continu'd firm to us ever ſince the Conqueſt.

While the *French* thus advanc'd in *Picardy*, Queen *Mary*, to prevent their Deſigns, had prepar'd a Fleet to ſend Succours, but they were ſo long detain'd by contrary Winds, that they were render'd ineffectual.

And perhaps it does no where appear in Hiſtory, that upon any Occaſion Providence hath by more manifeſt Signs declar'd how highly it diſapproves, that the Publick Tranquility ſhou'd be diſturb'd by Wars begun for the ſake of Ambition only, or private Advantage.

King *Philip*, (to begin with him) againſt whom the King of *France* and the Pope unjuſtly conſpir'd, enlarg'd his Poſſeſſions by a double Victory, each very great and memorable. Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the Duke of *Paliane*, who for their own Ends had perſuaded the old doting Pope to kindle this Flame between theſe Princes, ſuffer'd Death for it afterwards under his Succeſſor *Pius* the Fourth. Pope *Paul* himſelf, after the *French* were defeated at St. *Quintin*, by their being neceſſitated to withdraw their Forces out of *Italy*, was left expos'd without Defence ‖. And Queen *Mary* was puniſh'd for the raſh Violation of her League with *France* by the Loſs of *Calais*, which went ſo near her Heart, that 'tis believ'd to have occaſion'd her Death the Year enſuing. As for the *French* King, who at the Pope's Inſtigation broke his Five Years Truce, what his Fortune was at the Battle of St. *Quintin*, we have already ſhewn; and that it may not be thought his Loſs was compenſated by the taking of *Calais*, another Overthrow which follow'd in a few Months will be found to turn the Balance.

‖ To the Mercy of the *Spaniard*, whom he had irritated. *Form.* Engl. *Edit.*

The Battle of *Graveling*.

In *June*, *de Termes*, Governor of *Calais*, (who ſucceeeded *Stroſſy* ſlain) made an Incurſion into the *Netherlands* †, with an Army of about Eleven Thouſand Men. And leaving *Graveling* and *Burburg* behind him, took *Berghes*, *Dunkirk*, and ſeveral other Towns, * ravaging all that Coaſt, as far as *Newport*. When King *Philip* heard of this, he was alarm'd, leſt the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhou'd follow too with his Forces, and ſo he ſhou'd be ſurrounded. But obſerving that he ſpent all his Time about *Arlon* and *Vireton*, he took an Opportunity to fall upon the *French* before they were Reinforc'd. He gave the Command of this Enterprize to Count *Egmont*, his Lieutenant-General in the *Netherlands*, who having drawn a ſufficient Force out of the neighbouring Gariſons, ‖ to the Number of about Fifteen Thouſand, puts himſelf between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, to cut off the Enemies Retreat. *De Termes*, who hitherto expected the Duke of *Guiſe*, began now to think of drawing off, but too late; for he found himſelf incloſ'd on all Sides, and no poſſibility of Eſcape, unleſs he cou'd hew a Way thro' the Enemy with his Sword. He therefore made an Attack, * and a bloody Fight commenc'd; in which Deſpair on one ſide, and the Remembrance of late Injuries, with a Thirſt of Revenge, on the other, animated both Parties to do Wonders †. While the Victory was in ſuſpence, during the Heat of the Battle, which was upon the Shore *, Ten *Engliſh* Men of War by good Fortune ſailing by, and obſerving the Engagement, fir'd on the *French* ſo furiouſly, and made ſo great a Slaughter, that they began to give Ground, and at laſt were entirely broken and defeated.

† *Artheis* and *Flanders*.

* For they feared not the *French* there; and the Towns which the *Spaniards* held throughout the Tract, were ill furniſhed, lying open to their Mercy, they ranſacked it moſt miſerably. *Form.* Engl. *Edit.*

‖ Of *Betune*, *St. Omer*, *Aires*, *Burburg*, and others. *Form.* Eng. *Edit.*

* And overthrew ſome Squadrons of Horſe. *Form.* Engl. *Edit.*

† The *Spaniſh* Troops renew the Fight. *Form.* Engl. *Edit.*

* For *De Termes* had for his Security betaken him to the Shore, hoping that way with much leſs Hazard to have gained Paſſage. *Form.* Engl. *Edit.*

The *French* beaten by Count *Egmont*.

The *French* loſt in this Action Five thouſand Men, part in the Battle, part in Flight, and great Numbers puſh'd into the Ocean. Their chief Officers were almoſt all taken; among whom was the Marſhal himſelf, with *Senarpont*, *Villebon* the Governor of *Picardy*, *Annebalt* Son of *Claud* the late Admiral, the Earl of *Chaun*, *Morvilliers*, and many others. Two hundred fled to our Ships, and though they might eaſily have been Drown'd, obtain'd Quarter, and were carry'd Priſoners to *England*.

This Battle was fought on the 13th of *July*; and about the ſame Time the *Engliſh* being deſirous of wiping out the Ignominy of the Loſs of *Calais* by ſome extraordinary Exploit, ſent out a Fleet of 140 Sail, of which Thirty were *Flemings*, with Orders to make an Attempt upon *Breſt*: But the Lord *Clinton* Lord High-Admiral, finding no Opportunity to effect this, ſail'd to *Conquet*; and making a Deſcent, took, plunder'd, and burn'd the Town, together with the Monaſtery of Saint *Matthew*, and the adjacent Villages; after which he return'd to his Ships. But the *Flemings* greedy of Plunder, made a further Incurſion into the Country; and not ſuffering themſelves to be recall'd in time, were attack'd by the Lord *Kerſimon*, who cut off Five hundred of 'em.

July 13.

Conquet taken and Burn'd by the *Engliſh*.

This was about the latter End of *July*. At the ſame Time King *Philip* was near *Amiens* with a great Army, and King *Henry* with a much greater, narrowly obſerv'd his Motions. At laſt they fix'd their Camps; the firſt on the South-ſide of the River *Anthy*, and the latter on the North of the *Somme*; ſo near each other, that 'twas thought every thing ſeem'd to threaten an Engagement. But they had far other Deſigns: For King *Philip*, being inferior in Strength, thought it not ſafe to venture a Battle; and *Henry* had receiv'd too great a Shock before, and knowing the Hazard of attacking a victorious Enemy with Troops diſhearten'd by a double Defeat, wou'd not run the Chance of being ruin'd. For theſe Reaſons they fortify'd their Camps with ſuch Care and Diligence, as if each expected an Attack. In the mean Time ſome Motions were made of a Peace: They conſider'd that the Strength of both their Armies conſiſted in Foreigners, who wou'd ſhare the Fruits of a Victory, but the Calamity of a Defeat wou'd fall heavieſt on themſelves, and their Subjects; and therefore they inclin'd to a Treaty. To manage this, the Commiſſioners on King *Philip*'s ſide were the Duke of *Alva*, the Prince of *Orange*, *Ruyz Gomez de Silva*, *Granvel* Biſhop of *Arras*, and others; and for King *Henry*, the Conſtable, the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Mor-*

A Treaty.

villiers

1558.

villiers Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Aubespine* Secretary of State. They differ'd upon the Article of restoring *Calais*, which disturb'd the whole Negotiation: For the *French* wou'd by no means agree to it; and King *Philip* thought, that to end the War on any other Terms, wou'd be to abandon the Cause of his Queen, which in Honour he cou'd never do. But Queen *Mary*'s Death, which happen'd on the 17th of *November*, ended this Controversy. The Emperor *Charles* Vth dy'd too not long before; and thus the Treaty broke off.

Queen *Mary*'s Death.

Here I must not omit what the Connexion of Affairs wou'd not suffer me to mention before: That on the 28th of *April*, the Nuptials of *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*, and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, were celebrated at *Paris* with extraordinary Magnificence. But this Alliance lasted not long; for Two Years after, *Francis* dy'd, (having first succeeded to the Crown by the Death of his Father) and left his Bed to a more happy Possessor, *Henry*, the Eldest Son to the Earl *Lenox*; from which Parents sprung our K. *James* the First. || (z)

The *Dauphin* Marries the Queen of *Scots*.

|| Who was Nephew, [or Grand-Child] by his Mother, to *James* V. by *Margaret*, Eldest Daughter to that wise King, *Henry* VII. who, the Issue of *Henry* VIII. being extinct, as the undoubted Heir, most happily united the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. First *Engl.* Edit.

This Year had a very sickly Autumn, and was remarkable for Fevers, which swept away great Numbers, and particularly of the Clergy. Of the Episcopal Rank alone, Thirteen are reckon'd to have dy'd a little before, or after the Queen. Cardinal *Poole* scarce out-liv'd her a Day: He had held out against his Distemper for some Weeks, till being reduc'd to extreme Weakness, as if the News of the Queen's Death had stabb'd him to the Heart, he dy'd at Three a Clock the next Morning. His Body, in a Coffin of Lead, was Interr'd at his Cathedral of *Canterbury*, with no other Epitaph than this short Inscription:

Cardinal *Poole*'s Death.

Depositum Cardinalis Poli.
The Remains of Cardinal *Poole*.

He was a Man of extraordinary Learning, Modesty, and of a most engaging Temper, prudent, and very dextrous in Affairs: In short, nothing had been wanting to his consummate Excellencies, if the *Roman* Religion had not unhappily debauch'd him from his natural Clemency, into Severity against the Professors of the Reform'd Religion. 1558.

The Queen dy'd at St. *James's November* the 17th, a few Hours before Break of Day. She was without doubt Pious, Merciful by Nature, of unblemish'd Manners, and excepting her Religion, every way worthy of Praise. But as this prompted her to the Effusion of so much Innocent Blood, 'twas just that the Sentence of the Prophet shou'd be fulfill'd on her; *The Blood-thirsty shall not finish half their Days.* For she was cut off in the Two and fortieth Year of her Age, having Reign'd but five Years, Four Months, and Eleven Days: Whereas her Sister who succeeded her, Reign'd with Mildness and in great Prosperity nine times as long, and reach'd almost twice her Age.

There are various Opinions concerning the Cause of Queen *Mary*'s Death. To relate what I find in Authors of good Credit; 'Tis said, that in the beginning of her Sickness, her Friends supposing that King *Philip*'s Absence afflicted her, endeavour'd by all means to divert her Melancholy: But all prov'd in vain; and the Queen abandoning her self to Despair, told 'em, *She shou'd dye, tho' they were yet Strangers to the Cause of her Death; but if they wou'd know it hereafter, they must dissect her, and they shou'd find* Calais *at her Heart:* Intimating, that the Loss of that Place was her Death's Wound. The Death of her Father-in-Law * *Charles* the Fifth in *Spain*, was likewise thought to have considerably augmented her Sorrow. Her Liver had been over-cool'd, as we formerly observ'd, by another Distemper; so that these Things probably hasten'd her End, and threw her by Degrees into a Drop-

* *Sept.* 21.

Things transacted this Sessions.

(z) The Second Session of the Parliament of 5 and 6 of *Philip* and *Mary*, began *November* the 5th. During this Session the Queen dyed; and so nothing of the Debates of the House came to Perfection. Yet to give some Account what was now doing; It was now a very sickly Time for burning Agues and Fevers, which were very mortal both this and the last Year, and carried off abundance of People, as our Histories shew us; the Distemper being also infectious: Which occasioned this Parliament to order one *James Thacker*, Burgess for *Darby*, to be absent by Licence of the House, he having reported that the Town was sore infected whence he came. And within a few Days after, it was ordered, That each Burgess that was sick, should not take Damage by his Absence during his Sickness, for not being in the House: And that where Suit was made, that some Burgesses being sick might be removed, and Writs sent out for others in their Places, the House did resolve they should not be amoved, notwithstanding their Sickness.

Journ. of Parliament.

There were a few Bills read: As, a Bill to avoid *French* Wares. A Bill for the Attendance of Knights and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. A Bill for Payment of Tithes out of the late Religious Lands. A Bill for the Corporation of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*.

November 14. Mr. Attorney and Mr. Sollicitor declared to the House, that divers of the Lords would come to confer with the House about weighty Affairs of the Realm; and therefore required the House to tarry their coming. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Earl of *Salop*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Carlisle*, Viscount *Mountague*, Lord-Admiral, and the Lord *William Howard*, came into the House, sitting where the King's Privy-Council used to sit. Then the Lord Chancellor by his Oration declared, that of Necessity for the Safeguard of this Realm from the *French* and *Scots*, a Subsidy must be had. Mr. Speaker and the Privy-Council then sat from them on the lowest Benches. After this Declaration made, the Lords departed.

November the 17th, Mr. *Read* and Mr. Sollicitor came from the Upper-House and said, That the Lords required Mr. Speaker and the House to come unto them, where they should hear certain Matters, that the Lords had to communicate to the House. Whereupon, immediately he with the rest of the House went up. And the Lord Chancellor told them, that God had taken the Queen to his Mercy; but had furnished us with another Sovereign Lady, my Lady *Elizabeth* her Grace: And then willed the Knights and Burgesses to resort to the Palace, where the Lords would come, and cause her Grace to be Proclaimed Queen of *England*, &c. And immediately after, the said Proclamation was there made.

sey

1558. fey, which the Physicians at first mistook, believing her with Child. So that proper Remedies not being applied, and the Queen not observing a regular Course of Diet, she fell at last into a Fever, which gradually increasing, put an End to her Life.

She was Bury'd at *Westminster*, in the midst of the Chappel on the *North* side of the Monument of her Grandfather King *Henry* the Seventh. Where her Sister *Elizabeth* was afterwards Buried with her: And over both, the pious Munificence of King *James* erected a Noble *Mausoleum*, befitting the Majesty of such Mighty Sovereigns (*a*). 1554.

(*a*) It is said by *Sanders*, that when Queen *Mary* saw that she must die, she sent some Noble Persons to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was to succeed her, to desire certain Things of her; but especially these Two, *viz*. That she would take Care to repay what Sums she, the Queen, had taken up of her Subjects for the Publick Service; in truth, for the unadvised War she had entred into, the better to please her Husband *Philip*. The other, that she would not permit the Catholick Religion, then Constituted and Established in *England* to be overturned again. Both which, that partial and passionate Author saith she promised, but performed neither.

De Schismat. Anglican.

Message from the Queen to Lady Elizabeth.

This Queen *Mary* borrowed indeed a great deal of Money, both this Year, and the former, *viz*. *Anno* 1557. Then she borrowed of the City of *London*, and most rich Men in all Parts of the Realm. For sending abroad great Numbers of Privy-Seals, she required an 100 *l.* apiece of all such as were judged Wealthy, whether Gentlemen or other. Which caused great Murmurings among the People; and that because there had been lately great Payments made by Act of Parliament. But yet notwithstanding, this last Year of the Queen, she again required Loans of Money throughout all Parts. And now she fell from borrowing by 100 Pounds, to borrowing of 50 *l.* 40, 20, nay, 10 *l.* according to her Peoples Abilities. This made greater Murmurings than before. And this, it seems, troubled the Queen as much. Whence she made it one of her last Requests to her Successor, to see these Loans satisfied, since she could not live long enough to get another Aid granted her by Parliament.

Cooper's *Chron.*

In short, the Queen died with little Lamentation, condemned almost of all for her Severity and Shedding so much innocent Blood upon the only Pretence of Religion; and for the waste of the Treasure of the Realm, the irreparable Loss of *Calais*, *Hammes*, and *Guisnes*, and all the Dominions, Lands, and Treasure there; and making Strangers too much acquainted with the State of *England*, and secret Affairs of the same. So that it was God's Compassion upon this Realm to take away this Queen, and in her Place to set up her Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, whom God by special Miracle had preserved in her Innocence, from the Malice and unwearied Attempts of the Enemies of true Religion, to bring her to her End: And in these Endeavours joined her Sister also.

The Queen dies, little Lamented.

Her Funerals were celebrated the 13th and 14th of *December*, with a Pomp suitable to her Quality, by special Order of the Queen her Sister to the Marquis of *Winchester* L. Treasurer. Her Body was brought from St. *James's* where she died, in a splendid Chariot, with Attendants and Ceremony usual on such Occasions; and so by *Charing-Cross* to *Westminster*-Abby: Met at the Church-door with Four Bishops, and the Lord Abbot Mitred. Her Body being brought into the Church, lay all Night under the Hearse with Watch. On the next Day, *December* 14. was the Queen's Mass, and *White*, Bishop of *Winchester* made her Funeral Sermon, wherein he so extolled her, and by many Expressions so much depreciated the former Kings, and the present Queen, that by reason of the Offence taken at his Sermon, he was commanded to keep his House; and afterwards, in the Month of *January*, appearing before the Privy-Council, and receiving a Reprimand from them, he was set at Liberty.

Her Funeral.

And now to look back upon the State of this Reign, and so to take a Farewel of it, a very Reverend Man that lived in the midst of these Times shall be our Informer. 'Surely, saith he, the brief Remembrance of Things chaunced [that is, under this Queen] may appear lamentable to be considered. As what immoderate Rains and Tempests raged in one Year, What intolerable Heats and Droughts in another Year: What Penury and Scarcity of Corn and Victual; what Hunger and Famine thereof followed; what Sickness, what Agues, what strange Mortalities reigned and raged, wherewith the Eldest and Gravest Personages of all Degrees and Conditions, were in great Numbers wasted and consumed; what Misfortunes commonly fell to Women with Child in their Delivery; what Fires chaunced, far above the wont of other Years of Princes Reigns; in many Places wasting whole Villages, Towns, and Churches: Again, what Cruelty was seen executed by firing Old Men and Women, Young Men and Maids, without choice whether the Women were with Child, or free from Children: What Proscriptions and Banishments of Learned Men out of the Realm; and such as tarried within the Realm, how they were driven to Corners, spoiled and impoverished; and such as could be gotten, shamed openly by vile Penances and shameful Recantations: And furthermore, what Rapes and Villanies committed, above the common practiced Disorder, by Strangers and Foreigners; what Impunities won and purchased to the unchast Generation, to recourse again to their old Trade of leud Living, after they had confounded the Priests chaste Matrimonies, so stablished and authorized by the high Laws of the Realm; Then at last, what Dishonour and Loss the Realm suffered by losing that notable Borderer C A L A I S, aforetimes so valiantly won and gotten by King *Edward* the Third; and to these unfortunate Days, (of resuming the great Adversary of all Christian Realms, the Pope of *Rome* again) politiquely and chargeably maintained and defended in good and sure Possession, to the Comfort of the whole Realm, to the Terror of all our Foreign Enemies; I say, to consider all these Particularities, as they might deserve to be set out at length, what *English* Heart could forbear Tears, and not inwardly sigh and lament the Misery? Which heavy Infelicities the *English* Children yet unborn shall weep at, and wail to consider the same.

The Condition of the Kingdom under this Reign. Mat. Parker's *Pref. to Def. of Priests Marr.*

J. S.

End of Queen Mary's *Reign.*

THE

THE HISTORY OR ANNALS OF ENGLAND,

DURING

The whole Life and Reign of *ELIZABETH* late Queen thereof,

Written by *WILLIAM CAMBDEN* Clarenceux King at Arms.

The AUTHOR's Preface to the First Edition.

Eighteen Years and more are now past, since *William Cecil* Lord *Burley*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, imparting to me, who then thought nothing of any such matter, first his own Collection, and then her Majesty's, of Papers, Letters, Memorials, *&c.* order'd me from thence to compile an Historical Account of the first Beginnings of the Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH*: with what Intent I know not, unless while he had a Desire to eternize the Memory of that Renowned Queen, he would first see an Introduction thereinto by my Pains in this kind. I obey'd him, and not unwillingly, lest I might seem either to neglect the Memory of that most Excellent Princess, or to fail his Expectation and (which I priz'd as dear as them both) the Truth it self. For in these Papers, if any where, I had confident Hopes to find the real Truth of Things lodg'd, as it were, in so many Repositories.

But at my very first Entrance upon the Task, an intricate Difficulty did very much discourage me. For I lighted upon great Piles and Heaps of Papers and Writings of all sorts, reasonably well digested indeed, in respect of the Times, but in regard of the Variety of the Arguments, very much confused. In searching and turning over whereof, whilst I labour'd hard, cover'd with Dust, to gather fit Matter together, (which I diligently sought for, but more rarely found than I expected) that Noble Lord died, and my Industry began to flag and wax cold in the Business. Not long after, that incomparable Princess also render'd her Celestial Soul to God; when I stood in expectation for some time, full of Hope that some other Person, haply some one of that great number of Learned Men, who through her Favour and Bounty did abound both with Wealth and Leisure, would render her this due and deserved piece of Gratitude. But when I certainly found, that some, who were best able, could not for their more weighty Employments; and others (I know not for what Causes) fairly desir'd to be excus'd; I buckl'd afresh to my intermitted Study, and ply'd it harder than before. I procur'd all the Helps I possibly could for writing it: Charters and Grants of Kings and Great Personages, Letters, Consultations in the Council-Chamber, Ambassador's Instructions and Epistles, I carefully turn'd over; the Parliamentary Diaries, Acts and Statutes, I throughly perused, and read over every Edict or Proclamation. For the greatest part of all which, as I am beholden to that most Excellent Gentleman Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knight and Baronet, who has, with great Cost and successful Industry, furnish'd himself with the choicest things relating to History and Antiquity; (for he readily and willingly gave me Light and Direction in my Business from his own Knowledge of things:) so, Reader, if I shall in any thing profit or delight thee in this Undertaking, thou art deservedly obliged to give him Thanks for the same.

Mine own Cabinets and Writings I also search'd into: because tho' I have been a studious Regarder and Admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether careless of later and more modern Occurrences; but have my self seen and observ'd many things, and receiv'd others from credible Persons that have been before me, Men who have been present at the transacting of Matters, and such

as have been addicted to the Parties on both Sides, in this Contrariety of Religion. All which I have weigh'd and examin'd in the Balance of my own Judgment, (such as it is) lest I should at any time thro' an unwary Credulity incline to that which is false. For, the Love of Truth, as it has been the only Incitement to me to undertake this Work; so has it also been my only Scope and Aim in the Performance of it. And indeed, to write History without a resolute Adherence to Truth, is, as it were, to pluck out the Eyes of the finest Creature in the World; and, instead of wholsom Liquor, to present a Draught of Poison to the Readers Minds.

All such Things therefore as are wont to obscure and prejudice the Light of Truth, I resolv'd to remove. *Ignorance*, and (which spring from thence) doubtful *Uncertainty* and flat *Falsity*, I have to the utmost of my Power dispel'd by the bright Lustre of untainted Fidelity lodg'd in those Monuments and Records, which are beyond all Exception: and perhaps, I have thereby attain'd to an equal Knowledge of those Affairs, with some who have been long and deeply vers'd in State-matters. *Prejudice* I have shun'd, by reason it takes away a Man's Judgment, and so hoodwinks the Minds of Men in Matters both of Religion and State, that like dim Eyes they can behold nothing clearly. As for *Danger*, I fear'd none, even from those who think the Memory of succeeding Ages may be extinguish'd by present Power. And let such remember, that never any were severe and cruel towards Writers, for keeping to the Truth, but they have heap'd Dishonour upon themselves, and Glory upon the other. The *Hope of* any *Gain* has not drawn me aside. To set the Dignity of History to Sale, to me (who have always contented my self with a mean Estate) has ever seem'd base and servile. Suspicion either of *Affection* or *Disaffection* can here have no place. For of all those that I am to mention, I know scarce one by whom I have receiv'd any Benefit or Advantage, nor one from whom I have received any Injury: so that none can reckon me among such as are either obnoxious or malicious. As for the living, I have said but little, either in their Praise or Dispraise. By inveighing against the Enemies of my Country, to aim at the Reputation of a good Commonwealth's-man, and at the same time to get the Character of a bad Historian, was look'd upon by me as a thing very ridiculous. This I have been careful of, that, following *Polybius*'s Directions, I might have an Eye to the Truth only. Nor do I think that any one will find me wanting in a Freedom of Speech, join'd with Modesty, becoming an Historian; but the Licentiousness, Malignity and Backbiting, now-a-days cloak'd under the counterfeit Shew of Freedom, and every where entertain'd with a plausible Acceptance, I for my part utterly detest. Things manifest and evident I have not conceal'd; Things doubtful I have interpreted favourably; Things secret and abstruse I have not pry'd into. *The hidden Meanings of Princes* (says that great Master of History) *and what they secretly design, to search out, it is unlawful, it is doubtful and dangerous: pursue not therefore the search thereof.* And, like *Halicarnassæus*, I am angry with those curious inquisitive People, who will needs seek to know more than by the Laws is permitted them.

As for other matters; tho' I am not ignorant that Affairs of War and Policy are the things proper to History; yet Ecclesiastical Matters I neither could, nor indeed ought I to omit. (For Religion and the Weal-publick can never be separated.) But forasmuch as the Writer of the Ecclesiastical History may justly challenge those things as belonging to himself; I for my part have not touch'd 'em but with a light and chary Hand. And whereas it stands with the Rules and Dignity of History, to handle Businesses of greatest Weight and Importance, and not to enquire after small matters; I have not insisted upon small things: Yet some such they are, which if they please not one, another may be glad to know. Circumstances I have not in the least omitted, that not only the Events of Affairs, but also the Reasons and Causes thereof, might be understood. That of *Polybius* pleases me mightily. *Take away from History Why, How, and To what end, things have been done, and Whether the thing done has succeeded according to Reason; and all that remains will rather be an idle Sport and Foolery, than a profitable Instruction: and tho' for the present it may delight, for the future it cannot profit.* I have not given my own Judgment either out of Prejudice or Affection, but writing with an undistemper'd and even Mind, I have rather sifted out the Sense and Opinion of others; and scarce interposed my own any where, tho' by the by, since 'tis a Question whether an Historian may lawfully do it. I leave every one to judge according to his Fancy. Speeches and Orations, unless they be the very same *verbatim*, or abbreviated, I have not meddled withal, much less coin'd 'em of my own Head. Short Sentences I have seldom interlaced, nor adorn'd my Discourse with those nice Observations which the *Greeks* aptly term ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ, whilst my sole Business has been to inform the Mind. Digressions I have avoided: Words of Form I have used: Matters relating to Typography and Genealogy I have not neglected; and in Chronology I have follow'd the Series and Order of Time as near as might be, beginning the Year, as our former Chroniclers have usually done, from the first of *January*.

My Work I have entitl'd by the Name of *ANNALS*, in regard I have dispos'd every thing in its proper Year, for I have learn'd of *Tacitus*, that weighty and remarkable Occurrences are to be digested by way of *Annals*; and that the principal Business of *Annals* is, to preserve virtuous Actions from being bury'd in Oblivion, and to deter Men from either speaking or doing what is amiss, for fear of future Shame. Besides a coarser and shorter Stile (such as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to things written by way of *Annals*.

Upon these Foundations I set my self to writing, with this Intention and Design I went forward, and in composing, polishing and perfecting my Undertakings, I resolv'd to spend my whole Pains at spare times, and to bequeath 'em

'em by my laſt Teſtament to that honourable Gentleman *Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus*, who has with ſingular Commendations of his Fidelity and Moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own Time. And this I did, left one ſo much reſpected by me (as indeed all Strangers are) ſhould, as one unacquainted in a foreign State, be at a Loſs in the Affairs of our Country.

But in this my Purpoſe I was (I know not by what Fate) prevented, and a great part of theſe *Annals* were ſent over to him ſome Years before, when they lay yet ſhadow'd in their firſt Lineaments, and were ſcarce well begun, disfigur'd with Blurs and Daſhes, and Chaſms and Patches here and there cobbl'd together, as they ſlipt from my haſty Pen, and worſe mangl'd by the Tranſcriber. Out of theſe, by taking away ſome Things, changing and adding others, he has inſerted ſome few Paſſages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Tomes of his Hiſtory, but indeed by his grave and ſolid Judgment much rectify'd and refin'd. But whereas he, according to the Proportion of his Work, (for he undertakes an Univerſal Hiſtory of his Time) has only cull'd a few Paſſages concerning *England* and *Ireland*, and omitted a great many Things that may pleaſe, and perhaps behove thoſe of our Country to be acquainted with; and having my ſelf heard that the Knowledge of our Affairs is earneſtly deſir'd by Foreigners, and that not without ſome Check and Reproach of our Remiſneſs in communicating them; I again ſettl'd myſelf to the Work I had for ſome time diſcontinued; I read it all over, and conſider'd of it again, added ſome Things, and in ſome meaſure poliſh'd the Style of it, tho' without any affected Flights of Eloquence, or quaint Ways of Expreſſion. For, I think it ſufficient, if, like a Picture drawn in weak and faint Colours, it is placed in a good and advantageous Light.

Yet after all, whether I ſhould publiſh it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, thoſe Cenſures and Prejudices, that Hatred and Calumny, which, I foreſee, advance their Enſigns, and ſound the Charge againſt me, have not ſo much diſcourag'd me, as my Love of Truth, my Affection to my Country, and the Memory of that Princeſs, (which among *Engliſhmen* ought to be held for ever ſacred) have born me up againſt thoſe Men, who having ſhaken off their Allegiance to their Prince and Country, endeavour to eclipſe the Reputation of one, and the Glory of t'other, by ſpitting forth their Venom and inveterate Malice, in their ſcandalous Libels publiſh'd in Forein Parts; and at this very Inſtant (as they ſtick not to own) are ready to leave to Poſterity, in a large Volume, a Monument of their Lewdneſs and Diſhoneſty. For my part, I deſire nothing more, than that I may be like myſelf, and they like themſelves. *Poſterity will give every one the Honour due to him.*

What the Loftineſs of the Argument requires, I confeſs, and am ſorry, I have not come up with; yet what Pains I was able, I have willingly beſtow'd. My ſelf I have not in the leaſt ſatisfy'd, either in this or my other Writings; yet ſhall I think my ſelf well rewarded for my Labour, if by my ready Willingneſs to preſerve the Memory of Things, to relate the Truth, and to train up the Minds of Men to Honeſty and Wiſdom, I may thereby find a Place amongſt the petty Writers of great Matters. Whatever it be,

To God, my Country and Poſterity,
at the Altar of Truth, I
dedicate and conſecrate it.

INTRODUCTION.

Queen Elizabeth's Lineage by the Father.

THE *Lineage and Deſcent of* ELIZABETH, *Queen of* England, *was, by her Father's Side, truly Royal: For ſhe was Daughter to King* Henry VIII. *Grand-daughter to* Henry VII. *and Great-grand-Daughter to* Edward IV. *By the Mother's Side her Deſcent was not ſo high; yet Noble it was, and branch'd out by many and great Alliances, both through* England *and* Ireland. *Her Great-grand-father's Father was* Jeffery Bolen, *a Man of a good Family in* Norfolk, *Lord-Mayor of the City of* London, *in the Year* 1457. *And at the ſame Time honour'd with the Dignity of Knighthood. A ſincere honeſt Man he was, of ſuch Eſtimation, that* Thomas *Lord* Hoo *and* Haſtings, *Knight of the Order of S.* George, *gave him his Daughter and one of his Heireſſes to Wife; and of ſo large Means, that he match'd his Daughters into the Noble Houſes of the* Cheyneys, Heydons, *and* Forteſcues, *left his Son a fair Eſtate, and bequeath'd* 1000 l. *Sterling to the Poor in the City of* London, *and* 200 l. *to the like in* Norfolk. *This Man's Son,* William Bolen, *was one of the Eighteen Knights of the* Bath, *made at the Coronation of King* Richard III. *to whom* Thomas *Earl of* Ormond (*who was in ſuch Favour with the Kings of* England, *that he alone of all the Noblemen of* Ireland, *had his Place and Vote in the* Engliſh *Parliament, and that alſo above the Barons of* England) *gave his Daughter and one of his Heireſſes in Marriage. By her (beſides Daughters marry'd to* Shelton, Calthrop, Clere *and* Sackvill, *wealthy Men, and of great Families, and other Children) he had* Thomas Bolen; *whom, being a Young Man,* Thomas Howard *Earl of* Surrey, *afterward Duke of* Norfolk, (*a Man much renown'd for his worthy Services and Atchievements in Wars*) *made choice of to be his Son-in-law, giving him his Daughter* Elizabeth *in Marriage: And* Henry VIII. *after he had perform'd one or two very honourable Embaſſies, made him Firſt Treaſurer of his Houſhold, Knight of the Order of S.* George, *and Viſcount* Rochford; *and afterwards Earl of* Wiltſhire *and* Ormond, *and Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This* Thomas, *among other Children by his ſaid Wife, had* Anne Bolen; *who in her tender Years was ſent into* France, *and there waited firſt on* Mary *of* England, *Wife to* Lewis XII. *and then on* Claudia *of* Bretagne, *Wife to* Francis I. *and, after her Death, on* Margaret *of* Alencon, *a prime Favourer of the Proteſtant Religion then ſpringing up in* France. *Being return'd into* England, *and admitted one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, and being now twenty two Years of Age, King* Henry, *in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, did*

By the Mother.

Ann Bolen Born, 1507.

Lov'd of the King, being minded to put away his Wife.

did for her Modesty, mix'd with a French *Grace and Pleasantness, fall deeply in Love with her; and when he could not overcome her Chastity, he sought to make her his Wife, in hopes of Issue-Male by her.*

The cause of the Divorce.

He (to fetch the Matter a little higher) began now, after seventeen Years Marriage, to grow weary of Queen Katharine *his Wife, a Lady of very Religious Behaviour, and* Spanish *Gravity; howbeit many times miscarrying in the Fruit of her Womb, and having but one only Daughter living, namely, the Lady* Mary. *And this he did thro' the cunning Artifice of* Tho. Wolsey, *Cardinal, who being now in the heighth of Power with the King, had in a manner no Command over himself. For, bearing a Grudge to the Emperor* Charles V. *Queen* Katharine's *Sister's Son, for denying him the Archbishoprick of* Toledo, *and because he had not favour'd him in his aspiring to the Popedom, and being now (out of Malice to* Charles) *so devoted to the* French *King, that he design'd King* Henry *a Wife out of* France; *he caus'd a Scruple to be put into the King's Head, who was already prone enough to his own Desires, that his present Marriage with Queen* Katharine, *who before had been his Brother* Arthur's *Wife, was forbidden by the Law of God, notwithstanding Pope* Julius II. *had dispens'd therewith. Afterwards he himself press'd it often upon him, how heinously he had offended God in marrying Queen* Karharine, *and in what a great Sin he continued to live, by retaining her; that he had incurr'd the Sentence of Excommunication, and that God had already evidenc'd his Anger against this so unlawful a Marriage, who would not suffer any Issue-Male, tho' once or twice conceiv'd, to live; and that nothing else could be expected, but that those bloody Wars, so lately laid asleep, would again break out with fresh Slaughters, unless a lawful Heir to the Crown were once certainly known. To the end therefore that all Scruple might be remov'd out of the King's Mind, and his Soul, which had for so many Years been polluted with Incest, unburden'd, and withal the Safety and Security of the Realm by the undoubted Succession of a lawful Issue provided for, she was to be divorced from him.*

The Matter refer'd to the Pope.

Hereupon the King petition'd Pope Clement VII. *that he would depute Commissioners to hear and examine the Cause; and that either the Dispensation of Pope* Julius *might be confirm'd by the Authority of Holy Scripture, or he might be absolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication, and it might be decreed that the present Marriage was no Marriage, but null and of no Force, and that he might be at liberty to contract Marriage with any other Woman whatsoever, any Canon to the contrary notwithstanding.*

The Pope's Resolution.

The Pope made Wolsey *and Cardinal* Campeius *his Deputies: To which* Campeius *he also privately deliver'd a Bull, wherein, favourably inclining to the King's Desire as far as with a good Conscience before God he lawfully might, he granted all Things, in Case it should prove that the Marriage contracted with Queen* Katharine *were declared to have been, and to be void and null. But this Bull he appointed to be conceal'd or publish'd, according as the Emperor's Affairs in* Italy *succeeded.*

The King's Marriage canvas'd in the Universities.

Now were Questions every where started, whether it were justifiable by the Law of God for the Brother to take his Brother's Widow to Wife: and if this was forbidden by God's Law, whether it might not be made lawful by the Pope's Dispensation. But when several Universities in Christendom, and many very learned Men, had by their joint Suffrages declared such a Marriage to be repugnant to the sacred Laws of both Testaments, notwithstanding the Bishop of Rome's *Dispensation; the King began to be violently in Love with* Ann Bolen; *and withal, the Cardinal repenting too late of what he had done, and being put forward with Anger, so wrought under-hand with the Pope, that he refus'd to confirm by his Papal Authority the Judgments of the Universities, and the Cause was prolong'd and delay'd from day to day, both at* Rome *and in* England: *for the Cardinal stood in fear of* Ann Bolen, *who, being addicted to the Protestant Doctrine, hated his unreasonable Pomp and Pride. The Pope also stood in doubt of the Emperor, who was now very strong in* Italy, *and most stiffly defended the Cause of his Aunt Queen* Katharine. *Neither yet would the Pope incense King* Henry, *who had not long before, when he was taken Prisoner by the Imperialists, by his Arms and Money, procured his Liberty.*

Judg'd void.

The Pope delays the Business.

The King, Prelates, and Nobility supplicate the Pope therein.

King Henry, *tho' he were herewith much displeas'd, yet did he smother it at present; and first himself by his Embassadors and Letters, and then the Prelates and Nobility of* England, *by a Supplication sign'd and subscrib'd with their Hands and Seals, with humble Intreaties casting themselves at the Pope's Feet, besought him, that what the two Universities of* England, *the University of* Paris, *and several other Universities, with divers learned and grave Men, both at Home and Abroad, had affirm'd to be true, and were ready to defend and maintain for Truth, as well by Word as Writing, might (to use their own Words) be confirm'd by his Apostolical Authority. And an extraordinary Infelicity it would be, (say they) if this could not be obtain'd of the See Apostolick, by that Prince, whose only Help had upholden and supported the Authority of the See Apostolick; who, when it was laid at by many, opposed them several Times, partly by his Pen, and partly by his Word and Authority; and yet he alone could not enjoy the Assistance of her Authority. But that he might enjoy it, they besought him again and again, lest Civil Wars should break forth anew about the Title to the Succession.*

And the Prelates by themselves.

The Prelates also, fearing lest the Pope should interdict the Realm, or excommunicate the King, did by their own particular Letters put him in mind of the woful Dissention formerly between Pope Alexander III. *and* Henry II. *King of* England; *and among other weighty Reasons, they with humble Prayers advised him in those very Words, in a manner, which* Gilbert *Bishop of* London *at that Time used.* Your ardent Zeal we most humbly beseech you for a Time to restrain within the Bounds of Moderation and Sobriety, lest by pronouncing either the Sentence of Interdict, or that final Declaration of Excision or Excommunication, you suffer innumerable Churches to be miserably subverted, and (which God forbid) irrevocably turn away from your Obedience as well the King himself as infinite Numbers of People with him. Better it is that a Member be join'd to the Head, tho' it be maim'd, than quite cut off, and cast from the Body. Maim'd Members may be heal'd again, but being once cut off, they never unite to the Body more. Cutting off brings Despair, whereas the Chirurgeon's wary Hand many times heals the Wound. Better it is therefore, if it so please, that at the present you do your best to heal the Wound (if any there be) than by cutting off so noble a Part from God's Church, you bring Matters (which are already in a high Confusion) into greater Disorder than can be express'd. Then at length, does the Spirit of Kings know how to be overcome, when it has overcome; and is not asham'd to yield, when it has vanquish'd. With Mildness it is to be dealt withal, and to be overcome with Admonitions and Patience. For, what if Patience either already shew'd, or to be shew'd a little longer, do bring some Loss of Temporal Concernments? ought there not to be a slacking of Severity, when the Ruin of the People is threatned? Are not many Things to be thrown overboard, when the hideous Confusion of Sea and Waves menaces Destruction?

But when the Pope and his Cardinals gave no Ear to these Things, but neglected them for the space of five Years or thereabouts, taking it in Disdain that the Pope's Power in Dispensing should be called in question, and thought fit that the King should be cited to appear at Rome, *they constrained the King (being a Prince full of Spirit, and already exasperated with the Perverseness of some Church-men at home, and who thought, that in regard of the Equity of his Cause, he was most unjustly dealt withal, in Consideration of his Royal Dignity, most unworthily; and in respect of his Deserts, from the Church of* Rome *most ungratefully) that at*

one and the same time in a manner he hath put away *Queen* Katharine, *depriv'd Cardinal* Wolsey *of his Goods and Possessions, laid a great Fine upon the Bishops, for owning and submitting to his Legatine Power*

The King being neglected renounces the Pope, &c.

in prejudice of the King's Prerogative, abolish'd the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, *took upon him the Title of* Supreme Head of the Church of *England* next under Christ, *which was given him by a Synod and the Universities of* England, *advanc'd* Ann Bolen, (*clad in her Robes of Honour, with her Golden Coronet on her Head*) *to the Dignity of Marchioness of* Pembroke, with the Consent of the Peers of the Realm, for the Nobility of her Birth, and the great Merit of her Virtues, (*so the*

Marries *Ann Bolen.*

Words run) *took her to Wife, and commanded her to be inaugurated Queen; whilst Pope* Clement VII. *chafed in vain at it, decreed the former Marriage to be valid and Canonical, and pronounc'd the King to have incur'd the Pains and Penalties of the greater Excommunication.*

Queen *Elizabeth* born.

By this Marriage was born the Lady ELIZABETH *at* Greenwich *upon the* Thames, September 7. 1533. *And shortly after, the former Marriage contracted with Queen* Katharine, *was, by the Authority of Parliament declared to be void and incestuous, and this with Queen* Ann *to be just and consonant to the Law of God: the Lady* Elizabeth, *if the*

Declared Heir apparent.

King should fail of Issue-Male, was declared Heir apparent to the Crown; and an Oath of Allegiance taken by all the Subjects, to the King and his Heirs by Queen Ann. *And when* Paul III. *purposed to pronounce Sentence afresh at* Rome *against this Mar-*

The holy Maid of *Kent.*

riage, and at home an holy Maid or Nun in Kent, (*being suborn'd and set on by some Religious Persons*) *as if she were mov'd with a divine and prophetick Fury, utter'd many things against the same, and against*

Authority granted to the K. in Ecclesiastical matters.

the King; the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, with all Manner of Authority to reform Errors, Heresies and Abuses in the same, *was given to the King by the Estates of the Realm, and the said Oath of Allegiance to the King's Heirs by Queen* Ann *confirm'd. Nevertheless, scarce were three Years fully expired, when falling into new Loves, Jealousies, Rage, and meditating Blood and Slaughter, that he might make way for the new Fancy he had to* Jane Seimour, *he call'd*

The King mislikes Q. *Anne.*

Queen Ann *to her Trial, accusing her, upon a light Suspicion, of Adultery, after she had miscarry'd of a Male-child she went withal. Queen* Ann *clear'd herself so far of the matters objected against her, that the Multitude that stood by judg'd her to be innocent, and meerly circumvented. Nevertheless, her Peers condemn'd her. Being condemn'd, she very handsomly and pleasantly by a Messenger sent her singular Thanks to the King, for the Favours he had heap'd upon her,* viz. *that altho' she were descended of no very honourable Lineage, he had advanced her to the noble Dignity of a Marchioness, to the Honour to be his Bedfellow, and to the high Condition of a Queen, and (beyond all the rest) that when he could exalt her no higher upon Earth he would now raise her up to Heaven, where she should enjoy eternal Glory amongst holy and*

She is beheaded.

innocent Persons. Her Death she underwent quietly and christianly, wishing all Happiness to the King, and forgiving her Enemies.

King marries *Jane Seimour.*

The King the very next day after marry'd Jane Seimour; *and declar'd by Authority of Parliament, the Marriage with Queen* Ann, *as well as that with Queen* Katharine, *to be flatly unlawful and void, and*

Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth* declar'd illegitimate. Q. *Jane* dies in Childbirth of King *Edward.*

their Daughters, the two Ladies Mary *and* Elizabeth, *to be therefore illegitimate, and to be excluded from the Succession to the Crown. Queen* Jane *fell in labour of Prince* Edward, *and presently dy'd, the said Prince being fain to be cut out of her Womb, and succeeding his Father after in the Kingdom. The King, being but little troubl'd for his Queen's Death, presently applied himself to find another Wife, both in* Italy *and* France, *to strengthen himself with new Alliances. Nevertheless, being doubtful and unresolv'd in Mind, and timorous of every thing, whilst he stood in fear of the Papists for Rebellions formerly rais'd; lest the Nobility should attempt new Commotions at home, or join with forein Enemies, some of them for slight Causes, and*

King rages against Papists Monasteries and Protestant.

some without any Hearing, he cut shorter by the Heads. Many of the Religious, for their Obstinacy in maintaining the Pope's Power, he put to death as Traitors; and out of Avarice, as before he had done the lesser, so now he pluck'd down the greater Abbies, Places of venerable Antiquity and Majesty, and seiz'd upon their Wealth, which had been so many Years heaping together, taking Advantage from the Miscarriages of humane Frailty, and their dissolute manner of Life. And withal he burn'd the Protestants

Law of the six Articles.

as Hereticks, by a Law which they call'd The Six Articles, *made against those who oppos'd the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome *concerning Transubstantiation, one Kind in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the unmarry'd Life of Priests, Vows, Private Masses, and Auricular Confession. Insomuch as at one and the same time and place, he raged against the Papists by hanging, drawing and quartering, and against the Protestants by burning them alive. Whereby he grew so terrible at home, and was taken for such a Tyrant abroad, that he was rejected first by* Mary *of* Lorrain, *the Duke of* Guise *his Daughter, whom he woo'd, being Rival therein to* James *King of* Scots, *his Nephew; and then by* Christiana *of* Denmark, *Dutchess of* Milan, *Niece to* Charles V. *At length*

He marries *Ann* of *Cleve,* and puts her away again.

with much ado he obtain'd Ann *of* Cleve *to Wife, thereby endeavouring to secure the Friendship of the Protestants in* Germany: *whom as soon as he had marry'd he cast off, loathing her, as not beautiful enough for a Prince, giving himself over as well to Arrogance as Lust; pretending the Cause to be, because she had been formerly betroth'd to the Duke of* Lorrain's *Son, and charging her with I know not what womanish Impotency: and all to bring over her Head*

Marries *Katharine Howard.* Beheads her.

Katharine Howard, *Daughter of* Edmund Howard, *and Niece to* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk; *whom the next Year after he beheaded, as guilty of Incontinence before the Marriage, and took to Wife* Katharine Parr, *of a Knightly Family, whom he left the second time a Widow.*

He marries *Katharine Parr.*

Perceiving now his Body to be much decay'd thro' the Intemperance of his Youth, and being inraged against the French *King, because he had assisted the* Scots *against the* English, *but more favourably inclined toward the*

He is reconcil'd to *Charles* V.

Emperor Charles (*who forgetting the Divorce of his Aunt Q.* Katharine, *had secretly given him sure Hopes of Reconciliation to the Church of* Rome, *in which business the* French *King had formerly deluded him*) *he entred into a Treaty with* Charles *against the* French. *Then designing to invade* France, *the more to engage the Emperor to him, and to quiet his exulcerated and gall'd Conscience, he propos'd to the Estates in Parliament, that*

He settles the Succession in his Children.

if he should die, and his Son Edward *also without Issue, first the Lady* Mary, *and, if she should fail of Issue, then the Lady* Elizabeth, *should succeed in the Kingdom. But if all they should die issueless, then the Crown to be devolv'd upon such Persons to whom he should either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will and Testament, assign the same. Which was with the ready and chearful Consent of all men enacted and establish'd, upon pain of High-Treason to the Opposers thereof. After his Return out of* France, *where he*

He wins *Bologne.*

had taken Bologne, *with a vast Expence of Money, whilst he lamented the Distraction of* England *through new Opinions daily springing up in it, (and* England *herself sate sighing and groaning to see her Wealth exhausted, her Money embas'd and mingl'd with Copper, her Abbies demolish'd which were the Monuments of antient Piety, the Blood of her Nobility, Prelates, Papists and Protestants, promiscuously spilt, and the Land embroil'd in a War with* Scotland) *being swell'd up with Fat, he breath'd out his*

He dies.

last, of a virulent Inflammation call'd S. Anthony's *Fire in his Thigh, in the beginning of the Year 1547. A magnanimous Prince he was, in whose great Mind were confusedly mix'd many eminent Virtues with no less notorious Vices.*

Prince

Edward VI. succeeds him

Prince Edward his Son, being yet scarce ten Years old succeeded him; his Uncle Edward Seimour, Duke of Somerset, being made Protector: under whose auspicious Government, a notable Victory was obtain'd over the Scots at Musselburgh, whilst the English by Force of Arms, demanded the Performance of a Contract concerning Mary Queen of Scots espousing to King Edward. Also the cruel and bloody Law of the Six Articles, and other Laws made by King Henry VIII. against the Protestants, were repeal'd; those for abolishing the Pope's Authority confirm'd; the Mass wholly abrogated; Images remov'd out of Churches; the Books of both Testaments printed in the Vulgar Tongue; Divine Service celebrated in the same; and both Kinds administred in the Eucharist. But sacrilegious Avarice ravenously invaded Church-livings, Colleges, Chauntries, Hospitals, and Places dedicated to the Poor; as things superstitious: Ambition and Emulation among the Nobility, Presumption and Disobedience among the Common-people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seem'd to be as it were in a downright Phrensie, miserably languishing at the very Heart, by reason of Rebellions, Tumults, Factions, embasing of her Money, and all the Mischiefs and Miscarriages that usually happen under an Infant-King. Hereupon also follow'd Damages abroad: the Strong-holds of the English in Scotland and France were lost: Bologne, which cost so dear, with all the Forts rais'd by the English in the Country about it, as also the Ordnance and Munition, were betray'd to the French for Money, to the incredible Dishonour of the English Nation: whilst England, now rent with civil Seditions, was not able to defend the same; and Charles the Emperor, being su'd to for his Assistance, according to the late Confederacy, deny'd to relieve it, (as being won by the English after the Confederacy was made) and even refused to take it into his own Hands, when it was offered him gratis. And, to increase the Infelicity of those Times, the Protector, not aware of the cunning Practices of Dudley Duke of Northumberland was condemn'd of Felony by a Law newly made, for attempting to kill the King's Counsellors, (namely Northumberland and others) and beheaded; his Son was by a private Law dispossest of the greatest part of his Inheritance and his Father's Honours; and the King himself, now destitute of the Assistance of his Friends, and exposed to the Cruelty of ambitious Persons, was taken away by an untimely Death, (whether thro' any natural Disease, or by Poison, is uncertain) leaving behind him an incredible Miss of himself among the People, for his singular and rare Vertues above his Years.

The doctrine of the Gospel brought in. — *The unhappiness of the Kingdom under an Infant-King.* — *The Protector beheaded.* — *The death of K. Edward VI.*

In this doleful Time, when Dudley had by his subtil Contrivances dissolved the Knot of brotherly Love between the Protector and Thomas Seimour his Brother, taking Occasion from a womanish Emulation betwixt the Queen Dowager, now Thomas his Wife, and the Dutchess of Somerset the Protector's Wife, among other things to convict Thomas of High Treason, it was objected, that he intended to seize the King's Person, and to take the Lady Elizabeth, the King's Sister, to Wife. All this she was utterly ignorant of, and far from any Suspicion, growing up daily to Riper Years, and continuing in great Grace and Favour with King Edward her Brother, (who call'd her by no other Name than his sweet Sister Temperance) as likewise in singular Esteem with the Nobility and People. For she was of admirable Beauty, and well deserving a Crown, of a modest Gravity, excellent Wit, Royal Soul, happy Memory, and indefatigably given to the Study of Learning; insomuch as before she was Seventeen Years of Age, she understood well the Latin, French, and Italian Tongues, and had an indifferent Knowledge of the Greek. Neither did she neglect Musick, so far as it became a Princess, being able to sing sweetly, and play handsomly on the Lute. With Roger Ascham, who was her Tutor, she read over Melancthon's Common-Places, all Tully, a great part of the Histories of Titus Livius, certain select Orations of Isocrates, (whereof two she turn'd into Latin) Sophocle's Tragedies, and the New Testament in Greek: by which means she both framed her Tongue to a pure and elegant way of speaking, and inform'd her Mind with apt Documents and Instructions; daily applying herself to the Study of good Letters, not for Pomp and Ostentation, but in order to Use in her Life, and the Practice of Vertue; insomuch as she was a kind of Miracle and Admiration for her Learning among the Princes of her Time.

Lady Elizabeth's great grace with her Brother. — *Her Character.*

But these her liberal Studies were interrupted by the Death of her Brother King Edward; whose Breath was scarce out of his Body, when certain Messengers were sent from Dudley Duke of Northumberland, (who affected the Crown for Jane Grey, to whom he had bethroth'd his Son) to move her to resign her Title to the Crown for a Sum of Money, and certain Lands to be settl'd on her. She modestly answer'd, that her eldest Sister the Lady Mary was first to be agreed withal: for as long as the said Lady Mary liv'd, she for her part could challenge no Right at all. Shortly after, the Lady Jane Grey, Grand-daughter to the second Sister of King Henry VIII. was publickly proclaim'd Queen of England. To colour which, it was pretended, that the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth were by Act of Parliament judg'd illegitimate, which Act was never duly repeal'd; (notwithstanding that the King their Father had by the same Law declared, that they should succeed in order after Edward VI. in case he should fail of Issue: and that the said Sisters could not by the Law of England hereditarily succeed King Edward, because they were not Germans, that is, of the whole Blood by Father and Mother, but (as our Lawyers term it) of the half Blood. It was also alledg'd, that Henry VIII. by his last Will and Testament convey'd the Title of the Crown to the said Lady Jane Grey. And withal it was objected, how dangerous it might be, if either the Lady Mary, or the Lady Elizabeth should marry a forein Prince, who might restore the Bishop of Rome's Authority, at present thrown out of England, and subject the English to a forein Yoke. And to the same purpose also they produced Letters Patents of Edward VI. made a little before his Death, and sign'd with the Hands of many Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and others.

Jane Grey in vain proclaim'd Queen.

Nevertheless, the strong Inclination and Affection of the Nobility and Commons, towards King Henry VIII's Daughters, within twenty days dispers'd this Storm, to the fatal Ruin of the Duke and the Lady Jane; and the Lady Mary was proclaim'd Queen all over England: who coming to London with an Army, the Lady Elizabeth went to meet her with five hundred Horse, lest she should be wanting to her Sister's and her own Cause, which was then so much concern'd.

Lady Mary proclaim'd. Queen Elizabeth joins with her.

In the first Parliament which Queen Mary held, whatsoever had been decreed against the Marriage between Queen Katharine, her Mother, and K. Henry VIII. was repeal'd, and the said Marriage adjudg'd to be consonant to the Law of God, and valid to all Intents and Purposes, for these Reasons: Because it had been contracted and celebrated with the Consent of their Parents, wise and prudent Princes, by Advice of the gravest Men, as well in England as Spain, and upon mature Deliberation with the most learned Men of all Christendom, and completed and perfected by the Procreation of Children betwixt them. The same Form also of Religion and Service of God, and Administration of the Sacraments, which was in use at the Death of Henry VIII. was restor'd; howbeit without any Acknowledgment or Mention at all of the Pope's Authority: which very much troubl'd both the Queen and Cardinal Pool, who both of them were of Opinion, that in the matter of the Marriage the Consent of the Parents and Judgments of the wise and learned Men depended meerly and solely upon the Dispensation of Pope Julius II. and were highly offended that the Use of the Sacraments was, without the Pope's Authority, permitted to such as were not yet solemnly receiv'd

A Parliament. — *Popery restor'd.*

receiv'd into the Church. But the Estates of the Realm (as Queen Mary found) were afraid to admit and acknowledge again the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, which they had now shaken off. Neither would they endure that the Queen should lay down the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, which most of the Bishops, Nobility and Commons had confirm'd by Oath to Henry VIII. his Heirs and Successors; besides, many of them had increas'd their Estates by the Revenues of the Church. But she was heartily desirous to lay it down, as being persuaded that her whole Title to the Crown was upheld and strengthned by no other Means but by the Power of the Bishop of Rome, who had given Sentence in her Behalf, after her Father had procur'd her to be declar'd Illegitimate. And indeed at that time many bore such an Hatred against the Pope's Power, and the Thoughts of a foreign Yoke, that Sir Thomas Wyat and some Kentish-men, within ten Days after the Marriage betwixt Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, broke forth into open Rebellion, being persuaded that it was made up to no other End, but, by the Power of the Spaniards, to hamper the English-mens Necks more straitly under the Yoke of the Bishop of Rome, and to make away the Lady Elizabeth, the next Heir to the Crown of England. And the Emperor Charles V. well knowing the Temper of Men in England, laid such Rubs and Delays in Cardinal Pool's Way, (who was coming into England, in Quality of a Legate from the Pope) and that not without the Queen's Privity, lest he should give Occasion of Offence while Matters were yet unsettl'd, that he came not into England till after fifteen Months, when the Queen's third Parliament was now holden, and the Marriage betwixt Queen Mary and King Philip celebrated, by Dispensation of Pope Julius III. because they were within the second and third Degree of Consanguinity, and the said Charles the Emperor had formerly contracted Marriage de futuro with the Lady Mary, then a very Infant. Pool at last, dismiss'd by the Emperor, came into England, and being restored in Blood, propos'd to the Estates, with Prayers and great Intreaties, that the Laws against Hereticks might be reviv'd and reinforc'd, that all the Laws enacted against the See of Rome, since the Twentieth Year of Henry VIII. might be repeal'd, and that the whole Body of the Realm might be reconcil'd to the Church of Rome. All which with much ado he at last obtain'd, but not till such Time as by the same Statute the Revenues taken by King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. from Abbies, Colleges, Bishopricks, &c. were confirm'd to the Queen and the present Possessors, lest the Peace of the Kingdom should be disturb'd. Hereupon he presently absolv'd the Clergy and Laity from the Guilt of Schism; a solemn Mass was celebrated at Rome by Pope Julius III. himself, for Joy, Processions were decreed, a Jubilee appointed, and plenary Indulgences granted to every one who should give God Thanks for the Re-uniting of the Kingdom of England. To Rome were sent Anthony Viscount Montacute, Thurlbey Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, to give Thanks for Pardon of the Schism, and to render, in the Name of the King, Queen and Realm, due Submission and Obedience to the Pope, and See Apostolick. To whom in the Apostolick Palace and Court of Kings, was granted by Paul IV. (for Julius was now dead) a publick Consistory or Audience, their Obedience accepted, the Pardon and Absolution given by Cardinal Pool, approv'd and confirm'd. And the more to oblige Queen Mary and King Philip, the Pope, out of his plenary Apostolical Power, erected Ireland into a Kingdom for ever, and honour'd and adorn'd it with Regal Title, Dignity, and Pre-eminences, &c. All which, notwithstanding the Estates of Ireland had by their own Authority before amply confer'd on Henry VIII. and the Queen her self already us'd and enjoy'd. But these Things are not proper to this Place.

The English loth to subject themselves to the Pope's authority.

Wyat's Rebellion.

Q. Mary marries the Son, tho' before contracted to the Father.

Conditions whereon England is reconcil'd to the Church of Rome.

Rome's Joy thereat.

Pope erects Ireland into a Kingdom.

Now the Romish Religion seem'd to be fully established in England. Nevertheless, the Ecclesiasticks of the Realm, seeing small Hope of Issue by the Queen, who was now forty Years old, barren and sickly, still stood in Fear of the Lady Elizabeth: for they knew she was bred up in the Protestant Religion, and perceiv'd all Mens Hearts and Eyes to incline towards her, as towards the Rising-Sun. Seriously therefore they consulted from the first beginning of Queen Mary's Reign, that the Religion now restored might receive no Detriment by her means. To make away a Princess of the Blood, by Sword or Poison, seem'd to the sober Part, and to Queen Mary herself, (naturally a mild and loving Princess, though she did not bear her much Goodwill, by reason of the Grudges and Displeasures betwixt their Mothers) a heinous Sin. But some other ill-disposed Persons thought the contrary, who were of Opinion, that for the establishing of the Catholick Religion, any thing was to be attempted, any thing committed, though in itself never so unjust. And it fell out very opportunely for 'em, that Sir Thomas Wyat, Sir Peter Carew, Sir James à Croftes, and other Protestants, had seditiously rais'd Tumults and Commotions, and endeavour'd to make up a Marriage between the Lady Elizabeth and Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire. Hereupon she, as privy to the Design, was committed to Prison: and first flying Reports were given out, that she was accessary to the Rebellion; then some were try'd for their Lives, and others put to the Rack. Croftes openly affirm'd with solemn Protestations, that she was not accessary to, or had any Hand in the Sedition. And Wyat (who they said had secretly accus'd her) publickly declared the same, just before his Execution. Nevertheless, she was hurry'd to and fro, and Keepers set over her, her Servants and Waiting-Women clapt up in Prison, and her self us'd with more Severity, than is generally exercised towards Personages of her Rank and Dignity.

Papists Fear of the Lady Elizabeth.

They trouble her.

Mean time, Henry II. King of France chears her up, by private Letters full of Love and Affection; and promising her great Matters, invites her into France: whether out of real Love I cannot say, or whether it were with design to render her more suspicious, and make way for the Queen of Scots (who was design'd for his Daughter-in-law) to the Crown of England after Queen Mary. Christian III. King of Denmark (who had lately profess'd the Protestant Religion) makes her likewise many kind Offers, and withal addresses her privately on Behalf of his Son Frederick: which was no sooner perceiv'd by the Papists in England, but they again threaten her with new Mischiefs, and suspecting their future Security, affirm, That the Romish Religion, the Queen and Realm, can never be safe, while she's alive. Needs must she then be cut off, either as a Traitress, or as an Heretick. At the same time, whilst great Cruelty was us'd against the Protestants of lesser note, John Story, Doctor of Law, and other merciless Men declar'd in their Meetings, that the Root of Heresie (meaning her) was rather to be pluck'd up, than the smaller Branches to be lopt off. The Lady Elizabeth now guiding her self as a Ship in blustering Weather, both heard Divine Service after the Romish Manner, and was frequently confess'd; and, at the pressing Instances and Menaces of Cardinal Pool, profess'd her self, for fear of Death, a Roman-Catholick: yet did not Queen Mary believe her, as remembring that she herself, in the like Fear, had, by Letters written with her own Hand to her Father (which I my self have seen) not only for ever renounced the Pope's Authority in England, but also acknowledg'd her Father to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, under Christ, and her Mother's Marriage with King Henry her Father to have been incestuous and unlawful. Neither could the Cardinal himself, and the rest of the Bishops be persuaded she was real, who for securing the Romish Religion, wish'd she were made away. But this very much grated the Ears of King Philip, Queen Mary's Husband, and the Spaniards, who were more favourable to the Lady Elizabeth; not so much pitying the Condition of the afflicted Maiden-Princess, as providently regarding their own particular Interests. For they foresaw, that if once the Lady Elizabeth were made away, the Kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland, might, by Mary Queen of Scots,

French K. and K. of Denmark comfort her.

New Plots against her.

She thro' Fear professes the Romish Religion.

Why the Spaniard spar'd the Lady Elizabeth's Life.

next

next Heir to the Crown of England, and already espous'd to the Dauphin of France, be united to the French Scepter; than which nothing could be more dreadful to the Spaniard's Grandeur, who had then continual Wars with the French.

A design to send her out of the Land, and exclude her from the Succession.

Since therefore they could not without Impiety make away the Lady Elizabeth, some thought best to remove her at a Distance, out of England, and to match her with Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy. Neither did this please the Spaniard, who had before design'd her for his Son Charles. And Sir Thomas Cornwallis, one of the Queen's Council, dissuaded it, alledging that the People of England would take it very ill, nay, would not at all endure, that the next Heir to the Crown should be convey'd out of the Land. At the same time Queen Mary, out of her inveterate hatred to the Lady Elizabeth, and because the said Lady was averse to Marriage with a Savoyard, was so transported with Anger, that she loaded her with Checks and Taunts, and stuck not ever and anon to affirm, that Mary Queen of Scots was the certain and undoubted Heir to the Crown of England, next after herself.

War declared against Fr.

These Consultations against the Lady Elizabeth were diverted by a War declared by Queen Mary against the French, in Favour of her Husband: Which tho' it were the chief and principal Cause of the War, yet other Reasons also concur'd, and those very real and plausible, viz. That the French, contrary to the Articles of the former League, had, by his Ministers, encourag'd and supported the Rebellions of the Duke of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Wyat, and the Designs of Dudley and Ashton against her: That he had commission'd Pirates against the English Merchants, furnish'd Stafford with Arms and Shipping to seize upon Scarborough-Castle, attempting Calais by sinister Means, suffer'd the English Money to be embas'd in France, and invaded the Netherlands, which the English were bound by Agreement to protect. During the Heat of this War, and while the Scots, whom the French had excited, infested the Marches of England, Calais, the Castles of Risbank, Newnambrug, Mere, Oye, Hammes, Sandgate, and the Castle and Town of Guines, are lost; and, together with the Death of many Bishops, (which by a sad Presage seem'd to have denounc'd the Wrath of God against the Land) Queen Mary also, being neglected of her Husband, and languishing with Grief for the Loss of Calais, (which had for the Space of two hundred Years been in the Hands of the English) departed this Life, November 17. 1558. of a six Months Fever and a Tympany, when she had reign'd five Years and four Months. A Princess never sufficiently to be commended of all Men, for her pious and religious Demeanor, her Commiseration towards the Poor, and her Munificence and Liberality towards the Nobility and Church-men. Howbeit her Reign is ill spoken of, by reason of the barbarous Cruelty of the Bishops, who (which was a sad Spectacle to behold) polluted England in all Parts thereof, by burning the Protestants alive. For they destroy'd more of all Ranks and Qualities, Bishops, Ministers of God's Word, and of the Common-people, by this horrible kind of Death, within the space of five Years, than (as some have observ'd) King Henry VIII. did in full seven and thirty Years; or than England ever saw so serv'd ever since the Time that, in the Reign of King John, Christians first began amongst us to tyrannize one over another with Fire and Faggot.

Calais and other Places lost.

The death of Queen Mary.

And of Cardinal Pool.

The same Day that Queen Mary died, died also within few Hours after, Cardinal Pool, Archbishop of Canterbury, after he had for some time struggl'd with a Quartan Ague. A Man much more renown'd for his Piety, Learning and Integrity, than for the Glory of his Royal Descent, tho' he was Son to the Daughter of George Duke of Clarence, Brother to Edward IV. King of England.

ELIZA-

QUEEN ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH,
Anno 1558.
Queen of ENGLAND.

1558. *Ann.* 1.

The Death of Q. *Mary* made known.

AFTER the Death of Queen *Mary* had been, for some Time, kept private; the first News thereof was brought to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Parliament; (the Two Houses having sat for some little Time before.) They were seiz'd at first with a mighty Grief and Surprize, but soon wore off those *Impressions*, and with an handsome Mixture of *Joy* and *Sorrow*, upon the Loss of a *deceas'd*, and the Prospect of a *succeeding Princess*, they betook themselves to publick Business, and with one Consent agreed, that the Lady ELIZABETH should be declar'd the true and lawful Heir of the Kingdom, according to the Act of Succession, made 35 *Henry* VIII. Upon this, the Members of the Lower-House were call'd up, and *Heath* Archbishop of *York* and Lord Chancellor of *England*, acquaints 'em, (not without a deep and visible Concern) "That the "Church and State had lost a most pious and "excellent Queen; a Loss which every private "Subject would have Reason to judge insupportable, had it not pleas'd God (in Mercy "to the *English* Nation) to preserve still the "Lady ELIZABETH, the other and surviving "Daughter of King *Henry*; of whose Right of "Succession, since no Doubt could or ought to "be made, the House of Peers only wanted their "Consent, to proclaim her *Queen*, out of hand. No sooner had he said this, but there pass'd (as it were) a solemn and general Vote, of a Long Life and Happy Reign to Queen ELIZABETH; and when the *Session* was ended, she was, with Sound of Trumpet, and the loudest Acclamations of the People, first proclaim'd in *Westminster*, and after at the *Royal-Exchange*, Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith. Thus happy and glorious was the Beginning of her Reign, and (to say Truth) she possess'd, through the whole Progress of it, as firm and la[illegible] an Interest in the Hearts of her People, and was caress'd upon all Occasions of a Publick Appearance, with as chearful Marks of Honour and Respect, as any Prince before her.

Q. *Elizabeth* proclaim'd.

She was now about the Age of Twenty Five, and had been so well disciplin'd in the excellent School of Adversity, as to become Mistress of a Prudence above her Years; and of this she gave an early Proof in the Choice of her *Ministers*: For she made of her Privy-Council, *Nich. Heath* Archbishop of *York*, a Person, as I hinted before, of singular Prudence, and a well-temper'd Judgment; as likewise, *William Paulet*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Lord High-Treasurer; *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*; *Francis Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *Edward Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*; *William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*; *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord High-Admiral; and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Thomas Cheiney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackvill*, Kts. and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*. All these had been of Queen *Mary*'s Privy-Council, as well as of her Religion, but then the better to conform herself to the present Posture of Affairs, she joins with them these Servants of her own, *William Parr*, Marquis of *Northampton*; *Francis Russel*, Earl of *Bedford*; *Thomas Parry*, *Edward Rogers*, *Ambrose Cave*, *Francis Knolles*, and *William Cecil*, who had been Secretary to King *Edward* VI. and a Person of rare and uncommon Abilities; and not long after, she admitted *Nicolas Bacon*, and made him Keeper of the Privy-Seal. These were every Man of 'em Protestants, and had held no Places nor Employments under Queen *Mary*. On those, as well as on all others which she afterwards admitted into the Ministry, she bestow'd her Favours with so much Caution, and so little Distinction, as to prevent either Party from gaining the Ascendant over her, whereby she remain'd Mistress of her own self, and preserv'd both their Affections, and her own Power and Authority entire.

She makes Choice of her Council.

1558. *Ann.* 1.

Queen's Care for the Establishment of Religion.

Her first and great Concern, after her happy Settlement on the Throne, was to restore the Reform'd Religion; and tho' she made but very few privy to the Design, yet so well was she persuaded of its *Purity* and *Orthodoxy*, and had built upon the Principles of *Reason* and *Education* such an high Opinion of its Primitive *Truth* and *Simplicity*, that she was fully resolv'd to countenance and support it. Then she advises with her Council, about securing the Ports, and entrusting the Lieutenancy of the *Tower* to some Person of approv'd *Fidelity*: That a new Commission should be dispatch'd to *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who had kept that Country (of it self mutinous enough) quiet and in good Order, with but 320 Horse, and 860 Foot in Garison: That the Judges Patents should be renew'd, that (it being then Term-time) the Course of the Law might not be stop'd; with this Clause inserted, that they should not dispose of any Offices: That new Justices and Sheriffs should be appointed in every County: That no Bills of Exchange should be sent abroad; and that Preachers should decline all Controversial Points of Religion. Then for Foreign Affairs, it was advis'd, That Ambassadors should be dispatch'd to the Courts of Christian Princes, to notify the Death of Queen *Mary*. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Challoner* was sent as Envoy to *Ferdinand* Emperor of *Germany*, with a Packet under the Queen's own Hand, wherein she advises him, "That her Sister was dead, and that thro' the "Goodness of God, and in virtue of her own "Hereditary Right, and the Peoples Consent, "she was now invested in the Succession; and "that she desired nothing more, than the Pre- "ser-

Disposes her Affairs at home.

And concerts Foreign Matters.

1558. Ann. 1. "servation and Improvement of that ancient "Friendship which had been so long kept up "between the Crown of *England*, and the House "of *Austria*. The Lord *Cobham* was afterwards sent to the *Spanish Netherlands*, with Instructions to the same Purpose, as likewise with a Patent to impower the Earl of *Arundel*, *Thurlby* Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Wotton*, who had been some Time before employ'd by Queen *Mary*, to negotiate a Peace at *Cambray*, to act afresh in the Queen's Name; and with them to join in Commission the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. About the same Time was Sir *Henry Killegrew* privately employ'd to feel the Pulse of the *German* Princes, and to attempt the composing their Differences, by the Study of a Religion which was both pure and peaceable. *D. B.* was sent over to the King of *Denmark*, and *Armigille Waad* to the Duke of *Holstein*.

K. Philip's Addresses to Q. Elizabeth.

King *Philip*, upon the News of Queen *Mary* his Consort's Death, apprehending the utter Loss of his new Title, and Power with the *English*, (Things of the weightiest Importance to him) as also that the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, would, in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*, unite with *France*; thought it now Time to press in good earnest a Match with Q. *Elizabeth*, which he did by the Mediation of the Count of *Feria*; promising withal, to procure from the Pope a special Dispensation in Favour of his Pretensions. This Motion could not but produce in the Queen very uneasie Resentments, when she reflected, that to reject the Suit of one of the first Princes of *Europe*, and one who had greatly obliged her, must carry with it an Appearance of Indiscretion mix'd with Ingratitude. Nor could the King of *France* sit easy or unapprehensive under the Prospect of this new Alliance, which his *Spanish* Enemy was like to contract with *England*; wherefore he is busy at *Rome*, by his Engine the Bishop of *Angoulesme*, in hindering the Grant of this Dispensation, forasmuch as Queen *Elizabeth* was not only suspected as a Favourer of the *Reformation*, but was accounted *illegitimate* beside: But all this was done in the dark, that he might give no Umbrage to the *English*, under the present Fluctuation of Affairs. The Count of *Feria*, to accomplish the Match, possesses the *Roman-Catholicks* then in *England*, "That "this was the only sure Way to preserve their "ancient Religion, and the Dignity of it, which "should they not take hold of, he could not "but pity the State of the *English* Nation, as a "Country drain'd of its Treasures, without Sol-"diers, defenceless, and expos'd for want of "proper Forts and Ammunition; and, in a "word, as a Kingdom *that wanted wise Men of "its Council*. And, in truth, the Face of *England* look'd at this Time dismally forlorn, being not only embarqu'd in a War with *Scotland* and *France*, but overcharg'd with a vast Debt contracted by *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. beside the Consumption of the Treasury, the scandalous and expensive Loss of *Calais*, and the Country of *Oye*, the Religious Heats and Dissentions of the People: To which might be added, the Queen's being stripp'd of her most powerful Friends, and unsupported by the Alliance of Foreign Princes.

She declines the Proposal.

After a serious Debate with her self, concerning the Proposals of the Marriage on foot, the Queen soon resolv'd, that the Marriage of a Woman with one who had been her Sister's Husband, was by a Parity of Reason, equally forbidden, and therefore equally unlawful, as one contracted by any Person with his Brother's Relict, and by necessary Consequence, no *Bull* or *Decree* of the Pope could make it otherwise. And she saw moreover, that the Espousing a Match upon these *dispensing Terms*, would be little less than a tacit Confession of her own *Illegitimacy*, since her Father King *Henry* begot her upon *Katharine* of *Spain*, whom he had put away, as being his Brother's Widow. And when most of the Universities of Christendom, and the Convocation of Divines at *London*, had confirm'd and justify'd this latter Match; whereas that with Queen *Katharine* was adjudg'd null and unlawful; being therefore at length determin'd, she dismisses her Royal Suitor, with a modest and respectful Answer, such as became the Reserv'dness of a bashful Virgin, but which proceeded in truth from the Scruples of a Religious Queen. But whilst he was urging the Queen to a Compliance by frequent Letters and repeated Instances, and she in the mean while receiv'd his Addresses, and treated his Character suitably to the advantageous Thoughts she had of so accomplish'd a Prince; there was not wanting a Set of Courtiers, who made it their Business to exclaim against the *Spaniards*, as a stiff and haughty sort of People; and among these were some of the Privy-Council, who did not fail to infuse this Notion into the Queen, (being jealous, without doubt, that a Mind in Suspence might at last pitch on the wrong side) "That her self and "her Friends would be undone, and all *England* "into the Bargain, should she allow the Pope's "Dispensing Power, in this or any other Matter "whatever. That two Popes had successively "declared her Mother's Marriage with *Henry* "VIII. to be void and unlawful; and that un-"der the Shelter of their Verdicts, the Queen "of *Scots* immediately laid Claim to the Crown "of *England*: That the Pope would never be "brought to revoke that Sentence, and that she "could not expect any Justice on the Side of "*Rome*, which had already treated her Mother "and her self with so much Baseness. And be-"side all this, that the *French* King used all pos-"sible Efforts at *Rome*, to get *Mary* Queen of "*Scots* declared lawful Queen of *England*.

She consults about settling the Protestant Religion.

The Queen's Inclinations being now quite drawn off from so dangerous an Alliance, and bent solely upon the Interest of the Protestant Religion, she thought she could not do God better Service, nor put a more effectual Stop to *Philip's* Application, than to begin some Alterations in the Church. For, when she had made a Change in Religion, she did not in the least doubt, but there would follow a proportionable one in his Affections: She therefore order'd that a Committee of her best Counsellors should forthwith sit, to concert proper Measures for the suppressing the *Romish*, and re-settling the *Protestant* Faith; To examine what the dangerous Consequences might be of such an Establishment, and to find out fit Expedients to prevent 'em. These they readily foresaw were of two Sorts; Such as threatned 'em from *Abroad*, or else such as were like to spring up at *Home*. The Dangers they most apprehended from Abroad were either the *Thunder* from the Pope's *Bulls*, (the Sentence of Excommunication, which was a Surrendring the Kingdom to the Insults of Foreign Invaders) or else the Resentment of his *Christian* Majesty, who might possibly snatch at a Pretence by this means to retard the Motions of the Peace begun at *Cambray*, if not to advance the Queen of *Scots* Quarrel into a War with the *English*, as being now profess'd *Hereticks*, as well as avow'd Enemies: At least 'twas fear'd he might raise Commotions in *Scotland*, which was but too much devoted to his Interest. Nor did Things look better on the Side of *Ireland*, which was a Nation bigotted to Popery, and prone enough to Rebellion,

1558. lion. And besides all this, the *Spaniard* bore too great a Sway in the *Netherlands*, to be look'd on as a good Neighbour at this Juncture. At length they came to this Conclusion, that as for the Pope's Censure, it signify'd not a Rush; but that 'twas necessary not only to embrace the Offer of a Peace, if tender'd, but rather than fail, to sue for it at the *French* King's Hands; in as much as *Scotland* would be concluded within the same League. It was likewise judg'd necessary, that the Protestants of that Kingdom and *France* be protected, and *Berwick*, and the Frontiers of *England* towards *Scotland* and *Ireland*, secur'd and fortify'd with abler Garisons: And no less adviseable, to cultivate in the first Place a good Agreement with the *Spaniard*, at any Rate; and to ratifie the ancient League with the House of *Burgundy*. But now on the other side, the Mischiefs impending nearer home, were most dreaded from those Peers who were remov'd from the Council-Table, from the Degradation of the Bishops and others of the *Clergy*, from the Influence of the several Judges, and the Justices of Peace in every County, and in a Word from the Common-People, who made themselves considerable in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, for embracing the same Persuasion she was of: Since these were all to be remov'd from their Places, and to be made subject to stricter Penalties (a Course which Queen *Mary* took before with the Protestants) and none but those of the Reform'd Religion were to bear any Office in the Government, or take upon 'em the Headship of any College in either of the Two Universities; and beside, all Popish Masters and Presidents were to be remov'd from the Universities, and all the School-Masters, that were so affected, were to quit the Charges of *Eaton* and *Winchester*, and all other Schools: And as for such of the Reformation, as were for setting up new Schemes and Models of Church-Discipline, they were to be suppress'd betimes, and but one Religion to be countenanced and establish'd; because a Diversity of Persuasions amongst *Englishmen* (who were known to be a warm and warlike People) would be likely to foment perpetual Broils and Quarrels between 'em. The Care of purging the Liturgy, which was publish'd in *English* in *Edward* VI's Time, was committed to *Parker*, *Pilkington*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, Divines of noted Learning and Moderation, and to the very ingenious Sir *Thomas Smith*, Kt. The Management of which Affair was left solely in the Hands of the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, *John Grey* of *Pyrgo*, and *Cecil*.

The Liturgy is order'd to be corrected.

In the mean while, some Ecclesiasticks there were, of a Temper too impatient to wait for the slower Remedies which the Laws might provide, who began to preach the Reform'd Doctrine with too unwary a Freedom, first in private Houses, and then more publickly in several Churches, and other form'd Assemblies: By which means, they drew after them a numerous Confluence of such Hearers, whose chief Property 'tis to have itching Ears; and at length proceeded so far as to bandy controversial Topicks among themselves, and to wrangle about 'em with those of the *Romish* Communion. Insomuch that, to cut off any farther Occasions of such Religious Heats, the Queen put out a very strict Proclamation, forbidding any such Disputes for the future. Notwithstanding she freely consented, that the Epistles, the Gospels, and the Ten Commandments should be read in *English* to the People, but without any Comment or Paraphrase; as also that the Lords-Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Litany should be repeated in the Vulgar-Tongue; That in other things the *Romish* Ritual should be kept in use, till the Parliament should fix the Method of Religious Worship. Mean while the Queen took care to perform her Sisters Funeral-Rites, with great State and Magnificence, in *Westminster*-Abby; and not long after she paid the like Tribute to the Memory of *Charles* V. who in less than two Years (by an Example not very common among Princes, but far more honourable than the most glorious Triumphs) laid down his Empire, and bid adieu to the World, in order to enjoy the blessed Leisure of serving God, and saving his Soul.

She allows the publick Service in *English*,

1558.

And solemnizes the Funerals of Q. *Mary*, and *Charles* V.

The Second Year of her Reign.

1559.

In the Beginning of the New Year, the Q. creates *William Parr*, who had forfeited his Peerage for Treason in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, once more Marquis of *Northampton*, and makes *Edward Seimour*, Baron *Beauchamp*, and Earl of *Hertford*, who had by an Act clandestinely obtain'd, and back'd by the Malice of his Enemies, been dispossess'd of the Title, and a great Part of the Estate left by his Ancestors; *Thomas Howard* Second Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, was honour'd with the Character of Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, *Henry Cary* of *Hunsdon*, her Cousin-German by *Mary Bolen*, and *Oliver St. John* of *Bletnesho*, were created Barons, who were all averse to the *Romish* Superstition. Now came on the Queen's Coronation, who advanced in a well-form'd Cavalcade, from the Tower of *London* to *Westminster*, and receiv'd the most grateful Acclamations of her Subjects in her Passage through the City; a Tribute they were the more encouraged to pay, by the gracious Looks and Expressions the Queen us'd upon this Occasion. The next Day she was crown'd and anointed with the usual Ceremonies, by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Archbishop of *York* and some others refusing to assist at the Solemnity, out of a scrupulous Regard and Tenderness to the *Romish* Religion, which it seems they grew the more solicitous for, by reason that the Q. had not only been season'd and brought up in that of the Protestants, but had lately forbad the Bishop in saying of Mass, to elevate or lift up the *Host*, and had allow'd the Use of the Litany, Epistles and Gospels (meer Abominations with Men of their Temper) in the Vulgar-Tongue. Tho' no Objection could be made to her Piety and Devotion, who not only paid her private and daily Addresses to God, the first thing after she rose, but attended the publick Service at her own Chappel, at the appointed Times, and always on *Sundays* and *Holydays*; where she behaved herself with a Reverence and Devotion suitable to her Greatness. She used to freqent the *Lent-Sermons* dress'd in Mourning, as the gravest and most primitive Habit; tho' she would often mention what she had read of her Predecessor *Henry* III. "That he had much rather put up an humble devout Petition to "God himself, than hear the finest Harangues "about him, from the Lips of others. As for the Doctrines relating to the *Cross*, the Blessed *Virgin*, and the *Saints*, she had very honourable Sentiments of them; and as she treated them with Regard herself, so would she never endure to hear them slighted or vilify'd by others. Some few Days after this, the Parliament met, in the which it was in the first place Resolv'd, *Nemine contradicente*, "That Queen *Elizabeth* was, "and (to use the Words of the *Act*) ought to "be, as well by the Law of God, as the Common and Statute-Laws of the Realm, the "lawful

She restores some Noblemen and creates others.

Is crown'd.

And calls a Parliament.

1559. Ann. 2. "lawful, undoubted, and true Heir to the "Crown, lawfully descended from the Blood-"Royal, according to the Order of Succession "settled in Parliament 35 *Henry* VIII.

Nevertheless that *Act* of her Father's, which related to the Exclusion of her and her Sister from the Succession, remain'd still unrepeal'd: And this was look'd on, in some Mens Opinion, as a great Flaw in *Bacon*'s Politicks, (whom the Queen rely'd on as the very Oracle of the Law, in Cases of this Nature) and the rather, because *Northumberland* had used it as an Argument both against the Queen and *Mary*, for which Reason Queen *Mary* had got it repeal'd; so far as herself was concern'd. And besides this, some factious Spirits might plot some Mischief against her, as a pretended *Usurper*, tho' it be a standing Maxim of the Laws of *England*, "That the "Crown takes away all Defects. Another sort of Men there was, who thought this a very wise Part in *Bacon*, who considering the Perplexity and Uncertainty of Parliamentary Laws and Statutes, and that the very same things that seem'd to favour the Interest of Queen *Elizabeth*, laid a Stain upon the Cause and Credit of her Sister, was therefore very shy of rubbing an old Sore, which Time had now pretty well heal'd; and chose rather to refer to that *Act* of the 35. of *Henry* VIII. which seem'd to bear an equal and fair Regard to the Reputation of both.

In this Session, after other Debates, an *Act* pass'd *for restoring to the Crown its ancient Jurisdiction in Matters Ecclesiastical*; which was done by renewing the Laws of *Henry* VIII. repeal'd by Queen *Mary*, against the See of *Rome*; and those of *Edward* VI. in favour of the Reformation: And likewise by Enacting, "That whatever Rights, Priviledges, or Spiritual Preeminences, had been formerly in Use, and establish'd by any Ecclesiastical Authority "whatever, for visiting the Clergy, and correcting all kinds of Error, Heresie and Schism, "with other Abuses and Disorders; should be "for ever annex'd to the Imperial Crown of "*England*: That the Queen and her Successors "might be empower'd to give their Letters Patents to some particular Persons, for the due "Exercise of that Authority; on this Condition however, that they should not determine "any thing to be *Heresie*, but what had been "so defined time out of mind, either from Canonical Scripture, the four first Oecumenical "Councils, or some other according to the "genuine Sense of Holy Writ; or should hereafter be so defined by Authority of Parliament, with the Consent of the Clergy of "*England*, in Convocation: That all Ecclesiastical Persons, and Magistrates, who receiv'd "Pensions from the Exchequer; such as should "take any Degree in the Universities; Wards "that were to sue their Liveries, and be invested in their Livings; and such as were to "be admitted into the Queen' Service, *&c.* "should take an Oath to acknowledge the Queen "to be the *Supreme* Governour of her Kingdoms, "(for the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of* "*England* did not at all relish) in all Causes, "as well *Spiritual* as *Civil*; all forein Princes "and Potentates being excluded the Privilege "of taking Cognizance of any Causes within "her Dominions.

A Proposal is made for some Alterations in Religion.

This *Act* was vigorously opposed in the House of Lords, by Nine Bishops, (who were all that of the Fourteen yet living were then present) *viz.* the Archbishop of *York*, *Heath*; the Bishop of *London*, *Bonner*; of *Winchester*, *White*; of *Worcester*, *Pate*; of *Landaff*, *Anthony*; of *Coventry*, *Bayne*; of *Exeter*, *Turberville*; of *Chester*, *Scot*; of *Carlisle*, *Oglethorpe*; and by the Abbot of *Westminster*, *Feckenham*. Of the Temporal Lords not one opposed it, but the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Mountague*, whom in Q. *Mary*'s Reign the Parliament had sent to *Rome* with *Thurlby* Bishop of *Ely*, to procure that *England* might be restored to the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, and Obedience to the *Apostolick* See. He, out of a Sentiment of Zeal and Honour, presses it very home, "That it would be a very disgraceful Reflection for *England*, which was so "lately, and so well reconciled to the *Apostolick* "See, to make so sudden a Revolt from it: "And moreover, that the Hazard would be as "great as the Scandal, should the *Pope* thunder-"out his Excommunication, and expose the "Nation, by that means, to the Resentment of "its neighbouring Enemies, upon the Score of "this Defection: That he, for his part, had by "Authority of Parliament, and in the name of "the whole Body of *England*, tender'd Obedi-"ence to the Pope; the Performance of which "he could by no means dispense with. He was therefore more and more importunate with them, that they would not withdraw themselves from the See of *Rome*, to which they were beholden for the first Propagation of the *Christian* Faith, and the constant Defence of it ever since. But when this Matter came to be canvass'd in the *Lower House*, it was carry'd by a considerable Majority of Votes; the Papists in the mean while being much disgusted, and pretending that Protestants were chosen Knights of the Shires, and Burgesses for Cities and Corporations, on this very Design; and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, Men of the biggest Interest among the Nobility, had, to serve their own Turns, or Hopes at least, beg'd Voices; and that *Cecil* underhand play'd the same Game.

1559. Ann. 2.

Whilst these Differences held as to Points of Religion, it was order'd by Proclamation, that no Man should speak irreverently of the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*, and that the *Communion* should be administer'd in both kinds. A Conference was also appointed at *Westminster*, to be held between the *Romanists* and *Protestants*, before the Two Houses, against the last of *March*. The Disputants chosen for those of the Reformation, were *Richard Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Edmund Grindall*, *Robert Horne*, *Edwin Sandys*, *Edmund Guest*, *John Elmer*, and *John Jewel*; Those on the Papists side, were *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Ralph Bayne* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Thomas Watson* Bp. of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Cole* Dean of *S. Pauls*, Dr. *Langdall* Archdeacon of *Lewis*, Dr. *Harpsfield* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Chadsey* Archdeacon of *Middlesex*. The Questions propounded were, 1. Concerning the Reading Divine Service in the Vulgar-Tongue. 2. Of the Authority of the Church in appointing or abolishing Ceremonies, for Edification-sake. And 3. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

A Conference held between the Papists and Protestants.

But all this came to nothing: For, after they had exchanged a few Words about *penning* down the *Arguments* on both sides, because, it seems, they could not agree upon a Method for managing the Dispute; those of the *Protestant* side began to *triumph*, as if they had the Advantage, whereas the *Romanists* complain'd of foul Play, inasmuch as they had not above a Day or two's Notice of the Questions to be debated; and that *Bacon* the Keeper of the Great Seal (a very indifferent Divine, and a profess'd Enemy to the Papists) sat as *Judge* of the Conference. But the naked Truth of the Matter was, That they durst not, upon cool and better Thoughts, call into Question Points of such high Consequence, and which their own Church had never sub-

But comes to nothing.

mitted

1559. Ann. 2. mitted to a Debate, without the Pope's Leave and Approbation; whereupon the great Cry among them was, "When shall Men be satisfy'd "about their Creed, if they were suffer'd at all "Turns to call it into Question? That Disputes "about Religion always ended on the Court-"side; and a great deal more to the same purpose. Nay, so warm were the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, as to declare it their Opinion, "That the Queen, and all those that "were the Abettors of this Separation from the "Church of *Rome*, deserv'd to be excommuni-"cated for their Pains; and for this they were imprison'd. But such as had better Heads among the Party, thought it proper to refer this Censure to the Pope, lest, as they were Subjects themselves, they should be taken for Men of rebellious Principles, or so many Ringleaders or Trumpeters of Sedition. Neither was the Bishop of *Rome* ignorant of these Transactions, who in a great pett commanded Sir *Edw. Carne*, a *Welsh* Knight and a Lawyer, who had manag'd Three successive Embassies at *Rome*, for *Henry* VIII. for Queen *Mary*, and now for Queen *Elizabeth*, to lay down the Character of Envoy, and (to use the very Words of the Mandate) "by Virtue of the verbal Command, and ora-"cular Sentence of the most Holy Lord the "*Pope*, in Respect to the Holy Obedience due "to him, and under pain of the greater Ex-"communication, and the Loss of all his Goods, "not to depart the City, but to take upon him "the Charge of the *English* Hospital. The Meaning of which was, to prevent his giving Intelligence at home, of any secret Attempts the *French* were practising against the Queen; a thing which the Love he bore his Country, had hitherto made him very carefully do; tho' some are of Opinion, that this crafty Gentleman made his Absence from home his own Choice, out of the bigotted Zeal he bore to the Religion of the Place where he was.

Sir *Edw. Carne* lays down the Character of Embassador.

A dispute arises about *Calais*.

In the mean while, (not to insist, at present, upon Parliamentary or Ecclesiastical Matters, in Prejudice to the Order of Time, which is to be observ'd in the first place) the Commissioners of *England* and *Spain* (who managed the Negotiation of a Peace at *Cambray*) stickled hard with the *French* for the Restitution of *Calais*, but could by no means gain their Point; tho' they offered to discount above Three Millions of Crowns due from the *French*, upon a fair and legal Contract: The *Spaniard*, by Reason it was lost upon his Account, and foreseeing likewise that it would be for the Interest of the *Netherlands*, to have it under the Jurisdiction of the *English*, did really and generously side with *England*; whereas he would otherwise have rejected all Overtures of Peace: The *French* objected, on the other hand, That *Calais* alone was no competent Satisfaction for what Damages the *English* had done the *French*, since by their Assistance it was, that many Towns had been taken by the *Spaniard*, a great many Villages of *Little Britain* had been burnt and pillaged by the *English* Fleet, Trade (the very Sinews of a Common-Wealth) was stopt and interrupted, and vast Sums expended, in preventing any Descent the *English* might make upon them.

And besides this, *Calais* was the antient Inheritance of the Crown of *France*, that had been lost and recover'd by several Wars, and was therefore by no means to be restored at this time of day; nay, that the Parliament of *France* had made an Order to this purpose; for, that the Restitution of it would be in effect, to put the Weapon once more into the Enemy's Hand, and to alienate for ever the Affections of the *People* from their *Prince*; and that the Demands of the *English* were, for that Reason, not only unjust, but irrational. The *English* pleaded, on the other hand, the Reason and Equity of their Claim, forasmuch as *Calais* had been for some hundred Years, reckon'd as a Branch of the Crown of *England*, was obtain'd by a Right both of Conquest and Inheritance, and given in lieu for some other Places, which the Kings of *England* had resign'd: That as for the Damages they pretended, they ought to lie at the *Spaniards* Door, who drew the *English* into this War against their Wills; from whence, considering the Loss of their Forts and Men, they receiv'd a very considerable Damage, without one Advantage to balance it: Again, that all the Decrees of *France*, however well contrived for its own Interest, were never the more square and equitable on that account; and that *Calais* could not be refused under any Colour of Justice, when all the Places which had been taken in the last War, were already restored by Compact to the other Princes. The *French* rejoyn'd, That all this was done on the score of some Matches that were then on foot, between the other Princes: They made therefore this Motion, That a Marriage should be agreed to between the eldest Daughter of the Queen of *Scots*, and the eldest Son of Queen *Elizabeth*; That this Daughter should have *Calais* for her Dowery, and that the Queen of *Scots* should renounce all the Right she claim'd in *England*: Or else, that Queen *Elizabeth*'s eldest Daughter should marry the eldest Son of the Queen of *Scots*, and the *English* at the same Time relinquish their Title to the Kingdom of *France*: That all the Debts owing from *France* to *England*, should be remitted, and *Calais* remain still in the Hands of the *French*. To these Proposals the *English* gave little heed, looking on them as so many Amusements, or things in Prospect only, contriv'd on purpose to spin out the time. Matters were come to this pass, when the *Spaniard* had Intelligence, that Queen *Elizabeth* did not only refuse the Offer of a Match from that side, but had made great Alterations in Religion.

King of Spain disobliged by the Q.

So that from this time he began to slacken his Endeavours for the restoring of *Calais*, which before had been very zealous and hearty; and the *Spanish* Commissioners, not being able to brook these Delays, at a Time when the *French* and they seem'd well agreed in all other Points, pretended they would not engage themselves any farther in a War for *Calais*, unless the *English* would furnish them with larger Supplies both of Men and Money, to carry it on for six Years. Hereupon the Cardinal of *Lorrain* takes heart, and boldly assures the *Spanish* Delegates, "That "the Queen of *Scots*, his Niece, was the true "and undoubted Queen of *England*, and that "the King of *Spain*, if he had any Regard to "Justice, ought to use his utmost Endeavours to "get *Calais* deliver'd into the Hands of his "Niece, who was the rightful Queen of *England*. This was no good Musick in the Ears of the *Spaniard*, who was rather jealous of the growing Power of *France*, and endeavour'd therefore to steal out of *England* the Lady *Katharine Grey*, Grand-daughter to *Henry* VIII's Sister, that they might have one to set up against the Queen of *Scots* and the *French*, should things go otherwise than well with Queen *Elizabeth*; and so to prevent the Accession of *England* and *Ireland* to the Crown of *France*. And they made likewise very pressing Instances for advancing a Truce between *England* and *France*, till Matters came to a full Accommodation; and that *Calais*, in the

He attempts to steal the Lady *Katharine Grey* out of *England*.

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mean time, should be deliver'd into the Hands of the *Spaniard*, as an indifferent Umpire or Guarantee: But this the *French*, as well as the *English*, refused to comply with.

Queen *Elizabeth* was aware of this before, and she was very sensible there was no Good to be expected from *Spain*, after the Refusal of the King's Addresses, and the Reformation she had made in Religion: She knew likewise well enough, that the Treaty of *Cambray* was set on foot with no other design, than to suppress the Protestant Religion; and in Truth, as she was a Woman, and her Exchequer in no very good Condition, she seem'd more dispos'd to a Peace, than to engage in a War, tho' never so just, it having been an usual Maxim with her, "That "there was more Honour in settling a pruden-"tial and advantageous Peace, than to deter-"mine Matters by the longest Sword, and the "most powerful Armies.

And she was of opinion besides, that it would not redound to the Honour of *England*, or herself, to be reduc'd to the Necessity of supporting her Interests by a Dependance on *Spain*: That it was therefore more convenient to make a separate Peace, and to concert Measures with the King of *France*, about the Business of *Calais*, being solicited thereto by several Letters not from him only, but from *Montmorency* High-Constable of *France*, and *Francis* of *Vendom*, and by as many Messages from the Duke of *Guise* convey'd by the Lord *Grey*, who having been taken Prisoner at *Guisnes*, was for that purpose discharged by him. The Care and Management of this Affair was committed to *Gido Cavalcanti*, a Nobleman of *Florence*, but brought up in *England*, with whom the *French* King having held a private Conference, judg'd it much the safer way that these Matters should be canvass'd in some obscure Corner of *England* or *France*, by Commissioners privately appointed, and without the *Spaniards* Knowledge: But on the contrary, Q. *Elizabeth* being, tho' a Maid, yet Mistress of a truly Masculine Spirit, roundly declared, that she was a Princess absolutely free to manage her own Affairs, by herself, or such Ministers as she should think fit to make use of: "That altho', "during her Sister's Reign, there was nothing "done without the *Spaniards* Advice and Con-"sent, she for her own part would have this "Part acted, not in the dark, but at the Castle "of *Cambray*, (which lay very near the Town) "between her own Deputies and those of *France*, "and the *Spaniard* be no way consulted in "the Matter. By this means she fell into as ill Terms with *Spain*, as she had done before upon her Refusal of the Match, and the Alterations she had made in Religion. Nevertheless, the *French* King used all possible Precaution; and the better to sift her Inclinations as to *Spain* and the Marriage, desired, in the first place, to be resolv'd in Two Scruples: One was, "That "should he yield up *Calais*, before he knew "what Choice the Queen would make of an "Husband, *Calais* might very easily fall into "the Hands of the *Spaniard*, who would be "realy to purchase it at any rate; and that "Wives would deny nothing to Husbands they "loved: The other was, Whether or no (as the *Spaniards* bragg'd) the *English* had made such a sort of League with the *Spaniards*, as obliged them to wage War with any they should think fit to oppose? To this the Reply was, "That "the Queen had so tender a Concern for her "Kingdom, and was so true a Mother of her "People, that she would never give up *Calais* in "compliment to an *Husband*, and were she in-"clined to do so, the People of *England* would "never suffer it: That there was no such "League with *Spain*, but only a bare amicable "Correspondence; and that she was entirely at "liberty to enter into such Articles with any o-"ther Prince, as might best serve to promote "the Interest of *England*: That for this Rea-"son it was thought adviseable, that the Com-"missioners for both Parties should treat about "making up the Differences, and concluding a "Peace at the Castle. Those appointed on the Queen's side, were *Thurlby* Bishop of *Ely*, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord High-Chamberlain to the Queen, and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of the Metropolitan Churches of *Canterbury* and *York*: for the *French* King, *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, Archbp. and Duke of *Rheemes*, first Peer of *France*, *Annas* Duke of *Montmorency*, Peer, Constable and great Master of *France*, *Jaques Albon* Seigneur of St. *Andrew*, Marquess *Fronsac*, and Marshal of *France*, *Merweiler* Bishop of *Orleance*, and *Claud Aubespine* Secretary to the Privy-Council. Between these was there a Peace concluded, in terms to this effect.

The Q. makes a separate Peace with *France*, without including *Spain*.

Peace concluded

Articles thereof.

I. *That neither Prince should invade the other, or assist any that should.*

II. *That if the Subjects of either should attempt any thing against this Peace, they should be punish'd, but the Peace not broken.*

III. *That there should be a Free Trade.*

IV. *That Ships of War, before they put to Sea, should give Security, not to commit any Act of Piracy upon the other's Subjects.*

V. *That the Fort of* Aymouth *in* Scotland *should be razed.*

VI. *That the* French *King should, for the Term of eight Years, peaceably enjoy the Town of* Calais, *with all Appurtenances, and sixteen great Pieces of Ordnance.*

VII. *That when this Term was expired, he should restore the same and the Town to Q.* Elizabeth.

VIII. *That eight foreign Merchants not Subjects to the* French *King, should engage for the Payment of Five hundred thousand Crowns, as a Penal Fine for not restoring* Calais.

IX. *That notwithstanding, the Queen's Title to the said Town should hold good.*

X. *That five Hostages should be delivered, till such Time as the Merchants should sign the Bond.*

XI. *That if any thing, during the said Term, should be attempted to be altered directly or indirectly, by Force of Arms, either by the Queen herself, or any of her Subjects, by her Command or Authority, against the most Christian King, or the Queen of* Scots, *that then they should be free and disengaged from all Promises or Contracts whatever, and the Hostages and Merchants be instantly discharged.*

XII. *That if any Thing should be attempted to be alter'd on the side of the most Christian King, the Queen of* Scots, *or the Dauphin, against the Queen of* England, *they should be oblig'd, from that Instant, to quit the Possession of* Calais.

Peace with Scotland.

In the very same Place, at the same Time, and by the same Ministers, was the Peace concluded between the Queen of *England*, and *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *Scotland*; in which were certain Articles equally respecting both Parties, concerning the Granting of Safe-Conduct to Murderers, Robbers, Plunderers, and Vagabonds. Which being sign'd and ratify'd at *Upsalington*, by *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Cutberd Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*, *James Croft* Captain of the Town and Castle of *Berwick*, Managers for *England*; and the Earl of *Morton*, the Baron of *Humes* and S. *Clere*, *Dean* of *Glasgow*, Commissioners for *Scotland*; Peace was proclaim'd thro' the whole Kingdom, between the Queen of *England*, the King of *France*, the Dauphin, and the Queen of *Scots*: Which proved ungrateful News

1559. *Ann.* 2. News to the People, who eſteem'd it a great Diſgrace to the *Engliſh*, that *Calais* which they had loſt, might not be reſtored them. The Blame hereof was, by the Proteſtants, laid on the Papiſts and Biſhops; and they again return'd it upon the Governor, the Lord *Wentworth*, who was a Proteſtant. On this Pretence was this Gentleman call'd in queſtion, in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, without being heard, or ſo much as preſent to plead for himſelf; but being again call'd to his Trial, upon the Turn of Affairs, he was both heard, and acquitted by his Peers. But *Ralph Chamberlayne* the Governor of *Calais*-Fort, and *John Harleſton*, who had the Charge of the Tower at *Riſe-Bank*, were afterwards condemn'd as Traitors for quitting their Poſts, tho' the Sentence was not executed.

The Parliament being now juſt ready to be diſſolv'd, 'twas the general Opinion, that the Commons ſhould addreſs the Queen to marry as ſoon as might be; but the Peers refuſed to ſecond this Motion, for fear they ſhould be ſuſpected of a Deſign to ſerve their own Ends by it. Wherefore *Thomas Gargrave* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, with ſome of the Houſe, accoſts the Queen, (having firſt obtain'd leave) and then making his Apology, from the Conſideration of his Place and Office, the Queen's Candor, and the Importance of the Matter, he craved Audience, and then made a Speech in the following Terms:

The Speaker's Addreſs to the Queen. "There is nothing that we more earneſtly deſire of God in our daily Prayers, than that the Happineſs we have hitherto enjoy'd, in the Equity and Juſtice of Your Majeſty's Government, may be continued to this Nation, down to the lateſt Poſterity. But how to effect this, amidſt all the Variety of our Aims and Endeavours, we muſt profeſs our ſelves at a loſs, unleſs either your Majeſty were to reign for ever (a Bleſſing which 'twere in vain to hope for) or would vouchſafe to accept ſome Match capable of ſupplying Heirs to your Royal Virtues and Dominions, which God grant, ſince it is the hearty and united Wiſh of all your Subjects. It ought to be the main Concern of Perſons of all Ranks and Degrees whatever, (of Princes eſpecially) that, ſince they are mortal themſelves, they may ſecure the Kingdom from that Fate. Now it is in your Majeſty's Power to confer this kind of Immortality upon your Kingdom of *England*, by accepting an Husband, who may prove a Support and Comfort to you, in all Changes of Fortune; beſides that your Majeſty's Temper and Age, Perſon and Fortune ſeem to plead hard for ſuch a Change of State. For it cannot be doubted, but the ſingle Zeal and Aſſiduity of ſuch a Relation will diſpatch more Buſineſs, and to better purpoſe, than the joint Endeavours of a great many, who are leſs concern'd: Nor indeed can any thing have a worſe Influence upon the Publick, than that a Princeſs whoſe Marriage muſt needs produce the Twin-Bleſſings of Peace and Safety to a Kingdom, ſhould, like a Nun profeſt, condemn herſelf to a ſingle State. Since your Majeſty has receiv'd the Kingdom by way of Inheritance, from your Royal Anceſtors, you ought to continue it down to ſuch, as may prove the Glory and the Security thereof. Beſides, the Kings of *England* have ever ſhewn a more than ordinary Concern, that the Royal Family might not be extinct for want of Iſſue: Hence was it, that your Royal Grand-father *Henry* VII. did (within our freſheſt Memory) provide ſuitable Matches for his Sons *Arthur* and *Henry*, tho they were both very young. And for the ſame Reaſon, your Royal Father courted *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, for his Son Prince *Edward*, who was then but eight Years old. And it is not very long ſince your Siſter Queen *Mary*, though pretty well advanced in Years, was married to *Philip* of *Spain*. Now, if the Lot of Barrenneſs, whether it fell to the Share of Princes or Peaſants, was always looked on as the moſt grievous Misfortune, what a weighty Guilt muſt that Princeſs contract, who ſhall make this Puniſhment her Option; from whence innumerable Evils muſt ariſe to the Common-wealth, and ſuch Misfortunes as are not even to be thought of without Dread and Horror. That Matters may never come to this ſad Paſs, not only the ſmall Number of us that are here preſent, but all *England* in general, and every one of your Subjects in particular, caſt themſelves at your Majeſties Feet, and with the deepeſt Concern tender this humble but preſſing and earneſt Addreſs."

So far the Speaker; to whom the Queen made this Reply.

'Gentlemen,

Queen's Anſwer. 'The Reſpect and Kindneſs which yourſelves and the reſt of my Subjects expreſs for me, is too great and viſible, though the Occaſion is ungrateful, not to leave very grateful Impreſſions on me; becauſe I am perſwaded they flow from Hearts well affected both to me and my Government. As for the Match you ſeem ſo preſſingly to inſiſt on, it has been my ſettled Judgment a long time, that I was born into this World, to promote and advance the Glory of God in the firſt place, to the utmoſt of my Power. And to this end, I have made choice of ſuch a State, as is freeſt from the Incumbrance of Secular Purſuits, and gives me the moſt Leiſure for the Service of God: And could the Applications of the moſt potent Princes, or the very Hazard of my Life, have diverted me from this Purpoſe, I had long ago worn the Honours of a Bride. Theſe were my Sentiments, when I was but a private Perſon; but now that the Care and Weight of a Kingdom lies upon my Shoulders, to add to theſe the Incumbrance of the married State, would be no point of Diſcretion in me: But, that I may give you the beſt Satisfaction I can, I have long ſince made choice of a Husband, the Kingdom of *England*. And *here, continues ſhe*, is the Pledge and Emblem of my Marriage-Contract, which I wonder you ſhould ſo ſoon have forgot. (With that ſhe ſhewed them her Finger, with the ſame Gold-Ring upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly and formally betroth'd her ſelf to the Kingdom, at her Inauguration) After ſhe had paus'd a little, 'I beſeech you, *ſaid ſhe*, Gentlemen, charge me not with the Want of Children, foraſmuch as every one of you, and every *Engliſh*-man beſides, are my Children and Relations; of which if the Providence of God (which Heaven forbid) deprive me not, I cannot fairly be eſteem'd childleſs. I cannot but in the mean time applaud your Generoſity, for not Impoſing a Husband upon me, for that indeed would neither become you, who are born my Subjects, nor me, conſider'd as an abſolute Princeſs. Neverthele ſs, ſhould it ſo pleaſe God, that I ſhould at any time alter my Condition, I here promiſe to do nothing contrary to the Advantage of the Nation; but to make *ſuch a Choice*, to the beſt of my Power, as that the Kingdom may enjoy a Nurſing-Father as well as Mother: But ſhould it

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‘ be my Lot, to continue as I am, a Virgin-‘ Queen, I doubt not, but the Providence of ‘ God, ſeconded by your Counſels and my own ‘ Meaſures, will ſo diſpoſe Matters, as to put ‘ the Buſineſs of a Succeſſor out of all Debate, ‘ and provide one, who may ſerve the Govern-‘ ment more effectually, than any Heir of mine, ‘ ſince ’tis poſſible, that the Iſſue of the moſt ‘ excellent Princes may deviate from their O-‘ riginal. And, for my own part, I deſire no ‘ better Character, nor fairer Remembrance of ‘ me to Poſterity, than to have this Inſcription ‘ on my Tomb, when I come to pay my laſt ‘ Debt to Nature; *Here lies* ELIZABETH, ‘ *who liv'd and died a Maiden-Queen.*

Other Acts paſs'd this Seſſion.

During this Meeting were ſeveral Acts paſs'd, beſides thoſe already mention'd, relating to the Offering Violence to the Queen's Perſon; concerning the Reſtitution of Tithes and Firſt-Fruits to the Crown, the Uniformity of the Publick Service of the Church *viz.* the Liturgy and the Sacraments, which in *Edward* VI's time, were to be uſed and adminiſtred in all Churches, with very little Variation, under a certain Penalty to ſuch as ſhould preſume to corrupt them, or reſort to any other. There paſs'd likewiſe another for frequenting the Publick Service upon *Sundays* and *Holidays*, on pain of Twelve-pence Forfeiture, to all ſuch as ſhould abſent themſelves, to be employ'd for the Uſe of the Poor. Another there was, to ſuppreſs factious Reports againſt the Queen; and ſeveral more about Merchandize, Shipping, the Cloth and Iron-Trade, and unlawful and riotous Meetings. One more there was, (not to name the Reſt) concerning the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Demeſns, *viz.* That they ſhould not give, grant or leaſe out the Livings of the Church, but for one and twenty Years, or three Lives, to any other than to the Queen and her Succeſſors, reſerving the old Rents. But this Law was never printed. Howbeit that Exception (*to the Queen*) however prejudicial to the Church, turn'd to the Account of ſuch Courtiers as abuſed the Queen's Favour, and of thoſe Biſhops who were of a narrow and covetous Spirit; till at laſt 'twas quite expunged, to the great Benefit of the Church, in the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign.

In this Parliament there was not a Man attainted, a thing that had been very uſual in the firſt Seſſion of that Court in other Princes Reigns; *Gregory Fines* Lord *Dacres*, and *Thomas* his Brother, were reſtor'd to their Title and Eſtates, forfeited by their Father's Attainder, who ſuffer'd in *Henry* VIII's Reign; *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, and his three Siſters, the Children of *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surry*, who was beheaded upon very ſlight Pretences, by *Henry* VIII. juſt before his Death; *John Grey* of *Pyrgo*, Brother to the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Gates*, convicted of Treaſon in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; and ſeveral others.

Liturgy to be read in *Engliſh*.

Upon the Riſing of the Parliament, the Liturgy is (by the Authority of the ſame) introduc'd into the Churches in the vulgar Tongue; *Images* are taken down with as little Diſturbance as might be, and the Popiſh Biſhops and others of the Clergy have the Oath of Supremacy tender'd them, the very ſame which moſt of them took in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. Such as refus'd the Oath were depriv'd of their Livings, Biſhopricks, and other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. The number of whom all the Kingdom over, according to their own Accounts, (and we may reckon in *England* above 9400 Eccleſiaſtical Preferments) amounted to no more than 80 Pariſh *Rectors*, 50 *Prebendaries*, 15 *Heads* of *Colleges*, 12 *Arch-deacons*, and as many *Deans*, 6 *Abbats* and *Abbeſſes*, and 14 *Biſhops*, being all that then ſat, (except only *Antony* Biſhop of *Landaff*, who was the Scourge of his Dioceſe). The Biſhops, were 1. *Richard Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, who had ſome time ſince quitted the Office of *Lord Chancellor*, and had liv'd many Years in an happy and religious Privacy at his Mannor of *Cobham* in *Surry*, being in ſo good Favour with the *Queen*, that ſhe made him many obliging Viſits.

The Popiſh Biſhops depriv'd.

2. *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, who had been Ambaſſador to the *Emperor*, *His Holineſs*, and the *French King*; but had always mix'd ſuch a natural Roughneſs with his Commiſſion, as to deſerve to be generally conſtrued as a cruel and barbarous Man, and on that account had been a Priſoner a great part of his Life.

3. *Cuthbert Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Durham*, a moſt exquiſite Maſter of *Critical* Learning; one that had run through many Stages of Honour at Home, and diſcharged many Embaſſies abroad with much Reputation; and who in his Youthful Days had ſtiffly oppos'd the *Pope's* Supremacy in a long Letter to Cardinal *Pool*; and died at *Lambeth* in a conſiderable old Age.

4. *Thomas Thurlby* Biſhop of *Ely*, did likewiſe reſide here, after he had very commendably acquitted himſelf in a certain Embaſſy relating to the tendering of Obedience to the *See* of *Rome*, as well as in the management of the Treaty at *Cambray*.

5. *Gilbert Bourn* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; a Perſon who had deſerv'd very well of that See.

6. *John Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, an excellent *Grecian*, who had faithfully Tranſlated many things out of *Euſebius* and *Philo*, for the benefit of the Chriſtian Church.

7. *John White* Biſhop of *Whincheſter*; a Man moderately Learned, and a tolerable *Poet* for thoſe Times.

8. *Thomas Watſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; a Perſon vers'd in the more knotty Points of Divinity; but of a ſtiffneſs in his Humour next to ſullenor moroſe.

9. *Ralph Payne* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, a ſecond Reſtorer of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and who had been *Regius Profeſſor* thereof at *Paris* when Learning was encourag'd under *Francis* the Firſt.

10. *Owen Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*.

11. *James Turbervill* Biſhop of *Exeter*. And,

12. *David Poole* Biſhop of *Peterborough*.

Afterwards *Fekenham Abbot* of the *Benedictines* at *Weſtminſter* was depriv'd, a learned and good Man, who liv'd to a great Age, and by many Publick *Largeſſes* to the Poor got the good Will and Eſteem even of his Enemies.

Theſe Perſons were firſt ſent to Priſon; but moſt of them were ſoon after committed to the Cuſtody of their Friends, or the *Biſhops*, thoſe two refractory Perſons excepted, *viz.* *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*, who threatned to Excommunicate the *Queen*. But three, *viz.* *Cuthbert Scot* of *Exeter*, *Richard Pate* of *Worceſter*, and *Thomas Goldwell* of St. *Aſaph*, and many Nuns, left the Kingdom of their own accord. And ſeveral Noblemen did afterwards follow their Example. The chief of which were *Henry* Lord *Morly*, Sir *Francis Ingleſield*, Sir *Robert Pecham*, (both of them Privy-Counſellors to Queen *Mary*.) Sir *Thomas Shelly*, and Sir *John Gages*.

The moſt Learned that could be found among the Preteſtant Divines were recommended to the vacant Sees of ſuch Biſhops as were deceas'd, or had quitted the Kingdom.

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Matthew Parker, a Person of Great Learning and Piety, and of a Modesty equal to both, and who had been Chaplain to *Henry* VIII. and Dean of the Collegiate-Church of *Stoke-Clare*, was Elected to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and Consecrated at *Lambeth*, after the usual Solemnities of a Sermon, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Administration of the Sacrament, together with the Imposition of Hands by three formerly deprived Bishops, *viz. William Barlow* Bishop of *Bath*, *John Scory* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Miles Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *John* Suffragan of *Bedford*. He afterwards Consecrated *Edmund Grindall*, a most excellent Divine, Bishop of *London*; *Richard Cox*, Tutor to *Edward* VI. Bishop of *Ely*; *Edwin Sands*, a fluent and eloquent Preacher, Bishop of *Worchester*; *Rowland Merick*, Bishop of *Bangor*; *Thomas Young*, an exquisite Common Lawyer and Civilian, Bishop of St. *Davids*; *Nicholas Bullingham*, Doctor of Laws, Bishop of *Lincoln*; *John Jewell*, a Person of universal Learning, Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Richard Davis*, Bishop of St *Asaph*; *Edward Guest*, Bishop of *Rochester*; *Gilbert Barkley*, Bishop of *Bath*; *Thomas Bentham*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *William Ally*, an eloquent Commentator, Bishop of *Exeter*; *John Parkhust*, a perfect Master of human Learning, Bishop of *Norwich*; *Robert Horne*, a Man of a strong and pregnant Wit, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Richard Cheny*, a strict *Lutheran*, Bishop of *Glocester*; and *Edmund Scambler*, Bishop of *Peterborough*; besides *William Barlow*, whom he settled in the See of *Chichester*, after he had been, in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. successively Bishop of St. *Davids* and *Wells*; and *John Scory* he Confirm'd Bishop of *Hereford*, a Person of Sense and Learning, and who had been Bishop of *Chichester* before. In like manner *Young*, being translated from St. *Davids* to the See of *York*, did in that Province consecrate *James Pilkington*, a Man of singular Parts and Probity, Bishop of *Duresm*; *John Best*, Bishop of *Carlisle*; and *William Downham*, Bishop of *Chester*. The Character of these Men, and the Sufferings they underwent during their Banishment in Q. *Mary's* Reign, or their Concealment in *England*, I leave to the Pen of Church-Historians.

Now there being a very great Dearth of learned Men, several Mechanicks, Men of the same level for Sense and Learning with the Romish Priests, made a shift to work themselves into Ecclesiastical Promotions, and to compass good Prebends and fat Benefices. Nevertheless the greater part of the Popish Priests themselves thought it would turn to better account, in respect of their Religion and Themselves, to renounce the Pope's Authority, and swear Allegiance to the Queen, were it for no other End than the Exclusion of the Protestants out of their Churches, and the Relief of such of their own Party who had been displac'd. This they judg'd a piece of Discretion highly meritorious, and upon that score hop'd the Pope would be so good as to dispense with their Oath upon such an Occasion.

The gradual Changes of Religion.

Such were the Alterations of Religion made in *England*, to the astonishment indeed of the whole Christian World, that they made so little noise and bustle. However, sudden they were not, (for such Changes are seldom suffer'd) but sober and gradual: For (to repeat the substance of what I said before in very few Words) Popery kept the same footing in *England* for an entire Month and more, which it had at the death of Queen *Mary*. 'Twas the 27th of *December* before the Epistles, Gospels, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Litany were suffer'd to be us'd in English; and it was not till the 22d of *March* that the Parliament agreed to repeal that Act of *Edward* VI. in favour of administring the Lord's Supper in both Kinds. On the 24th of *June* it was, that in virtue of an Act for the Uniformity of Publick Worship, and the Celebration of the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass was put down, and the Liturgy appointed to be us'd in the Vulgar Tongue. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was tender'd to the Bishops and others; and in *August* the Images were pull'd down, broken and burnt. But forasmuch as some scurrilous Wits defam'd her Majesty for having assumed the Title of Supreme Head of the Church, and the Office of the Priesthood into the bargain, she was pleas'd to signifie by an express and publick Writing, "That she pretended to no more than what had "of a long time justly belong'd to the Crown; "*i. e.* to claim, under God, the Supreme Right "and Government over all the Estates of the "Realm, whether Ecclesiastical or Temporal; "and, That no Foreign Power had or ought "to have any Authority or Jurisdiction over "them.

The great advantage accruing from this Change of Religion.

'Twas this new Scene of Religion which, according to the Remark of Politicians, made *England* the freest Nation in Christendom: For, besides that, 'twas now fairly rid of the Pope's foreign Yoke, 'twas a much Wealthier Kingdom than for some Ages it had been; for a vast Sum of Money was now kept at Home, which, to the great impoverishing of the Nation, had been continually Exported to *Rome* for *First Fruits*, *Indulgences*, *Appeals*, *Dispensations*, *Palls*, and such Trumpery.

The Queen's care of Religion and the Government.

The Reform'd Religion being now Establish'd by Parliament, the Queen's chief Care and Concern was how to guard and protect it from the several Attacks and Practices of such as were its profess'd Enemies on that score: And as she would admit of no Innovations herein, so she studied how to square her own Life and Actions by so even a Balance, as to preserve the Character of one not given to change. On which account it was that she chose for her Motto, *Semper Eadem*, i. e. *Always the same*. And as for all her other Counsels or Deliberations, they seem'd to center in this Point, The Security of her Kingdoms. For 'twas a common saying with her, *That she studied the Peoples Welfare so heartily, that it was a prejudice to her own*. If she had any other aims, they were levell'd chiefly at these Marks, The gaining the Affections of her Subjects, the Dread of her Enemies, and the Esteem of all the World: For she was not to learn, that those things have a very sure and stable Foundation which are begun with Deliberation, and carry'd on with Industry and Care. How much she exceeded even herself and her Sex in the Strength and Vigour of her Counsels and Endeavours, and the Sagacity she us'd in preventing, opposing, or diverting any Mischiefs that threatned her Government, the present and succeeding Times may learn from those authentick Records which are to deliver down to Posterity the History and Affairs of this Kingdom.

Her Motto.

The Queen's Answers to the Requests of Foreign Princes in favour of the Papists.

About this time the Emperor and the Catholick Princes interpos'd, by several Letters, in favour of the depriv'd Bishops, and that the Romanists might enjoy the Liberty of separate Assemblies in some Towns and Cities of the Kingdom. To whom the Queen's Answer was, "That altho' those Popish Bishops had openly "and insolently brav'd the Laws, and disturb'd "the Peace of the Kingdom, and did still ob-"stinately reject that Doctrine which many of "themselves, when they enjoy'd Places of Ho-"nour and Trust under *Henry* VIII. and *Ed-*

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“*ward* VI. had recommended to others both by their Pens and from their Pulpits; That she design'd nevertheless to treat them very favourably, in regard to the Character and Intercession of so Great Princes, tho' she should disoblige her better Subjects by it: But as for having any private Chapels for their use, *That* she could not grant, either in Honour or Conscience, nor indeed with any Safety to her Government.

“Nor had she any reason to make such a Grant, since 'twas plain that *England* had not embrac'd any strange or new-fangled Faith, but the very same which Christ commanded, the Primitive Catholick Church receiv'd, and the Oldest of the Fathers jointly approv'd of. And more than this, That to allow of Churches, in which different Modes of Worship were used, besides that 'twould be a plain and gross violation of the Legal and Parliamentary Authority, it would amount to the same thing, as the Engrafting one Religion on the Stock of another, and by that means distracting Peoples Minds, nourishing a Spirit of Mutiny and Faction, and putting all things into disorder. And this would be not only bad enough in itself, but a dangerous Precedent, and of ill Consequence to Protestants and Themselves too; nor indeed would there be any Advantage or Safety at all in it. That she had therefore resolved, of her natural Clemency, and especially at the instance of those Great Persons, to try if she could cure the haughty Spirit of some by a reasonable Connivance; but not so neither, as to indulge and cherish the peevish Humour in them.

The King of *Spain* having cast off all Pretensions to *Elizabeth*, and being upon his Marriage with the *French* King's Daughter, is not however a little perplexed about *England*, which he had no mind to see united to the Crown of *France*: And the better to retain the Honour of so considerable a Kingdom in his own Family, he perswaded the Emperor *Ferdinand*, his Uncle, to offer one of his Sons in Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth*; which he did, by Letters full of Respect; and pressed the Affair very closely by *Gaspar Preiner*, Free-Baron in *Sibing*; and the King of *Spain* himself offers her Majesty his best and heartiest Offices, to bring it about; whilst she in return has both her Ships and Ports at his Service, to facilitate his intended Voyage into *Spain*, and pays him other Services and Compliments by the Hands of Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

Ferdinand the Emp. offers one of his Sons a Suitor to the Q.

The French King, on the other hand, in favour of the King, his Son, the *Dauphin*, and of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, (but, we may suppose, with a glance upon *England*) forbore to draw his French Forces out of *Scotland*, according to his Agreement; but instead of that, he sent over privately *French* Supplies, and dealt more vigorously with the *Pope* to get Queen *Elizabeth* declar'd an Heretick and Illegitimate, and *Mary* confirm'd Lawful Queen of *England*. But these Policies the King of *Spain* and the Emperor did privately countermine by their Agents at *Rome*. Nevertheless the *Guises* had sooth'd the Vanity and Ambition of the French King into so sanguine an hope, that the Queen of *Scots*, their Niece, would prove the Instrument of uniting *England* to the Crown of *France*, that he makes an open Claim of *England* for his Son and Daughter-in-law; and gave orders, when he found he could do nothing at *Rome*, that this Title should be used in all publick Instruments, *Frances and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of* Scotland, England and Ireland: And every where appointed the Arms of *England* to be Quartered with those of *Scotland*, whether in the common Houshold-Stuff, upon the Walls, or in the Herald's Coats; whilst, in the mean time, the *English* Ambassador complain'd in vain, that this was an high Affront to his Royal Mistress Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he had lately entred into a Friendly Alliance; whereas he had done no such thing in the Life-time of Queen *Mary*, who had proclaim'd War against him. Besides, he had in Pay several Regiments of Horse and Foot in readiness both in *France* and *Germany*, to be transported into those Parts of *Scotland* which bordered upon *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* could not but be jealous of the *French* King's Designs, who seem'd to intend nothing less than the absolute Ruin of the Protestants. But it seems all his Attempts were defeated by his sudden Death at a Tilt which was held at the Solemnity of his Daughter's Marriage with the King of *Spain*, and his Sister's, with the Duke of *Savoy*: And very seasonably for the Queen, whose Title he had prepared himself to oppose with all his Might both in *Scotland* and *France*. However this did not hinder her from paying all due Honours to his Ashes, and performing those Funeral Rites in St. *Paul's* which belonged to a Crowned Head and an Allie; and she sent besides a Compliment of Condolance to his Successor, *Francis*, by *Charles*, Son to the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, at this time Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*; who was likewise to Congratulate him upon his Succession, and to desire a continuance of that Friendship which so lately commenced between the two Crowns.

The Fr. King attempts to make the Queen of Scots Q. of Engl.

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The K. of *France* is cut off during his Preparations against *England*.

But *Francis* and the Queen of *Scots*, his Consort, (by the Advice of the *Guises*, who now Ruled all in *France*) began to act publickly as King and Queen of *England*, and were so far from disclaiming the borrowed Arms of *England*, that they made the greater shew and boast of them: And when Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, the Queen's Ambassador in Ordinary, a Wise and Brave Man, demanded the reason of this Proceeding, he receiv'd for answer, That the Queen of *Scots* might very lawfully bear them, with some small note of distinction, were it but to shew her nearness of Relation to the Blood-Royal of *England*. But *Throckmorton* flatly denied it to be any way consistent with the Law of Arms, for any one to usurp the Arms of another Family, who was not an Heir-Apparent of the same. But they afterwards remonstrated, That she claim'd the Arms of *England* for no other reason than to oblige the Queen of *England* to disclaim the Arms of *France*. To this he replied, by putting them in mind of what Dr. *Wotton* had urg'd before at the Treaty of *Cambray*, *viz.* “That twelve of the Kings of *England* had carried the Arms of *France*, and that by so unquestionable a Right, that in all the Treaties which had passed between the *English* and the *French*, not one single Exception was used against it. At last this point was gain'd at the Instance of *Montmorency*, a Rival of the *Guises*, that the Title and Arms of *England* and *Ireland* should never be Quartered with theirs for the future; for he could not apprehend it for the Honour of the King of *France*, that any other Title or Arms should be used or engraven in the King's Seal than those of the King of *France*: That this one Title was as good as a great many; and that the former Kings of *France* assumed no other Character when they put in their claim to *Naples* and *Milan*, &c.

Fran. II. and the Queen of *Scots* Usurp the Arms of *England*.

But

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But, in good earneſt, from theſe very Arms and Titular Pretences, which *Henry* of *France* beſtow'd on the young Queen of *Scots*, by the Council of the *Guiſes*, have flowed, as from their proper Fountain, all thoſe Diſaſters in which ſhe was afterwards involv'd. For this very thing it was that occaſion'd the Queen's profeſs'd Breach with the *Guiſes*, and fomented a private Grudge in her againſt the Queen of *Scots*, which was blown up into a mighty Flame, by the Malice of ſome Rival Parties on both ſides; to the encreaſe of which likewiſe ſeveral Accidents concurred to raiſe it to ſuch an height as not to be extinguiſhed but by her Blood. *So true is it, that the Crown admits no Competitor, and that Princes have a very nice ſenſe of Injuries.*

The ground of the Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*.

Some time after this three Hoſtages only were ſent over for *Calais*, whereas, according to the Treaties, there ſhould have been four. The Engliſh Merchants are ill uſed in *France*, and a Servant belonging to *Throckmorton* the Embaſſador, is in the open Streets forced into the Gallies by *Francis*, Grand-Prior of *France*, and Brother to the D. of *Guiſe*. The Embaſſador himſelf had like to have been Piſtoll'd in his own Houſe, and was abuſively ſerved in Plate which bore the Arms of *England* and *France* together. At the ſame time Monſieur *de Broſſy* is ſent with a form'd Body of Men into *Scotland*, and Galleys are haſtned into the *Britiſh-Seas* from *Marſeilles*, and the *Mediterranean*.

The *Fr.* break the Treaty with the *Engliſh*.

And ſend Soldiers into *Scotland*.

About this time the Proteſtants in *Scotland*, that ſtil'd themſelves *Congregationers*, being overperſuaded by ſome clamorous Churchmen, and *Knox* eſpecially, that furious Zealot againſt Kingly Government, that 'twas properly the Peer's buſineſs to authorize the Suppreſſing of Idolatry, and to compel Princes to keep within the Bounds of the Laws; they did thereupon refuſe to pay Obedience to the then Regent, the Queen's Mother, a Lady of great Virtue, and fell to making Alterations in the Church, Burning and Plundering all Places devoted to Religion in a moſt outragious manner, having drawn to their Party, *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel Herault*, (a Perſon of the firſt Intereſt in the Kingdom, and one who had been exaſperated by the *French*) and decoy'd ſeveral others of the Chief Nobility, in hope of ſharing between them the Revenues of the Church: Inſomuch, that they gave occaſion to the Regent and the French Forces in *Scotland* to ſuſpect, that Religion was the leaſt thing in their Thoughts, and that their real Deſign was a Revolt: And *James*, Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Queen's baſe Brother, (afterwards E. of *Murray*) who was Ringleader of the Party, was accus'd of an Attempt to get the Crown from his Siſter's Head.

The *Scots* refuſe to obey the Queen Regent.

He, in the mean time, diſowns the Charge, and ſolemnly proteſts that he had no other aim than the Glory of God, and the Liberty of his Country, which he could not chooſe but bewail now he ſaw it oppreſs'd by the Regent and the *French*.

The Heads of the Congregation began now to inform Queen *Elizabeth* of their Grievances, in a pathetick Addreſs deliver'd by *William Maitland* of *Lidington*, Lord-Secretary. The purport of which was, "That from the Time the Queen "of *Scots* was marry'd to the *Dauphin*, the Face "of the Government was changed, that foreign "Souldiers pillaged all that came to their Hands, "and that the beſt Places of the Kingdom were "beſtowed on *Frenchmen*; that the Caſtles and "Forts were delivered up to their Cuſtody, the "Starling Coin of the Kingdom was mixt and "adulterated to enrich them; and that the "*French*, by theſe and ſuch like Arts, were "forming a Project to ſeize on the Government "ſhould things happen amiſs with the Queen. *Cecil* (whoſe excellent Advices and Aſſiſtance the Queen always made uſe of upon Emergencies of this kind) employ'd *Henry Percy*, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, to ſift the Intentions of the Heads of the Congregation, and the Meaſures they deſigned to take for Compaſſing their Ends; and on Condition that Succour ſhould be ſent them, upon what Terms a good Correſpondence muſt be ſet on foot between the two Kingdoms.

They crave Aid of Queen Elizabeth.

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They anſwered, with their Eyes lift up to Heaven, "That they had no other deſign in the "World than the promotion of God's Glory, "the ſincere Preaching of his Word, the Extirpation of Idolatry, the ſhunning the Rage "of their Perſecutors, and the preſervation of "their ancient Liberty; that, for their parts, "they were at a loſs how to bring all this about, "but hoped that God's Providence would happily finiſh what it had begun, to the Confuſion "of their Enemies; and for an Union between "the two Kingdoms, that was the very top "of their Wiſhes; and to cultivate and improve it, they would contribute all the Money, Credit and Reſolution they were Maſters of.

The Debates concerning theſe Matters went but ſlowly on in *England*, by reaſon the *Scots* were but ſlenderly provided with Men and Money, and could not well truſt one another. They are adviſ'd only not to put things at all Adventures, to the hazard of a War. But as ſoon as it appear'd that the Marquis of *Albeuf*, the Queen of *Scots* Uncle, levied Forces in *Germany*, by the *Rhinegrave*'s aſſiſtance, to carry on the *Scottiſh* War, that Pieces of Ordnance were convey'd to the Sea-Ports, and greater Preparations made than were neceſſary to quell a few unarm'd *Scots*, (for that was the Pretence) and that the *French*, the better to win the *Danes* into a Confederacy with them, had promis'd, that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould quit his Claim to the Kingdom of *Denmark*, and that they did more ſtrenuouſly endeavour to procure the *Biſhop* of *Rome*'s Cenſure againſt the Queen, and his declaratory Sentence for the Queen of *Scots* Right to the Crown of *England*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Perſon of great Diſcretion, was diſpatched to the Borders of *Scotland*, to adviſe with the Earl of *Northumberland*, Warden of the *Middle-March*, and with Sir *James Crofts*, Governor of *Berwick*. For the Politicians in *England* were at a loſs where theſe things might end, unleſs it were in the Invaſion of the Kingdom, and the attaining by force that which their Arms and Titles did already pretend to.

Theſe Matters are Debated in *England*.

This Point was very ſeriouſly Canvaſs'd at Home; on one ſide, ſince it would look like a very ill Precedent for a Prince to aſſiſt the Sedition of his Neighbour's Subjects; on the other, 'twas an act of Impiety to leave thoſe in the Lurch who embrac'd the ſame Religion. And 'twould be but an odd piece of Politicks to let the *French*, the ſworn Enemies of *England*, and the Pretenders to the Crown of it, when they enjoy'd a ſettled Peace all round them, to remain in Arms in *Scotland*, a Neighbouring Nation, and ſo conveniently ſituated for Invading *England* on that ſide, where both the Nobles and Commons of the Kingdom were moſt affected to Popery. This would be much the ſame in effect as to betray the Quiet and Safety of the whole Nation to its Enemies. That ſlower Counſels were now therefore to be laid aſide, and Arms to be ſpeedily provided, foraſmuch as true Engliſh Wiſdom had always choſe to prevent their Enemies

'Tis Reſolv'd that the Fr. be forc'd out of *Scotland*.

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mies Approaches, rather than to wait for them: And that 'twas always lawful both to prevent and keep Dangers at a distance, and that by the same Arts and Stratagems used by the Enemy to promote or bring them forward. That as for *England*, it could never be safe, but when powerfully Armed; and never safer than when there was nothing to be apprehended from *Scotland*. To prevent any fear of this kind, that Succours were to be sent to the suffering Protestants, and the *French* to be drove out of *Scotland*, for that they were to be wrought on by Force, not Advice; through the fatal neglect of which, not long since, *Calais* was lost, to the great Shame and Detriment of the Nation. And a very little before, upon a mighty fair pretence of Peace on their side, *Ambleteul* and the Forts about *Boulogne*, were surpriz'd and taken, whereby *Boulogne* it self of Necessity surrender'd to them.

Nor could it be otherwise expected than that *Berwick* and the Frontier-Towns must run the same Risque, unless they took up Arms on the first Occasion, and were so wise not to trust the smooth Disguises used by the *French* in *Scotland*, as to their Inclinations for Peace, since 'tis plain that the *French* are cunning Politicians in contriving their ambitious Designs, and are Masters of a vast Revenue to put them in execution: Insomuch, that it has grown into an *English* Proverb, *That* France *could neither be Poor nor Peaceable for three Years together*. And Queen *Elizabeth* used very frequently that Expression of *Valentinian*, the Emperor, *Choose the* French *for your Friends, but not for your Neighbours*. This was therefore the result of the whole Matter, That it was Just, Honest, and even Necessary and Convenient, to drive the *French*, as soon as possible, out of *Scotland*.

English Soldiers are sent by Sea and Land into *Scotland*.

Accordingly *William Winter*, Master of the Naval-Stores, is sent with a Fleet into *Bodotria*, (now *Edinborough-Frith*) who, to the great Consternation of the *French*, falls furiously on their Men of War lying by the Shore, and also on the *French* Forces in the Isle of *Inchkeith*. The Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord-Lieutenant of the North-Parts towards *Scotland*; *William* Lord *Grey*, an excellent Soldier (who had made a brave but unsuccessful Defence of *Guisnes* against the *French*) was made Warden of the *Middle* and *East Marches*; and *Thomas* Earl of *Suffex*, who had been Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* in Queen *Mary's* Reign, was sent back in the same Quality, with Instructions to be very particularly careful that the *Irish* (who were a People Rude and Wild enough, and so by consequence the more Superstitious) were not Inveigled by the *French* into a Rebellion, on pretence of Religion. That he should Fortify *Ophals* with strong Garrisons, and should bestow large Parcels of Lands on the oldest and best-deserving Soldiers, to be possess'd by them and the Heirs-Male of their Body for ever. That he should restore *Surley-Boy*, a *Scotch Irishman*, to those Possessions he claim'd by Inheritance in *Ulster*, to hold in Fee for Duties to be by him perform'd. That he should make a moderate Advance of the Queen's Revenues, and model her Exchequer there by that of *England*.

Francis Earl of *Shrewsbury* dies.

At this time *Francis Talbot*, one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, died. He was the fifth Earl of *Shrewsbury* of his Family, and left his only Son *George* to succeed him, whom he had by *Mary*, Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*.

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The Third Year of her Reign.

The Treaty at *Berwick*.

As soon as the Duke of *Norfolk* arriv'd at *Berwick*, he was joyn'd by *James*, the Bastard Prior of St. *Andrews*; the Lord *Retheuen*, and others; who, on the behalf of the Duke of *Castle-Herault* and other Allies, enters into a League with him in the Name of the Queen of *England*, to this effect. *Whereas the* French *endeavour against all Right and Reason to subdue* Scotland, *and unite it to the Crown of* France, *the Queen of* England *shall oblige herself to take into her protection the Duke of* Castle-Herault, *Heir-Apparent to the Crown of* Scotland, *together with the Nobles and Commons, as long as the King of* France *holds* Mary *Queen of* Scots *in Marriage, and one Year after. She shall furnish an Army at Land, and equip a Fleet at Sea with all necessary Supplies, in order to drive the* French *out of* Scotland: *That she shall not make Peace with the* French, *but on condition that* Scotland *have and enjoy its ancient Liberties. That the Forts which the* English *help'd to recover to the* French *shall be rased out of hand, and deliver'd to the Duke of* Norfolk, *to do with them as he shall think fit. The* English *shall fortify no places in* Scotland *but by the consent of the Duke of* Castle-Herault *and the Peers of the Land. That they shall lend the* English *what Assistance they can. That they shall treat all the Enemies of* England *as their own; and shall not establish an Union between the Crowns of* France *and* Scotland *on any other Terms, than those already fix'd by right of Marriage. That if* England *should happen to be Invaded by the French on this side the River* Tine, *the* Scotch *should be obliged to sent* 2000 *Horse and a* 1000 *Foot under the Queen of* England's *Pay: But if the Invasion were beyond the* Tine, *they should assist the* English *with what possible Forces they could, and maintain them for* 30 *Days, as they used to do for the Defence of* Scotland. *The Earl of* Argile, *Lord-Chief-Justice of* Scotland, *shall do his best to reduce the North of* Ireland *to better Orders, upon such Terms as could be agreed on between him and the Lieutenant of* Ireland. *Lastly: They agreed on the Measures to be taken on both sides in case* Mac-Conel, *or any of his Party from the Western Isles, should attempt any thing in* Scotland *or* Ireland. *For the better performance of this Treaty, Hostages should be sent into* England *before the* English *Army entered* Scotland; *which Hostages might be changed every four or five Months at the pleasure of the* Scots, *during the Marriage between the* French *King and the Queen of* Scots, *and a Year after. The Duke of* Castle-Herault, *and the Earls and Barons of Parliament concerned in the League, shall sign these Articles with their Hands and Seals within* 20 *Days. And withal, in regard that the Queen takes these Measures purely in respect to a good Neighbourhood and Correspondence with the* Scots, *as well as the Rescue of them from a Yoke of Slavery, they shall openly declare, That they will pay Allegiance to the Queen of* Scots *and her Husband in all things that do or shall not interfere with their ancient Liberty.*

Martigues comes with *French* Forces into *Scotland*.

And now was there a Discovery made, as well by several Dispatches from foreign Princes, as private Letters that were intercepted, That the *French* were resolved to invade *England*; and *Sebastian Martigues*, a young Nobleman of the House of *Luxemburg*, arrived in *Scotland*, with 1000 Foot, all disciplin'd Men, and one or two Cornets of Horse. *D'oisely*, a *French*-man, and one of the Queen Regent's Council, made an insolent Proposal to the *Scotch* Nobility at *Aymouth* near *Berwick*, of investing by Force the King and Queen of *Scotland*, in the Possession of *England*. But they, being well enough acquainted with the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and to avoid the Suspicion of being inclined to break the Peace they so lately agreed to, rejected

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sted the Motion. Nevertheless, the best Advice the Queen-Regent could give *Martigues*, could hardly give Check to that railing Ambition, which prompted him at any rate to invade *England*. But his Mettle was soon cool'd, when the Marquis's of *Albeuf*, who set sail for *Scotland* with a bigger Force, after the Escape of a violent Tempest on the Coast of *Holland*, with the Loss of some Ships and a great many Men, driven back to *Diep*, from whence he had set sail.

Albeuf driven off way by foul Weather.

About this time arrived from *Spain* one *Philip Stavely* of *Glaion*, a Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, and Master of the Ordnance, to remonstrate the Complaints of the *French*, against the Queen, in relation to *Scotland*, and to mediate a Peace, in the Name of the King, his Master; but withal, he privately advised the Queen to carry on her Designs in *Scotland*, with her utmost Vigour and Resolution; tho' the King of *Spain*, on the other hand, openly refused the Transportation of her Naval Provisions to *England*, which she had made at *Antwerp*; insomuch that she was forced to get fresh Supplies from *Germany*. Nor was *Stavely*'s Proposal without some very suspicious Circumstances, *viz.* That some *Spanish* Troops should be sent to *Scotland*, in Conjunction with some *French* Riegments, to quash the Rebellion there, and to be at the same time a Check upon the *French*, should they attempt any thing upon *England*. All this while *Michael Seury* the *French* King's Ambassador in ordinary, urged the Queen several times to call home her Fleet and Army out of *Scotland*: Nor did she seem averse to it, provided the *French* might be call'd home too. But both Parties using Pretences for Delay, the Matter was shifted off from time to time, till *J. Monluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, a Person no way ill inclin'd to the Protestant Interest, came out of *France*; who, upon his Arrival, declar'd, that he had receiv'd no Orders relating to this Affair: However, being a Man of Sense and Address, he used all possible Perswasions for calling home the Land and Sea-Forces out of *Scotland*; and roundly maintain'd that the bearing the Arms of *England*, was no Injury to the Queen, but a Credit rather to the Blood-Royal of *England*. But when neither the one nor the other Project would go down, the first being thought absurd, and the other dangerous, *Seury* intreated *Stavely*, and the Bishop of *Aquila*, Ambassador in ordinary from the King of *Spain*, that they would be present as Witnesses to his Protestation against the Queen, for her Breach of the Treaty of Peace; which they refus'd, as having no Warrant for such a Procedure. He made, nevertheless, his Protest, in a very long Speech: To which there was a printed Answer, in which her Majesty protested to the whole World, *That the Breach of the Treaties, and all the Grounds of the War, had proceeded purely from the* French; *and that nothing could have been more grievous or distastful to her, than this War*; and more of this kind, as may be easily collected from what has been said already, and by a former Manifesto, wherein she declared, *That tho' she had receiv'd the basest Injuries and Affronts, in that her Arms and Title had been usurped, yet could she never be induced to believe, that this was done by the Consent of the King or Queen of* France, *or the Princes of the Blood; but by the ill Practices of the* Guises, *who had abused the Wealth of the King and Kingdom of* France, *in order the better to wound* England, *through the Sides of the* Scots: *Wherefore, for her part, she could not be regardless of her own and her People's Safety.* And without all question, the *Guises*, out of their Affection to their Niece the Q. of *Scots*, and their Enmity of *Elizabeth*, on the score of Religion, and out of an Ambition to deserve well of *France*, by the Addition of new Kingdoms to it, left no Stone unturn'd to compass the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; depending on the Promises of some of her Subjects that were no Favourers of the Reformation. But the Feuds and Discontents which sprung up in *France* about transferring the Government from the Princes of the Blood, to the *Guises*, diverted 'em from their Purpose. And she herself used so watchful a Precaution against their base Machinations, that she became, from this Moment, the Wonder of her Friends, and the Terror of her Enemies.

Spaniards stop the English Provisions.

French labour the Recalling of the English from Scotland.

They protest against the Queen, and are answered.

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The same day that *Gray* came with his Forces into *Scotland*, *Seury* and *Monluc* made very pressing Instances, to have the Army call'd home again; and fed the Queen with Hopes, that *Calais* would be restored, as soon as she commanded it back. She answered plainly, That she very little valued *Calais*, a poor Fishing-Town, in comparison of the Safety and Security of all *Britain*. And the very same day, she dispatch'd into *Spain*, *Anthony Browne*, Viscount *Montacute*, a Person who had the Reputation of a wise Man, but a rigid Catholick withal, and one who was like to be more welcome, on that score; who with Sir *Thomas Chamberlaine*, her Majesty's Resident there, should acquaint the King of *Spain*, among other Matters, upon what just and warrantable Grounds she had sent an Army into *Scotland*, viz. the same already mention'd. And should shew him moreover, *That the Queen of* Scots, *an infirm young Woman, was marry'd in* France, *to a crazy King, without hope of Issue: That by the Practices of the* Guises, *a Plot was laid to ensnare* Hamilton, *Duke of* Chastel-Herault, *who was by Authority of Parliament declar'd Heir-Apparent to the Crown of* Scotland; *together with his Son, who was travelling in* France: *That their Designs tended to an Union of the two Crowns of* France *and* Scotland, *and not to secure the latter for the Queen; which how dangerous Consequence it might be of to his Provinces in the* Netherlands, *as well as to* Spain, *he might please to take into his serious Consideration. On the other hand, that the Confederate Nobility of* Scotland *were not to be branded for Rebels, when they had no other Ends than to preserve the Kingdom (as they were in Duty bound) to the Queen and her lawful Successors; which they could not, without a palpable Injury to themselves and theirs, suffer to be undermined by the Stratagems of the* Guises, *or made over to the* French.

Calais offered by the French,

And rejected.

He excuses the Scotch Confederates.

In the Beginning of *April*, the *English* Army, consisting of 1200 Horse, and 6000 Foot, came before *Leith*. This Town is situated on *Edinburgh*-Frith, the greatest In-let of all *Britain*, where the River *Leith* discharges it self into the Sea; and yields a very convenient Harbour for Shipping, scarce Two Miles from *Edinburgh*, the Metropolis of *Scotland*: And by reason of so commodious a Situation, the *French* had fortify'd it as a Place of Reserve for their Auxiliary-Troops. *Martigues* draws out his Companies of Foot, and attacks the *English* in the Van to keep them from a Hill, where he thought they would intrench themselves: But after a Skirmish of about four Hours, he was beaten back to the Town, with the Loss of some on both sides: Then they began to cast up Trenches, and raise Batteries, from whence they annoy'd the Town, as much as from their Ships. The *French* made some Sallies, but with more Courage than Success, and gave many Proofs of their Bravery: They won the Trench (among other advantages) on the 15*th* of *April*, nail'd three great Pieces, and took Sir *Maurice Berkly* Prisoner. But Sir *James Crofts* and *Cuthbert Vaughan* soon drove them from their Post, and beat them into the Town;

Leith besieged.

Town, with a confiderable Slaughter. At the fame time *Arthur Grey*, Son to the Lord *Grey*, who commanded in chief, was fhot in the Shoulder. After this, the Camp was removed nearer to the Town, becaufe the Great Shot fell fhort of it, by reafon of their too great Diftance. And not long after, a Part of the Town, and fome Granaries, by chance took fire, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants. This the *English* endeavour'd to increafe, by directing thither their great Guns, and in the mean time they enter'd the Ditches, and took the Height of the Walls. On the *6th* of *May* (according to an Agreement between the *English* and *Scots*) they attempt to fcale the Walls, and take the Town; but by reafon their Ladders were too fhort, and the Mote deep, upon their ftopping the Sluice, they were repuls'd, and put in Confufion by a Shower of fmall Shot from the Hills, which kill'd fome, and wounded more. The Blame of this Difgrace lay at *Crofts*'s door, for that he, not approving the Defign, (whether out of his real Opinion, or Favour to the *French*, or Malice to *Grey*, I will not take upon me to determine) had ftaid at his Poft, like an idle Spectator, without offering to fupport the diftrefs'd Party. Moft certain it is, that *Norfolk* and *Grey* impeach'd him by private Letters to the Queen, not only on this Account, but alfo for holding a private Correfpondence with the Queen-Regent of *Scotland*, and oppofing this Expedition: Whereupon being afterwards examin'd in the Council-Chamber, he was remov'd from his Government of *Berwick*, and *Grey* placed in his Room. Neverthelefs, he was not quite out of the Queen's Favour, who afterwards made him (and that for good Reafons) Comptroller of her Houfhold. The *English* and *Scotch* being a little balk'd by this ill Fortune, *Norfolk* encourages 'em forthwith, by fending frefh Supplies: After this they had fome little Skirmifhes, till the *French* King, being advertifed that his Men were fo block'd up at *Leith*, that no Supplies could reach them either by Sea or Land, by reafon of the great Diftance, and that new Tumults fprung up every day at home; granted Authority to the Bifhop of *Valence*, and *Charles Rochefaucalt Randan*, to compound Matters with Q. *Elizabeth*'s Commiffioners, who immediately difpatch'd into *Scotland William Cecil*, and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. For the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, thought it too mean a Condefcenfion for Princes to debate Things on a Level with their own Subjects; and *Murray* made fuch Propofals, as, in *Cecil*'s Opinion, were neither fit for Princes to grant, nor Subjects to ask. During this Parley, *Mary* of *Lorrain*, the Queen's Mother, and the Regent of *Scotland*, departed this Life; a pious and wife Princefs, who had fuffer'd the moft bitter Reproaches, from fome virulent and furious Preachers (as may be feen in their own Church-Hiftory, call'd in by Queen *Elizabeth*, when 'twas juft going to the Prefs) as likewife from the Hands of the Congregation, who, as native Counfellors of the Kingdom, had in the Name of the Q. of *Scots* and her Husband, by their own Authority, excluded her from the Regency, as one that oppofed the Glory of God, and the Liberty of the *Scots*. The Articles agreed upon by the Commiffioners, three Months after the Siege was laid, were as follow.

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Arthur Grey wounded.

Crofts accufed.

The *French* K. offers Terms of Peace.

The Queen-Regent dies.

The Treaty of Peace in the Caftle of Cambray, *between Queen* Elizabeth *and* Henry II. *of* France, *fhall be renewed and confirmed.*

The Treaty made at the fame place between England *and* Scotland *fhall be likewife ratify'd.*

The Treaty at *Edinborough*, and the Articles thereof.

Preparations for War fhall be at an end on both fides.

The Fort at Aimouth *in* Scotland *fhall be rafed.*

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The King of France *and Queen* Mary *fhall quit the Arms and Title of* England *and* Ireland.

The Debate concerning Reparations to be made to Queen Elizabeth; *and about Caution for the fifth Article is refer'd to another Meeting to be held at* London; *and if it cannot then be adjufted, the Catholick King to decide the Matter.*

The King and Queen fhall be fully reconcil'd to the Peers of Scotland, *their Subjects.*

The Confederates, his Catholick *Majefty more efpecially, fhall be comprehended.*

This Treaty fhall be Sign'd within fixty Days, and an Oath taken on both fides for Confirmation thereof.

This Peace was Proclaim'd thro' the Camp and Town to the general Satisfaction; for all fides began to be weary of the War: The *English*, for the miferable Wafte of the Country all about; the *French* for Want of Victuals, and the *Scots* for want of Pay: And 'twas a Peace without doubt in which all *Britain* found its Advantages, as it tended to fecure the Ancient Liberties of *Scotland*, and to preferve the Honour and Safety of *England*, which had now nothing to fear on the fide of *Scotland*; fo that the *English* were ready to acknowledge, with all poffible Cheerfulnefs, that Queen *Elizabeth* was the Author of their Safety, as on the other fide the *Scots* with equal Satisfaction own'd her the Defender of their Liberties.

A Peace Proclaim'd.

She, all this while, like a true Mother of her Country, was fo mightily intent upon the Publick Welfare, that fhe feem'd to have no room in her Thoughts for the Addreffes of the moft Potent Princes. For fhe was at one and the fame time Courted for *Charles* Duke of *Auftria*, a younger Son of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, by the Count of *Elphenftein*; and the Proteftants of *Scotland* recommended to her *James* Earl of *Arran*, as the likelieft Method for uniting the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. But this Motion was prefently rejected, tho' without any Difparagement to the Character of the Perfon. Next appear'd *Errick* King of *Sweedland*, by the means of his Brother the Duke of *Finland*, whom *Guftavus* (their Father) had fome time before his death fent into *England* upon this Errand; and with the more hopes of Succefs, becaufe he profefs'd the Queen's Religion: Nay, he was fo credulously bent on the bufinefs, that he had Thoughts of coming into *England* himfelf; tho' the *Dane* refolv'd, out of a Grudge to him, to intercept his Paffage, as thinking it no way for his Intereft for *England* and *Sweedland* (which has *Denmark* juft between them) to be united by this Match.

The Q. has more Suitors.

Charles of *Auftria*.

The Earl of *Arran*.

Errick King of *Sweedland*.

The great Affection and Refpect which this Prince exprefs'd to the Queen, She moft gratefully acknowledg'd, and affur'd him, 'That he 'fhould be very welcome to *England*, but that 'fhe could not as yet prevail on herfelf to change 'a fingle Life, in which fhe had found fo much 'Satisfaction, for the other State. She defir'd him 'therefore to ask any other Inftance of her 'Friendfhip, and whether he fucceeded or not, 'fhe would endeavour to let him fee he had not 'thrown away his good Inclinations. She ad'vis'd him likewife to ufe no Delays in the 'choice of a Wife, and wifh'd he might gain 'one anfwerable to his Worth and Merit. With this Anfwer *John* Duke of *Finland* return'd Home about fix Months after, having left no Method unattempted for advancing the Match, by Court-

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ing the Queen every Day, giving rich Presents to the Courtiers, and drawing the Love and Respect of the Meanest, among whom he would often scatter some pieces of Silver, assuring them withal, that when his Brother came, he would be as free of his Gold. Notwithstanding he was ill used by his Brother at his return, who, it seems, was jealous, that he had manag'd the Courtship rather for his own self than him. He therefore still continu'd his Suit for two Years together, and sent fresh Proposals by *Nicholas Guldenstein*. And so lightly Amorous was he withal, as at the same time to make Love to *Philip* the Landgrave of *Hesse*'s Daughter, and when that would not do neither, he took up with a Young Woman of very mean Extraction.

The Queen's Answer to Arch-duke *Charles*.

But *Charles* of *Austria* could not but hope, that the House of *Austria*, which had the good Luck to make the most Honourable Alliances, would grow yet more Considerable by the Addition of *England*; and that he should be the happy Instrument of getting a Toleration at least, if not an Establishment for the old Religion. Neither did the Queen dash all his Pretensions at once; for she declar'd before *Elphenstein*, and by Letters to the Emperor, 'That among the many Honourable Offers she had made her, there was 'not any more so than the Proposal of *Charles* 'of *Austria*; but that however she was not capable of being frighted by pass'd Dangers, nor 'sooth'd by any prospect of Honour, out of her 'Resolution of living Single, which yet was 'not so confirm'd at to make her abjure a marry'd State; and she had a very good assurance, 'that the God, upon whose Goodness she relied in all things else, would direct all her 'Thoughts in this and other matters, to her 'own and her People's Welfare.

Adolph D. of *Holstein* arrives in *England*.

About this time *Adolph* Duke of *Holstein*, Uncle to *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, at the instigation of the *Dane*, came into *England*, in order to break off the Match with the *Swed*, and not without some hopes of a more Honourable one for himself, occasion'd by a Letter, wherein the Queen, it seems, had wish'd, *That he were as nearly Allied to the* English *as he had been in times past to the* Spaniard; *and moreover promis'd him great Civilities*. To whom, besides an honourable Reception, she gave the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension; and engag'd him to her Interests by so respectful a Treatment. He was a Prince that had acquir'd a mighty Reputation in the Wars, upon his late Conquests of the *Dith-Marsians* in *Jutland*.

Sir *Will. Pickering*

Nor were there wanting at Home some Persons who fed themselves (as Lovers use to do) with Golden Dreams of marrying their Sovereign. Sir *William Pickering*, (for instance) a Gentleman well Born, of a narrow Estate, but much esteem'd for his Learning, his handsome way of Living, and the Management of some Embassies into *France* and *Germany*. Next to him

The E. of *Arundel*. *Robert Dudley*.

was *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, a Person of an ancient and noble Family, and very Rich, but withal declining in Years. Not to forget *Robert Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s younger Son, restor'd by Queen *Mary* to his Honour and Estate, a Person of Youth and Vigour, and of a fine Shape and Proportion, whose Father and Grandfather were not so much hated by the People,

The Queen's Favour to him.

but he was as high in the favour of Q. *Elizabeth*, who out of her Royal and Princely Clemency heap'd Honours upon him, and sav'd *his* Life whose Father would have destroy'd *her's*. Whether this was from any real Virtues in him, whereof he gave some appearances; or in regard of the common lot of their Imprisonment in Queen *Mary*'s Days; or that there was something in his Birth, or the Planets that rul'd it, which occasion'd this Sympathy of Thoughts, I cannot determine: But most certain it is, that the favour or disfavour of Princes to several Persons is govern'd by a secret kind of Fatality. For the Queen having made him Master of the Horse, as the first token of her Friendship and Esteem, she made him Knight of the Garter (to the amazement of all) in the first Year of her Reign; and prefer'd to the same most Honourable Order the D. of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and Earl of *Rutland*.

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Montacute's Embassy in *Spain*.

In the interim the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, Embassador in *Spain*, shews the King the necessity of the *Scottish* War; and acquits the *Scots*, to the best of his power, from the Charge of Rebellion. He did it, but after a very cool manner, and like one that was a firm Bigot to the Romish Religion, says that no other Faith was brought into *England*, but what was consonant to the Scriptures, and the four first Oecumenical Councils; and insists upon the renewing the Treaty of *Burgundy*, that had been formerly made between the Predecessors of the King of *England* and *Spain*; but receives for answer, that

The *Spaniards* refuse to renew the Treaty.

'The restoring of this Treaty was needless. (Tho' it must be confess'd, that the renewing of Treaties is not only very customary among Princes, but highly reasonable, as being indeed the very life of all Covenants, and an evidence to the World of their mutual good Understanding, and he himself and his Father *Charles*, in the Treaty of Marriage with Queen *Mary* of *England*, in the Year 1553, had oblig'd themselves to confirm the same Compact). 'He then 'proceeds to lament the Changes of Religion in '*England*, as likewise the sending of an Army 'into *Scotland*, and relieving the Rebels, and 'complains that he had no Intelligence of these 'Matters till it was too late. Nevertheless he did indefatigably oppose the Practices of the *French*, who endeavoured to Excommunicate the Queen, and laboured by his Agents at *Rome*, that no such Censure might pass without his consent. He likewise gave secret Intimations (for his own advantage) tho' they happen'd to be too late to have it inserted in the Articles with the *French*, *That the* English *might be allow'd to drive the* French *out of* Scotland, *if they should offer to return again*; *and that a Caution should be put in for the restoring of Calais*. The Viscount however easily saw that the King was disoblig'd, and the Queen discover'd it likewise, not barely by the Marks I have mention'd, but by his return of the Garter into the Viscount's Hands, which seem'd to be a direct breach of all future good Correspondence with the *English*. But he was much more nettled at a repulse he receiv'd afterward, when by the Solicitations of the Count of *Feria*, (who had married the Daughter of *William Dormer* by *Mary Sidney*) he sent an Embassador into *England*, to interceed on behalf of *Jane Dormer*, the Daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, Widow of Sir *Robert Dormer* Kt. and Grandmother to the Countess of *Feria*, as likewise of *Clarentia*, an old Lady that had been much in the Favour and Secrets of Queen *Mary*, and her chief Almoner to some poor Women; and of *Richard Shelly*, afterwards call'd the Prior of the Order of St. *John* in *England*, and *Thomas Harvey*, great Favourers both of the *Romish* Religion, and in good Esteem with the King of *Spain*; that they might have leave to Reside in the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, whither they had withdrawn themselves, without Licence obtain'd, on the account of their Religion, for it was a *Proviso* in the ancient Laws of *England*, That under Pain of the Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, none but Peers of the first

The K. of *Spain* sends back the Garter.

 Rank,

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Rank, and Merchants should (without the King's special Licence) leave the Kingdom, or reside in foreign Countries beyond such a fix'd Time; and that too, either for the recovery of their Health in a warmer Climate, or for the improvement of their Minds in the Universities, or the instructing themselves in the Art of War: And (as she wrote in answer to the King of *Spain*) 'Twas beyond all Precedent, that such a Licence 'should be granted to Women, as to permit 'them to live always out of their own Country; 'and tho' the thing was not in itself of any 'great Concernment, yet since they were not 'like to receive any advantage by such an absence, which might prove equal to the bad influence which such Examples might have upon 'the Commonwealth; She therefore thought it 'a Liberty no way fit to be granted.

The Count of *Feria* incens'th the Pope against the Queen.

The Count of *Feria* taking this for an Injury done to himself, that he might not pass it by unreveng'd, forc'd a Servant of *Chamberlain's*, the *English* Embassador in Ordinary for *Spain*, into the Inquisition, on pretence of Heresie: And being enrag'd at the Queen and the *English*, he blew up the King's Resentments into a greater flame, his Wife not being able to draw him from these measures. Nay, there goes a report, that he temper'd with *Pius* IV. the Bishop of *Rome* Elect, to get her Excommunicated: But he (on what pretence I cannot say) sent unto her *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbat of St. *Saviour*, with private Instructions and flattering Letters, which I shall here give you intire, tho' it may perhaps submit me to the Censure of having transgress'd the exact Laws of History.

To Our Dearest Daughter in Christ, ELIZABETH, *Queen of* England.

The Pope's Letter to the Q.

"Our most beloved Daughter in Christ, "Greeting and Apostolical Benediction, How "earnestly we desire (as by our Pastoral Duty "bound) to take effectual care of your Salvation, and to provide for your Honour and the "Establishment of your Kingdom, both God, "the Searcher of Hearts, knows, and you may "learn yourself, from the Instructions we have "given to our belov'd Son *Vincentio Parpalia*, "Abbat of St. *Saviour*, a Person not unknown "to you, and well approved of us, to be communicated to you. We do therefore (most "dear Daughter) exhort and perswade your "Highness again and again, that you would lay "by those ill Counsellors who love themselves "better than your Interest; and that you would "proceed in the fear of God, and acknowledge "the time of your Visitation, and yield Obedience to our paternal and wholsom Admonitions: By doing which you may promise "yourself every thing at our Hands that you "can desire, not only towards the Happiness "of your Soul, but the Establishment also of "your Royal Dignity, according to the Authority, Place and Function intrusted to us by "God; who, if you return into the Bosom of "the Church, (as we hope and wish you may) "are ready to receive you with the same Affection, Joy and Honour, wherewith the Parent in the Gospel received the Prodigal upon "his return. Tho' our satisfaction will be so "much higher than his, as he rejoyc'd for the "sake of one Child's Salvation only, whereas "you, as virtually containing all the People of "*England*, will give us occasion to Congratulate "the happy Conversion of yourself and the "whole Nation; and the same will you minister to all our Brethren in general, (whom, "God willing, you will in a little time understand to be Conven'd in an Oecumenical and "General Council, for the Extirpation of Heresies) as well as to the whole Church: Nay, "you will fill Heaven itself with joyful Acclamations; and by so memorable an Action, "perpetuate the Glory of your Name, and purchase a much richer Diadem than what you "now wear. But of this the above mention'd "*Vincentio* has Directions to transact with you "more at large; and will declare unto you our "Fatherly Affection; whom we pray your "Highness to treat with all possible Candour, "to hear him cheerfully, and repose as entire a "Faith in what he says, as you would in our "self.

Given at Rome, *at St*, Peter's, *&c.* 15 *of* May, 1560, *in Our First Year.*

What was the Substance of *Parpalia's* Instructions I have never learnt; for I do not think they were given in Writing, and to guess at random, I shall forbear as the Trick of common Historians. That Queen *Elizabeth* still consisted with her Motto, *Semper Eadem*; and that the Pope lost his aim, is a thing known to all. 'Tis said that the Pope plighted his Faith, 'That he would disannul the Protest against her Mother's Marriage as unjust, settle the *English* Liturgy by 'his Authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments to the *English* under both Kinds, in case 'she would reconcile herself to the *Romish* Communion, and Bow to the Supremacy of his 'Chair; and more than this, that several Thousand Crowns were promis'd to those that should 'effect this.

His suppos'd Offers.

The K. and Q. of *France* refuse to sign the Teaty at *Edinborough*.

The time was now come for confirming the Treaty of *Edinborough*; which after the Queen had ratify'd by a solemn Oath, and sent it over to the King and Queen of *France*, to be Sign'd by them, according to Agreement, *Throckmorton*, the Queen's Residentiary in *France*, could by no means perswade them to sign; no more could Sir *Peter Mewtas* Kt. who was sent into *France* on that Errand, altho' in that very Commission, which impower'd the Bishop of *Valence* to draw up the said Treaty, they had most expresly engag'd themselves to continue the same, *bonâ Fide*, and on the Word of a King. They alledged these Reasons for their refusal: That the *Scots* had entred into the League of *Berwick* with the *English*, not by the King's Authority, but of their own Head, which they ought not to have done, for that it was enter'd upon by Rebels, and confirm'd by counterfeiting the Hands and Seals of their faithful Subjects; and besides, That they had not paid the Obedience consented to and promis'd in the said Agreement.

Francis II. K. of *Fr.* dies.

During these Debates, *Francis* II. King of *France* departed this Life, before he was quite 18 Years of Age, in the Second Year of his Reign, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, whether to the greater Grief of the Popish, or Joy of the Protestant Party, all *Britain* over, is not easily said.

A Proclamation Issued out against *Anabaptists*.

Q. *Elizabeth* being now a little more secure, to the end the Church might remain without any corrupt Mixtures, and gain surer Footing, and that the Nation might advance in Glory and Wealth, put out two very seasonable Proclamations. The one was to command the *Anabaptists*, and others of the same Heretical Principles, which had flocked to the Sea-Coast-Towns from Beyond-Sea, under pretence of escaping Persecution, and had Infected the Kingdom with the Venom of their Doctrines, to depart the Realm within twenty Days, whether they were Natives or Foreigners, on Pain of Imprisonment and Loss of Goods and Chattels. The other was

against

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against all Sacrilegious Persons, who under colour of abolishing Superstition, begun to pull down ancient Monuments, to deface the Epitaphs and Escutcheons of the noblest Families, and other venerable Remains of Antiquity, which even the mad Zeal of some profane Persons in King *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI's time left standing, and likewise to rob the Steeples of their Bells, and to unroof the Churches for the sake of the Lead.

And Sacrilegious Persons.

Westminster-Abby made a Collegiate Church.

She likewise converted *Westminster-Abby*, a Place remarkable for the Coronation and Interment of the Kings of *England*, and the keeping of the Royal Standards, into a Collegiate-Church; where, to the Glory of God, and Improvement of Learning, she placed a Dean, Twelve Prebendaries, a Schoolmaster, an Usher, Forty Scholars, (called Queen-Scholars, whereof six or more to be yearly sent to the Universities) besides Chaplains, Singing-men, Twelve Pentioners, *&c.* Which Royal Bounty has not fail'd of producing a plentiful stock of learned Men for the benefit of both Church and State.

Coin is reduc'd to the intrinsick value.

And then, to the great advancement of her Glory, she began by degrees to call in all the Brass Money, and restore Coin to its Current and Sterling Purity, and to repair the Honour of the Kingdom, by preventing the Cheats of those who adulterated the Coin both at home and abroad, exchanged the best Manufactures of the Nation for the worst Money, and exported the Current Cash into Foreign Parts. She took care also, that the Prices of such Wares as were kept at too high a Price (to the great damage of the Publick) should be proportionably abated, especially where Soldiers, Pentioners, Servants and Day-Labourers, were like to be the Sufferers. And this she happily effected, without the least Disturbance, in a very few Months. First, by prohibiting the melting down of any Money, whether Brass or Sterling: Then by reducing Brass Money to its just Value; the Brass Penny to an Half-penny Sterling; the Two-penny Piece to Three Half-pence; the Sixpenny to a Groat, and another Teston to Two-pence-farthing, which was as much as the Silver in them amounted to. And in the last place, by purchasing the same from the Owners with good Money, (to her own loss) provided it were brought into the Mint within such a time. We may therefore own ourselves indebted to Queen *Elizabeth*, that we have had better and purer Money in *England* than had been seen in two hundred Years before, or indeed than what had pass'd in any Part of *Europe* besides. Within a while after, she coin'd a pure sort of Money (which we call Sterling) for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the same Piece to pass for a Shilling in *Ireland*, and for Ninepence at Home. And a most glorious and memorable Action it was, and such an one as King *Edward* VI. could not, and Queen *Mary* durst not undertake. After K. *Henry* VIII. had made the first Experiment of any of the Kings of *England*, in mixing Brass with the Coin, to the great Disparagement of the Nation, and the Damage of his People and Posterity, besides the scandalous Example he left the World of his Riot and Excess, considering that his Father had left him more Wealth than any other Prince before him had left his Successor. A great stock he had amass'd by Taxes and other Collections, (tho' not so great as we are inform'd by Cardinal *Poole*, who tells us that he demanded more than all the Kings before him since the *Norman* Conquest). And a mighty Treasure he had raised, besides, when by an Act of Parliament, he seized on all the Lands in *Ireland*, which the *English* held in their absence, all the First-Fruits and Tenths of Ecclesiastical Preferments in *England* and *Ireland*; and all the Rents, Revenues and Moveables, of Abbies and Monasteries. Before the end of this Year died *Francis Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, the second Earl of that Line, who had by *Katharine Pool*, Daughter of *Henry* Lord *Montacute*, Brother to *Reginald Pool* the Cardinal, *Henry* his Heir and Successor, and many other Children, who agreed better in Temper and Affection, than in Persuasion and Principle.

Which had been embased by *H.* 8.

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The death of *Francis* Earl of *Huntington*.

Shan-Oneal rebels in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland Shan-Oneal*, a Nobleman of great Power and Interest in *Ulster*, the true and lawful Son of *Con-Oneal*, sirnam'd *Bacco*, or the Lame, (created by *Henry* VIII. Earl of *Tir-oen*) for fear the Laws should call him to account for the Murther of *Matthew* Lord *Dunganon*, his Base Brother (falsely suppos'd to be Legitimate) for depriving his Father, who soon after broke his Heart, of his Government, and taking upon himself the Title of *Oneal*, by no other Election than a wild cast of his Shoe over his Head, thought it his best way to break out into an open Rebellion. Whereupon 500 Foot were sent out of *England*, and some Regiments of Horse rais'd in *Ireland*. But after some slight Skirmishes, when he found himself unable to cope with the *English*, and that he was grown Odious to his Party, and was likewise oppos'd by *Surly-Boy*, *James Macconell*, and *O-donel*, he threw down his Arms at the entreaty of his Kinsman the Earl of *Kildare*, and promis'd to come to *England* and crave the Queen's Mercy; which he did, as shall be made appear in its proper place.

The Fourth Year of the Queen's Reign. 1561.

The Q. of *Scots* delays the signing of the Treaty.

In the beginning of the Year *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* was sent into *France* to Condole the Death of *Francis*, and to Congratulate his Successor *Charles* IX. upon his Accession to the Throne. He, by himself, and with *Throckmorton*, made repeated Instances to the Queen of *Scots* to confirm the Treaty at *Edinborough*; but all to no purpose: For all the answer she gave, was, 'That she must maturely pause upon so grave a 'matter; and that she neither could nor would 'sign it without the Advice of the *Scottish* Nobi'lity. Notwithstanding, *Throckmorton* was still very pressing upon this Head, both with her, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the rest of the *Guises*, her Uncles, and her Base Brother, who was lately come into *France*. But when the matter was shifted off from day to day, and sham Excuses made use of, Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting some dangerous Plot was hatching against *England*, resolved to prevent it. She dispatches therefore Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, to cultivate a good Agreement amongst the Nobility, which when founded in the unity of Religion, is like to last longest; and to give them also to understand, that the Princes of *Germany* had entred into a Combination against the Bishop of *Rome*, and that the Queen, his Mistress, heartily wish'd that the *English* and *Scots* were included in the same. That now was the fittest Opportunity (whilst the Queen of *Scots* was a Widow) to compose all Differences between the *English* and *Scots*, (who had maintain'd so long a Variance, at so vast an Expence of Blood on both sides) either by their making a perpetual Truce with *England*, or by breaking off all those ancient Leagues and Engagements with *France*, which had been made the occasions of so much Variance between the *English* and *Scots*. And lastly, to give private Intimations to the *Scots*, not to permit the Queen-Dowager to marry

Sir *Tho. Randolph* sent into *Scotland* to the Nobility, *&c.*

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again with any foreign Prince, and ſo make uſe of his power in revenging herſelf on them, who very lately oppos'd the *French*, and thereby poſſibly endanger their Liberty a ſecond time.

The Q. of *Scots* is denied ſafe Paſſage from *France* to *Scotland.*

Mean while the Queen of *Scots*, deſigning a Journey to *Scotland* (having ſent *d'Oiſely*, a *Frenchman*, away before) requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* to grant her ſafe Conduct for croſſing into *Scotland*, and that *d'Oiſely* might paſs by the way of *England*. But the Queen, in the preſence of ſeveral, denied both requeſts, alledging as the cauſe of this Denial, That ſhe had not yet ratify'd the Treaty at *Edinborough*, according to her promiſe; which if ſhe would ſign, ſhe aſſures her of all poſſible Civilities ſhe could expect from a Queen, a Relation, or a Neighbour, whether ſhe pleas'd to go by Sea, or through *England*. The Queen of *Scots* being nettled at this Repulſe, ſent for *Throckmorton*, and held him in a long Diſcourſe upon this matter, which I ſhall briefly hint out of his own Letters, (tho' I ſhall have occaſion to touch on ſome things already mention'd) on purpoſe to give a clearer Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of thoſe Heats and Diviſions which have been between two the moſt Potent and Wiſe Princeſſes of the Age. This then was what ſhe ſpoke to *Throckmorton*, when ſhe had clear'd the Preſence of all her Attendants, and others.

The Q. of *Scots* Expoſtulates the caſe with *Throckmorton.*

'How weak I may prove, or how far a Woman's Frailty may tranſport me, I cannot tell; however I have no mind to have ſo many Witneſſes of my Infirmity, as your Miſtreſs had at her Audience of my Embaſſador *d'Oiſely*. There is nothing diſturbs me ſo much, as the having ask'd with ſo much Importunity, things I could well enough have been without. I can (by God's leave) return to my own Country without hers, as I came hither in ſpite of the Teeth and Oppoſition of her Brother, King *Edward*; neither do I want Friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither: But I was willing rather to make an Experiment of her Friendſhip than of any others. I have often heard you ſay, that a good Correſpondence between her and my ſelf is very convenient for the ſake of both our Kingdoms, yet were this her opinion, ſhe had hardly deny'd me ſo ſmall a Requeſt. But perhaps ſhe bears a better Inclination to the *Scots* my Rebellious Subjects, than to me their Sovereign, her Equal in Royal Dignity, her near Relation, and the undoubted Heir of her Kingdoms. Do you imagine it poſſible there can ever be that real Fidelity and Affection between her and my Rebel-People, that may be entertain'd between her and me? Sure I am, ſhe has reduc'd me to ſuch Straits, that I have been forc'd to ask Aid and Aſſiſtance where I had the leaſt inclination to do it; and it has been a matter of great aſtoniſhment to them, what ſhould make her of late aſſiſt my own Subjects againſt me, and prevent my return, now I am a Widow, into my own Country. Beſides her Friendſhip I ask nothing at her hands; I neither trouble her, nor meddle with the Affairs of her Government: Not that I am ignorant, that there are now in *England* a great many Male-Contents, that are no Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment. She is pleas'd to upbraid me as a Perſon little Experienc'd in the World. I freely own it: But Age will cure that Misfortune. However, I am old enough to acquit myſelf honeſtly and courteouſly to my Friends and Relations, and to encourage no Reports of her which would miſbecome a Queen and her Kinſwoman. I would alſo ſay, by her leave, that I am a Queen as well as ſhe, and not altogether Friendleſs; and perhaps I have as great a Soul too; ſo that methinks we ſhould be upon the level, as to our Treatment of one another. But I ſhall make no Compariſons, for they are odious, and but one remove from Strife and Envy. As for the Treaty of *Edinborough*, it was made in the King my Huſband's Life-time, whom I was oblig'd in Duty to ſubmit to in all things; and if he delay'd the ſigning of it, 'tis he ought to bear the blame, not I. After his Death, the Parliament of *France* left me to my own Council and Meaſures. And as for my Uncles, they refuſed to concern themſelves in *Scottiſh* Affairs, for fear of giving Offence either to Queeen *Elizabeth* or the *Scots*. The *Scots* now here with me are private Perſons, and not fit to adviſe with on ſuch Critical Occaſions: As ſoon as I have conſulted the States of the Kingdom, I ſhall be ready to give a reaſonable Anſwer; and I am the more intent on my Journey, that I may be able to make the quicker diſpatch. But ſhe, it ſeems, deſigns to ſtop my Journey; ſo that either ſhe will not let me give her Satisfaction, or elſe is reſolv'd not to be ſatisfy'd, perhaps on purpoſe to keep up the Diſagreement between us. She has often reproach'd me with my being Young; and I muſt be very Young indeed, and as ill Adviſ'd, to Treat of Matters of ſuch great Concern and Importance, without the Advice of my Parliament. The Wife, as I have been inform'd, is neither oblig'd in Honour nor Conſcience, by what her Husband does. But that Point I don't diſpute. But thus much I can ſay with truth, that I have done nothing to my dear Siſter, but what I would be very willing ſhould be done to myſelf. I have not been wanting in any friendly Offices to her; but ſhe disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wiſh I were as near to her Heart as I am to her Blood, for that would be a moſt valuable Alliance. God forgive them (if any ſuch there are) that do ill Offices between us. But pray tell me, Sir, you that are her Embaſſador, why is ſhe ſo very angry with me, who never diſoblig'd her by Word or Deed?

Throckmorton's Anſwer.

To this *Throckmorton* anſwer'd: *I have no other Commiſſion than to hear your Majeſty's Anſwer relating to the Confirmation of the Treaty at* Edinborough: *But if you pleaſe to hear the Grounds of her Majeſty's Reſentment, I ſhall give a brief Account of it, and lay aſide the Embaſſador till I have ſo done. As ſoon as the Queen was Crown'd, your Majeſty thought fit to aſſume the Arms and Title of the Kingdom of* England, *which you had not done in Queen* Mary's *Reign; I leave your Majeſty to judge, whether a groſſer Indignity could be well offer'd to a Prince; private Perſons could, in my opinion, very ill digeſt ſuch an Affront, much leſs Princes.*

The Queen replys.

'But (*reply'd ſhe*) My Husband and his Father would have it ſo, and it was by their orders. Since their death, and the Date of my Freedom and Diſengagement, I have quite forborn thoſe Arms and Title; and yet I cannot be ſatisfy'd that 'tis any Injury to the Queen, if I, who am a Queen too, and Grand-daughter to King *Henry* VIII's eldeſt Siſter, ſhould bear theſe Arms, ſince others, more remotely Allied, have done ſo. And moſt certain it is, that *Courtney*, Marquis of *Exeter*, and the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Niece to *Henry* VIII. by his younger Siſter, did by ſpecial Grant bear the Arms of *England*, with Limbs or Borders for a difference.

Seeing that theſe things did not at all ſatisfie Queen *Elizabeth*, who was fully convinc'd, that the Queen of *Scots* uſed theſe Delays to cheriſh ſome fine Proſpect or new hopes ſhe had conceiv'd

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ceiv'd, becauſe ſhe had mention'd nothing to the States of *Scotland* relating to the Treaty, altho' they had ſeveral Times met ſince the death of her Husband. The Queen being now on her Journey, ſends again for *Throckmorton* to *Abbeville*, where ſhe mildly demanded of him, *by what Methods ſhe might ſatisfie his Royal Miſtreſs?* *By Confirming* (returns he) *the Treaty of* Edinborough, *as I have more than once told your Majeſty.* To which ſhe reply'd, *I deſire you to hear me, and then judge whether they be not very cogent Reaſons which the Queen takes for vain Excuſes and Delays. The firſt Article in that Treaty, for confirming the Truce at* Cambray, *does not in the leaſt concern me. The ſecond, which relates to ſigning the Treaty, there made between the* Engliſh *and* Scots, *was ratify'd by my Husband and myſelf, and cannot be repeated, unleſs in my name only, whereas my Husband is expreſly nam'd therein. The third, fourth, and fifth Articles are already anſwer'd and fulfill'd; for there are no farther Warlike Preparations: The* French *Garriſons are remanded from* Scotland; *the Fort at* Aimouth *is raſed to the very Ground; I have, ſince my Husband's death, quitted the Arms and Title of* England. *To raſe and ſtrike them out of all the Moveables, Buildings and Charters in* France, *is a thing no way in my Power; and 'tis more than I can do to ſend back the Biſhops of* Valence *and* Randon, *who are no Subjects of mine, into* England, *to appear at a Conference about the ſixth Article. As for the laſt Article, I hope my Rebel-Subjects will not complain of any great Severity toward them. But ſhe, I perceive, deſigns to prevent any Proofs I might ſhew of a merciful Diſpoſition towards them, by reſolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this Treaty that can any way prejudice the Affairs of your Miſtreſs? Nevertheleſs, to give her the fulleſt Satisfaction I can, I deſign to write to her about theſe Matters with my own Hand, tho' ſhe ſhould not vouchſafe me an Anſwer but by her Secretary. But I would adviſe you, who are an Ambaſſador, to act ſuitably to that Character; I mean, rather to qualify and compoſe Matters, than to aggravate and make them worſe.*

She endeavours to ſatisfy Q. Eliz.

But neither had thoſe Letters their deſir'd effect on the Queen, who could not ſo eaſily forget the Uſurpation of her Arms and Title. And ſhe began to be ſomething uneaſy leſt ſhe ſhould aſſume them a ſecond time, were ſhe not bound by a ſolemn Oath and ſigning of the Treaty to forbear the Encroachment.

The Q. of *Scots* returns to *Scotland*.

In the interim, the Queen of *Scots* finding a convenient Opportunity, ſet ſail from *Calais*, and arriv'd in *Scotland*, having eſcap'd the *Engliſh* Ships in a Fog. Theſe, ſome thought, were a Squadron in reſpect appointed for her Convoy: Others judg'd they were out for the ſuppreſſion of Pirates: And ſome believ'd they were ſent to intercept her Paſſage; for *James* the Baſtard return'd very lately thro' *England*, and gave private Advices to intercept her, both for the Safety of the Queen, and the Intereſt of Religion. And *Lidington* was likewiſe of the ſame mind, (being pleas'd at *d'Oiſely*'s ſtay in *England*) leſt (as his Letters intimate) her return ſhould raiſe mighty Storms, put a ſtop to all Intercourſe with *England*, whether by Poſts or Expreſſes, weaken the Party beſt affected to the *Engliſh*, and, in a word, treat the Proteſtants of *Scotland* with extreme Rigour and Cruelty, not as Traytors, but Hereticks, as Queen *Mary* of *England* had done before her. But to ſay truth, ſhe uſed all poſſible Clemency to her Subjects upon her return, made no Changes in Religion, (tho' Tumultuouſly ſet up) but began to Govern the Kingdom by wiſe and excellent Laws. And ſhe ſent to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Lidington*, Letters from herſelf and the Nobility, wherein ſhe expreſſed an hearty deſire to make and maintain a

Her gentle Government.

good Correſpondence; and requeſted her to think of ſome Meaſures for the ſettling a firm and laſting Peace between the two Kingdoms. But ſhe conceiv'd there was no better or ſurer Method to effect this, than for Queen *Elizabeth* to declare her, by Authority of Parliament, Heir-apparent to the Crown of *England*, in caſe herſelf ſhould have no Iſſue.

Her Demand to be declared Heir of the Crown, *&c.*

This was a great ſurprize to Queen *Elizabeth*, who had long expected the Ratification of the Treaty at *Edinborough*, which ſhe had promis'd both in Writing and by Word of Mouth. Nevertheleſs ſhe gave this Anſwer; "That as for "the Succeſſion, ſhe hoped the Queen of *Scots* "would not rob her of the Scepter, or her "Children, ſhould ſhe have any. She promis'd "not to diminiſh any part of her Title to the "Crown of *England*, tho' ſhe had, through the "Inſtigations of ſome ambitious Spirits, aſſum'd "the Arms of it, for which ſhe ought in Juſtice "to make Reparation. To declare her the Succeſſor of her Kingdoms, ſhe conceiv'd was the "way rather to diſſolve than ſettle a good Underſtanding; becauſe Succeſſors are always "ſuſpected Perſons to thoſe who ſit at the Helm. "The People, out of a natural Levity, are apt "to court the riſing, and leave the ſetting Sun, "were it only that they are weary of the preſent: And thoſe that are Succeſſors declar'd, "would find it impoſſible to contain their own "Ambition, and the Hopes of others, within "the bounds of Sobriety and Reaſon. So that, "ſhould ſhe conſent to ſettle upon her the Crown "in Reverſion, ſhe ſhould deſtroy her beſt Security with her own Hands; and not only prepare "her Winding-Sheet, but dig her own Grave "even in her Life-time.

Q. *Elizabeth's* Anſwer.

Having given this Anſwer, ſhe diſpatches Letters, by Sir *Peter Mewtas*, to urge once more the Confirmation of the Treaty. Nor did the Queen of *Scots* give a direct Refuſal, yet ſignify'd, that it could not well be done till the Affairs of *Scotland* were in a more ſettled Poſture. Mean while, Queen *Elizabeth* gave a moſt Splendid and Courteous Reception to her Uncles in their return through *England*, namely, *Aumarle* the Grand-Prior, and *Albeuf*, with other *French* Perſons of Quality, who had conducted her into *Scotland*. However the *Engliſh* Merchants were, by the Duke of *Guiſe*'s means, ill treated upon the Coaſt of *Bretaign*, their Ships being ſeiz'd and made Prizes. And there were Engines ſecretly at work at *Rome* to procure an Excommunication againſt the Queen. But *Pius* IV. the then Pope, thought a gentle Treatment would do beſt. For he preſs'd her, as I obſerv'd in the Paſſages of the laſt Year, by very ſoft and endearing Letters. And now, there being a Day appointed for the Council of *Trent*, (which was open'd before, and ſhut up again by reaſon of frequent Wars) for taking away all Differences in Religion, and all the Princes, whether *Catholicks* or Downright Enemies to Popery, having receiv'd a kind Invitation. The Pope ſent the Abbat of *Montinego*, with very obliging and affectionate Letters. But the Abbat ſtaid in the *Netherlands* till he had firſt ſued for a fair Reception in *England*: For there was an ancient Act, which provided, *That the Pope's Nuncios ſhould not ſet a Foot in* England *without leave obtained, and an Oath taken that they would attempt nothing there which might be any ways prejudicial to the King, or the Liberties of the People.* And the Council of the Nation judg'd it not very ſafe to admit him, in regard that ſo many in all Parts of the Kingdom were ſuch Implicite Slaves to Popery, and uſed all poſſible Endeavours both at home and abroad to embroil the Quiet of the Nation. After the refuſal of the Abbat's

She urges the ſigning of the Treaty.

The *Engliſh* Merchants abuſed.

The Pope courts the *Engliſh* to the Council of *Trent*.

1561. Ann. 4. Abbat's admission, the Bishop of *Viterbo*, the Pope's Nuncio in *France*, dealt earnestly with *Throckmorton*, to prevail on his Mistress to send her Ambassadors to the Council; and many Princes of *Christendom*, the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, *Henry* Cardinal of *Portugal*, and above all, the Duke of *Alva* (who yet had a profound Respect for the Queen) persuaded her by Letters rather to acquiesce in the Council of *Trent*'s Determination in cases of Religion, which was the only Pillar and Support of Christianity and good Government, than in the private Opinions of a few, however Learned and Considerable. The Queen answer'd, *That she desir'd, with all her Heart, an Oecumenical Council, but a Popish one she would never honour with an Ambassador: That she had no business with the Bishop of* Rome, *whose Authority was abrogated in* England *by Act of Parliament: Nor was it his but the Emperor's Prerogative to call Councils: Nor had he any Soveraign Power above other Bishops, as far as she could find.*

The Queen's Answer.

The same time the Abbat (who was the last of the Pope's Nuncio's into *England*) was denied access hither, died at *Rome* Sir *Henry Carne*, whom we have mention'd before, a prudent Man, and a good Civilian, who was Knighted by the Emperor *Charles* V. and was the last Ambassador from the Crown of *England* to the See of *Rome*.

The death of Sir *Henry Carne*.

When *Chamberlaine*, the *English* Ambassador in *Spain*, found that this Answer had still worse Effects on the Mind of that Prince and Nation, as implying in it an Affront to the Pope (for the death of the *French* King had now remov'd all Apprehensions of the falling of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* under the *French* Government; so that the *English* were now less consider'd) he had his Audience of Leave to return home. And in his room was appointed Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, who no sooner arriv'd in *Spain*, but, being a Man that could not bear a Slight, and having been several times Ambassador in *Germany*, where he met with nothing but Complaisance, earnestly press'd to be call'd home again, because his Trunks and Portmantua's had been examin'd, according to the Custom of the Country. But Queen *Elizabeth* gave him to understand, That an Ambassador had no Affronts to resent, but the direct Violation of his Prince's Honour.

Q. *Eliz.* prepares for War.

And now this wise and careful Princess, (having pretty well settled Church-Affairs) in order to prevent any Hostile Attempts, and secure herself and her Subjects in the fruition of a settled Peace, tho' her Treasure ran low, yet began to stock her Armory with all necessary Ammunition, expending a vast Sum for *Arms* in *Germany*, because those she bought up at *Antwerp* were stopt by the *Spaniard*. She caused a great number of Iron and Brass Pieces to be cast. And GOD, who seem'd to befriend all her Undertakings, discover'd a most rich Vein of pure Brass, which till now had lain unthought of, near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, which not only supplied the Necessities of the Kingdom, but yielded Brass enough for other Countries too. About this time, the Stone call'd *Lapis Calaminaris*, so necessary for Brass Works, was by the same good Providence found in *England*, in great abundance. She likewise caus'd the first making of Gunpowder in this Nation, that she might not be oblig'd to beg or purchase it of her Neighbours. She increased also the Garrison of *Berwick*, which consisted before of 500 Men. She likewise advanced their Pay, that so it might be worth the while of gallant Men and brave Soldiers to serve. And the Town she fortify'd with several New Works, which were finish'd in a very short time. She sent discreet and worthy Men to repair and rebuild the Forts and Castles within 20 Mile of the Borders of *Scotland*. She rigg'd out her Fleet with all manner of Tackling and Ammunition, so that it may be allow'd to have been the best Equipp'd Navy that was ever set out by the *English*. For the defence whereof she built a Castle on the Banks of *Medway* near *Upnore* (the usual Harbour for the Fleet) and augmented the Sailors and Mariners Pay: So that she was justly stil'd by Strangers, *The Restorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North-Sea.* Neither had she occasion to hire Ships from *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Genoa*, and *Venice*, which was her Predecessors case. The Wealthier Inhabitants of the Sea-Coasts did likewise follow the Queen's example, in building Ships of War with all imaginable Cheerfulness, insomuch that in a little time the Queen's Fleet, in conjunction with her Subject's Shipping, was so Potent, that it was able to furnish out 20000 Fighting Men for Sea-service. Moreover, the Noblemen and Commons were every where as Industrious in providing themselves Arms; so that every Nobleman's House was a compleat Armory. There were also observ'd frequent Musters, and the young Men were trained up to the Arts of War, and Exercis'd in Mock-Campaigns. And the Country-People, after an Act had pass'd for the Transportation of Grain, began to mind their Husbandry with double Diligence, and even beyond the Provision of the Laws, by breaking up Grounds which had lain fallow Time out of Mind. About that time the Queen did also put a stop to the Avarice of those Merchants who furnish'd the Emperor of *Russia*, and other Enemies of *Christendom*, with Arms and Warlike Stores against the *Polonians*. She likewise curb'd the Exorbitances of the Officers of the Exchequer, who had reserv'd the Pensions assign'd to those Ecclesiasticks who had been turn'd out of the Abbies: For she gave orders, that all of them who were living, and not known to have some Preferment, should be paid to a Farthing.

Gunpowder first made in *England*.

Berwick fortify'd.

A Proclamation in favour of the *Polonians*.

She revoked likewise certain Warrants, which had been issued out for victualling the Fleet, giving Money to the Commissioners to buy it, without burdening the People. She design'd likewise to have taken away the Commissions relating to the Provision for her own Houshold, some Countries having agreed some time after, to furnish it at a certain Rate, to get rid of the Collectors; a kind of Vermin, which the Queen call'd *Harpies*. 'Twas about this time too (if my Memory fail not) that she increas'd the Salary of the Judges, and first allow'd 'em Provision for their respective Circuits: And tho' in the main she was a little saving, yet she was not to learn, where, when and how far to extend her Bounty, being indeed an equal Friend to Thrift, and Benefactor to Merit; for whereas King *Henry* her Father, notwithstanding he had three Children, squander'd away a great part of his Royal Revenue; as did also King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*, who had none; she, tho' without Children, gave very little of her own Demesns, or indeed any thing beside, but on condition, it should (in default of Issue-Male) return to the Crown. On which Account, her thrifty and prudent Management deserves a very grateful Remembrance from her Kingdom and Successors.

Warrants revoked.

In the midst of this careful Emulation between Queen and People, for the Nation's Good, which began now to revive and flourish again; this sad Accident happen'd: The beautiful Spire of the Cathedral-Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, was fir'd by Lightning, near the Top: 'Twas a singular Ornament to the City, and of a wonderful Height,

Paul's Steeple burnt.

1561. *Ann.* 4.

Height, *viz.* Five hundred and twenty Foot from the Ground, and Two hundred and sixty from the Tower on which it stood, being fram'd of Timber, and cover'd with Lead. And so violent was the Rage of the Flame downward, (to the great Terror of the City) that in five Hours it quite consumed it, and all the Roof of the Church, which was very large, and cover'd likewise with Lead. But the Arches, which were built of Stone, remain'd entire. However, by the Large Bounty of the Queen, who supply'd a great Quantity of Money and Materials, and by Contributions from the Clergy and others, the Roof, and all but the Spire, was soon repair'd.

Death of E. of *Bath*.

This Year departed this Life *John Bourchier*, a Person of ancient Nobility, the second Earl of *Bath*, of that Name; and the Lord *Fitzwarin*, who left many Children by *Eleanor*, Daughter of *George* Lord *Rosse*. His Grandson *William*, by his eldest Son, came to the Estate and Title.

1562.

The Fifth Year of her Reign.

First civil War in *France*.

Things now in *France* began to grow ripe for Tumults and Commotions; whilst, during *Charles* IX's Minority, the private Ambition of Rival Princes was cloak'd on each side with the specious Pretence of Religion; and the Protestants, in the mean while, were very severely treated. And whereas the Papists in *England* began, on this occasion, upon what Views I cannot guess, to whisper about many things in private Clubs and Cabals, intimating that the Protestants in *England* would come under the same Restraints. Every Place was fill'd with Jealousie and Apprehension. *Margaret* Countess of *Lenox*, Niece to *Henry* VIII. by his eldest Sister, was committed to the Custody of Sir *Richard Sackville*; and the Earl of *Lenox*, her Husband, who held a private Correspondence with the Queen of *Scots*, to the Custody of the Master of the Rolls; and both were under Confinement some time: *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great-grandchildren to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV. *Anthony Fortescue*, who had marry'd their Sister, and others, were try'd for conspiring to withdraw into *France*, to the Duke of *Guise*; and from thence to return, with an Army, into *Wales*; and so proclaim the Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*. All which they ingenuously confess'd at the Bar; protesting notwithstanding, that they design'd not to put these Projects in Execution, during the Life-time of Q. *Elizabeth*, who, they believ'd would die before the Year was at an end, (having, it seems, borrowed this Conjecture, from some Pretenders to Judicial Astrology.) Upon this, they were condemn'd; but receiv'd their Pardon, for the sake of that Royal Blood, that ran in their Veins. But the Lady *Katharine Grey*, Daughter to *Henry Grey* D. of *Suffolk*, who claim'd a much nearer Kindred to the Queen, was, in a great many Mens Thoughts, very severely us'd. For altho' she was Grand-daughter to *Henry* VIII's other Sister, and marry'd to *Henry*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Pembroke*; from whom she was soon after lawfully divorc'd, after she had suffered a long Slight and Contempt, and was so far gone with Child, as to be very near her Time. She was committed to the Tower, declaring then that she was lawfully marry'd to *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, by whom she was now with Child. He therefore being sent for from *France*, whither he had, by the Queen's Leave, gone for his Pleasure, confess'd as much in publick, and was clapt up under the same Confinement. The

Countess of *Lenox* and her Husband committed.

The *Pools* and others arraigned.

Condemn'd, but are pardon'd.

Lady *Grey* committed.

And the Earl of *Hertford*.

1562. *Ann.* 5.

Archbishop of *Canterbury* and others were appointed Delegates to try this Cause, without Appeal; and when he could not, within the Time fix'd, produce a sufficient Certificate of the Marriage; the Archbishop proceeded to pronounce a definitive Sentence: *That his Cohabitation with her was unlawful, and that for their Incontinence they ought, both he and she, to be punish'd according to their Deserts.* This Sentence was, by *John Hales*, a Person dogmatical enough, but withal of great Learning, argu'd against, as unjust and unreasonable; this being his Argument, *That their very Consent made 'em Man and Wife:* Whereupon he was also committed to Custody. Shortly after, she was brought to bed of her first Son, in the Tower; and afterwards had another by *Hertford*, who had brib'd the Keepers. But for this, *Edward Wagner* Lieutenant of the Tower, who was privy to the whole Intreigue, paid dear enough by the Loss of his Place, and his Commitment afterwards. And *Hertford* himself was, in the Star-Chamber, Impeached of three Crimes; 1. *That he had debauch'd a Virgin of the Blood-Royal, in the Queen's Palace.* 2. *That he had broken Prison.* And 3. *That he had abus'd her a second time.* He protested, *That he was lawfully marry'd to her*; and did not deny, but *that he had pass'd some Doors of the Prison, which stood open, to support and comfort her, under the Rigor of her Sentence; and to pay her the Respects and Obligations of an Husband.* Hereupon, he was for every Offence, fined Five thousand Pounds, and condemn'd to Nine Years Imprisonment: Nevertheless by the Advice of his Council, he fail'd not to enter his Appeal against the Archbishop's Sentence, and to continue so to do under-hand, tho' lately he has publickly and freely retracted the same. She, after several Years past, in Prison, (if I may make Mention of such distant Times and Things) being seiz'd with a grievous Sickness, beg'd the Queen's Pardon, before *Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, that she had contracted Marriage without her Knowledge: And after she had recommended her Children, and her Husband's Discharge, to the Queen's Mercy, she took a quiet and peaceable Farewel of the World.

Sentence against 'em.

Lady *Grey* brought to bed in the Tower.

Hertford's Impeachment, and Defence.

He's fin'd.

Death of Lady Grey.

The War at this Time breaking out afresh in *France*, between the Princes of the Blood and the *Guises*, both sides (as I have observed) making Pretence of Religion, to serve their Cause and strengthen their Party; Queen *Elizabeth* began to entertain some Fears, lest *England* should feel the Flames of the Neighbouring War. For, she had been inform'd, that the *Guises*, to gain *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, to their Party, had made a private Offer to him of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and to procure for him in Marriage the Queen of *Scots*, with the Kingdom of *England*, for her Portion: And all this by the Wealth of *Spain*, and the Authority of the Pope, who should dissolve the Marriage of *Navarre*, with his Wife, who was an *Heretick*; and depose Queen *Elizabeth*, for the very same Reason. Hereupon, she dispatch'd thither Sir *Henry Sidney*, a Person of approved Abilities and Reputation, to dive into the Bottom of this Business, and to perswade the Heads of each Party to an Accommodation. But Things were now gone too far to admit of any Remedy of that kind; wherefore *Sidney* return'd out of *France*, and immediately sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to adjourn the Interview which she had desired with the Queen in *England*, till the ensuing Year, or till the Wars of *France* were at an End. The great Debate now was, whether it would be convenient that such an Interview should pass between the Two Queens; and whereas

The *Guises* Practice against Q. *Elizabeth*.

Sir *Henry Sidney* is sent into *France*,

And into *Scotland*.

Debates about the intended Interview between the two Queens.

1562. *Ann.* 5.

whereas the Queen of *Scots* was the first that desired it, there was a fair Probability that she did it to serve her own Ends, and to nick the Juncture; that so she might either strengthen her Title to the Crown of *England*, or the Hopes at least, and Expectations of the Catholicks in *England*, and her Kinsmen, the *Guises*, in *France*. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that such a Conference might prove the occasion of a happier and better Correspondence: That it might tend to break, by degrees, the Confederacy between the *French* and the *Scots*, and to win over the Queen of *Scots* to the Reform'd Religion. Others again observ'd, that such Interviews do generally lay the Foundation rather of Emulation that Friendship: Than one side is always apt to envy the Wealth and Grandeur of the other: That Appearance does not always answer Report, as to the Point of Beauty and bodily Proportion, Wit, and other Qualities of the Mind; and on Consequence, that Faults will be found, on one side or t'other. Neither did the Queen of *Scots* think it safe to trust herself to Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom she had disputed her Claim to the Kingdom: And her Thoughts were yet undetermin'd which side to choose, when she heard, that Queen *Elizabeth* appear'd openly for the Protestants of *France*; whilst she consider'd, (as she wrote herself) *That on her Father's side she was descended from* England, *and on her Mother's, from* France: *That in* France *she had been a crown'd Queen, and was now a Queen Dowager, and Heir Expectant of the Crown of* England: *That she ow'd much to her Uncles in* France, *who had brought her up; and was as desirous likewise of standing fair in the Thoughts of her Sister Q.* Elizabeth. Nevertheless, she was afraid, (so penetrating a Sense had she) that by engaging in a firmer Friendship with the Queen of *England*, she should lessen the Favour of the *French* King, be forsaken by the *Guises*, her Uncles, and lose her Portion, which was paid out of *France*; and all for preferring the Precarious Favour of Q. *Elizabeth*, which, to use her own Expression, is but personal at best, before the steadier Friendship of her Allies the *French*. Hereupon, the Conference, which had stuck so many Months on hand, after several Articles likewise proposed, came at last to nothing: Especially when the Queen of *Scots* refused any Interview, unless the Parliament would declare her Heir Apparent to the Crown of *England*, or Queen *Elizabeth* adopt her for her Heir, in order to Establish a lasting Union between the two Kingdoms, which had been so often desir'd. If these Concessions were made, she faithfully promis'd the strictest Adherence to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Service, without any Regard to the Resentments thereat of her Uncles the *Guises*. She also hinted in her Letters, that she was the more earnest in these Particulars, because she was inform'd, there were some very busie in setting up another Pretender; and for no better Reason, than the Protection of Religion, tho' she had given a Toleration for that of the Protestants, in *Scotland*.

Q. of *Scots* has some scruples,

And refuses the Interview, unless on certain Terms.

But the Cardinal of *Lorrain* using at the same time his utmost Persuasions with the Emperor *Ferdinand*, to get his Son the Archduke *Charles*, in Marriage, for the Queen of *Scots*, who was then a Suitor to Queen *Elizabeth*: The latter sent her word by Sir *Thomas Randolph*, that if she listned to the Cardinal, the great Enemy of the *English* Nation, as to any thing relating to that Match, 'twould prove the ready way to dissolve the good Agreement between *England* and *Scotland*; if not to exclude her from any Hopes of succeeding to the Crown of *England*; which that she might not come short of, she warn'd her as a Friend, to make choice of such a Husband, out of the *English* Nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the Foundation of a firm Peace between the two Kingdoms at the same time, and secure her Succession to the Crown, which could never be declared till her choice were publickly known as to this matter.

Cardinal of *Lorrain* makes Proposals of Marriage to the Q. of *Scots*, who is deterr'd by Q. *Eliz.*

1562. *Ann.* 5.

Tho' so many Cares together were enough to keep Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mind in suspense, yet she had her Eye and Thoughts chiefly upon the Wars of *France*, that they might not from *Normandy* be translated to *England*. To avoid which, after serious and close Deliberation, she took under Protection the *French* King's Subjects in *Normandy*, who craved her Assistance, and made a certain contract with the Prince of *Conde*, *Rhoan*, *Coligni*, and others, 'That she would pay them an Hundred thousand Angels; That she would send them over into *France* 6000 Men, whereof 3000 to be employ'd in the Defence of *Diep* and *Rhoan*; and that they should deliver up to her as a Cautionary-Town, *Franciscopolis*, a Town built by King *Francis* I. at the Mouth of the *Seine*, call'd by the *English New-Haven*, and by the *French*, *Haure de Grace*; which Town Three thousand *English* Soldiers should hold and defend in the *French* King's Name, till *Calais* should be restor'd. The very same Day that this Agreement was made, she publish'd a Manifesto, declaring her design herein, *viz.* 'That she sent an Army into *Normandy*, not to reduce that Country, tho' it had been the ancient Inheritance of the Kings of *England*, and wrested from them by force, without the least pretence of Claim; but to preserve it indeed for the *French* King, being yet a Minor, and to rescue it from the Tyranny of the *Guises*, who had begun already to practise the utmost Barbarities upon those of the Reformation, to endeavour to defraud her of her Right and Title to *Calais*, and at last to seize on the Coasts of *Normandy*, from whence they might be ready on all occasions to invade *England*, which lay so near them, that they thought it in their Hands already. So that she could do no less than prevent their Designs, unless she would have it thought that she intended to leave her Brother and Allie, the young King and his oppressed Subjects, in the lurch; enviously oppose the Peace of *Christendom*, and (what was the greatest thing of all) unless she would appear the Betrayer of her own Religion, Peace and Security. And whereas *Paul Foix*, the *French* Embassador in *England*, much importun'd her that the Vidame of *Chartres*, *Hayes*, and others, who had subscrib'd the Compact, might be given up to the King as Traytors to their Country, according to the Treaty of the Castle of *Cambray*; she excus'd it by Letters to his Majesty, and exempted them from all Blame, laying it on the turbulent Spirit of the *Guises*, who had engag'd his Father, and Brother, and Himself, on this tempestuous Scene of War.

Q. *Eliz.* enters into League with the *French* Protestants.

And publishes her Reasons.

She excuses the *French* Refugees.

In *September* one part of the *English* Army arrived at *New-Haven*, under the Conduct of their Commander Sir *Adrian Poinings*, and was receiv'd by the Inhabitants with great demonstrations of Joy, as was likewise the other at *Diep*. The Earl of *Warwick*, General of the whole Army, came somewhat later to *New-Haven*, having been twice driven back into *England* by foul Weather. They made some little Excursions into the Country thereabouts. To prevent which, the *Rhinegrave* came and encamp'd near them. Nevertheless, several slight Skirmishes pass'd between the *French* and *English*; and the Seamen belonging to the Fleet scour'd the Seas in the mean time, and

And sends Forces into *France*.

1562. Ann. 5. and brought many rich Prizes, seizing every day some *French* Ships in the Roads thereabouts.

The death of the Earl of Oxford. This Year *John Vere*, the sixteenth Earl of *Oxford* of that Honourable Line, paid his last Debt to Nature; who by his first Wife, Daughter of *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Westmorland*, had *Katharine*, afterwards Wife to the Lord *Windsor*; by his second Wife, *Margaret Golding*, he had *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, (who was in a fair way to spend his Estate) and *Mary*, afterwards married to *Peregrine Berty* Lord *Willoughby*.

Shan-Oneal comes into England. And now came *Shan-Oneal* out of *Ireland* to perform the Promise he had made a Year ago, with a Guard of *Gallo Glasses* arm'd with Hatchets, all bare-headed, their Hair flowing in Locks upon their Shoulders, on which were yellow Surplices dyed with Saffron, or stain'd with Urine, with long Sleves, short Coats, and Thrum-Jackets, which caus'd as much staring and gaping among the *English* People, as if they had come from *China* or *America*. He was receiv'd with great Kindness, when howling and falling down at the Queen's Feet, he own'd his Crime, and receiv'd her Majesty's Pardon. Being ask'd on what Pretence he had excluded *Hugh*, his Brother *Matthew's* Son, from the Estate of his Ancestors, he sternly reply'd, (as he had done in *Ireland*) 'That there was good Reason for't, 'because himself, who was the lawful and undoubted Heir of *Con*, as being born of his lawful Wife, was now invested in his Father's Estate, whereas *Matthew* was the Son of a Blacksmith at *Dundalk*, and born after his Marriage with his Wife, on *Alison*, but artificially father'd upon *Con*, by his Mother, on purpose to rob him of the Honour and Patrimony of the *O-neals*; which tho' he had patiently suffer'd, yet none of the same Family would ever do it. That the Surrender made by his Father to *Henry* VIII. and the second Grant of it from the King to him by his Letters-Patents, did signify just nothing, forasmuch as *Con* had no Estate he could make over beyond his own Life; nor could he surrender it, but by the consent of the Nobility and People who had conferr'd on him the Honour of *O-neal*. That such Letters-Patents were moreover insignificant, unless there was a certain Heir of the Family acknowledg'd by twelve Men, which in this case was never done. For his part, the Laws of God and Man had made him the undoubted Heir, as being his Father's eldest Son, born in lawful Wedlock, and entitul'd *O-neal* by the joint consent of the Peers and Commons, according to the Law of that Country, call'd *Tanistry*, by which a Man grown is to be preferr'd before a Child, and the Uncle before the Nephew, whose Grandfather outlives his Father. Nor did he usurp any Authority over the Nobility of *Ulster*, but what his Ancestors before him had legally exercis'd, as he was able to make very good Proof of. The Queen seeming very well contented with this Account, dismiss'd him with Honour; and in return he did her, for some time, very good and faithful Service against the *Hebridian* Raparees.

He defends himself.

1563. *The Sixth Year of her Reign.*

A Parliament call'd, and good Laws fram'd. In *January* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and made several good Laws for the Relief of the Poor, the Ordering of the Navy, the Support and Improvement of Tillage, besides others for Punishing Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Conjurers and Fortune-tellers, and such as should commit Sodomy or Perjury; one there was likewise for Translating the Bible into the *Welch*-Tongue, and another for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and the Realm, and avoiding those Inconveniences and Abuses for the future which had arose from the usurp'd Authority of the See of *Rome*. And the better to curb the Sawciness of those that maintain'd the same, 'twas made High-Treason for any Thrice to assert by Writing, Word or Deed, the Authority of any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual Matters, in *England*, or any other of the Queen's Dominions; or to refuse the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen in matters Spiritual, or over Persons Ecclesiastical, after it had been twice tender'd; yet so, as that they should not fall under an *Attainder*, nor forfeit their Goods and Chattels; nor that this Oath should be exacted from any Peer of the Realm, or any Person of eminent Quality, (whose Allegiance the Queen did not in the least question) nor indeed of any, but such who were, had been, or should be in Holy Orders, or did then bear, had born, or should bear some Ecclesiastical Office; or that, after warning given, should refuse to observe the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; or should dishonour the same in Publick, whether by Word or Deed; or should celebrate or hear Mass, *&c.* as may be seen in the Statute. The Parliament moreover, as a Congratulatory Compliment upon the happy turn of Affairs, granted the Queen several Subsidies, *viz.* the Clergy one, and the Laity another, besides two Fifteenths and Tenths, in consideration of her having reform'd the Faith, restor'd Peace to her Kingdoms, rescu'd *England* and *Scotland* from the Common Enemy, refin'd the Coin, rebuilt the Navy, provided Ammunition for Sea and Land; and, in a word, for the extraordinary Care she used in *France* for the Security of its young King, the Safety of the Kingdom of *England*, and the regaining of *Calais*. *A Fifteenth and a Tenth* (to take some notice of it for the sake of Strangers) *is a Certain Tax on every City, Burrough and Town, not upon every Man in particular, but a general Sum, in proportion to the Fifteenth part of the Wealth of the respective Places. Subsidy we call that which is impos'd on every single Person, as they are Assess'd by Poll, according to the Value of their Goods and Lands.* But neither is the one or the other Tax ever laid but by *Act of Parliament*. In the mean while the Prince of *Condé*, in his expeditious Journey to the *English* Auxiliary Troops in *Normandy*, was stopt in that remarkable Battle at *Dreux*, and taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Guise*, and with him and several more, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was in the Engagement, and had before voluntarily surrender'd himself to the Protestants, on Purpose to communicate some private Advices to them. But in a little time he receiv'd his Liberty, and paid the Sum agreed upon to *Coligny*, who with the *Auxilary* Forces marched to the Castle of *Caen*, which he presently Besieged, and by their Assistance spent less time in obliging *Caen*, *Baieux*, *Falaise* and St. *Lo*, to a Surrender.

Subsidies granted to the Queen, and why.

A Fifteenth and a Tenth, what.

Subsidy, what.

The P. of Condé and Throckmorton taken Prisoners.

Q. Eliz. informs the Spaniard of her Forces sent into France. Whilst these Things were acting in *France*, Queen *Elizabeth* signify'd to the King of *Spain*, by *Chaloner*, her Embassador there, 'That she had sent over an *Army* into *France*, to prevent the *Guises* (who were grown insolent, and aim'd at her Ruin) from transplanting the War into *England*, and to take Possession of *New-Haven*, which had been deliver'd up to her till she receiv'd Satisfaction for *Calais*.' His Answer was, *That if* Calais *was the whole of her Demand, he freely comply'd with her: But if it was made a Religious War, he must, for his part, abide by the Oldest Religion. As for the* Guises, *he could not but think them too weak and inconsiderable for the most potent Queen of*

His answer.

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of England *to fear, especially since they had no Interest or Alliance with the* French *at all, as formerly they had. The Bishop of* Aquila *likewise, the* Spanish *Embassador then in* England, *frequently told the Queen, that the King his Master, neither could nor would desert his Brother the King of* France *on the present Juncture.* To whom the Queen made no other Reply than that of an old *English* Proverb : *Every Man must secure his own House, and I mine.* Nor was the King of *Spain* insensible that the Queen, at the very same time, was very importunate with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, by *Henry Knolls* and *Christopher Monts*, for the Relief of *Condé*, and the Support of the common Interest of the Church ; which the *Spaniard* being much offended at, sought what Occasions he could against her on the score of Religion likewise.

Hostages for *Calais* endeavour to escape.

Mean while the *French* Hostages, who were sent into *England* for Five hundred thousand Crowns for the restoring of *Calais*, seeing things look sullenly, and as if they would end in War, attempted to escape out of the Kingdom : But just as they were ready to take Shipping, they were brought back again, with *John Ribbald* the famous Pilot, who came privately into *England* to Convoy them away. There was a Peace agreed on in the mean time between the King of *France* and the Prince of *Condé*, (who pleas'd himself with the hopes of being Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and, Husband to the Queen of *Scots*) as likewise the Protestants, without any regard to the Queen of *England*. And they declared unanimously, that unless the *English* would depart from *New-Haven*, the Agreement for Restoring *Calais*, included in the Treaty at *Cambray*, should be null and void. And there was a Proclamation sent out, giving liberty to all *Frenchmen* to Assault, Seize and Plunder any *Englishmen*, as long as they held possession of *New-Haven*. The same Liberty did the Queen grant by way of Reprisal, to the *English*, *That they should treat all the* French, *but what dwelt in* London, *as Enemies, so long as they remain'd Masters of* Calais. Hereupon the *English* put to Sea with an incredible large Fleet, and Block'd up both the *French* and *Spaniard* ; so that the Queen was forc'd to excuse their Piracies on the *Spaniards*, by a special Embassador, and to restrain those Insolencies herein by a Proclamation.

The *French* Protestants desert the *English*.

War Proclaim'd on both sides.

The Earl of *Warwick*, Governor of *New-Haven*, when he saw the *French* so unsteady to their Duty, and, on the slightest Rumours of a Peace, caballing both among themselves and with the *Rhinegrave* (who lay with a Body of Forces in the adjoining Country) to betray the Town, and dispossess the *English*, he removed out of it all the *French* Protestants as well as Papists, and seiz'd on their Ships. This the *French* took very heinously, complaining that the *English* design'd not so much the Protection of the distress'd *French*, as the bare Possession of the Place ; and charg'd them as being injurious to Strangers. Certain it is, that nothing did so much alienate the Minds of the *Normans*, *Aquitanes* and *Poictons* formerly, and the Hearts of others who were under the *English* Jurisdiction in *France*, than that they were thought and treated as Foreigners. And now do the *French* begin to make all possible Preparations for a Seige ; and at the same time the King and *Condé* make as pressing Motions, by *Briquemot* and *d'Alvey*, in *England*, for the re-delivery of *New-Haven*. Neither did the Queen refuse it on these Terms, *That the King of* Spain *should become Guarantee for the restoring of* Calais *within the* time *limited : That the Treaty of* Cambray *should be confirmed by the Oaths of the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of the Blood, and approved in every Parliament of* France, *and some of the first Nobility to be deliver'd as Hostages.*

The Fr. sent out of *New-Haven*.

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A Sickness among the *English* Soldiers there.

In the mean while, there was a very raging Sickness in the Garrison at *New-Haven* ; and of the Recruits sent thither for their Relief, Two hundred perish'd by Shipwreck, with their Commander Sir *Tho. Finch* Kt. and two Brothers of the Lord *Wentworth* ; through which Misfortune, when they almost despair'd of keeping the Town, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Embassador in ordinary in *France*, was order'd to propose the restoring of that Town in lieu of *Calais*, and that the Business should be determin'd by the Umpirage of the King of *Spain*, who had married the *French* King's Sister. But this they rejected, alledging, that the King of *France* own'd no Superior, nor would he refer his Concerns to the Arbitriment of any Prince whatever ; and Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, was by them roughly treated, who was commission'd to inspect these Matters, on suspicion that he being dexterous enough in raising popular Tumults, was return'd for that purpose, and they charg'd him with coming into *France* without a Pass, whereas he had Credential Letters, and others also from the *French* Embassador in *England* ; nor would they so much as allow him an Hearing, assuring themselves, it seems, of the Surrender of *New-Haven*, upon the account of the Sickness which was so violent there. The Constable *Montmorency*, with the chief of the Nobility, arriv'd there about this time, and *Condé* came soon after with the chief of the Protestants. The *English*, who could not but wonder for what reason the Minds of the *French* Protestants were so suddenly chang'd, were inform'd by them, that *since the Peace was concluded, their Religion, in which they differ'd from their Countrymen, was no longer concern'd, but the Safety of their Country, in the defence of which every one ought to join. Montmorency* sent a Trumpet to *Warwick* to Summon him to a Surrender ; who was sent back with Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, to assure him that the *English* were prepar'd to suffer the last Extremities before they would yield up the Town without the Queen's Orders. So the Works being finish'd, and the Batteries having play'd for several Days, some Breaches were made, the Conduits stopt, and the Water drawn out of the Ditch, which lay higher than the Sea. The *French* push on the Siege with Vigour, and the *English* give them as brave a Repulse, but yet there perished more Souls by the Sickness than by the Sword.

The Queen's Proposal rejected.

Violence offer'd to *Throckmorton*.

New-Haven besieged.

Queen *Elizabeth* having Intelligence of this, express'd with Tears her Commiseration of the sad state her People was reduc'd to ; and that she might no longer expose her bravest Men to the Fury of two Enemies, the Sickness and the Sword, she set out a Proclamation, wherein she commended the Valour of her Commanders and Soldiers, and gave orders to *Warwick* to Capitulate upon Honourable Terms. He immediately sent *Pawlet*, Sir *Maurice Dennis*, Treasurer of the Garrison, *Horsey* and *Pelham*, to *Montmorency*, to agree upon Articles of Surrender. And soon after these were agreed on : *That the Town, with all the Ammunition, Shipping and Furniture, which belong'd to the* French *King and his Subjects, should be surrendred : That the larger Tower should forthwith be deliver'd up to* Montmorency : *That the Prisoners taken on both sides should be exchang'd without Ransom ; and, That the* English *should have free liberty to depart in six Days, if the Wind serv'd, with all things that belong'd to the Queen and them.* The Hostages delivered were Sir *Oliver Manours*, the Earl of *Rutland*'s Brother, *Leighton*, *Pellham* and *Horsey*. The last that staid was Colonel *Edward Randolph*, who out of a Piety never enough to be commended, carry'd upon his shoulders the sick and diseased Soldiers

And surrender'd.

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Men of Note that died there.

Soldiers into the Ships. Thus was *New-Haven*, after it had stood the Siege of a Sickness more violent than the Enemies Fire, left at last to the *French*, after the *English* had been Masters of it eleven Months; during which time there were swept away by the Plague, *Somerset, John Zouch, Alberick Darcy, Drury, Entwessel, Ormesty, Vaghan, Coker, Cockson, Prowd, Saul, Kemis*, all stout Commanders. There were slain likewise the two *Tremaines*, Brothers, *Sanders, Bromfield* the Master Gunner, *Robinson* Bailiff of the Town, *Strangeways* an expert Seaman, and *Goodall* an Excellent Miner.

Publick Rejoicing for this in France.

The *French* King was very bountiful of his *Te Deum's* for the recovery of this Town; the Papists all over the Kingdom were mightily exalted, and made their boasts, *That the* English *were thrust out of* France *by the same Protestants that invited them thither; and that this would prove the ground of a lasting Dissention between those Parties. D' Hospital*, the Chancellor, made a fine Harangue to Congratulate the *French* on this Occasion, and to dress up the matter, he reported on a false Hearsay, *That the* English *Fleet appear'd with fresh Recruits before the Town the next Day after 'twas surrender'd:* And he went so far as to declare, that the *English* had by this War quitted entirely all Claim and Pretensions to *Calais*. The Soldiers that were brought back to *England* sick of the Infection, scatter'd the bad Influence thereof so unhappily, that it seiz'd on the whole Kingdom in a miserable manner; and there were carry'd out of the City of *London* alone, which consists of an hundred and twenty one Parishes, 21530 Corps.

A raging Plague at London.

The Duke of *Guise*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, being slain in the heat of the Civil War in *France*, her Dowry-Money, which used to be paid out of *France*, was stopt, *Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herault* turn'd out of his Dukedom, and the *Scots* excluded from being of the Lifeguard to the *French* King; and this the Queen highly resented.

A Proposal of another Match to the Q. of Scots.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, another of her Uncles, being apprehensive that this might provoke her to desert the *French* and court an *English* Interest, once more set on foot, by the Agency of *Crock*, a Match with *Charles* of *Austria*, and tender'd the County of *Tyrol* in Jointure. She imparts the matter to Queen *Elizabeth*, who by *Randolph* repeated the same Advice she had given her before in relation to this Point: And farther, she recommended to her in Plain terms *Robert Dudley* (whose Wife, one *Robsert's* Heiress, died of a fall from some high place) and engag'd farther, *That if she would marry him, she should be declar'd by Act of Parliament, her Sister, Daughter, or Heir to the Crown, in case she herself died without Issue.* As soon as the Queen-Mother, and her Uncles in *France*, had learnt this from *Foix*, the *French* Embassador in *England*, they look'd on this Proposal with so much Contempt, and thought it so gross a Disparagement to her Royal Blood and Character, that they promis'd her not only the payment of her Jointure, but to settle the *Scots* in the Possessions of their ancient Liberty, and to grant them new Privileges also, if she would adhere firmly to the *French* Interests, and have nothing to say to that Motion. They moreover suggested to her, *That Queen* Elizabeth *could never be in earnest when she made this Proposal, but under a disguise, as if she had a mind to* Dudley *herself. Neither was there any trusting to Acts of Parliament; for in* England, *what one decreed another repeal'd: Besides, 'twas the great aim of all the Politicks of* England, *to keep her by all possible Arts from marrying at all.*

The French dissuade her.

The Queen of *Scots* came not to any Resolution herein, but referr'd herself to a Conference, having her Thoughts mightily taken up with her Affairs at Home, which now lay in great Confusion and Disorder; for *Murray* imprison'd the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* for continuing to say Mass; nor was he discharged from his Imprisonment, and pardon'd, without much submission and entreaty. The warmer Party of Churchmen did also thro' *Murray's* Authority, outrage a certain Priest that said Mass at Court, (which the Laws allow'd) and yet came off with Impunity. Neither was she able to suppress those who were up in Arms, tho' she took all imaginable care of the Publick Welfare, by granting a general Amnesty, augmenting the Judges Salaries, enacting wholesom Laws, punishing Adultery with Death, and often hearing Causes herself in Court, that she might carry things even with Persons of every Rank or Degree.

The Scots insult over their Q.

The death of the Lord Grey, and the Bishop of Aquila.

In this Year of Troubles, to the great Grief of the Protestants, died *William* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Governor of *Berwick*, a Person who had gain'd a considerable Reputation in the Wars, and lost a great part of his Estate by the payment of a heavy Ransom, when he was taken Prisoner in *France*. To whom succeeded, as Governor of *Berwick*, *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*. About this time died also *Alvares a Quadra*, to the great mortification of the Papists. He had been Embassador from *Spain* to *England*, and had fed his Countrymen with hopes of restoring the *Roman Catholick* Religion in *England*; and was a mighty Intimate with the *Pools*, whom I have mention'd before. This made him look'd on with a jealous Eye, as one that aim'd at the Disturbance of the Publick Tranquility, and the Breach of Correspondence between the Queen and the *Spaniard*. Upon which the Queen moved the King of *Spain* to recal him home. But he excus'd it under the varnish of Religion, and wrote back to the Queen, *That Princes were in a miserable case, if their Ministers must be called home upon every petty Disgust*; nor did he a little resent to have his Embassador confin'd to his own House without his Knowledge or Consent, and stand the Test of publick Examinations and Reproofs; and all for no other Reason, than that he had given shelter to an *Italian* that fled thither, having discharged a Pistol at another, and afterwards secretly carry'd him off.

The Spaniard provoked against the English.

From this time the *Spaniard* was more enrag'd against the *English*, making use of this pretence, That the *English* Pirates were very troublesome to the *French* upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and design'd to annoy the *West-Indies*. And 'twas not long before this glowing Rage broke out into a flame, the King of *Spain* sending *Richard Shelly*, who left *England* for his Religion, and was therefore a most implacable Enemy to his Prince, on an Honourable Embassy to *Maximilian* the elected King of the *Romans*, to Congratulate him upon his Nomination: And moreover, he seiz'd on some *English* Merchant-men in the Ports of *Bætica*, (now called *Andaluzia*) because the *English* had, in giving chace to the *French*, taken some Ships from the *Spaniards*.

The death of the L. Paget, Who had been honoured with the highest Characters.

This Year likewise did *William* Lord *Paget* depart this Life, a Person pretty Ancient, and whose good Qualities had advanc'd him to high Characters of Honour. For so great was the merit of his Learning and fine Parts, that King *Henry* VIII. made him his Secretary, sent him Ambassador to *Charles* the Emperor, and to *Francis* I. King of *France*; and nominated him as one of the Lords-Justices of the Kingdom during his Son's Minority. King *Edward* VI. made him Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and Comptroller of his Houshold, rais'd him to the Honour of a Baron, and made him Knight of the

Garter,

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Garter, (which notwithstanding *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* dishonourably stript him of, and Queen *Mary* as honourably restored, as due to the Character of one who had deserv'd so well at the Hands of the Government) and at last made him Lord Privy-Seal, which is the Fourth Place or Degree of Temporal Honour. (For K. *Henry* VIII. had, by Act of Parliament, consign'd the first Place to the Lord-Chancellor, the second to the Lord-Treasurer, the third to the President of his Majesty's Council, and the fourth to the Lord Privy-Seal; who were likewise to take place of all Dukes, except those of the Royal Blood). Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of his great Age, which rendered him unfit for the Publick Service, eased him of that Care, at his own request, and retain'd an Affection and Value for him, *tho' he was a strict Zealot of the Romish Church.* He left three Sons, *Henry* and *Thomas*, who succeeded one another in the Title, and *Charles*, whom I shall have frequent occasion to speak of. He marry'd likewise several Daughters into noble Families.

The death of *Rutland*,

And the same Debt was paid to Nature by *Manours*, or *de Maneriis*, Earl of *Rutland*, being Son to *Thomas* the first Earl of this Family, and Nephew of *George* Lord *Ross*, by the Daughter of *Thomas St. Leiger* and *Ann* his Wife, (who being Sister to *Edward* IV. brought a great accession of Honour to this Family) and Great Grandson to *Robert*, who having marry'd the Daughter and Heir of the ancient Lord *Ross*, brought into his Family both a Barony and a most plentiful Estate. This *Henry* had by *Margaret Nevil*, Daughter of *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*, two Sons, *Edward* and *John*, both successively Earls of *Rutland*; besides a Daughter, marry'd to *William Courtney* of *Powderham*.

and of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*.

The same Year did *Frances* Dutchess of *Suffolk* end a miserable Life, being Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* second Sister to *Henry* VIII. and Queen Dowager of *France*, after she had seen her Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, Proclaim'd Queen of *England*, and not long after Beheaded, and her Husband undergo the same Fate in some little time. The Lady *Katharine*, her second Daughter, she liv'd to see marry'd to the Earl of *Pembroke's* Son, divorc'd from him, and confin'd to the Tower. And the Lady *Mary*, her third Daughter, thrown away, by an unequal Match, upon *Keyes* the Groom-Porter at Court: And herself, last of all, so far forgetting the Greatness of her Descent, as to except for an Husband *Adrian Stokes*, a Gentleman, but in mean Circumstances; which how much soever it might tend to her Dishonour, yet she seem'd to do it for her own Security.

1564.

The Seventh Year of her Reign.

Now did *France* begin to triumph, having once more Peace within her Borders; which indeed was in a great measure owing to Queen *Elizabeth*: For they were the more forward to agree among themselves, that they might stop the Torrent of the English Bravery, which what Havock it had made in former Times, when, upon a private Quarrel, they were called thither by the Duke of *Burgundy*, they could not easily forget. When by this means the heat of the War betwixt *England* and *France* was rather smother'd for a time, than any lasting Peace concluded, the Queen having been ungratefully treated by the Protestants of *France*, resolv'd no longer to hazard her own Safety to secure other Men's, and began to entertain cool and serious Thoughts as to a Peace. This she Negotiated by Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Person of excellent Sense and Conduct; and the *French* agreed thereto. *Throckmorton*, who then liv'd in *France*, a kind of Prisoner at large, was join'd with him in the same Commission. *France* submitted the matter to the Management of *Morvilier*, Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Jaques Burden*, Secretary; who in *April* subscribed to these Articles at *Troyes* in *Campaign*.

Peace between *France* and *Engl.*

The Articles.

That neither Party should invade the other: That the Acts of private Men should bind themselves only: That there should be a Free-Trade on both sides: That Rebels and Traytors should not be shelter'd: That no Letters of Reprisal should be granted: That all Hostilities should be forgot: That the reservation of Rights and Titles of all Actions, Claims and Demands, which they have or pretend to have the one against the other respectively, shall remain to them safe and entire; and, That Defences and Exceptions shall likewise be reserv'd. The next Day these Articles were agreed on apart, *viz. That a certain Sum of Money should be repaid to Queen* Elizabeth *at set Times: That the Hostages should be deliver'd and return'd from* England, *upon payment of Six hundred and twenty thousand Crowns; and, That after the Treaty was settled,* Throckmorton *should be at Liberty to return to* England. The *French* express'd their Joy at the Conclusion of this Peace, by publick Bonfires, as is usual on such Occasions. The Queen of *England* swore to the Treaty in presence of *Gonor* and *Foix*; and some time after the *French* King did the same in presence of the Lord *Hunsdon*, who at the same time invested his Majesty with the Order of the Garter, a Robe of Honour, and a Coller of Roses, having the Picture of St. *George* hanging at it, *&c.*

The *Fr.* K. created Knight of the Garter.

D. *Diego*, Embassador from *Spain* arrives here.

About this time arriv'd in *England* another Ambassador, in the room of the Bishop of *Aquila*, who died some Month before, *viz. Don Diego, Gusman de Sylva*, Canon of *Toledo*; a Person of a venerable Aspect and Gravity. In the Interim, the *English* had met with very indifferent Usage in *Spain*, by the means of *Roderico Gomez de Sylva*, who bore them a Grudge, as being *Protestants*. But the Duke of *Alva* found a Temper to qualify this; whether in respect to the *English*, as he pretended, or in spite to *Gomez*, is hard to say. Nor had the *English* better Treatment in the *Spanish Netherlands*. Cardinal *Granvill* attempted (on the score of Religion too) to foment a Difference between the *English* and the *Netherlanders*, who had maintained an happy Union and Commerce hitherto. For he it was that made the *Netherlanders* complain, by *Assonvile*, of the Imposition of unreasonable Customs on their Wares in *England*, (which notwithstanding was done in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*) and likewise of the Prohibition, by Act of Parliament, of many of their Manufactures. The *English* complain'd, on the other hand, that their Goods were seiz'd in the *Netherlands* on very slight Pretences, by virtue of some new Orders which forbad the Exportation of some Goods: That Passage was denied through the *Netherlands* for Horses, Saltpeter and Gunpowder, out of *Italy* and *Germany*: That burdensom and unheard of Imposts were strictly demanded for Provisions, Anchorages, Horses, *&c.* And all this contrary to the Treaty of Commerce concluded heretofore, call'd, *The Grand Treaty.*

The *English* ill used in *Spain* and the *Netherlands*.

The *Netherlands* and *English* complain of Grievances on both sides.

English Commodities prohibited in the *Netherlands*.

Mean while the Dutchess of *Parma*, Governess of the *Low-Countries*, Prohibits the Importation of such Wares and Manufactures into *England* from the *Low-Countries*, as were forbidden in *England*; and not long after forbids the bringing of *English* Cloth into the *Netherlands*; using it for a Pretence, that the Plague very lately rag'd in *England* to an high and dangerous degree. But, in truth, the Cardinal *Granvill's* Policy was at the bottom of all, which aim'd at putting into a ferment the Spirits of the Clothiers in *England*

and

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The English fix their Manufactory at Emden.

and many more that had an immediate Dependance on them, when they perceiv'd their Cloth was not Exported, besides that the Cloth-Manufacture might be set up in the *Netherlands* to the Detriment of the *English*. At this the *English* were so nettled, that they took occasion, under colour of fearing the *Spanish* Inquisition lately brought into the *Netherlands*, and the prospect they had of future Disturbances there, to settle the Manufactory for the Wares of *England* at *Emden* upon the River *Ems* in *Friesland*. On the other hand, the Governess of the *Netherlands* interdicts all Commerce between the *Netherlanders* and the *English* at *Emden*, or elsewhere, or to bring any Merchandizes bought of them into the *Low-Countries*, on pain of Forfeiture.

These were Methods which *Gusman* thought too sharp to do either side any good: For he was a wise Man, and knew well enough how great Gainers the *Netherlands* were by Trading with *England*. And for the same reason it was that *Lodowick Malanus* Earl of *Flanders*, about the Year 1338, inveigled the *English*, by the Grant of some large Privileges, to settle the Staple of *English* Wool at *Bruges* in *Flanders*. For, ever since that time, the Resort has been so general of People of all Nations into *Flanders*, to buy off the *English* Cloth, and other *English* Commodities, that 'tis incredible what an Advance it has made of the Merchants and Retale-Trade, and as much it has improv'd the Fishery and Shipping of the *Netherlands*. Insomuch, that the *English* Wool has prov'd to them more than an imaginary *Golden-Fleece*; and from thence was deriv'd that famous *Order of the Golden-Fleece*, and the full Coffers of the Dukes of *Burgundy*. 'Tis most unquestionably certain, (and I have it from good Books of Accounts) that the Trade between the *English* and the *Netherlands*, hath amounted yearly to above twelve Millions of Ducats. Hence it was, that he wrought so hard to make up the matter, and so effectually, that the Trade which had been stopt was put in *Statu quo*, and all Orders and Decrees on both sides to the contrary, from the first of *January*, in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, were suspended till farther Orders from Commissioners appointed on both sides. But the Year following, when some Proposals were started on this Head, by the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Master of the Requests, Deputies for the *English*; *Montigni*, *Assonville* and *Joachim Ægidius*, Commissioners for the *Netherlanders*, the Troubles in the *Netherlands* put a stop to the Conference, after it had been agreed, that there should be an open Trade till one Prince should denounce War against the other: and the Merchants in that case to have forty Days Notice to dispose of Themselves and their Effects.

Open Trade between the English and the Netherlanders restor'd by Gusman.

The Troubles in the Netherlands put a stop to the Treaty.

These Things being so far settled abroad, the Queen took a Progress for Pleasure into the Country, and visited the University of *Cambridge*, one of the Eyes of the Kingdom; where, after a splendid and courteous Reception, and the Entertainment of the Schools and the Stage, Plays and Disputations, she took a view of the Colleges, and acknowledg'd their Civilities in a Latin Oration, commending the Plenty and Variety of good Learning that abounded there, and recommended the Study thereof as their first and greatest Care, with a Promise, that she would be always ready to Promote and Encourage them.

Q. Eliz. visits Cambridge.

At her Return, she created *Robert Dudley*, who was Master of the Horse, and very much in her Favour, and whom she had mark'd out (as I hinted before) for an Husband to the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denbeigh*; and gave him the Place, and some Revenues thereto belonging; and the more effectually to recommend him to the Queen of *Scots* Favour, the next Day she made him Earl of *Leicester*, a Title to be held by him and the Male-Heirs of his Body, lawfully begotten, for ever. On which account, she had likewise created his eldest Brother *Ambrose*, Lord *Lisle* and Earl of *Warwick*. *Dudley*, after these Honours were so bountifully heap'd upon him, to ingratiate himself with the Queen of *Scots*, whose Favour he was willing to purchase at any Rate, accus'd the Lord-Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, as having interpos'd in the Business of the Succession to the prejudice of the Queen of *Scots*, and as being privy to a Book, wherein *Hales*, whom I have had occasion to mention before, attempts, in case the Queen should die, to devolve the Crown by a Lineal Descent, upon the House of *Suffolk*. Hereupon *Hales* was committed to the *Tower*: But *Bacon* (who denied the Charge) was, with much ado, restor'd to the Queen's Favour by *Cecil*, who in the Particular of the Succession ever declined to declare his Opinion, as he resolved always to do, unless the Queen demanded his Thoughts herein; of which there was little danger, since she never heard any Discourse with so much uneasiness as that concerning her Successor. When on the other side, those that had most Sense and good Estates were not concern'd for any thing more than this, for that the Differences in Religion had this Influence upon the Zealots of the Reformation, to make them think the Queen of *Scots* ought to be excluded from the Succession upon a few nicer Punctilio's in Law, however clear and unquestionable her Title was in other respects. And among the Papists, the greatest part, the cooler Heads at least of the Party, were of Opinion her Pretensions were good, and ought to stand, being firm and according to Law: And others again were for setting up *Margaret*, the Queen of *Scots* Aunt, and Wife to *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, and her Children, of whom they conceiv'd mighty Hopes, as being *English*-Born. These things the Queen of *Scots* was not altogether ignorant of; who, to prevent them what she could, sent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* into *Scotland*, by Advice of her Aunt, the Countess of *Lenox*, under pretence of restoring him to his ancient Hereditary Estate, but in truth and reality, to advise with him in these Particulars. Who by his Wife's means obtain'd the Queen's Leave and Letters of Recommendation, when he had been Banished from his Country about twenty Years.

Robert Dudley made Baron of Denbeigh, and E. of Leicester.

He accuses Lord Bacon.

The Q. of Scots calls Lenox into Scotland.

This Gentleman (to give some light into the matter by going a little higher) was a Branch of the same Family with the *Stuarts*, the Royal House of *Scotland*, and had Royal Blood in his Veins: For *Mary*, the Daughter of *James* II. King of *Scots*, bore to *James Hamilton* a Son, *James* I. Earl of *Arran*, of that Line, and a Daughter *Mary*, Wife to *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, the first of this Christian Name. *James* Earl of *Arran* divorc'd his first Wife, and marry'd in her Life-time *Jenetta* of *Betone*, the Cardinal of *Betone's* Aunt, by whom he had *James* Duke of *Castle-Herault*, whom his Enemies hence would needs have to be illegitimate; *Mary* the Earl of *Arran's* Sister bore to *Matthew*, *John* Earl of *Lenox*, who being slain by the *Hamiltons* whilst he was endeavouring the Enlargement of *James* IV. left this *Matthew Stuart*, we are now speaking of, a Person in very high esteem with K. *James* V. for his Father's sake. But *Matthew*, after the King's Death, and when 'twas visible that all pass'd through the Hands of the *Hamiltons*, with-

His Descent.

drew

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drew into *France*, from whence being ſent back into *Scotland* by *Henry* the *French* King, to prevent any Detriment to the Kingdom from *Hamilton*'s Regency, he did his Country good Service. Nevertheleſs, being a frank and open-temper'd Perſon, he fell into the Snare laid by the Cardinal of *Betone* and *Hamilton*; and in a little time loſt the *French* King's Favour. And when 'twas come to that paſs, that there was no ſtaying at Home, nor returning to *France*, he came into *England*, and put himſelf under the Protection of *Hen.* VIII. who frankly received him as a Perſon whoſe Intereſt was conſiderable in the Weſt of *Scotland*. And tho' the *Hamiltons* condemn'd him, and made ſale of his Eſtate; yet King *Henry* acknowledg'd him next Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, after *Mary*, then an Infant, and gave him *Margaret Douglaſs*, his Niece by his eldeſt Siſter, to Wife, with an Eſtate in *England* to the value of Seventeen hundred Marks *per Annum*: And this Agreement he made with him, That he ſhould deliver into the King of *England*'s Hands the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, and the Iſle of *Buth*, with the Caſtle of *Rothſay*; which tho' he reſolutely undertook, yet the Succeſs did not anſwer.

The Cauſes why *Lenox* was call'd Home.

This *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, was now ſent for Home, and his Baniſhment taken off by the Prudence and Foreſight of the Queen of *Scots*; who reſtor'd him likewiſe to his Eſtate, as well to engage him againſt any Attempts from *James* her baſe Brother, whom ſhe had made Earl of *Murray*, as likewiſe to cut off all Pretenſions to the Crown of *England* on the ſide of *Henry* Lord *Darly*, the Son of this *Matthew*. For, ſhould he, who was a young Perſon, of Royal Blood, born in *England*, and in great Favour with the *Engliſh*, happen to match into ſome powerful Family in *England*, ſhe was afraid, that he, with ſuch a fair Proſpect before him, might be a Bar to her own Title to the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; and the rather, becauſe in moſt Men's Opinion he was look'd on as the Heir, immediately after her. Nor did ſhe more earneſtly deſire any one thing, than that ſhe might be ſo happy to devolve the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* on ſome Perſon of *Scottiſh* Extraction, who might entail the Succeſſion thereof in the Name and Family of the *Stuarts*. This Queen *Elizabeth* got ſome notice of, and to prevent it, advertis'd the Queen of *Scots*, by *Randolph*, That that Marriage was ſo far diſapprov'd by all the *Engliſh* in general, that ſhe had prorogu'd the Parliament contrary to the Advice of her Council, leſt being at preſent diſoblig'd, they ſhould take this very Opportunity to promote ſome Act againſt her Title to the Succeſſion. And that it might not hereafter come to this, and that ſhe might likewiſe give the greater Satisfaction to the *Engliſh*, ſhe advis'd her to think of ſome new Match; and on this occaſion, ſhe once more preſs'd her to accept the Earl of *Leiceſter*, whom ſhe had made an Earl on purpoſe to qualify him the better for her Favours.

A Conference about a Match between the Q. of *Scots* and the E. of *Leiceſter*.

Hereupon the Earl of *Bedford*, and *Randolph* the Earl of *Murray* and *Lidington*, were appointed Delegates to treat about this Match at *Berwick*, in the Month of *November*. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners promis'd a moſt inviolable Friendſhip, a conſtant Peace, and to ſecure to her the Succeſſion, provided ſhe would accept this Offer: For on this condition Queen *Elizabeth* had promis'd to declare her by Act of Parliament her Adopted Daughter or Siſter, as ſoon as the Marriage was over. The *Scottiſh* Deputies maintain'd, on the other hand, that it fell much beneath the Character of a Princeſs, who had been Courted by *Charles*, the Emperor *Ferdinand*'s Son, as well as by the *French* King, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, to ſtoop ſo low as to Marry an Upſtart Earl, and a Subject of *England*, with no other Settlement or Portion but that of Expectation; nor was it much for the Queen of *England*'s Honour to recommend ſo mean an Alliance to a Princeſs and her Kinſwoman: But ſhe would give a very acceptable Proof of regard for the Queen of *Scots*, would ſhe permit her to make choice, by her own Inclination, of one who would be ready to make a Peace with *England*, and make her a yearly Settlement, and would ſhe confirm her Title to the Succeſſion by Act of Parliament.

The Conference proves ineffectual.

It ſeem'd to be Queen *Elizabeth*'s great aim, through the Management of this whole Affair, to fix the Succeſſion to the two Crowns upon an *Engliſh* Bottom, tho' ſhe went but ſlowly to work about it. The Queen of *Scots*, after two Years delay, and when ſhe had fix'd her Eye and good Inclinations upon the Lord *Darly*, ſuſpected ſhe had been Trick'd, and that the true reaſon of Queen *Elizabeth*'s propounding this Match, was to reſerve to her ſelf the firſt Choice of all the reſt, or at leaſt to admit *Leiceſter*'s Addreſſes with more decency, after he had gain'd the Conſent and Good-liking of a crown'd Head. But the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners being true to their Intereſts, had reſolved to break off any Match, no matter how, which they found likely to interfere with their Power over the Queen. Queen *Elizabeth* advis'd them to prevent her Marriage with *Darly*; and *Leiceſter* himſelf, in hopes of enjoying Queen *Elizabeth*, ſecretly advertis'd *Bedford* not to be too warm in the Buſineſs; and on the ſuppos'd ground of his entertaining theſe Hopes, he was thought to be an underhand Aſſiſtant to the Lord *Darly*'s Pretenſions.

The Eighth Year of her Reign. 1565.

The Lord *Darly* goes into *Scotland*.

The Lord *Darly*, in the mean time, at the importunate and humble Requeſt of his Mother to the Queen, got leave, tho' with much difficulty, to go into *Scotland*, and to make a ſtay of 8 Months, under colour of enjoying a ſhare in his Father's Reſtoration: And in that moſt ſharp Winter, when the *Thames* was frozen over, he came to *Edinborough* in *February*. He was indeed a *Gentleman whoſe Perſon might well become the Honour of a Crown, extreamly Handſome, and of a Temper as well mix'd as his outward Proportions.* The Queen of *Scots* fell in love with him at the firſt ſight; and the better to ſmother the Flame, ſhe was always entertaining *Randolph*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, with Diſcourſes about a Match with *Leiceſter*. At the ſame time ſhe was working at *Rome* to get a Diſpenſation; the Lord *Darly* and her ſelf being ſo near of Kin, that the Canon-Law demanded a Diſpenſation. Upon the diſcovery of all this, ſhe ſent *Lidington* to Queen *Elizabeth* to gain her conſent for Conſummating a Marriage with the Lord *Darly*, and that ſhe might not be debarr'd ſo Natural a Privilege upon Hopes and Proſpects merely precarious.

The Q. of *Scots* likes him, and Asks Q. *Eliz.* conſent.

She adviſes with her Council.

Queen *Elizabeth* breaks the Buſineſs to the Truſtieſt of her Privy-Council, who, through *Murray*'s Inſinuations, were eaſily led into the belief, that the Queen of *Scots* Deſign in this Marriage, was to corroborate her Title to the Crown of *England*, to renew her old Claim, and to introduce Popery once more; and that ſhe would not want ſome Adherents on the ſcore of the Succeſſion's being hereby with more certainty ſecured, ſince there was a proſpect of Heirs that would probably deſcend from this Match; and others alſo, out of the good Affection they bore to the old Superſtition, inaſmuch as to their own Knowledge, moſt of the Juſtices of the

Peace

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Peace throughout *England* were Popishly affected. For the better prevention of these ill Effects, they judg'd it adviseable, in the first place, to Address the Queen out of hand to marry some Person, and so secure and fix the Succession upon her own Issue. (For the great fear was, that should the Queen of *Scots* Marry and have Issue, the certainty of Succession would cast the Balance of the Peoples Affections on her side) And then again, that this would be a means to encourage the Reform'd Religion, and keep down Popery: The one, by some Abatements of things merely indifferent to some warmer Sticklers on the Protestant side; and the other, by committing such Popish Bishops to Custody afresh, as had been displac'd, and were, in the Sickness time, dispers'd up and down the Countries, by empowering the Bishops to Exercise the Ecclesiastical Laws to their utmost extent against that Bug-bear, the *Præmunire*, which the Common-Law had thrown in their way, by suppressing Books sent by *Harding* and other Divines (who had fled their Country) out of the *Netherlands*, by removing some *Scottish* Priests that were harbour'd in *England*; by depriving the *English* Fugitives of their Benefices, hitherto enjoy'd by them; and by compelling the Judges (who were almost all of them Catholicks) to take an Oath of Supremacy. But in order to break off the Match with the Lord *Darly*, 'twas thought expedient to alarm *Scotland*, by raising of Soldiers in all the Parts adjacent thereto, and to put more Men into the Garrison of *Berwick*; that the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darly's* Mother, and her Son *Charles*, should be committed to Custody; that the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darly*, should be call'd back to *England* upon Pain of forfeiting their Chattels and Estates, before any Treaty were clap'd up with *France* and *Spain*; that the *Scots* who oppos'd the Marriage, should be protected; and that the Lady *Katherine Grey*, with the Earl of *Hertford*, should now receive some Countenance at Court, as being the only Persons the Queen of *Scots* seem'd to be jealous of as Co-rivals to her in the point of Succession. And this was look'd on as the most probable Expedient to put an end to the Match.

The Council's advice to the Q.

Methods used to defeat the Match with *Darly*.

Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was dispatch'd away to the Queen of *Scots*, to put her in mind, *That what one could but once resolve on in one's whole Life, could never be too well considered before-hand. That those who Marry'd in haste, commonly Repented at leisure*; but chiefly indeed to push on the Business of a Match with my Lord *Leicester*. That the design'd Match with her Cousin was directly against the Pope's Authority. For 'twas Queen *Elizabeth's* great desire, that the Succession might rest in some Person whom she should choose of the *English* Blood, tho' some again thought, that the Religion of both Kingdoms would fare better, should she die without Issue. She answer'd however, *That Matters were now gone too far to be recall'd, nor had Queen* Elizabeth *any reason to be disoblig'd, since by her Advice she had now made choice, not of a Foreigner, but an* Englishman, *and withal a Descendant of the Blood-Royal of both Kingdoms, and the first Nobleman of all* Britain. *Lidington*, who was all this while in *England*, had several times mention'd to *Leicester* the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* as no impracticable thing; as he also did to *Norfolk*, a Person who deserv'd better to be the Husband of a Queen: But he always wav'd it with a modest Refusal.

Throckmorton sent to hinder the Marriage.

The Q. of *Scots* answer.

The Queen of *England*, to retard this Match which was now drawing to a Conclusion, calls home *Lenox* and the Lord *Darly* his Son, as her Subjects, according to the Tenour of the Licence granted by her; the Father modestly excused himself by Letters; the Son humbly requests her Majesty not to oppose his Honour and Advancement, and represents it as probable, that he may by this means be capable of doing some Service to *England*, his Native Country; and makes a frank and generous Profession of his Esteem for the Queen of *Scots*, above all other Persons whatever; who in Requital of it, soon after confer'd on him the Honour of Knighthood, and the Titles of Baron of *Ardmanock*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*. And five Months after his Arrival in *Scotland*, she advanced him to her Royal Bed, by the Consent of most of the Nobility; and had him proclaim'd King: But *Murray*, who had been all this while plotting to serve his own ambitious Ends, and under the fine Cover of *Religion*, had drawn to his Party the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, was much offended at the Match: And others upon it broke out into an open Rebellion, making these Queries among themselves; *Whether a Papist might be lawfully made their King? Whether the Queen of* Scotland *was at liberty to make her own Choice? Whether the States of the Realm might not impose one merely by their own Authority?*

Lenox and *Darly* called home to *England*.

Their Excuse.

Q. of Scots marries L. *Darly*.

The Queen of *England*, who was very well acquainted with the Modesty and good Temper of *Darly*, and the sincere and honest Inclinations of his Father, was so far from being uneasie at the Matter, that she really pitied her Kinsman and the young Queen, who had to do with a boisterous kind of People, so long exempt from the Discipline of Kingly Government, that they would now hardly bend their Necks to the Royal Yoke. And she was now totally freed from all Jealousy or Apprehension on that side, when she saw the Queen, her Rival, rather sink than advance in Power, by so mean an Alliance, when she had likewise the Lord *Darly's* Mother in her own Hands, and foresaw that this would raise great Commotions in *Scotland*, a Thing which very soon after happen'd: For, some of the Peers of *Scotland*, the chief of whom were *Murray* and *Hamilton*, slighting the Match; the one, because 'twas carry'd on without the Queen of *England's* Consent; the other, out of Envy to the House of *Lenox*; but both under a Religious Pretext; set up their Standards in order to break it off: so that the Queen was obliged to raise some Forces, to solemnize her Wedding with the more Security. And so briskly did she and her Husband prosecute the Rebels, that they were driven into *England*, before the Succours promis'd from thence could come to their Assistance. The Queen of *England* granted to *Murray* underhand a Retreat in her Kingdom, as being a Person well inclin'd to the *English*; and sent him secret Supplies of Money by the Earl of *Bedford*, till his Return into *Scotland*; which, as we shall shew, happen'd to be the next day after *David Rizo* was slain. The Causes of the Queen's harbouring *Murray* and the *Scottish* Rebels, in *England*, were these: Because the Queen of *Scots* had protected *Taxley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, *English* Fugitives into *Scotland*, and *Oneal* also, an *Irishman*; and had conspired with the Pope, against the *English*; and had not done Justice upon the Pirates, &c.

Queen of *England* bears it with Moderation.

Some of the *Scots* rebel.

And find shelter in *England*.

The Marriage of the Queen of *Scots* being now over, those who were for the real Advancement of the Protestant Interest, thought nothing could better or more effectually promote that End, than if Queen *Elizabeth* would be now pleas'd to think of marrying in earnest, and by that means defeat the Hopes the Queen of *Scots* might harbour, as to the Succession. And very seasonably for that purpose did the Emperor *Maximilian* II. make honourable Proposals of a Match

Q. *Eliz.* importuned to marry.

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Emperor recommends his Brother. This creates a Quarrel between the Earl of *Suffex* and *Leicefter*.

Match with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Swirçorite*, his Ambaffador. About which time there arofe (for what Reafon, unlefs on the Score of this Marriage, is hard to guefs at) very great Heats at Court, between the Earl of *Suffex*, who was a Friend to the Match, and *Leicefter*, who out of different Hopes and Views, privately oppos'd it: (So natural is it for Men advanced above their Pretentions, to entertain boundlefs and extravagant Hopes; tho' *Suffex* was highly to blame for upbraiding the other as an upftart Nobleman; who (as he ufed to fay by way of Reflexion) had but two Anceftors to boaft of, his Father and Grandfather; and both of them Traitors to their Country.) Hereupon the Court was divided into Parties and Factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carry'd great Retinues of Servants with Swords and Bucklers, with Iron Pikes pointing out at the Boffes (according to the then Mode) as if they refolved to have a Trial of Skill for't. But after fome Days had pafs'd, the Queen reconciled 'em, or rather occafion'd 'em to fmother their Refentments. As for the Feuds of the Nobility, and that common Motto [*Divide & impera*] now us'd as a Mock Phrafe, the Queen utterly condemn'd them; as being of opinion, that the Force of Authority lay very much in the ready Inclinations of fuch as were to obey: However, fhe took fome kind of Delight, and made fome Ufe too, of the little Piques and Jealoufies which fometimes happen'd among her Women.

Which the Q. compoles.

In the mean time, fhe had not fo far difcarded from her Thoughts the Affairs of *Scotland*, but within a Month or two after the Confummation of the Marriage, fhe fent into *Scotland*, *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy-Chamber, to put the Queen of *Scots* in mind, not to break the Peace, and to expoftulate with her the Bufinefs of her hafty Match, with a Native of *England*, and a Subject, without her Approbation; and to demand withal, the Return of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darly*, his Son, into *England*, according to the Tenour of the Treaty; as likewife, that *Murray* fhould be receiv'd into Favour. She having receiv'd private Notice of the Matter, gave the Ambaffador no Audience; but promis'd, by Articles in writing, on the Word of a Prince, that neither fhe nor her Husband would attempt any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *England*, her lawful Heirs, or the Tranquility of the Kingdom; either by harbouring Fugitives, making foreign Treaties, or by any other means whatever; yea, that they fhould be ready to contract fuch an Alliance with the Queen and Kingdom of *England*, as might make for the Safety and Honour of both Nations: That they would make no Innovations in the Religion, Laws or Liberties of *England*, if ever the Crown fhould come to their Share: But all this on condition, the Queen would ftand bound by the fame good Intentions, to Herfelf and Husband, and would, by Act of Parliament, eftablifh the Succeffion in her Perfon and lawful Iffue, and, in default thereof, in *Margaret* Countefs of *Lenox*, her Husband's Mother, and her lawful Heirs. As for other Matters, fhe had acquainted the Queen with her Marriage with the Lord *Darly*, as foon as fhe had refolved to marry him, but that fhe had receiv'd no Anfwer: That fhe had anfwer'd her Majefty's Demands too, forafmuch as fhe had not accepted a Foreigner, but an *Englifh*, and one of the higheft Extraction, and the moft worthy of her good Affections of any in all *Britain*. That it feem'd ftrange to her, fhe might not enjoy the Company of one, whom God and the Laws had made fo entirely her own, and be denied the Liberty of keeping *Lenox* at home, who was a Native Earl of *Scotland*. As for *Murray*, whom fhe had found her profefs'd Enemy, fhe earneftly requefted her to leave her Subjects at her own Difpofal; fince fhe pretended not to interpofe, in the Cafes of *Englifh* Subjects. With this Anfwer *Tamworth* return'd, his Reception having been, in his Judgment, much beneath his Character; for being a forward and talkative Man, he had afpers'd the Queen of *Scots* with feveral reflecting Speeches, and refufed to give her Husband the Title of *King*.

The Ambaffador flighted. Q. of Scots anfwer.

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About this Time, there were fome lucky Emergencies, that tended much to the Honour of Queen *Elizabeth*: For the Fame and Opinion of her Vertue, had obliged *Cecily*, Sifter of *Errick* King of *Swethland*, and Wife of *Chriftopher* Marquefs of *Baden*, to undertake a Journey from the fartheft Parts of the North, through *Germany*, on purpofe to make her a Vifit; tho' at the fame time fhe was big with Child. The Queen gave an honourable Entertainment both to her and her Husband, affign'd her a yearly Penfion, and ftood God-mother to her Son, whom fhe chrifted *Edward-Fortunatus*. And *Donald Mac-carty More*, an *Irifh* Lord of Note, deliver'd a very large Eftate to the Queen, on his Knees; on purpofe to receive it back from her, and hold it in Fee for himfelf, and the lawful Heirs of his Body; in default of which, he granted them to the Crown of *England*. She receiv'd him moft gracioufly, (as indeed fhe was a Princefs that feem'd both to command the Love and Efteem of all the World) and in a folemn manner invefted him with the Earldom of *Glencarn*, his Son *Teig* with the Barony of *Valentia*, and bore the Expences of their Journey; on purpofe to engage their Service againft *Defmond*, who was fufpected for abetting and endeavouring fome Change in the Government. This Year, Sir *Nicolas Arnold*, of *Gloucefterfhire*, Knight, govern'd *Ireland*, in quality of Lord-Juftice, and had not above 1500 Men in Garrifons; But he was foon recall'd, and his Patent given to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who had been in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, Lord-Juftice and Treafurer of *Ireland*, and was at this time Prefident of *Wales*. The firft Viceroys of *Ireland*, now call'd in *Latin*, *Proreges*, were (to take Notice of it by the by) ever fince the firft Entrance of the *Englifh*, under *Henry* II. till K. *Edward* III's Days, ftyled *Juftices* and *Guardians* of *Ireland*; then *Lieutenants*, and their Vicegerents, *Deputies*: Afterwards, they were, at the Prince's Pleafure, term'd *Juftices*, or *Lieutenants*, (which is the more honourable Appellation) but their Authority was generally one and the fame. And without all doubt, thofe Juftices of *Ireland*, as well as the Lord Chief Juftice of *England*, were appointed for maintaining the publick Peace, and doing Right to the Subject; as the *Propraetors* and *Proconfuls* of *Rome* formerly, who were fent into feveral Provinces, with abfolute Commiffions.

Cecily Marchionefs of *Baden* comes to *England*.

Mac-carty furrenders his Eftate to the Q.

Is created Earl of *Glencarn*, & his Son Baron of *Valentia*.

Affairs of *Ireland*.

Several Names of the Governors of *Ireland*.

Sidney, having enter'd on his new Charge, found *Munfter*, in the South of *Ireland*, in a very great Diforder; occafion'd by the private Diffenfions, and open Rebellion of *Girald* Earl of *Defmond*, who had promis'd to act all the Parts of a faithful Subject, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, with feveral others. Hereupon, the Queen fends for *Defmond* into *England*, to prevent farther Mifchiefs, and appointed a Jufticiary Prefident in that Kingdom; with an Affiftant, two Lawyers, and a Clerk: The Prefident named by her Majefty, was Sir *Walter St. Lieger*, a Perfon of known Experience and long Practice in the Affairs of that Nation.

Firft Prefident of *Munfter*.

In

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Death of Sir *Tho. Chaloner.*

In the middle of *October*, this same Year, died Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, soon after his Return from his Embassy in *Spain*; a Man of Eminence, who was born at *London*, and educated at *Cambridge*, and very well qualify'd, both as to Arts and Arms. When he was young, he serv'd under *Charles* V. in the Expedition of *Algier*; where he suffered Shipwreck, and having swam as long as his Arms and Legs would give him leave, at length he caught hold of a Cable with his Teeth, and so escaped, tho' with the Loss of some of them. In the Reign of *Edward* VI. he acquitted himself with so much Bravery, at *Musselborough*-Field, that he was Knighted by the Duke of *Somerset*. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, he went on an honourable Embassy, to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and remain'd in that quality almost four Years; where he wrote five elegant Books of Poems, *De Republica Anglorum instauranda*, whilst (as he phrased it) he liv'd *Hyeme in furno, æstate in horreo*, i. e. *In Winter in a Stove, in Summer in a Barn.* He was bury'd in S. *Paul's* Church in *London*, and had a Funeral answerable to his Worth, at which *Cecil* attended as chief Mourner: For, his Son *Thomas*, who was afterward Governor to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, was not then advanced to Man's Estate.

1566.

The Ninth Year of her Reign.

The Beginning of this Year, *Charles* IX. King of *France*, sent *Rambouilet* into *England*, to compliment the Queen with the Privilege of conferring the Order of the *Cockle-shell* of S. *Michael*, on what two Noblemen she thought fit. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leicester*; of *Leicester*, as her Favourite: of *Norfolk*, as a Person of Honour of the first Rank.

Leicester & *Norfolk* made Knights of the *French* Order of S. *Michael*.

These Persons *Rambouilet* install'd at the Queen's Court at *Westminster*, after that in the King his Master's Room, he had taken his Place amongst the Knights of S. *George*, at *Windsor*. This *French* Order the Queen held as a great Honour; because she had not remember'd any *Englishman* to be elected into it, besides her Father *Henry* VIII. her Brother King *Edward* VI. and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: And therefore she could not but appear greatly concern'd, as she was a true Esteemer of Honour, to find it at length prostituted and sunk so low, that any Man, without Distinction, might be created Knight of it; nor was she so tender of Punctilio's, as not to have at least an equal Regard to the Good and Welfare of her Subjects; for whereas the Unseasonableness of the Weather gave some Cause to apprehend a Dearth, she not only forbad the Transportation of Grain out of the Kingdom; but took care for the Importing of vast quantities thereof.

Queen's Care, when a Dearth was apprehended.

In the mean time, *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, a Peer of the greatest Interest among the Nobility, after the Expence of a vast Treasure, on the vain Hopes of enjoying the Queen; and those Expectations being now defeated, (*Leicester* growing apace in the Queen's Favour, and his Interest at Court declining as fast) got leave, under colour of mending his Health, but in reality to give himself some Diversion, under his Disappointment, to depart the Kingdom. But others of the *English* Nation, who conceiv'd themselves framed by Nature for Arms, not Idleness; went into *Hungary*, to pursue the War against the *Turk*, at the same time that Gentlemen from all Parts of *Europe*, upon the Rumour thereof, flock'd thither. Among whom, the chief Persons were, Sir *John Smith*, Cousin-German to K. *Edward* VI. and Son to the Sister of *Jane Seimour*, the King's Mother; *Henry Champernoon*, *Philip Butshide*, *Richard Greenville*, *William Gorges*, *Thomas Cotton*, and others.

Arundel travels.

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James VI. K. of *Scots* born.

In *June* following, was the Queen of *Scots*, to the perpetual Advantage of all *Britain*, happily brought to bed of her Son *James*, (since King of *Great Britain*) of which she soon after inform'd the Queen of *England*, by *James Melvin*. The Queen, tho' she secretly envy'd her Rival the Honour of being a Mother before her, yet did she dispatch away Sir *Henry Killegrew*, to congratulate with her upon her safe Delivery, and the Birth of a Son; and to caution her withal, not to favour any longer *Shan-Oneal*, who was then in Rebellion in *Ireland*; nor to harbour *Christopher Rokesby*, who had fled from *England*: As likewise to punish some Raparees, who infested the Frontiers.

Q. *Eliz.* visits the University of *Oxon.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, as she was now taking her Progress for Recreation, to shew herself as favourable to the Muses at *Oxford*, as she had done at *Cambridge* already, made a Visit to that University; where she receiv'd a magnificent Welcome, and stay'd seven Days; being extremely delighted with the Pleasantness of the Place, the Beauty of the Colleges, and the Wit and Learning of the Students, who diverted her Majesty a great part of the Night, with Plays; and spent the Day in graver Exercises: For which she return'd 'em her Thanks in a *Latin* Speech, and so took of them and the Place a most gracious Farewel.

The Parliament meets.

As soon as she return'd to *London*, the Parliament met, (and a very full one) the first of *November*, being the Day appointed for their Meeting: And after the Passing of a Bill or two, they began a close Debate about the Succession; inasmuch as the Queen seem'd to have made a Vow of Virginity, having never in eight Years time, entertain'd a serious Thought of Marriage; whereas the Papists, on the one hand, were big with the Hopes of finding it fix'd in the Queen of *Scots*, who had now born a Son; and the Protestants, on the other hand, purpos'd to themselves, some one Person, some another, as they were severally inclined; and every one (according to the Degree of his Respect for his Religion, and its Security) foreboded sad and troublesome Times, should the Queen die without settling the Point of the Succession. Nay, they broke out at length into that Heat and Clamour, as roundly to tax the Queen with a Disregard of her Country and Posterity; defamed *Cecil* with slanderous Libels, as a pernicious Counsellor, and curs'd *Huic* the Queen's Physician, as having dissuaded the Queen from marrying, on Pretence of some Impediment and Defect in her. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leicester* did likewise openly, and the Duke of *Norfolk* with more Caution, profess it their Opinion, that the Queen ought to be obliged to a Husband, or a Successor be declared by Act of Parliament, even against the Queen's Will: But they soon made their Submission, and obtain'd their Pardon.

And urges the Q. to declare a Successor.

Yet they and the rest of the Upper-House being very solicitous on the Matter of a Successor, besought the Queen, by their Speaker, the Lord *Bacon*, according to the Duty they ow'd to God, their Allegiance to their Prince, and Love to their Country; 'That since at present they found 'themselves Blessed by her Influence, with all the 'Advantages of Peace, Justice and Clemency, 'she would provide them a lasting continuance 'thereof: But this they affirm'd could never be 'their Fortune till she pleas'd to Marry, and fix 'the Succession. They therefore humbly intreat 'and beseech her in the first place to make her 'Choice how, where, and when she shall think 'fit,

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'fit, and so to bless the Kingdom with the firmest 'Supports thereof, the Heirs of her Body. And 'that she would likewise agree with her Parliament, to determine and appoint a Successor in 'case she or her Children (which God forbid) 'should die without Issue. They profess'd they 'had several Reasons for making this so importunate Request, *viz.* The fresh Apprehensions 'every Body was seiz'd with upon the ill State of 'her Majesty's Health: The Occasion that presented, when the Parliament was now sitting, and 'ready to Debate that Point with the utmost 'Application: The Terror she would by this 'means strike into her Enemies; and the immortal Joy she would kindle in the Breasts of 'all her Subjects. They applaud the Actions of 'her Predecessors, who in the same Instance had 'made wise Provisions for their Posterity, and 'condemn'd that Saying of *Pyrrhus*, who resolv'd 'to leave the Kingdom to him that had the sharpest Sword. Moreover, they humbly Represented, what a Labyrinth of Miseries this unhappy Kingdom would needs be plung'd in, 'should she depart this Life without appointing 'a Successor: That this would occasion such 'Civil Wars and Commotions, as would leave 'the Conquerors in possession of nothing but 'Misery. That she was going the way to Destroy Religion, Eclipse the Laws, and stop the 'Course of Justice, were it so that she left the 'Nation without a Prince, who is the very Soul 'of the Law, and that the Kingdom must needs 'become a Prey to a Foreign Power. Other 'Calamities they reckon up, and urge them under all possible Aggravations, which must needs 'oppress the whole Nation, should it so happen 'that she should die without Issue. Nor did they 'omit to press her by Advices, Precepts and 'Examples, borrowed from Scripture itself.

The Commons press the Queen in a rougher manner.

But these things were not manag'd with the same Temperance in the Lower-House; for *Bell* and *Monson*, great Lawyers, with *Dutton*, *Paul Wentworth*, and others, grated hard on the Queen's Royal Prerogative; and maintained amongst other Points, 'That Kings are bound to appoint 'a Successor: That the Affection of the Subject 'is the most impregnable Bulwark and Support 'of the Prince; but that Princes can no otherwise gain this Affection, than by providing for 'the Welfare of their Subjects, both whilst they 'live and after their death; which can by no 'Means be done, but where 'tis certainly known 'who shall succeed to the Throne. That the 'Queen, by not appointing a Successor, did at 'once provoke the Wrath of God, and alienate 'the Hearts of her People; whereas, would she 'possess the Affections of her Subjects, and the 'Favour of God, and live for ever in the Remembrance of her People, she must of course 'nominate a Successor: If not, she would be 'rather a Step-mother of her Country, or something worse, than the Nursing-mother thereof, 'as being seemingly desirous that *England*, which 'liv'd as it were in her, should rather expire 'with than survive or outlast her. That none 'but timorous Princes, or such as were hated by 'their People, or fainthearted Women, did ever 'stand in fear of their Successors; nor can that 'Prince with any reason apprehend Dangers 'from a Successor, who is fortify'd and secured 'by the Love and Duty of his Subjects.

The Q. resents this Address.

The Queen heard all this with no little Regret, tho' for a while she either overlook'd it, or at least seem'd so to do: For she knew by Experience what the Hazard would be in nominating a Successor; forasmuch as in Queen *Mary's* Reign many of the Nobility and Commons had already withdrawn their Loyal Respects, and fix'd their Eye on her as the Person to succeed. Whatever was done in the Queen's Bed-Chamber was presently brought to her; and *Wyat* and others, Men greedy of Innovations, had plotted against the Queen, to advance her to the Throne even against her knowledge, and without the least consent from her. She knew very well, that the way to curb the hopes of Competitors, and keep them within bounds of Duty, was to keep every one of them in suspense, and not declare a Successor at all. She was not ignorant, that Sons had been so fired with an ambitious desire of Governing, as to take up Arms against their Parents; nor could it be thought that remoter Kindred should act with more Duty and Affection. She had likewise collected from her own Conversation with Books, and sometimes took occasion to hint it in Discourse, That there had seldom been any Designation of Successors in a Collateral-Line. That *Lewis* of *Orleans*, Successor of *Charles* V. and *Francis* of *Angoulesme*, Successor to *Lewis* in the Throne of *France*, were never Declar'd, and they succeeded for all that without the least disturbance. That the Declaration of Successors in *England*, had generally prov'd the Ruin of the Persons so Declar'd: For *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, appointed Heir of the Crown by King *Richard* II. was in a little time cut off. His Son *Edmund*, on the same account, suffer'd twenty Years Imprisonment in *Ireland*, and there died. *John de la Pool*, Earl of *Lincoln*, design'd Successor by *Richard* III. after his Son's death, was always look'd on with a jealous Eye by *Henry* VII. and in conclusion was slain in the Field, whilst he attempted to bring about his Designs; and afterward his Brother *Edmund* was beheaded under *Henry* VIII. But these things may perhaps appear somewhat foreign the matter.

She pacifies their Heats by kind Words.

Now there being some still who did not forbear to insist with too much Heat and Insolence on the Points already mention'd; and to back their Pertness with Invectives and Abuses, the Queen commanded Thirty to be called out of each House, and make their Appearance before her. These she endeavour'd to smooth and qualify by the most obliging Expressions; and after a Reproof that carry'd Sweetness mix'd with Majesty, she diverted them from their Resolution, and promis'd them to manage things not only with the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderness of a Parent. And whereas the House had offer'd greater Subsidies than usual, on condition she would declare a Successor, she utterly refus'd those extraordinary Grants, accepted a smaller Sum, and with a Commendation of their Respects to her, abated the fourth Payment of the Supply already Granted, saying, *That Money in her Subjects Purse, was as good as in her own Exchequer.*

The Q. remits part of her Subsidy;

and makes a fair Speech to the two Houses.

The last Day of this Session she made a short Speech to both Houses, the Abridgment of which take as follows. "Whereas the Words of Princes are observed to make the deepest Impression on the Minds of their Subjects, I have "this therefore to offer to you. I have been "always a most unaffected lover of Truth, and "have ever pleas'd my self with the Thoughts "that you are so too. But it seems I have been "deceiv'd: For I had the Leisure to observe "this Session, that Hypocrisie has walk'd its "Rounds under the Mask of Liberty and Succession; and there have not been wanting "some among themselves who have stickled for "the full Grant or the absolute Refusal of the "Privilege to Dispute the Point of the Succession, and its Establishment. Had this been "granted, these Persons had been gratify'd so

"far

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"far as even to occasion their Triumphs. And "should we have denied, they had been pro"vok'd to draw upon us the general Odium of "our People, which our worst Enemies have "never yet been able to do. But their Politicks "were ill tim'd, their Counsels precipitate, "and they were not quick-sighted enough to "look into the Event: However they have by "this means given us an hint to distinguish our "Friends from our Foes. 'Tis easie to observe, "that this entire Assembly is made up of four "sorts of Men. Some have been Contrivers and "Abetters, some Actors and Advisers in these "Affairs, whereas a third sort has been cajol'd "and decoy'd by these fair Speeches, whilst a "fourth sort again have said nothing, but stood "amaz'd at such bold Freedoms, and these cer"tainly are the least to blame. Can you ima"gine, Gentlemen, that as to the Affair of the "Succession, your Safety and Security is no "way consulted or provided for? Or that we "design to incroach on your Liberties? That be "still as far from us as it has yet been ever re"mov'd from our Thoughts. We cannot deny "indeed but that we thought it necessary to stop "you, when you were just upon the brink of "the Precipice. There is a time for every "thing: 'Tis possible you may have a wiser "Prince after me, but you will hardly enjoy "one more truly Affectionate to you. For our "part, we cannot tell whether we shall ever "have the Opportunity of meeting such a Par"liament again; 'tis however your best course "not to try Experiments on the Patience of "your Prince; tho' we do leave with you this "Assurance, That we have still a favourable "Opinion of the greater part of you, and con"tinue to every one the same place in our good "Will and Affection.

All is quiet and made up again.

Thus did the Discretion of a Woman lay asleep all these Commotions; which were in time so settled and compos'd, that very few but Malecontents and Traytors appear'd very solicitous in the Business of a Successor. Certain it is, that most Men, whatever they may pretend, have no other Regards, as to National Affairs, but what relate to their own Peculiar. Nevertheless, that the Succession might not lie altogether in the dark, nor the Person whose undoubted Claim the Queen asserted, she cast *Thornton*, who was then a Reader of Law in *Lincolns-Inn*, into the *Tower*, upon the Queen of *Scots* Complaint, that he had call'd her Title in question.

Queen openly favours the Queen of *Scots* Title.

During this Parliament, besides other things for the publick Advantage, it was unanimously declared, That the Election, Consecration, Confirmation and Instalment of the Archbishops and Bishops of *England* (which some had abusively called in question) were lawful; and that the said Bishops were Elected and Consecrated duly, and according to the Acts and Laws of the Land. And it was likewise Enacted, That both they, and all such as should be hereafter Consecrated, were and should be esteem'd as duly and lawfully Consecrated, notwithstanding any former Law or Canon to the contrary. For the Papists had traduc'd their Ordination as false and counterfeit; perhaps because the Unction, the Ring, the Crosier-Staff, and the Benediction were omitted, and for their not being duly Ordained by three Bishops, who were able to derive their Ordination, by a regular Succession, down from the Apostles and our Saviour's time; ‡‡‡ which notwithstanding they might really have done, (as appear'd by the Records) having receiv'd their Ordination, with the Solemnity of Prayers, Invocation of the Holy Ghost, the Imposition of three Bishops Hands, the Devotion of a Sermon, and the Celebration of the Lord's-Supper. About this time there were Restraints laid, and proper Punishment inflicted on some riotous People, who Mobb'd and Insulted in the open Streets those Reformers commonly call'd Promoters.

The E. of *Bedford* goes Embassador to *Scotland* on the Christning of the young Prince.

And now came on likewise the Day appointed for the Baptism of the young Prince of *Scotland*, for whom the Queen of *England* being importun'd to stand Godmother, she sent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Present, and expressly commanded, that neither he, nor any of his Retinue, should give the Title of King to the Lord *Darly*. This Solemnity being over, the Earl of *Bedford*, according to his Instructions, transacted with the Q. of *Scots* a Reconciliation between herself and her Husband, (for it seems there were some Enemies on both sides, who had used ill Arts to impair that Friendship and good Agreement that had been between them) and likewise a Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinborough*. The latter she flatly refus'd, alledging there was somewhat in the Treaty which might prejudice her and her Children's Claim to the Crown of *England*. Yet she promis'd to send Commissioners to *England* to Treat of that Matter with some Alteration, *viz. That she should disuse the Arms and Title of* England *so long as Q.* Elizabeth *and her Heirs should live; as if she conceived herself engag'd by the Treaty to renounce them for good and all.* These Commissioners were likewise to inform her how basely she was impos'd on by the mischievous Arts of those who made an ill use of the Openness and Good-nature of her Husband. She began now to grow Weak and out of Order, and commended the young Prince her Son, to the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, by several Letters, wherein (to use her own Words) *Tho' she knew herself to be the undoubted Heir of* England *after the Queen, and that there were many Attempts used to invalidate her Title, she promis'd however no longer to insist on that Point; but to assist and serve her with the truest Friendship against all Persons whatsoever.*

Prince of *Scotland* recommended to the Care of Queen *Elizabeth*.

This very Year died, on the same Day, two of the Privy-Council, *John Mason*, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, a Man of Learning and

The death of *Mason*.

‡‡‡ In the end of Archbishop *Bramhal's* Works, printed at *Dublin*, are to be found [a] *the Order of the Ceremonies used at the Consecration* of Archbishop *Parker*, taken out of the Register of the See of *Canterbury*; and before it, out of the same Register, is taken [b] *the Process of Confirmation* of the Archbishop Elect: In which Process the Reader may find all the Instruments and forms used during this Election, *viz.* the [c] *Conge d'Elire*, or Letter of Licence from Queen *Elizabeth* to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, to proceed to a Choice of an Archbishop: The Dean and Chapters [d] *Decrees of Election*, whereby they choose Dr. *Parker*, and their whole Proceedings therein: The Instrument whereby the Archbishop Elect gives [e] *his Consent to the said Election*: The Queen's Letters-Patents, wherein are declar'd [f] *the Royal Assent to the said Election*, and a Mandate to proceed to the Confirmation and Consecration of the Archbishop Elect; together with all other Instruments and Forms which are alledged for the Proof of the legality of any Election.

[a] p. 1045 [b] p. 1023 & seq. [c] p. 1034 [d] p. 1033 & seq. [e] p. 1040 [f] p. 1025

After an account of the Order of the Consecration, follows, taken out of the same Register, a Mandate to the Archdeacon for [g] *the Installation of the Archbishop*; and the Archbishop's Procuratorial Letter, whereby he appoints his Chaplains to be his Proctors to receive [h] *Induction* and *Inthronization* in his stead. Lastly is added the [i] Order of the Ceremonies used at the Consecration, as they are set down in a Manuscript kept in the Library of *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*; which differs in so inconsiderable and minute Circumstances from that taken from the Register of the See of *Canterbury*, that their differences are rather one proof of the sincerity and authenticalness of both of them.

[g] p. 1047 & seq. [h] p. 1049 [i] p. 1051

This Manuscript-account, together with the Testimonials of the Master and Fellows of *Corpus Christi* College of its authenticalness, as also the Certificates of the University, Publick Notary, and Heads of several Colleges concerning it, are inserted in the *Appendix* to this Life of Queen *Elizabeth*. Numb. 1.

Gravity,

1566. *Ann.* 9. Gravity, but a great Devourer of Church-Lands, and Sir *Richard Sackvill*, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, a Person of wise Foresight, and the Queen's Kinsman by his Mother, who was a *Bolen*. Into *Sackvill*'s Place succeeded Sir *Walter Mildmay*, a Person of Probity and Discretion: And the other's Place was supplyed by Sir *Francis Knolls*, who had marry'd *Katharine Cary*, the Queen's Cousin-German by *Mary Bolen*.

The death of Sackvill.

1567. *The Tenth Year of her Reign.*

But before the return of the Commissioners from the Queen of *Scots*, and a Month or two after the Solemnity of the Christning, the Queen's Husband was by some bloody and barbarous Hands murder'd in his Bed at Midnight, being then in the 21st Year of his Age; and to make the Surprize the greater, the House was blown up by Gunpowder, and his Body cast out into the Orchard. This was soon nois'd all *Britain* over, and the Fact cast upon *Morton*, *Murray*, and others of the Conspiracy; but they were so Insolent as to lay it at the Queen's door. What *George Buchanan* has related of this Passage, both in his History, and a little Book of his, entituled, *The Detection*, every one may learn from the Books themselves. But forasmuch as *Murray*'s Gold may be presum'd to have set a Byass on his Temper, and to have made him, as being Partial enough to have his Writings condemn'd as spurious and false by the States of *Scotland*, upon whose Credit one may more safely depend; and he himself having (as I am inform'd) often blam'd himself with Tears in the King's Presence, to whom he was Tutor, for having employ'd his Pen in too virulent a strain against that excellent Princess; and having wish'd on his Death-bed that he might live so long as to recal the truth of that Fact, and wipe off those Aspersions he had rashly and unjustly fix'd on her Credit, if his Age would give him leave, and People not take him for a Dotard. Give me leave, on this account to offer on the other side as much as I can learn of the whole Story, and that without the least tincture of Prejudice or Favour, and according to the best Informations I can borrow from those Writings which came out at that time, (but which in favour to *Murray*, and ill-will to the Queen, were suppressed in *England*) as well as from the Letters of Ambassadors and other Persons of Credit and Consideration.

Digression to the affairs of Scotland.

In the Year 1558, at the time of the Marriage of *Francis* the *Dauphin* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, *James* the Queen's base Brother, commonly called the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (as being Head of the Religious Order of the Metropolitical Church of that name) being out of humour with so grave a Title, press'd hard for some more splendid Character of Honour and Distinction; which the Queen refusing him, by the advice of the *Guises*, her Uncles, he returned to *Scotland* in a Discontent, and under the specious colour of Reformation and Liberty, began to disturb the publick Peace; and so far he went, as in a Juncto of Confederates to alter the Face of Religion without the Queen's knowledge, and to remove the *French* out of *Scotland* by the help of *English* Forces he had called in for that Purpose. When *Francis* the *French* King was dead, he hastened to his Sister in *France*, and endeavour'd to clear himself of all that had been done in *Scotland* in prejudice to her Honour or Interest, and solemnly promis'd and gave his Oath, to do her all the good Offices a Sister might reasonably expect from a Brother. And being in hopes that the Queen, who had been Bred up from a Child in the Pleasures of *France*, would hardly return into *Scotland*, he manag'd the Matter with the *Guises* to have some *Scottish* Nobleman made Regent of that Kingdom, and made broad signs that none was fitter than himself. But when he was sent back into *Scotland* with a bare Commission, impowering the States of the Realm to Meet and Consult about the Publick Good, he was so nettled at the Disappointment, that he return'd by the way of *England*, and insinuated to the *English*, that if they desir'd the Church should flourish in *Scotland*, Peace be preserv'd at Home, and the Queen's Person safe and secure, they ought to use all possible Endeavours to prevent the Queen of *Scots* passage into *Scotland*. She however passing by the *English* Ships in hazy Weather, arrived safely in *Scotland*, and was still so kind to her Brother, as in a manner to place the entire Administration in his Hands. Yet was not this enough to clip or cure his Ambition, which he made every day and every way fresh discoveries of: For he could not forbear perpetually complaining to his Friends, that the Warlike Nation of the *Scots* as well as the *English*, was Rul'd by the Distaff: And he often quoted *Knox*, whom he esteem'd beyond a Primitive Father, for this scrap of Politicks, *That Kingdoms are the claim of Vertue, not Extraction: That Women were never made to Govern Kingdoms; and, That they were mere Monsters on a Throne*. He set his Friends likewise to perswade the Queen to depute four Persons of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, to succeed one another in the Kingdom, provided she should die without Issue, without distinguishing whether they were legitimate or not; hoping, no doubt, that he should make one in the number, as being the King's Son, tho' by the wrong way. But the Queen wisely considering, that such a Constitution was repugnant to the Laws of the Land, that it would be a prejudice to the right Heirs, a very ill Precedent, and of dangerous Consequence to the Substitutes themselves, as well as a Bar to her own Marriage, gently answer'd, *That she would take some time to advise with the States about an Affair of that Importance.* And to shew her Generosity to her Brother, she conferr'd on him the Earldom of *Marre*, and afterward of *Murray*, (because the former Title was contested) and preferr'd him to an honourable and advantagious Match, not knowing at the same time that he aim'd at the Regency, and gave it out, that he was the true and lawful Son of King *James* V. To clear his way to the Throne, he used his Interest with the Queen to crush the Noble Family of the *Gordons*, who had a great many powerful Adherents; so that he was jealous of this Family on his own account, and in regard of the reform'd Religion, *Hamilton*, the Duke of *Castle-Herault*, (the next reputed Heir to the Crown) he procured to be Banish'd the Court; and *Arran*, his Son, to be Imprison'd; *Bothwell* he Banished into *England*, and all, that he thought capable of standing in his way, he stript of their Titles and Preferments; nay the Queen herself seem'd to be under the Discipline of a Pupil; and his great Art and Care was to keep her from so much as thinking of an Husband. And no sooner did he perceive that the Emperor Courted her for his Brother on the one hand, and on the other the King of *Spain* for his Son, but he strenuously endeavour'd to divert her from both Matches, alledging, That a foreign Prince was really, and would be thought incompatible with the Liberties of *Scotland*; and that in former Times, whenever the Throne devolv'd on a Female Heir, they had taken no Husbands but of the same Blood and Nation. But when he found it was the general Desire of her Subjects that she should Marry, and learnt by

James Prior of S. *Andrews* aims at the Government of *Scotland*.

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The Queen proves the Prior's motion.

She makes him E. of *Murray*.

The E. of *Murray* diswades the Queen from Marriage.

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by some Intimations from the Countess of *Lenox*, that she was dispos'd in favour of the L. *Darly*, he was forward to recommend him among the rest, expecting to find him, as he was very Young, so as ductile and pliant to his Managery. Notwithstanding, when he found the Queen had a real Passion for the Lord *Darly*, and grew more indifferent to him, he repented his Project, and tamper'd with Queen *Elizabeth* to cross the March.

Disturbs her Nuptials.

The Marriage being now Consummated, and the Lord *Darly* declar'd King, and the Queen revoking at the same time the Grants made to him and others in her Minority, contrary to Law, he with others join'd in a Rebellion against the King and Queen, under pretence, that the new King was no Friend to the Protestant Religion, and had marry'd without the Queen of *England's* consent. But without putting it to the hazard of a Battel, he fled to *England*, and there despairing to find any Abettors, he transacted with *Morton*, a Man of Depth and Subtilty, and his intimate Friend and Assistant, that seeing the Marriage could not be disannull'd, yet some Method might be contriv'd to dissolve that close Union by which their Affections were rivetted one to another. Nor was it long before they found a very seasonable Opportunity; for there happening some Difference between them, the Queen, to keep down the Aspirings of the young Prince, and preserve the Royal Prerogative to herself, began to place her Husband's Name last in all publick Acts, and to leave it out in all the Stamp for Coin. *Morton* being a Man unluckily dextrous in fomenting Divisions, insinuates himself, by Flattery and Wheedles, into the King's good Opinion; and persuades him to wear the Crown of *Scotland* against the Queen's will and to get rid of a Woman's Government, since 'twas the Business of that Sex to Obey, not to Rule.

Flies to *England*.

He endeavours to set the K. and Q. at odds.

By this Advice, he had hopes not only of alienating the Queen, but the Peers and Commons too, from the King. And to work the Effect on the Queen in the first place, he makes use of several slanderous Reports to move the King to take away the Life of *David Rizo*, a *Piemontois*, lest he, by the Foresight he was Master of, might give a Check to their Designs. (This *Rizo* was a Musician, and came the Year before into *Scotland* with *Morette* the Ambassador; and for his exquisite Skill was entertain'd at Court; and so far got the Queen's Favour, as to be employ'd in writing *French* Letters; and in her Secretary's Absence, did in great measure supply his room.) And then, to inflame the Queen the more, he persuades the King to assist in Person at the Murder, with *Reuven*, and the rest of the Assassinates, who, together with him, breaking, at Supper-time, into the Queen's Privy Chamber, while she was sitting with the Countess of *Argyle*, Assaulted *Rizo* as he was Eating at a Side-board of something from the Queen's Table; (as the Waiters of the Privy-Chamber usually do) and all this in the Queen's Eye, who was big with Child, and had like to have Miscarry'd for Fear; afterwards they clapt a Pistol to his Breast. This done, they dragg'd him into a Lobby hard by, and murder'd him in a most barbarous manner, locking the Queen up in her Privy Chamber, whilst in the mean time *Morton* guarded all the Avenues.

David Rizo murdered.

This Murder was committed the Day before *Murray* was, according to his Summons, to make Appearance, and answer to the Charge of Rebellion before the Parliament. He appear'd the very next Day, when he was least expected; and such was the Confusion of Affairs, that no Evidence came at that time against him; insomuch that it look'd as if *Rizo's* Murder had been dispatch'd the sooner in regard to *Murray's* Indemnity. Nevertheless the Queen, at her Husband's Requests, gave a courteous Reception, and seem'd to place an unsuspected Confidence in him. But the King beginning by this time to reflect on the foulness of the late horrid Fact, and perceiving the Queen did very much regret it, was himself much concern'd thereat, begg'd her Favour and Pardon with Tears in his Eyes, and freely own'd, that *Murray* and *Morton* had over-persuaded him to the Murder. And from that time he conceiv'd so mortal an Aversion to *Murray*, (for as for *Morton*, *Reuven*, and others, they were fled to *England* with *Murray's* Letters of Recommendation to the Earl of *Bedford*) that he was contriving to remove him out of the way. But being not Old and Wise enough to conceal his Thoughts, or Couragious enough to put them in execution, he was so much a Courtier and kind Husband, as to tell his Wife, the Queen, that it would be for the Interest of the Kingdom, and the Security of the Royal Family, to have *Murray* made away. She abhorring the very Motion, fell to dissuade him by Threats from such a Design, hoping that they might be reconcil'd again. But the King being vex'd to find the Bastard stand so well in the Queen's Favour, unadvisedly communicated the same Design to others. When this came to *Murray's* Ears, he begins to Plot upon the King's Life; tho' covertly, and under the mask of a most officious Allegiance, and makes use of *Morton's* Counsel, tho' absent, to this purpose.

Mor[illegible] and [illegible] fly to *England*.

'Twas the opinion of these two Persons, that the best method to be taken, was to draw off the Queen's Affection from the King, it being not well knit since the late Breach, and that *Bothwell* ought to be engag'd in the Design, who was lately reconcil'd to *Murray*, and in so good Terms with the Queen, that 'twas the easier to flatter him with the hope of a Divorce from his Wife, and the Possession of the Queen, when she was a Widow. To bring this about, and to abet and skreen him from all Opposition, they oblig'd themselves under their Hands and Seals; imagining that if the Project took effect, they could by one and the same Act, murder the King, bespatter and lessen the Queen among Persons of all Ranks, suppress *Bothwell*, and get the entire Regency into their own Hands. *Bothwell*, being a lewd and ill-principl'd Man, and mad as well as blind with Ambition, accepted the Terms, and villainously acted the Murder, whilst *Murray* had withdrawn himself to a Country Seat he had at some distance, not above fifteen Hours before, not only to avoid suspicion, but to assist the Complotters to the better Advantage, and derive the Odium and Jealousie of the Fact upon the Queen. No sooner was he return'd to Court, but he and the rest of the Juncto recommended *Bothwell* to the Queen for an Husband, as not altogether unworthy of her Regard, on the score of his Family and good Services against the *English*, and his singular Fidelity withal. They insinuated farther, *That as she was a single and solitary Person, she was the less capable of stemming the Tide of Tumult and Sedition, of preventing the treacherous Designs of her Enemies, and sustaining the weight of publick Affairs: That therefore she would do well to admit him to her Bed, and Board, and Council-Table; who had the Will, the Power, and the Courage to Enterprize any thing.* And so powerfully did the Poison work, that she, being scar'd out of her Judgment by two such Tragical Murders, and having in her Thoughts the fresh impression of *Bothwell's* Fidelity and Services to herself and

Queen is alienated from the King.

The King murder'd.

her

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her Mother, was prevail'd on to give her Consent; but with this Proviso, that her young Son should be every way secur'd, and *Bothwell* legally acquitted of the Murder, and from his former Marriage.

A Protest concerning the Murder of the Lord *Darly*.

It may not be amiss to insert here the publick Protestation made by *George* Earl of *Huntley*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, relating to this Matter; of which I my self have seen a Copy, under their own Hands, directed to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Forasmuch as *Murray* and others, to conceal their 'Rebellion against the Queen, whose Authority 'they would fain usurp, do openly calumniate 'her, as guilty of the Murder of her Husband; 'we do publickly protest and witness these 'things following: In the Month of *December*, '1556. when the Queen lay at *Cragmillar*, *Murray* and *Lidington* acknowledg'd before us, that '*Morton*, *Lindsey* and *Reuven* slew *David Rizo*, with 'no other Design, than to save *Murray*, who was 'at that very time to be proscribed: That there'fore they might not appear ungrateful, they 'greatly desir'd, that *Morton* and the rest, that 'withdrew themselves, on the Murder of *Rizo*, 'might be permitted to return: But this, they 'said, was impossible, unless the Queen were di'vorced from her Husband; which they pro'mis'd to effect, would we but give our Consent. 'Afterwards *Murray* promis'd to me *Huntley*, that 'my antient Estate should be restored to me; and 'that I should be an eternal Favourite with the 'Persons now abroad, if I would favour the Di'vorce. Then we apply'd to *Bothwell* for his 'Consent; and last of all we addrest the *Queen*, 'and *Lidington* intreated her, in the Name of us 'all, to reverse the Banishment of *Morton*, *Lindsey*, and *Reuven*. The King's Errors and Mis'carriages, those especially against the Queen, 'he fail'd not to aggravate with all imaginable 'Bitterness: and shew'd how much it concern'd 'the Queen and State, to have a Divorce drawn 'up; it being impossible for the King and Queen 'to be safe together in *Scotland*. She made An'swer, she had rather retire for some time into '*France*, till her Husband came to be sensible of 'his youthful Heats; for she would not willingly 'have any thing done to the Prejudice of her 'Son, or her own Dishonour. To this *Lidington* 'reply'd, we, who are of your Majesty's Coun'cil, will look to that. But I command you, 'says she, to do nothing that may stick either 'upon my Honour or Conscience: Let things 'remain as they are, till God pleases to provide 'a Remedy: That which you imagine may be 'for my Good, may possibly have a contrary Ef'fect. To which *Lidington* answer'd, Please to 'leave Matters to us, and you shall find we will 'do nothing unfit, or what the Authority of Par'liament shall not well approve of. Hereupon, 'since the King happen'd to be basely murder'd 'a few days after, we do, from the real Persua'sion of our Conscience, fully and certainly be'lieve, that *Murray* and *Lidington* were the Au'thors, Abettors, and Contrivers of this Regi'cide, whoever were the Actors. (So far they.)

Bothwell acquitted of the King's Murder.

The great and sole Concern of the Conspirators now was, to get *Bothwell* clear'd of the Guilt of the King's Murder. A Parliament therefore is call'd on this very Account, and a Proclamation issued out, for the Apprehending such as were suspected of the Fact. And whereas *Lenox*, the deceas'd King's Father, impeach'd *Bothwell*, as the Regicide, and press'd hard that he might be brought to his Trial in Parliament; this was also granted, and *Lenox* commanded to appear in two and twenty Days, in order to prosecute the Defendant. On the Day appointed was *Bothwell* arraign'd, and acquitted by his Judges, and *Morton's* Management, (the Queen of *England* not having sent any Instructions to *Lenox*, who could not appear in the City, where he had so many Enemies, without visible Hazard of his Life.)

And marries the Queen.

This Business thus dispatch'd, the Confederacy so manag'd the matter, as to work up a great part of the Nobility to comply with the Marriage, and to set their Hands to a Writing to that purpose, for fear, if he had sunk from his Hopes, he should have betray'd the whole bloody Secret. This Match with *Bothwell* (who was created Duke of *Orkney*, or the *Orcades*) help'd very much to increase the Suspicion of the Queen's being accessory to the Murder; and this was heightned by several Letters which the Complotters dispers'd and sent about; and they conspir'd, in private Cabals held at *Dunkeld*, to depose the Q. and destroy *Bothwell*. Yet *Murray*, to make himself appear innocent of the whole Intrigue, ask'd the Queen's Leave to go into *France*, and to remove the least Shadow of Jealousie, recommended his whole Estate to the Care and Management of the Queen and *Bothwell*.

A Conspiracy against the Queen.

Murray goes into *France*.

He had scarce got out of *England*, when the very same Persons that had acquitted *Bothwell* of the King's Murder, and gave him their Consent to marry the Queen, under their own Hands; were up in Arms against and ready to seize him: But in truth they gave him secret Notice to provide for himself; and all, lest he should discover the whole Plot, after he was taken; and that they might make this Use of his Flight, to charge the Queen, with the better Face, with the King's Murder. Next they went so far, as to seize on her Person, and treated her in the vilest and most contumelious manner; and allowing her but poor and ordinary Cloathing, they imprison'd her at *Loch-Levin*, and put her in the Custody of *Murray*'s Mother; who having been *James* V's Mistress, insulted basely the captiv'd Queen's Misfortune, and made her Brags, that she was the lawful Wife of *James* V. and that her Son *Murray* was his legitimate Issue.

Bothwell flies.

Q. of *Scots* imprison'd.

As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had certain Advices of these things, she was touch'd with so hearty a Resentment of this insufferable Insolence of the Queen her Sister and Neighbour's Subjects, (on whom she would sometimes bestow the Epithets of *perfidious*, *cruel*, and *ungrateful*) that she sent Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* into *Scotland*, to expostulate with the Confederates, this rude and inhumane Treatment of their Queen, and to concert Measures for restoring her to her Liberty and Authority, for punishing the King's Murderers, and Conveying the young Prince into *England*, rather than *France*, for his better Security. What I shall from this time deliver concerning these Matters, during the Stay of *Throckmorton* in *Scotland*, you are to take on the Credit of his own Letters, which, without all doubt, were fair and authentick. *Throckmorton* found in *Scotland* a great many inveterate Enemies against the Queen; who refus'd, in plain terms, both him and the *French* Ambassadors *Croc* and *Villeroy*, the Freedom of Access to her: And yet what Measures to take, as to the Queen, they could not agree among themselves. *Lidington* and some others judg'd it the fittest Course to restore her to her Authority, on these Terms: *That the King's Murderers should be punish'd according to Law: That Care should be taken about preserving the Person of the Prince: That* Bothwell *should be divorced from her, and Religion establish'd.* Others conceiv'd it would be much better to remove her to *England* or *France*, there to remain in perpetual Exile, on condition the *French* King or the Queen of *England* would be Guarantees, that she should give up the Government to her Son and some of the Nobility, and

Q. *Elizabeth* interposes in the Matter.

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and abdicate the Kingdom. Others were of Opinion, that she should be try'd, and condemn'd to perpetual Confinement; and her Son crown'd in her Room. And others again, That she ought to lose her Crown and her Life together; and this was the Doctrine which *Knox* and others of that Brotherhood, made the Pulpits ring with.

Throckmorton defends the Q. of Scots Cause.

Throckmorton, on the other side, quoted several Passages out of the Scriptures, to shew the Necessity of obeying the Higher Powers; and vigorously maintain'd, That the Queen was Subject to no Tribunal, but that of the Judge of Heaven and Earth: That not one Magistrate in *Scotland*, but carry'd an Authority derived from her; and therefore to be revok'd at her Pleasure. Against this they objected a special Privilege of their Kingdom, and that in extraordinary Emergencies particular Acts must be made; borrowing their Arguments from *Buchanan*, who about that time, at the Instance of *Murray*, wrote his pernicious Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; wherein he maintains, *That the People have the Power of creating and deposing Princes, quite contrary to the Tenour of the History of* Scotland. However this did not discourage *Throckmorton* from asserting the Queen's injur'd Right, and desiring Admission to her; tho' *Lidington* would sometimes answer, *That he must not expect a Freedom which had already been deny'd to the* French *Envoy: That they must not disoblige the King of* France, *to gratify the Queen of* England, *whom they had lately experienced to promote only her own Interests, when, to serve her own Turn, she remov'd the* French *out of* Scotland; *and (to give a later Instance) as she gave but a cold Treatment, and a kind of unwilling Protection to the* Scots *who had withdrawn themselves, on the score of* David Rizo's *Murder: Moreover, That he ought to take Care, his pressing Importunity upon this Head did not urge the* Scots *to crave Assistance from the* French, *in Neglect of the* English: *And by the* French *Proverb*, Il perd le jeu, qui laisse le parti, *i. e.* He loses the Game, that quits the Side; *the* English *ought not to desert the* Scots, *their Friends.*

Buchanan's Arguments made use of.

Throckmorton desires the Freedom of Access to the Q. but in vain.

After this they deliver'd to *Throckmorton* a long Scroll, in form of a Protest, though without any Names subscribed; That the sole Design of putting the Queen under her present Confinement was to separate her from *Bothwell*, (for whom she had an Affection, that might prove fatal to the State) till the Heat of two Passions, her Love for him, and her Anger against them, were a little qualify'd and appeas'd: And they desired him to acquiesce in this Answer, till the rest of the Peers were assembl'd. The Queen however was committed to more close and severe Restraints, after all the Tears she shed, and Intreaties she us'd, for a better Treatment; if not as she was a Queen, yet at least as she was the Daughter of a Crown'd Head, and the Mother of their Prince; a Sight of whom she often requested, but in vain. But (not to insist on every private Affront she suffered at their Hands) they at length endeavour'd, by smooth Words, to wheedle her into a Resignation of the Kingdom; and to excuse herself, on the score of Sickness, or the Fatigue of Government; or (as others more politickly advis'd) first to abdicate, and then to get away, when her Guard was lessen'd, and her Confinement relax'd. When these Methods would not take, they began to threaten her with a publick Trial, and to impeach her with the Crimes of *Incontinence*, *Regicide*, and *Tyranny*: Of the last, as she had broken the Laws and Privileges of the Kingdom, *viz.* those which *Randan* and *D'Oisley* had confirm'd in her's and the King of *France*'s Name. At last they so far prevail'd, by threatning her with Death, as to engage her, without being heard, to set her Hand to three Writings: By the first of which, she resign'd the Crown to her Son, who was scarce 13 Months old: The second conferr'd the Regency on *Murray*, during the Minority of her Son: And in the third, these Governors were nominated for the young Prince, (should *Murray* refuse the Charge) *James* Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *Gillespick* Earl of *Argyle*, *John* Earl of *Athol*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Marr*. Next, she represented to the Queen of *England*, by *Throckmorton*, that she had resign'd upon Force, and sign'd the Instrument by the persuasion of *Throckmorton*, who had assur'd her, that a Resignation extorted in Prison, was a real Act of Force; and so, void of itself. But we shall have occasion to touch these Passages more largely, when we come to the Occurrences of the next Year, and the Accusations and Defences of both Parties, before the Delegates commission'd at *York*.

The Q. very roughly treated.

They press her to resign the Government.

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She signs an Instrument of Resignation.

James VI. crown'd King.

The fifth day after her Resignation, *James*, the Queen's young Son, was anointed and crown'd King; and *John Knox* preach'd the Coronation-Sermon: And the *Hamiltons* enter'd a Protestation, That it should not prejudice the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*'s Title to the Succession, in Opposition to the House of *Lenox*. But Queen *Elizabeth* order'd *Throckmorton* not to attend at the Coronation; least she should be thought to encourage the injurious dethroning of a Prince, by the Presence of her Ambassador. The twentieth day after the Resignation, returns *Murray* from *France* into *Scotland*, and three days after that he waits on the Queen, with some others of the Cabal, charges her with a great Heap of Crimes, and like a Holy Confessor as he was, advis'd her to a serious Repentance, and Invocation of the divine Mercy. She then began to lament the Irregularities of her Life past, acknowledged some of the Faults she was charg'd with, excus'd others, and some she extenuated on the account of humane Frailty; but the greatest part she utterly deny'd: She intreated him to undertake the Charge of the Government, in her Son's Name, and beg'd him, with repeated Importunity, to spare her Reputation and her Life. He said, it was not in his Power to grant the last, but that 'twas a Request proper to be made to the Estates of the Realm: But yet, the best way to secure both, would be to take and follow these Advices; 'Not to disturb the Quiet of the King and 'Kingdom: not to endeavour an escape from 'her Confinement: Not to engage the Queen 'of *England*, or the King of *France*, to make an 'Invasion upon *Scotland*; or foment a War at 'home: And to throw off all Affection for *Bothwell*, and all Thoughts of a Revenge upon his 'Enemies.

Murray returns into Scotland.

And is made Regent.

And now being declar'd Regent, he obliges himself by an Instrument under his hand, not to meddle with the Business of War or Peace, the King's Person and Marriage, or the Queen's Liberty, without the Advice and Consent of the rest of the Association; and he sends *Lidington* to desire and caution *Throckmorton*, not to interpose any more on the Queen's behalf. For he and the rest would rather suffer the worst that could happen, than agree to her Enlargement; the Effect of which would be, that she would still caress *Bothwell*, bring her Son into Danger, and her Country into Trouble, and themselves into Banishment and Disgrace. 'We 'know, *says he*, what Harm *England* can do us 'by a War: You can ravage our Borders, and 'we can do as much for yours; and we know as 'well, that the *French* will have a better Regard to the antient Treaty between us and 'them,

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'them, than ever to forsake us. But for this he refus'd to *Ligneral* the *French* Ambassador any interview with the Queen till *Bothwell* was secured; and he added more Weight every Day to the Queen's Sorrows, and Strictness to her Confinement, contrary to his Promise to the *French* King. Thus far out of *Throckmorton's* Letters.

Murray causes some of the Regicides to be Executed.

Shortly after *Murray* caus'd to be executed, *John Hepborn*, *Paris* a *Frenchman*, *Daglish* and some other of *Bothwell's* Servants, who were present at the King's Murder. But they (quite contrary to his expectation) protested before God and his Angels, that they were inform'd by *Bothwell* that *Murray* and *Morton* were the chief Agents in the King's Death. The Queen they acquitted from any share in the Fact; as also *Bothwell* himself, when he was Prisoner in *Denmark*, attesting several times in his Health, and on his Death-bed, and that with the most solemn Asseverations, that the Queen was in no degree privy to the Regicide. And about fourteen Years after, when *Morton* was to suffer, he confess'd that *Bothwell* had tamper'd with him to consent to the Murder; which when he absolutely refus'd, unless he had the Queen's Hand for his Warrant, *Bothwell* made answer, *That this could not be, for that she was not to have the least Intimation of such a Design.* This rash Proceedure in deposing the Queen, join'd with the insolent Carriage of the Cabal towards the Ambassador, was highly stomach'd both by Queen *Elizabeth* and the *French* King, as an Affront to the Royal Prerogative. So that they began to appear for the *Hamiltons*, who adher'd to the Queen. And *Pasquier*, the *French* Ambassador, solicited the Queen of *England* to attempt her Restoration by force. But she thought it the better method to put a stop to their Trade both with *France* and *England*, till she were set at Liberty; and by this means to set the Lords and Commons at odds, who at present seem'd but too firmly united against the Royal Interest. But to adjourn a little from the Affairs of *Scotland*:

The Q. cleared from having any hand in the Murder.

The K. of France & Q. Eliz. attempt the Liberty of the Queen of Scots.

At the end of eight Years, when *Calais* was, according to the Articles of the Treaty at *Cambray*, to be restor'd to the *English*, Sir *Tho. Smith* was sent into *France*, with Sir *William Winter*, Master of the Naval-Stores, and there they demanded, with Sound of Trumpet, and with an Audible Voice, in the *French* Tongue, before the Gate of *Calais* next to the Sea, the Town and Territory of *Calais*, with a proportion of Ammunition, according to the Treaty. And presently was there an Act of this Register'd by a Publick Notary, and certain Merchants of *Germany*, and others of *Holland*, were call'd as Witnesses thereto. Some time after, he went to the King at *Fossat-Castle*, and there he and Sir *Henry Norris* Ambassador in Ordinary, made the same Demand again. The King referr'd the Matter to his Council; and *Michael Hospital*, Chancellor, debated the Case in a grave and form'd Speech to this purpose. 'By the same Right the *English* demand *Calais*, they may as well lay 'claim to *Paris*; for the one as well as the other 'was won by Arms, and both were lost the 'same way. The *English* plead a new Title to '*Calais*, whereas the Title of the *French* is of 'the same date with the Kingdom itself. Altho' the *English* had it in possession about Two 'hundred and thirty Years, yet the Right was 'as much in the Kings of *France*, as were the 'Dukedoms of *Guiene* and *Normandy*, which the '*English* detain'd a long time by Force. Now '*Calais* with those Dukedoms the *French* had not 'purchas'd, but recover'd by the Sword. The 'prescription of Time by them pretended, is of 'no Consideration among Princes, but the Right 'always takes place, and by the Law of the 12 'Tables, the Authority remains perpetual against 'an Enemy. The *English* use great Precautions 'in making of Treaties, and yet in the late one at '*Troys*, after they had commenc'd a War for the 'sake of *Calais* principally, yet *Calais* was not 'so much as mention'd; so that they seem'd to 'have quite abandon'd their Pretensions to that 'place. The Treaty of *Troys* was but a renewing of a former Treaty; so that the same 'League was but made twice over; nor is that 'Clause, relating to the Reservation of Rights, 'any manner of Objection, because it concerns 'merely small and insignificant matters, whereas 'this of *Calais* is of the weightiest Consideration. The Attemps of *Francis* II. in *Scotland*, 'could by no means affect the Right of *Char.* IX. 'Indeed the very Aims of private Persons are 'in some respects liable to the Laws; but the 'case of Princes is quite different. As for the 'Attempts in *Scotland*, being a Kingdom held as 'a Jointure, the *English* ought to expostulate the 'matter with the Queen of *Scots*, since they are 'so expert at guessing the Designs of *Francis* and 'the Queen: But as for themselves, they made 'bold to seize on *New-Haven* in *France*, under 'colour of keeping it for the King, held it by 'force, and put a strong Garrison therein with 'suitable Provisions; and at the same time furnish'd *Conde* and the Confederates with Money. 'And therefore they have forfeited their claim 'to *Calais* through their own Misconduct. It 'hath pleas'd God to reduce *Calais* into the 'Hands of the *French*, and so to end the War 'between *France* and *England*, Nations which his 'Providence had parted by the Interposition of 'a very wide Channel; as 'tis in the Poet.

Calais demanded.

Hospital's answer to the demand.

Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos.

Britain *(a lovely Isle) which Seas divide,*
As a choice Tract, from all the World beside.

'The Queen of *England* would also much better 'consult her own Welfare and Convenience, by 'keeping on a fair Correspondence with *France*, 'than by re-demanding *Calais*. In a word, 'none would be found Sanguine enough to persuade the King to restore *Calais*; or had any 'the Assurance to do so, he would deserve 'Death, if not a worse Doom, after it, for his 'pains.

To this *Smith* reply'd, 'That he did not expect to find the antiquated Title which the '*French* had to *Calais* insisted on at this time of 'Day: But he now perceiv'd that whatever the '*French* had got, right or wrong, into their 'Clutches, they would make bold to call their 'own, as if their Title hung at their Swords 'point; and they matter'd not whether they 'held it with a good or an ill Conscience. The '*French* persuade themselves they hold *Calais* by 'right of Recovery, whereas they only hold it 'on Compact: Nor will they admit of any later 'Treaty; and seem fully resolv'd not to stand 'to one Tittle of their Promise in reference to 'the Restitution of *Calais*. But these Pretences 'must bear down all Reason and Sense. As for 'the Encomiums bestow'd on the *English*, for 'their Coolness and Discretion in the management of Treaties, those the *French* have generally assum'd to themselves in derogation from 'the *English*; besides, the renewing of Treaties 'is what may be turned upon the *French* as a fitting Repartee, for that the Queen demanded '*Calais*, because the *French* forfeited their claim 'when they attemped Changes, and rais'd Com-

Smith's reply.

1567. Ann. 10. 'motions in *Scotland*: On the contrary, the '*French* would exclude the *English* from *Calais*, 'on pretence that the Queen afterwards made 'an Assault upon *New-Haven*. When neither 'side (*continues he*) would abate any thing in this 'Dispute, a Peace was concluded at *Troyes*; and 'if a Renovation was the effect of that, this ve-'ry fresh Claim cancell'd the Right of the *French* 'to *Calais*, and confirm'd that of the *English*, 'whose turn was not yet come, their Claim to '*Calais* being not to commence till the end of 'eight Years. Here rising from his Seat, and applying himself to the Council of *France*, 'I 'appeal, *says he*, to the Consciences of you who 'are here present, whether upon the Motion we 'made to have our Right to *Calais* reserv'd in 'express Terms, and their urging the omission 'of that Clause, because the Time was not yet 'expired, it were not agreed on by mutual con-'sent, that it should be tacitly imply'd under 'that Paragraph, *viz. All other Claims and De-'mands shall remain safe and entire; and in like 'manner the Exceptions and Defences shall be re-'serv'd.* As for *New-Haven*, the *English* made a 'peaceable Entry, being invited by the Inhabi-'tants and Noblemen of *Normandy*, and under 'Protestations to keep and secure it for the *French* 'King. So then, they made no Hostile Attempts 'upon the *French* King, nor any Alterations in 'prejudice of the Treaty: And tho' they held it, ''twas not in any Right of Property, but as a 'Pledge or Security that they should have Right 'done 'em as to *Calais*, which had been so long 'detain'd. The Claim whereof, both as to the 'Point of Possession and Propriety, did devolve 'upon the Queen, upon the Attempts made by 'the *French* in *Scotland* directly contrary to the 'Treaty. As for the Money, it was lent to '*Conde* and the Confederates, with no other in-'tent than to pay off the *German* Soldiers, who 'were ready to Mutiny, that they might not 'Ravage the King's Countries and Towns; all 'which the King had owned in his Edict to have 'been done, *A bon fin, & pour nôtre Service*; that 'is, *To a good end, and for our Service.* This, and more to the same purpose, was urged by *Smith*.

Then the Constable, *Montmorency*, held up a Sword without a Scabbard set with *Flower-de-Luces*, (the Badge of his Place) and talked much of the mighty Provisions the *English* made in *New-Haven*, as if they had been enough to conquer all *Normandy* instead of one poor Town. *There is no reason*, says *Smith*, *to wonder at this, because the* English, *who lie upon the Sea, know very well that they cannot command the Winds, which command that; and therefore they made sufficient and seasonable Provisions for the future.* The *French*, after this, making heavy Complaints that the Protestant *French* Refugees were not deliver'd (according to Agreement) to the *French* Ambassador on demand, adjourn'd the Business till another time, till at length it dwindled into nothing, on the account of a Civil War which soon after sprung up in *France*. And it cannot be doubted but the *French* had fully determin'd not to restore *Calais*. For, as soon as 'twas taken, they demolished the old Forts and began new ones, and Let the Houses and Lands, besides those they gave away quite, for fifty Years.

The matter is let fall thro' delay.

Sussex sent to the Emperor to Treat of a Match with the Arch-duke.

Whilst these things were transacting in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat about a Match with the Archduke *Charles*, and the Queen had a little before dispatched the Earl of *Sussex* to the Emperor on the same occasion, and with a Compliment of the Order of St. *George*. He, out of Respect to his Country, and the Envy he bore to *Leicester*, used all possible Efforts to bring about a Match between the Queen and some foreign Prince, that *Leicester's* Hopes might be defeated. And *Sussex* had it commonly in his Mouth, *That a foreign Prince had the Preference of any* English-man, *tho' of the first Rank, in respect of Honour, Power, and Wealth.* Which occasion'd one of another Opinion, to say pleasantly in his presence, *Where Honour, Power and Riches, are the three things only consider'd in a Marriage, the Devil and the World are the Match-makers.* Yet *Leicester* soothing himself still with the same hopes, practis'd with the Lord *North* (who travell'd as a Companion with *Sussex*) to make Remarks upon all that was said and done, and privately to defeat all the Advances *Sussex* should make with the Archduke, by some tacit hints, that the Queen was not at all inclin'd to marry, whatever she pretended, or *Sussex* endeavour'd to make appear to the contrary. Nor was he less busy at home in filling the Queen's Ears with the several Inconveniences attending on a foreign Alliance. He represented to her the effects of a late Match between Queen *Mary* her Sister, and *Philip* of *Spain*, which embroil'd her in continual Troubles, and brought *England* under the danger of a *Spanish* Yoke. He pleaded, that the Customs and Tempers of Foreigners could hardly be learnt, which yet are things absolutely necessary to be discover'd in an Husband, who should be of the same Spirit and Disposition, as well as of the same Flesh with his Wife. That 'twas a very irksom and uneasie Life to converse with a Language and Deportment altogether strange and foreign. That the Off-spring of such foreign Marriages was usually uncouth and defective. That Strangers infected a Kingdom with new Methods and odd Customs. That when Princes match'd abroad, they augmented others Kingdoms, not their own, subject themselves and theirs to a foreign Dominion, and discover the Secrets of their Government to Strangers. That an Husband, who is a Stranger, will, out of a natural Regard for his Country, prefer his own Countrymen to the *English*. That *England* needs no foreign Aid, since she is strong enough to defend herself and others against all foreign Assaults. That the addition of a new Kingdom brings nothing but Care, Trouble and Expence, along with it: And that Empires, like human Bodies, sink under their own Weight. That the usual saying (*that Marriages at home lessen the Royal Character*) is applied by some Persons in meer Affront to the Nobility, whereas the Queen herself, whose Virtues have raised her to the Dignity of a Throne, owes her Extraction to, and borrows her Regal Title from, the Noble Blood of *England*: And therefore 'tis that the Kings of *England* have in their occasional Letters to Dukes, Marquesses, Earls and Viscounts, always given them the Title of Cousins.

Difficulties arise as to the Match.

Sussex, in the mean time, passed with a very fine Retinue by *Antwerp*, *Cologn*, *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires*, *Ulm* and *Ausburgh*, in his way to *Austria*; where he was honourably Entertain'd 5 Months together at the Emperor's Charge, and held daily Conferences with him about Affairs of moment; and among others, the Marriage with the Archduke. After this, on a Day fix'd for the purpose, he Installed the Emperor, at Evening Service, *Knight of the Garter*, tho' his Conscience would not allow him to be present at Mass. From this Negotiation there sprang some Difficulties relating to Religion, the Duke's Maintenance, the Title of King, and the Point of Succession; all which were warmly canvass'd on both sides. For the Title, the Archduke was to bear that of King of *England*; then for the

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the Succession, the Laws of the Land debarred him of that, because 'twould be an Injury to the Children they might have. But 'twas agreed however, that he should be their Guardian during their Minority; and this was all that was granted to *Philip* of *Spain* when he marry'd Queen *Mary*. Now in relation to his Maintenance, if he would consent to maintain at his own Charge the Train and Equipage he brought into the Kingdom, the Queen would be ready to furnish all other points of Grandeur answerable to the State of a Prince, and bear the other Expences too rather than fail. But touching Religion, there the Matter stuck. The Emperor demanded, and his Son likewise, the Privilege of a Publick Church for himself and his Servants, where might be performed Divine Service after the *Romish* manner. When this Point could not be gain'd, the Emperor contriv'd a middle Way, which was, the having a private Chapel in some part of the Court, where he might enjoy the Worship of God quietly (as the Ambassadors of Catholick Princes were allow'd to do in their Houses): And this to be permitted on these Conditions: *That no* Englishman *should be admitted to it; nor himself, nor any of his Domesticks, speak any thing to the Disparagement of the Religion establish'd; nor countenance any that do: That if his Way of Worship happen'd to give any Offence, he should oblige himself to forbear it for a time; and that he should also be present with the Queen, at the Service of the Church of* England. To be short, after this Business had pass'd a long and thorow Consultation in *England*, the Queen's Answer was: *That should she admit of this, she must wrong her Conscience, and make a palpable Violation of the Laws, if not endanger her Honour and Security. But if the Arch-duke* Charles *thought fit to come over into* England, *and visit the Queen; his Voyage might perhaps be worth his while.*

The Negotiation proves unsuccessful.

Upon the whole, *Suffex* was honourably dismiss'd, and went something out of his Way to *Gratz*, to take his leave of the Arch-duke, who was not to look for any other or more favourable Answer from the Queen: For a very little time serv'd to efface the very Traces of those Designs, which had been carrying on for Seven Years together; and by very honourable Steps and Applications: There remain'd, however, that good Understanding and Friendship between the Two Princes, as made the Emperor, on all occasions, thwart the Pope's Practices against Queen *Elizabeth*. It was not long after, that the Arch-duke married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Albert* V. Duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had the Queens of *Spain* and *Poland*, besides other Children.

Arch-duke marries.

About this time arriv'd in *England Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, from the most potent Emperor *John Basilides*, Emperor of *Russia* and *Moscovia*, with rich Furs of Sables, Lucerns, &c. which did then, and in former times, bear a mighty Value with the *English*, both for their Ornament and Use. They made great Professions and Tenders of Friendship to the Queen and the Nation; as the Emperor had already done, on the occasion of some Particulars I shall here insert.

English find a Passage into *Muscovy*.

Whilst some Merchants of the City of *London*, the chief of which were *Andrew Judd*, *George Barnes*, *William Gerard*, and *Anthony Hussey*, were attempting a Passage thro' the North-Channel into *Cathay*, in the Year 1553. under the Conduct of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who was frozen to death; *Rich. Chanceller*, who was the next Adventurer, was so lucky as to discover one into *Russia*, till then unknown, by the Mouth of the River *Dwina*, lying in 64 Degrees of Northern Latitude; where stands a little Monastery dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. Heither the Emperor sent some Sleds to carry 'em upon the Ice to *Moscow*, after the Custom of the Country. He receiv'd and dismiss'd 'em with extreme Courtesie, and promis'd the *English* vast Advantages, if they would open a Trade into his Country. Nor was he a little pleas'd to find that foreign Wares might be so easily imported by Sea into *Russia*; which the *Russians* had before brought to 'em, with a great deal of Difficulty by the way of *Nerva*, and the Countries of *Poland*; which held no good Agreement with them.

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Original of the *Muscovy*-Company.

As soon as *Chanceller* return'd, and gave this Account, and how high a Rate *English* Cloaths were sold at in those Parts, and what a cheap Price Flax and Hemp, Wax, and richer sorts of Furs went at there; those Merchants procured the Queen's Patent to establish themselves into a Company, call'd *The* Muscovy-*Company*; who having many Privileges granted 'em by the Emperor, settl'd a vast Trade, and sent a Fleet thither once a Year. But that which rais'd their Advantage to the Height, was this, that Queen *Elizabeth* so well improv'd her Interest with *Basilides*, as to obtain a Grant, in the Year 1569, that none but the *English* Company should be allow'd to trade into the North of *Russia*, or have Liberty to disperse or vend their Commodities in any part of that spatious and large Empire; as shall be shewn in its place.

A private Message from the Emp. of *Muscovy*.

With these *Russian* Ambassadors returned *Anthony Jenkinson* into *England*, who had taken a most accurate Map of *Russia*, and was the first *Englishman* who adventur'd thro' the *Caspian* Sea, to the Country of the *Bactrians*. To him the Emperor gave some Instructions, which he did not take care to communicate to his Countrymen, viz. *That he should earnestly press the Queen to settle a League offensive and defensive; and to supply* Russia *with Ship-wrights, Sailors, and Ammunition; and to endeavour to get an Oath from her, that she would afford himself and Family a safe Retreat, should he happen to lose his Kingdom, by the Sword of foreign or domestick Enemies.* So little secure was this Tyrant in his own Thoughts, who had endanger'd the Safety and Quiet of so many; Nor can we believe he took it well at the Queen's Hands, that she gave so little Notice to these Remonstrances, notwithstanding he still ply'd the same Affair both by Letters and Embassies, sometimes requiring that the said *Jenkinson* should be sent home, as having been false to the weighty Trust reposed in him.

Death of Dr. *Nic. Wotton*.

In the very first Month of this Year, died *Nicholas Wotton*, Doctor of the Common and Civil Law, Dean both of *Canterbury* and *York*, at the same time: A Person well descended, but far more valuable for his wise Conduct of Affairs, both at home and abroad. For he had been Privy-Counsellor, not only to King *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; but was sent Nine several times Ambassador to the Emperor, the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and other Princes: Thrice was he a Commissioner for settling Peace between the *English*, *French*, and *Scots*; and was chosen by King *Henry* VIII. One of the Sixteen Overseers of his last Will and Testament.

And of the Dutchess of *Norfolk*.

The same Year died *Elizabeth Leibourne*, the third Wife of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been Widow to the Lord *Dacres*, and marry'd to the Duke about a Year; but brought him never a Child. Her former Husband had by her *George* Lord *Dacres*, who died young, by the Misfortune of the great Horse's Falling upon him, as he was learning to vault; besides three Daughters, who were engaged by Contract to three of the Duke's Sons.

I have already given an Account, how, in the Year 1560, and 1562, *Shan-Oneal*, the lawful Son of *Con-Oneal*, nicknamed *Bacco*, or *the Lame*, a

Man

1567. Ann. 10. Man of the first Interest in the North of *Ireland*, call'd *Ulster*, came into *England*, and begg'd the Queen's Pardon for having been in Rebellion. Upon his return, he bravely defended that Part of *Ireland* against the Insults of the *Scots*, from the Quarters of *Cantire* and the *Hebrides*, and slew their Leaders, *James Mac-Conell*, who was his Father-in-law, and his Brother *Agne*. Being flushed with this Conquest, he began to lord and domineer it over the Petty Lords of *Ulster*, and burnt down *Armagh*, the Metropolis of *Ireland*, in pure hatred to the Primate. He stripp'd *O-donell*, whose Estate lay nearest to him, of his House and Land, took him Prisoner, and committed a Rape upon his Wife. He robb'd *Mac-Guise* of his Paternal Estate, and treated *Mac-Genis* and others much after the same rate. And when the *English* undertook the Redress of these Grievances, he set up his rebellious Colours against the Queen, but presently took them down again thro' the persuasion of Sir *Tho. Cusack* Kt. and deliver'd his Son for a pledge of his future Loyalty and Obedience. To keep him firm herein, the Queen resolv'd to cancel the Patent of King *Henry* VIII. wherein he declared *Matthew* (falsely supposed to be the Son of *Con*) his Father's Successor, and to confer the Honour of Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and Baron of *Dungannon*, upon this *Shan*, who was the undoubted Son and Heir. But he being a Man of an unquiet and turbulent Spirit, when he found himself strong enough to raise 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot among his own Creatures and Followers, and had already a Guard of 700 Men about his Person, through a Pride and Savageness very natural to him, disdain'd these as petty and insignificant Titles, compar'd with the Name of *O-neal*, and gave himself the Title of *King of Ulster*, training up the Country-People to Martial Discipline, and offering the Government of *Ireland* to the Queen of *Scots*. And so inveterate an Hatred did he bear the *English*, that he named a Castle which he built in the Lake *Eaugh*, *Feoghnegall*; i. e. *The Hatred of the* English: And so far was he transported therewith, as to strangle some of his Men for but feeding upon *English* Bread. And yet for all this, he never mention'd the Queen but with terms of Respect.

Shan O-neal rises in Arms.

Forces sent against him.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, the Lord-Deputy, receiv'd Orders to advance against this Rebel. And *Edward Randolph*, an excellent Commander, was sent by Sea, with a Cornet of Horse and Seven hundred Foot to the Coasts of *Ulster*, as far as *Derry*, a small Bishop's See, to charge him in the Rear, at the same time that the Lord-Deputy attack'd him in the Front. *Shan*, having got some Intelligence thereof, made a furious Assault upon *Dundalk*; but was beaten off by the Garrison, and received a shameful Defeat both here and at *Whites-Castle*. After which, he was routed and put to Flight by a small Handful of *English*, and with a considerable loss on his side, just as he was going to destroy the Country of *Louth* with Fire and Sword. His next March was to *Derry*, where he Insulted the *English* Garrison, and Ravag'd the Country round about: But the *English* having ranged themselves in order of Battel, soon made a shift to break through a Crowd of raw and undisciplin'd Fellows, and to defeat and disperse them. But a very dear Conquest it was, since it cost the Life of *Randolph*, the chief Commander, who was kill'd Fighting amongst the thickest of the Enemies. And certainly never did Man deserve a fairer and more honourable Remembrance, for the Authority he maintain'd, and the Love and Respect he deservedly shar'd among the Soldiers. His Commission was given to *Edward Saint Lo*, who prov'd a severe Scourge to the Rebels in those Parts, till by a sad and sudden Disaster the Town and Garrison took Fire, and the Powder and Provisions, with a great many of his Men, were blown up and destroy'd. Upon this Accident, he put his Foot aboard some small Vessels he had, and he himself with the Troop of Horse, Commanded by *George Harvey*, broke through the midst of the Enemies Forces; and by a four Days March joined the Lord-Deputy, who was then in Mourning for *Randolph*, whose Bravery he had an high esteem for.

He is twice repulsed.

Randolph slain.

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Derry burnt by accident.

And now the Lord-Deputy marches into *Ulster*, and *Shan* retires into the Woods and Thickets, making now and then some faint Attacks on the Enemies Rear near *Clogher* and *Salmon*, a Castle belonging to *Turlough Leineigh*, who had a little before revolted from *Shan*: But as soon as the Lord-Deputy's Men were put into Garrison, and *O-donell* put in Possession of his Estate, and was return'd in order to make up some Differences between the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, who were engag'd in a most fatal Quarrel; *Shan* takes Courage again, pillages the Country all about, and lays a second Siege to *Dundalk*. But he was soon oblig'd to raise it, with equal Damage and Disgrace, and a vast Slaughter of his Men besides; whereupon the Savage Humour gain'd the Ascendant, and put him upon the Exercise of extreme Barbarities to his own Men, which occasion'd the Revolt of a great many; so that when he found the poor and shatter'd Condition of his Troops, (there being, besides Deserters, 4000 slain) when he saw all the Avenues secur'd, and the Passes guarded by the *English*, he then took up a kind of Resolution to cast himself on the Lord-Deputy's Mercy, with an Halter about his Neck, and a Confession in his Mouth: But his Secretary disswaded him, and advised him first to try the Friendship of the Highland *Scots*, who, during the brunt of the War, had retreated to *Clande-Boy*, from whence they were driven out a little before, under the Conduct of *Alexander Oge* and *Mac-Gillespick*, whose two Brothers, *Agne* and *James Mac-Conell*, himself had slain in the Feild. To these he at length betakes himself with *O-donell's* Wife, whom he had ravish'd, and to regain their good opinion, he sent before-hand their Brother *Surly-Boy*, or the Yellow, whom he had a long time detain'd a Prisoner. They, to revenge the death of their Brethren and Kinsmen slain by him, treated him with a kind of dissembling Courtesy; but having got him into their Tents, and falling in their Cups to hot Words, they fell upon him and murder'd him and most of his Associates, for some defamatory Expressions of his against their Mother.

Shan makes another fruitless assault.

He is slain.

Thus did *Shan* come to this bloody End about the middle of *June*, after he had robb'd his Father of his Government, and his Brother of his Life. *A Man he was who had stain'd his Hands with Blood, and dealt in all the Pollutions of unchast Embraces; and so scandalous a Glutton and Drunkard was he beside, that he would often lie up to the Chin in Dirt, to cool the feverish Heats of his intemperate Lust.* The Children he left by his Wife were *Henry* and *Shan*, but he had several more by *O-donell's* Wife, and others of his Mistresses. His Goods and Chattels were forfeited by Act of Parliament; and *Turlough Leineigh*, a Man of the first Interest of his Family, and of a modest and peaceable Spirit, was by the Queen's pleasure chose and saluted by the People with the Character of *O-neal*. Nevertheless *Hugh*, commonly called Baron of *Dungannon*, *Shan's* Nephew by his Brother *Matthew's* side, a young Person of an indifferent Character, and who liv'd afterwards

His Character and Children.

to

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to be the Scourge and Pest of his Country, was received into the Queen's Favour, as a necessary Instrument to be made use of against *Turlough*, should he happen to quit his Duty and Allegiance.

Hugh is made E. of *Tir-Oen.*

Thus was *Ulster* resettled in a peaceable Condition; but *Munster* was in the mean time under as violent Commotions, occasioned by the unhappy Rivalry of two Kinsmen, the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, who could not agree about the Extent of their Jurisdiction; insomuch that the matter came to a Battel near *Dromelin*, and the Litigants were sent for into *England* to argue the matter before the Council-Board. Nevertheless the case being intricate, they were refer'd to the Lord-Deputy in *Ireland*, where the Evidence and Witnesses were nearer at hand. But as they were upon the level as to Power and Interest, and had Spirits formed in the same Mould, so they resolv'd the matter should be decided not by the best Law, but by the longest Sword. The Lord-Deputy interpos'd his Authority and Forces; but *Ormond*, willing to set the better Face upon his Cause, procur'd the Deputy to be Impeach'd as a favourer of *Desmond*, and got Orders to seize on his Person. Whereupon he was soon after surprized at *Kilmanock*, together with his Uncle *John Desmond*, and sent into *England*, where they were both committed to Custody.

Some Troubles in *Munster.*

1568.

The Eleventh Year of her Reign.

Popish Priests grant Absolution.

Whilst *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and *T. P.* (Clergymen who had withdrawn from *England*) were much taken up in exercising the Episcopal Authority they had lately received from the Bishop of *Rome*, of absolving the Consciences of such as returned to the Bosom of the Church, and dispensing with several Disorders, such only excepted as related to cases of wilful Murder, or fell under the cognizance of a Judicial Court; as likewise of granting Absolution in the case of Heresy, provided the Persons to be absolved abstain from the Service of the Altar for three Years: *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and others who professed a more pure and reformed Religion with more Zeal than Knowledge, whether it was that they would admit of nothing which could not be immediately proved from Scripture, or that they affected a purer Reformation, or were really addicted to Novelty and Divisions, these Persons openly opposed the receiv'd Discipline of the Church of *England*, disputing the Liturgy and the regular Ordination of Bishops, and condemning them as having a mixture of Popish Superstition; (which they thought to be highly impious and abominable) so that they used all possible Attempts to have the whole Service of the Church of *England* new form'd upon the *Geneva*-Model. And tho' the Queen commanded them to be put under Confinement, yet 'tis almost incredible how this Sect, called then by an invidious Name, the *Puritans*, gathered and encreased every where, through a selfish Obstinacy on their side, the Bishops Indiscretion, and the secret Countenance of certain Noblemen, who gaped after a Morsel of Church-Lands.

The Dissenters discover themselves

And encrease their number.

A second Civil War in *France.*

Not long before this time, the *French*, who had likewise attempted a Reformation of Religion, out of an apprehension that the Papists had formed the Holy League against them, applied themselves in an humble Address to his Majesty: From whence arose soon after a second Civil War; to compose which, the Queen commanded *Norris*, her Ambassador, to use his utmost Mediations; and there ensued a Peace thereon; but such an one as seemed to carry nothing but Treachery and ill Designs at the bottom. And now it was that the Queen-Mother of *France* began to treat the Ambassador and others of the *English* Nation, with a cajoling kind of Civility, and to drop some dark Hints and Innuendo's about a Marriage betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, who was scarce Seventeen Years of Age. And this with no other design (as several were of opinion) than to keep her from sending any Succours to the *French* Protestants under a third Civil War, which she thought was very near breaking out.

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The D. of *Anjou* recommended to Q. Eliz.

The Ambassador ill treated in *Spain.*

But *Man*, the *English* Ambassador in *Spain*, receiv'd but very course Entertainment; for having been taxed with dropping some disrespectful Expressions about the Pope, he was forbid the Court, and sent from *Madrid* to the Confinement of a Country Village, and his Servants forc'd in the mean time to be present at Mass, whilst the exercise of his own Religion was altogether forbid. Whether this was done in spite to the Queen, or her Persuasion, is not easily guess'd; but certain it is, that she treated *Gusman*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, after a manner of Civility quite contrary to this sort of Treatment, and allow'd him the free use of his own Religion. She could not therefore but regret this ill Usage of her Ambassador, as a dishonour done to herself, as she did likewise the Injury done by the *Spaniards* to Sir *John Hawkings* at the same time. This Gentleman had put in at St. *John de Ullua*, with the Bay of *Mexico*, with five Merchant Ships laden with Goods and Negroes, Commodities which were bought up in *Africa* by the *Spaniards*, and from them by the *English*, to make a better Market of in *America*. The very next Day the King of *Spain's* Royal Fleet arrived at the same Port; which tho' he could have prevented from coming into the Bay, yet he allow'd them safe Harbour, on Security given and certain Conditions made, that he might be no ways charged with a Breach of the Treaty. The *Spaniards* being now got in, and scorning to be tied down to Terms within their own Dominions, watched their opportunity, set upon the *English*, slew a great many, and took and rifled three Ships. But this Victory was not by them without much Bloodshed obtain'd. This bred very ill Blood in the *English* Sailors and Soldiers, who now began to grow importunate for a War with *Spain*, and to exclaim against them as breakers of the Truce; inasmuch as 'twas made an Article in the Treaty between the Emperor *Charles* V. and King *Henry* VIII. That there should be free Commerce settled between the Subjects of both Princes, in all and each of their Kingdoms, Isles and Dominions, not excepting *America*, which did at that time belong to the Emperor. But the Queen took little notice of this, having enough to do with the Affairs of *Scotland*. For about this time, on the 2d of *May*, the Captive Queen made her escape from her Confinement in *Lough Levin* in *Scotland*, to *Hamilton-Castle*, by the Assistance of *George Douglas*, Brother to the Person under whose Custody she was. Where, upon hearing the Affidavits of *Robert Melvin* and others, a Sentence Declaratory was pronounced by the unanimous Consent of a great Body of Noblemen there conven'd, signifying, That the Resignation extorted from the Queen under her Fears in Prison, was *Ipso facto* null and void, and that it was obtain'd by force, of which the Queen's Oath, who was then present, was a sufficient Confirmation. Hereupon, there gather'd to her in 2 or 3 Days time such a vast throng and confluence of People, as furnish'd her with an Army of 6000 fighting Men, who

And *Hawkins* in *America.*

The Q. of *Scots* makes her escape out of Prison.

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who were notwithſtanding eaſily routed by *Murray*, as having engag'd with more Heat than either Courage or Conduct. The timorous Queen quite diſheartned with this bad Succeſs, thought it beſt to fly, and ſecur'd herſelf by Riding that Day 60 Miles; and after this ſhe travelled by Night to the Houſe of *Maxwell*, Baron of *Heris*, and choſe rather to truſt to the Mercy of the Sea and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Courteſy, than the Loyalty of her own Subjects. However, to prepare the way to her better Reception, ſhe ſent the Queen a Diamond by *John Beton*, (the very ſame ſhe had receiv'd from her as a Pledge of mutual and laſting Friendſhip) and let her Majeſty underſtand withal, that ſhe deſign'd to come into *England*, and put herſelf under the Queen's Protection, if her Subjects continued their rebellious Hoſtilities againſt her. The Queen promiſed her all the Aid and Friendſhip ſhe could expect from ſo near a Relation as a Siſter. But before the Meſſenger's return, ſhe had taken Boat with the Lords *Heris* and *Fleming*, and a few more, (contrary to the Perſuaſions of all her Friends) and on the 17th of *May* arriv'd at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, near the Mouth of the *Derwent*; and the ſame Day wrote a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* in *French* under her own Hand. The chief Contents of which I have thought fit to give you from the Original here ſet down, becauſe it contains the Hiſtory of her Sufferings in *Scotland* in a fuller way of Relation than I have yet offer'd. The Words are as follows.

Raiſes an Army, and is vanquiſhed.

She comes into England.

Her Letter to Q. Eliz.

"You cannot but be ſenſible (*moſt dear Siſter*) "what Plots have been fram'd to impriſon myſelf and Husband, even by thoſe Men whom "I have raiſed to an envied pitch of Greatneſs; "and likewiſe, how ready I was, at your Majeſty's Interceſſion, to receive them again into Favour, after they had been forcibly driven "from my Kingdom; yet had theſe Men the "Confidence to break into my Chamber, to "murder my Servant in the moſt barbarous "manner before my Face, and to confine my "own Perſon when I was great with Child. "And when they had got a ſecond Pardon from "me, they went ſo far as to charge me with a "new pretended Crime, and ſign this Accuſation with their own Hands; and had, it "ſeems, an Army ready to oppoſe me. But I "was willing to ſpare the effuſion of my Subjects Blood, and ſo put myſelf under the "Guard of my own Innocence, into your "Hands. They immediately caſt me into Priſon, ſtript me of my Servants, all but a Maid "or two, my Cook, and my Phyſician, threatned and terrify'd me into the Reſignation of "my Kingdom, and refus'd an Hearing to myſelf and Council in a Convention or Juncto "which they afterwards called. The next "thing was the ſeizing on my Goods, and debarring me the Privilege of any Converſation. After this, it pleas'd God to favour my "eſcape from Priſon. And being now guarded "by the very Flower of the Nobility, who "cheerfully gather'd to me from all Parts, I reminded my rebellious Subjects of the Duty "and Allegiance they ow'd to me. I offer'd "them a free Pardon, and propos'd an Hearing "in Parliament of the Cauſes or Grievances on "both ſides, that the Government might be no "longer embroil'd by Civil Diſſentions: Two "Meſſengers I ſent on this very Errand, and "they were both clapt up: Thoſe that aſſiſted "me they proclaim'd Traytors, and commanded them by publick Order to deſert my Perſon and Intereſt. I deſir'd them to accept of "the Lord *Boyd* as an impartial Umpire between "us, to ſettle and accommodate Matters on "both ſides: But this was refus'd. However, "I hope ſtill that your Majeſty's Mediation "muſt have work'd them up to a dutiful Compliance. But when I ſaw 'twas come to that, "that I muſt either be a Sacrifice or a Priſoner "once more, I took up a Reſolution to go to "*Dunbritton*. They were as much reſolv'd to "ſtop my Journey, and in a following Skirmiſh, kill'd ſome of my Men, and put the "reſt to flight. I at laſt got ſafe to my Lord "*Heris*, who has accompany'd me into your "Kingdom; and I promiſe myſelf from your "Friendſhip and Generoſity, the Aid and Protection I want; and that you will influence "others to Aſſiſt me, by your own Example. "I therefore moſt earneſtly requeſt the Favour "of a ſafe Conduct to your Majeſty, for I am "now under the moſt preſſing Exigences, as I "ſhall ſatisfy you more at large, if you ſhall "think my Condition worth your Pity or Regard. God grant you a Life long and happy, "and me Comfort and Patience; which I "hope and pray that his Providence may make "you the bleſſed Inſtrument of procuring to "me.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſent her the moſt obliging Letters by Sir *Francis Knolls*, and others; and promis'd her all the Protection which was due to the Juſtice of her Cauſe. However, ſhe would not conſent to admit her to her Preſence, becauſe ſhe ſtood charg'd with many Miſmanagements; and therefore order'd ſhe ſhould be convey'd to *Carliſle*, by *Lowder*, Deputy-Warden of that City, and the Gentlemen of the County, as to a Place of more Security, ſhould her Enemies make any Attempts againſt her. Upon the receipt of this Anſwer, and the Queen's refuſing to ſee her, ſhe renew'd her Requeſt both by Letters, and by *Maxwell* Baron *Heris*: "That "ſhe might have leave to remonſtrate the "Wrongs which had been done, and clear herſelf of the Crimes laid to her charge; inſiſting, how reaſonable a thing it was, that the "Queen, her near Kinſwoman, ſhould afford "her a patient Hearing, ſupport her Exile by "her Company and Preſence, and reſtore her "to her Crown and Kingdom, in oppoſition to "thoſe whom ſhe had pardon'd and reſtor'd, after their Rebellion had made them run their "Country, to her own abſolute Ruin, unleſs "timely prevented. She intreated her therefore "either to admit her to her Preſence, in order "to ſome redreſs of her Misfortunes; or elſe to "have leave to depart immediately out of the "Kingdom, to crave ſome Succours elſewhere; "and that ſhe might no longer live like a Priſoner in *Carliſle* Caſtle, ſince her coming into "*England* was a voluntary Act of her own, in "confidence of that Friendſhip the Queen had "made ſo many honourable profeſſions and promiſes of, by Letters, Meſſages, and other Tokens.

She is conveyed to Carliſle.

Her 2d Letter.

Theſe Letters, join'd with *Heris*'s Repreſentations, had ſuch an effect on Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe ſeem'd at leaſt touch'd (for who can dive into the Hearts of Princes, of which they who are Wiſe always keep the Key?) with an hearty and feeling Senſe of her Kinſwoman's Diſaſters; who was not only ſeiz'd and impriſon'd by her own Subjects, but hunted almoſt to Death, condemn'd without Hearing, and robb'd of her Kingdom, contrary to all the Laws of Equity between Man and Man, and at laſt forc'd to fly into *England* in hope of the Queen's Aid and Protection. And the rather was the Queen inclin'd to hear her, becauſe ſhe had freely ſubmitted her Cauſe to a fair and equal Debate, and engaged

to

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Q. *Eliz.* pities her condition. The Council hold a long and serious Debate.

to prove her Adverſaries guilty of all the Miſcarriages they had unjuſtly loaded her with. But whatever tender Reſentments Queen *Elizabeth* might have of her Caſe, the Council entered into cloſe and ſerious Conſultations, how to diſpoſe of her. If ſhe were ſtill entertain'd in *England*, they were apprehenſive ſhe might, by the advantage of that Fluency and Eloquence ſhe was ſo great a Miſtreſs of, win many to her Intereſts, who already favour'd her Title to the Succeſſion, and this would ſerve to nouriſh her Ambition, and perhaps encourage ſome Attempts to place the Crown upon her Head. And as foreign Ambaſſadors would give an helping Hand to ſuch a Project, ſo would the *Scots* themſelves turn good Subjects again, when they were like to be ſuch gainers by the Bargain. Beſides, 'twas very poſſible Keepers might betray their Truſt; and farther, ſhould ſhe die in *England*, tho' in the Common way of a Diſeaſe, it might draw after it a great many ill Conſequences, beſides the Calumny and Cenſure it might occaſion. Then again, ſhould ſhe be ſent over into *France*, they were afraid the *Guiſes*, her Kinſmen, would again revive the Proſecution of her claim to *England*, out of a notion of ſome great Feats ſhe might be capable of doing in *England*, by the Influence ſhe had on ſome, on a religious Account; and the Intereſt ſhe bore with others, as they ſtood affected to the Firmneſs of her Claim, or the Itch of Change and Novelty. Beſides, 'twas a ready way to break the Union between *England* and *Scotland*, which was of much greater Conſequence, and to revive the Treaty between the latter and *France*; which would have worſe Effects now than heretofore, when *Burgundy* was upon terms of Peace with *England*, which had now no Friends but the *Scots* to truſt. And ſhould they ſend her back to *Scotland*, the fear was, that all thoſe in the *Engliſh* Intereſt muſt loſe their Places, and the *French* be advanc'd in their ſtead. That the young Prince would be expos'd, changes made in Religion, and the *French* and other Foreigners let into the Kingdom: In a word, That the Highland *Scots* would be more troubleſome to *Ireland*, and the Queen herſelf be in more hazard of her Life from her Enemies at home. 'Twas therefore the Judgment of the far greater part of the Council, to have her detain'd as a Priſoner of War; and that ſhe ſhould not be ſurrender'd till ſhe gave Satisfaction for uſurping the Title to the Crown, and ſome Anſwer to the Point of her Husband the Lord *Darly*'s death, who was a Native and Subject of *England*. For the Lord *Darly*'s Mother, the Counteſs of *Lenox*, had lately made very mournful Complaints to the Queen in her own and her Husband's name, and humbly beg'd the Queen of *Scots* might be brought to her Trial for the Murder of her Son. But the Queen gave her both Comfort and Advice, telling her how careful ſhe ought to be of fixing a Charge of that heinous nature upon ſo great a Princeſs and a Kinſwoman of hers, when there was no certain Proof or Evidence of the Fact. And ſhe ſaid withal, That the Iniquity of the Times, and the Partiality of the World was ſuch, that a blind Malice would charge Guilt upon the moſt Innocent Head, whereas Juſtice was more quickſighted, and God would not fail to make uſe of it in the Puniſhment of lewd and wicked Actions.

They think it proper to detain her.

Counteſs of *Lenox* her Complaint.

The Q. of *England*'s anſwer.

The Lord *Heris* intreated the Queen on the other hand, not to afford too ready an Ear or too haſty a Belief to any Untruths that might paſs about a Queen, whoſe Cauſe had not yet been heard; nor to conſent to *Murray*'s hurrying on the Seſſion of a Parliament in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the ejected Queen, and the conſequent Ruin of her good Subjects. This the Queen of *England* preſs'd very home: But for all that, *Murray*, the Regent, call'd a Parliament in the King's Name, and ſeiz'd on the Goods and Chattels of ſeveral who adher'd to the Queen's Cauſe. Queen *Elizabeth* being much incens'd at this Proceeding, ſent the Regent a ſharp Meſſage by *Middlemore*; letting him know, That ſhe took it very ill he ſhould encourage a Precedent of ſuch dangerous Conſequence to Kingly Power, which would be ſure to bring the Crown into contempt with the Subject, and ſubmit it to the Luſt and Faction of the Populace. But how far ſoever they might forget the Duty and Allegiance owing to their Prince, yet could not ſhe neglect any Office of Piety or Humanity to the Queen, her Siſter and Neighbour. That he ought either to come in Perſon, or ſend fitting Deputies to anſwer the Complaints the Queen made againſt him and his Party, and to give ſufficient Reaſons for depoſing her. Otherwiſe ſhe would directly order her Enlargement, and lend her what Aſſiſtance ſhe could to recover her Crown and Kingdom. And ſhe caution'd him withal, not to diſpoſe of the Queen's Wardrobe and Jewels, tho' the Parliament ſhould permit or connive at it.

Murray calls a Parliament.

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The Q. of *England* diſlikes it.

Murray obey'd the Queen, but unwillingly, and only as he was beholding to *England* to ſupport his Regency. And whereas the Lords of the Kingdom who were pitch'd upon for Deputies, refus'd to act or appear in the matter; *Murray* came himſelf to *York*, (the Place aſſign'd for this Buſineſs) and brought with him ſeven of his Boſom-Friends, to act as Commiſſioners for the Infant-King, *viz.* *James* E. of *Morton*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* Commendator of *Dunfermelin*, *Patrick* Baron of *Lindſey*, *James Mac-Gilly*, *Henry Balnaw*: And *Lidington* too came in the ſame company, *Murray* having made him round Promiſes, and being afraid, in truth, to leave him at home; as did alſo *George Buchanan*, another of *Murray*'s moſt obſequious Creatures. The ſame Day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*, who was made ſome time before Lord-Preſident of the *North*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Kt. one of the Privy-Council, Commiſſioners appointed to Hear and Examine the Cauſe of the Queen's being Depos'd. On the Queen of *Scots* ſide appear'd *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Baron of *Levingſton*, *Robert* Baron of *Boyd*, *Gawin* Commendator of *Kilwinin*, *John Gordon*, and *James Cockburn*. And this the Queen of *Scots* reſented as very hard Meaſure, That Queen *Elizabeth* would not allow her a Perſonal Hearing, and yet gave Orders, that the Allegations of her Subjects ſhould be heard before her Commiſſioners, tho' ſhe, who was an abſolute Princeſs, could not be oblig'd to anſwer the charge of her own Subjects but when and how ſhe pleas'd.

Deputies appointed for the K. of *Scots*.

Deputies from Q. *Eliz.*

Commiſſioners for the Q. of *Scots*.

When they were met, on the 7th of *October*, and had open'd their Commiſſions, and ſhewn their Authority, *Lidington*, who ſtood by, apply'd himſelf to his Countrymen with extraordinary Freedom, to this purpoſe: 'That foraſmuch as it appear'd by the Authority granted by Queen *Elizabeth* to her Commiſſioners, that ſhe deſign'd nothing elſe but that the Deputies of *Scotland* ſhould throw a Blemiſh on the Credit of their King's Mother, and ſo the Caſe might fall within her own Sentence and Umpirage: They would therefore do well to conſider carefully before-hand, what an Odium and Hazard they ſhould draw upon themſelves, not only from thoſe of *Scotland*, who favour'd the Queen's Caſe; but likewiſe from other Chri-

Lidington's advice to the *Scots*.

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'stian Princes, and her Kinsmen in *France*, should 'they impeach her of a Guilt which must stain 'her Reputation, and that in so publick and formal a way, before the *English*, who were profess'd 'Enemies to the *Scots*. He likewise demanded 'what Account they should be able to give their 'new King hereafter, of such a bold and insolent 'Charge, and one so prejudicial to the State of this 'Kingdom; when he, without all peradventure, as 'soon as he arriv'd at Man's Estate, wou'd consider it as a foul Reflection not only upon his own 'and his Mother's, but also upon his Country's 'Honour. He therefore, for his part, thought it 'the best Prudence to wave so scandalous an Impeachment, unless the Q. of *England* would enter 'into a League offensive and defensive, to bear 'them out in such a Procedure. These things, 'he said he could not but give some hints of, 'both as their Friend, and in regard to his Office, 'as he was Secretary of *Scotland*. But this Motion produc'd no other Effects, than a profound Silence, and a general Consternation.

A Protestation of the Q. of *Scots* Deputies.

The Queen of *Scots* Deputies, who had the preference at this Interview, before they were Sworn, protested, That altho' the Queen of *Scots* was willing to have the Cause depending between herself and her disloyal Subjects, tried before the *English*; yet did she not thereby submit herself to the Sovereign Jurisdiction of any Person whatever, because she was a free Princess, and no way subject to the Authority of any other. The *English* Commissioners protested at the same time, That they did in no wise admit of that Protestation in prejudice to that Claim the Kings of *England* had long since made, of being superiour Lords of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. The next Day, the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners deliver'd a Declaration in Writing, setting forth, *That* James *Earl of* Morton, John *Earl of* Marr, Alexander *Earl of* Glencarn, Humes, Lindsey, Rechuen, Sempil, *&c. had rais'd an Army in the Queen's Name, against her Person; and having seiz'd and wretchedly abus'd her, had likewise imprison'd her at* Lough-Levin, *broken open the Royal Mint, taken away the Stamps, with all the Gold and Silver, whether coin'd or not, and Crown'd her Infant-Son, whose Authority* James *Earl of* Murray *had usurp'd under the Title of Regent, and had seiz'd on all the Forts, Wealth and Revenues of the Kingdom.* They farther set forth, *How the Queen, since her escape after eleven Months Imprisonment, had publickly declar'd upon Oath, That whatever she had done in Prison had been extorted from her by Force and Threats. Nevertheless, she had, in order to restore the Publick Peace, authoriz'd and empower'd the Earls of* Argile, Eglington, Cassills *and* Rothsay, *amicably to compound these Matters with her Enemies; who notwithstanding, when she had design'd to cross the Country to* Dunbritton, *forcibly oppos'd her Passage, slew a great many of her good Subjects, and carry'd some to Prison, and others they forc'd from their Houses and Estates, and all this for no better reason, than their Fidelity to their Prince. These were the Injuries which had drove her into* England *for Sanctuary, and to crave Assistance at the Queen's hand, which had been so often promis'd, and by the means of which she might recover her Crown and Country.*

A counter Protest from the *English*.

Declaration of the *Scottish* Commissioners.

A few Days after, *Murray*, the Regent, and the Commissioners for the young King, (as they stil'd themselves) put in their Answer to this purpose: 'That after the Lord *Darly*, the King's 'Father was made away, *James Hepburn* Earl of '*Bothwel* (suppos'd to be the Regicide) had so 'far wrought himself into the Queen's Affections, 'as to carry her by a seeming Force, but really 'with her own Consent, away to *Dunbar*, and 'there marry her, after having put away his 'former Wife. That the Lords of *Scotland* were

The answer of the *Scots* Commissioners for the K.

'so mov'd at this Procedure, that they thought 'they could not do better, since the King's Murder was imputed to the Conspiracy of several 'Noblemen, than to punish *Bothwel*, release the 'Queen from those unlawful Bonds, and consult the young King's Safety, and the Nation's 'Security. That when the matter was just ready to be decided by the Sword, the Queen had 'sent away *Bothwell*, severely threatning the 'Lords, and thought of nothing but Revenge; 'insomuch that there seem'd to be a necessity to 'confine her Person, till *Bothwell* should be apprehended and brought to Justice. That she, 'bending as it were under the care and weight 'of a Crown, had voluntarily resign'd the Kingdom, transfer'd it to her Son, and constituted '*Murray* Viceroy; and that hereupon her Son 'was anointed King, with the usual Ceremonies. 'That all these Steps were approv'd of, and 'sign'd by the Lords in Parliament; and the 'Government began to breath afresh under a 'more impartial Administration: Till some Men, 'who were no Friends to their Country's Peace, 'cunningly contrived the Queen's Escape; and, 'contrary to their Oaths and Fealty to the King, 'took up Arms against his Authority; and tho' 'it pleas'd God to give them a Defeat, yet are 'they not discourag'd, even at this very time, 'from carrying on their Hostilities against their 'King and Country. It appears therefore highly necessary, that the Kings Authority be asserted against all the Attempts and Contrivances 'of such factious People.

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To this the Queen of *Scots* Deputies, after having repeated the former Protest, made their Reply as follows.

Reply of the Q. of *Scots* Deputies.

'Whereas *Murray* and the Conspirators affirm, that they took up Arms against the Queen, 'because *Bothwell*, who stands charg'd with the 'King's Murder, was so much in her Esteem; 'this pretence will by no means clear them of 'the imputation of unfaithful Subjects, forasmuch as the Queen was altogether ignorant that 'he had any hand in the Murder; nay she knew 'very well that he was by his Peers acquitted of 'the Fact, and that his Acquital was confirm'd 'by Act of Parliament, with and by the consent of those very Persons who are now his 'Accusers, and were then Instruments in perswading the Queen to accept him for her Husband, as the fittest Man, in their opinion, to 'sustain the weight of the Government: And 'so far they went, as to subscribe a Writing, 'wherein they promis'd him Fealty and Allegiance, and did not utter one Breath against 'the Match, till they had debauch'd to their 'Party the Captain of *Edinborough-Castle*, and 'the Provost of the City. Then did they in the 'dead time of the Night assault the Castle of '*Borthwick*, where the Queen lay, and she happening to make her Escape under the favour 'of the Night, they immediately rais'd Forces 'under colour of defending the Queen, and 'then march'd with Colours flying to intercept 'her in the way to *Edinborough*, whither she 'intended to go. *Grange* they sent before to 'warn her not to protect *Bothwell*, till he had 'stood his Trial; which rather than occasion the 'shedding of any Blood, she readily consented 'to. But *Grange* gave *Bothwell* private notice to 'be gone, and engag'd his Word that he should 'not be pursu'd; so that 'tis plain he went away 'by their consent, and might have been taken afterwards with very great ease. But having secur'd the Queen, they matter'd not him, but 'were now for steering the Course their Ambition directed. And whereas they were Subjects to the Queen, and bound by Oaths of

1568. Ann. 11. 'Allegiance, and yet had treated her in a way 'unworthy of the Royal Character, 'twas no 'wonder if she used some Methods more rigo-'rous than ordinary. When she was willing to 'refer her Cause to the Decision of a Parlia-'ment, and intimated as much by *Lidington*, her 'Secretary, they would not so much as give 'him the Hearing, but convey'd her by Night 'to *Lough-Levin*, and there confin'd her. And 'whereas they pretend, that the Troubles deri-'ved on her from her Crown were the true Mo-'tives why she resign'd it, nothing can be more 'false: For she was neither made incapable by 'Age or Sickness, but had Vigour enough, both 'of Mind and Body, to manage the Affairs of 'her Throne. This cannot be denyed, That 'the Earls of *Athol*, *Tullibardine* and *Lidington*, '(who were of her Council) advis'd her to sign 'the Instrument of Resignation, to avoid the 'certain Fate she had otherwise undergone. And 'they affirm'd moreover, that this could not pre-'judice herself or her Heirs, since 'twas done 'under Confinement, *Forasmuch as being imprison'd 'implies a just Fear, and a Promise made by one in 'that Condition, is, in the opinion of the best Lawyers, 'of no force or validity.* That Sir *Nicholas Throck-'morton* had also given her the same Instructions 'under his own Hand, whom she had desir'd to 'make the Queen of *England* acquainted, that 'she had resign'd only upon force and compul-'sion. *They urg'd yet farther*, That *Lindsey*, when 'he deliver'd her the Instrument to be subscrib'd, 'threatned her with Death, and whatever was 'most frightful, and made her sign it at a time 'when she could not read it for Tears; and that 'the Lord of *Lough-Levin-Castle* refus'd to set his 'Hand as a Witness, being convinc'd that what 'the Queen had done, was against her Will. 'That it was therefore a most unjust and unrea-'sonable Resignation, in the stead of which 'she had neither Maintenance, Liberty, nor 'Safety allow'd her; so that in the Judgment of 'Persons indifferent, such an Abdication could 'not be suppos'd to place any Bar against her 'Right and Prerogative, when she revok'd it as 'unjust and extorted as soon as she was at Li-'berty, and that by a Publick Declaration before 'several Peers of the Realm. Nor ought the 'Queen to receive any prejudice from the pre-'tended Acts of Parliament they so much boast 'of: For whereas about an hundred Earls, Bi-'shops and Barons, have Votes in the Parliament 'of *Scotland*, there were not in this tumultuary 'Assembly rather than Parliament, above four 'Earls, one Bishop, one or two Abbots, and six 'Barons: And even of that small Number, some 'enter'd their Protest, *That nothing ought to be 'transacted against the Queen or her Successors, now 'that she was a Prisoner.* Nor could the *English* or '*French* Ambassadors obtain the liberty of Access 'to her, to learn the true state and manner of 'the Resignation, tho' they press'd very earnest-'ly for it. And then for the state of the King-'dom, so far has it been from faring the better, 'since it came into the Hands of the present 'Usurper; That Impiety and Sacrilege were 'never more practis'd or less punish'd; there be-'ing nothing more common at present, than the 'pulling down of religious Houses, the ruin 'and subversion of the best Families, and the ge-'neral Oppression of the poor Commons. They 'did therefore most earnestly request, that 'Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleas'd to Succour, 'Aid and Assist, by all means possible, the di-'stress'd Condition of the Queen, her Kinswo-'man, who had receiv'd the most unworthy 'and injurious Treatment. This I have seen and copied from the original Papers of the Commissioners themselves.

1568. Ann. 11. When the *English* Deputies, upon hearing what had been alledg'd, demanded *Murray* to give the Reasons of so rugged a Procedure against an absolute Queen, and to produce more substantial Proofs than had hitherto been brought; (for there appear'd no Witnesses, nor any thing but a few forg'd, or at least suspected, Papers) and *Lidington* having, it seems, given them private notice, that he had more than once counterfeited the Queen's Hand, *Murray* had but this to say, *That he was loth to impeach his Sister farther before Strangers, unless the Queen of* England *would engage for the Protection of the young King, and to abandon the Cause and Interest of the Queen of* Scots. But since their Commission did not warrant them to promise any such thing, one or two of the Agents on both sides were summon'd up to *London*. To whom Queen *Elizabeth* declar'd, 'That she was 'still of opinion the Subjects of *Scotland* were 'much to blame in respect of the Queen: But 'however, she would interpose with her on their 'behalf, and hear whether they had any farther 'or better Defence to make for themselves. *Murray* follow'd them up, but utterly refus'd to accuse his Sister, unless upon the same Terms insisted on at *York*.

Murray refuses to give any Reasons for deposing the Queen.

And now were the Deputies recall'd, and their Commission expir'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had always heartily espous'd the Queen of *Scots* Title to the Succession; and was of opinion, that all that was aim'd at in the late Debate, was to fix a lasting Mark of Infamy upon herself and her Son, and so to exclude them both, as unworthy to succeed to the Throne of *England*. And he thought moreover, That he was now happily rid of a double Danger: For he was afraid, had he given Sentence against her, he must have wrong'd his own Conscience, and utterly ruin'd her: And should he have determin'd in her favour, he must of course have incurred the Queen's high Displeasure, and drawn on himself the Odium of all that were ill-affected to the Queen of *Scots*, on the score of Religion, or any other account.

The Deputies Commission is at an end.

But there happening about this time some Tumults in *Scotland*, occasion'd by some of the Queen's Friends, and they requiring *Murray*'s Presence, to compose and re-settle things, he drew up an Accusation before the Queen and the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Clinton* Lord-Admiral, Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, who were constituted by a new Patent the Examiners of this Matter. And before them, he produc'd some conjectural Proofs and Circumstances, some few Affidavits, and the Acts and Resolutions of the late Convention. But what he laid the greatest stress upon, were certain Love-Letters and Poems, wrote, as he affirm'd, with the Queen's own Hand; and this was to prove her guilty of her Husband's Murder: To back the Evidence, he gave them *Buchanan*'s Book, entitul'd *The Detection*, to peruse. But that found but very little credit with the greater part of them; for the Book was Partial, and the Author look'd on as a mercenary Writer. Then for the Letters and Verses, (there being no Name nor Date to them, and too many abroad who are very dexterous at Counterfeiting other Men's Hands and Subscriptions) they gain'd little belief with Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' she did not want a certain degree of Emulation so natural to the Sex: And it were enough for that, if the Queen of *Scots* Reputation were only something impair'd by this Impeachment.

New Commissioners appointed.

Now

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Now, as ſoon as the Commiſſioners for the Q. of *Scots* underſtood how ſcandalous an Accuſation *Murray* had beſtow'd upon her; they were prepar'd and ready to anſwer the Charge: But ſhe had already cancell'd and revok'd their Commiſſion; being ſecretly inform'd by ſome Perſons well skill'd in the Laws, that ſhe might do ſo, foraſmuch as Queen *Elizabeth*'s Commiſſion granted to the Duke and others, for adjudging the ſame Cauſe, was already recall'd. One or two of the *New Deputies*, whom ſhe knew to be ill-affected to her Intereſt, ſhe excepted againſt; unleſs the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors might be join'd with them, and ſhe might be allow'd the Privilege of making a publick Defence before the Queen and them, and *Murray* likewiſe might be ſtopt and brought upon his Trial, who, ſhe ſaid, might, with little Difficulty, be made to appear the Author of the Lord *Darly*'s Death. All this appearing highly reaſonable to *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, and *Clinton*, Q. *Elizabeth* not over well pleas'd at the matter, ſaid publickly, *That the Queen of* Scots *would never want an Advocate, as long as* Norfolk *liv'd*. And 'twas enough, as ſhe thought, to convene her Privy-Council, and the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worceſter*, *Huntington*, and *Warwick*; and to communicate to them the Allegations made by *Murray*; having firſt engaged them, by an Oath of Secrecy, that neither Party might receive Prejudice. And whereas *Murray* was call'd home, and the Lord *Boyd*, as the Report went, attempted privately the Queen of *Scots* Eſcape; the Buſineſs was put off till another Opportunity; the Queen of *England* having profeſs'd an utter Abhorrence of the *Scots* Inſolence in depoſing their Queen.

Q. of *Scots* excepts againſt ſome of the new Commiſſion.

The matter falls.

Debate touching the Government of *Scotland*.

About this time, *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, return'd from *France*, being ſent by the *Guiſes*, to get the Queſtion again debated, Whether *Murray* ſhould continue to have the Regency of *Scotland*, in the King's Minority? He very reſolutely maintain'd, before Queen *Elizabeth*, "That by the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, he had the beſt Right to the Miniſtry; "as being nearer akin to the King, than *Murray*, "who was illegitimate. *Murray* and the King's Commiſſioners made it out, to the contrary, "That the Regency was to be entruſted, not "with the next of kin, but to ſuch as the States "ſhould pitch on, as the fitteſt Perſons: And, "that it would be unreaſonable indeed, to deliver the young King into his Hands, who aſpir'd "ſo high, on the ſcore of his Alliance to the "Crown, that it may be ſuſpected, his Ambition would prompt him to catch at it, before "his time: And, that there was more Reaſon to "be jealous of the *Hamiltons*, than any other, on "this account, Becauſe they bore an inveterate "Grudge to the King's Predeceſſors, the Earls "of *Lenox*; and had barbarouſly murder'd the "King's Great-grand-father, by the Father's ſide; "and drove *Matthew*, the King's diſtreſs'd Grandfather, out of *Scotland*. And this very *Hamilton* "had been very troubleſom and vexatious to "*Henry*, the King's Father; and had put his "Mother into the King of *France*'s Hands, to get, "with the more Eaſe, his own Foot upon the "Throne. Queen *Elizabeth*, after ſhe had heard this, told *Hamilton*, that he made a moſt unreaſonable Demand; and order'd him withal, not to leave *England*, till *Murray* were return'd into *Scotland*.

Murray propounds a Marriage between *Norfolk* & the Q. of *Scots*.

Murray had, juſt before his Departure, made the Duke of *Norfolk* (as ſhall be ſhewn preſently) a ſubtil kind of Propoſal, relating to a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*: and had likewiſe given her, by *Melvin*, ſome Shadow of an Hope, that ſhe ſhould be reſtor'd again to her Kingdom; tho' at the ſame time he endeavour'd to draw off Queen *Elizabeth*'s Eſteem, by ſpreading falſe Reports of her, that ſhe had made over her Title to the Succeſſion, to the Duke of *Anjou*; and, that the Conveyance was confirm'd at *Rome*. He likewiſe produc'd Letters, whether true, or counterfeit, I do not determine, which the Queen of *Scots* had written to her Friends; wherein ſhe charg'd Queen *Elizabeth* with a Breach of Promiſe, and brag'd of certain Aids ſhe was to receive elſewhere. This indeed gave Q. *Elizabeth* ſome Uneaſineſs, as not being able to gueſs on what Grounds this new Dependance was ſupported: For the Civil-War in *France* was now grown ſo flagrant, that the Biſhop of *Rhemes* was ſent from the King to Queen *Elizabeth*, to deſire her not to interpoſe in the Affairs of *France*; and the Duke of *Alva*, who came into the *Netherlands*, the Year before, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, was capable of doing her no Service, his own Hands were ſo full already.

But it has been ſince diſcover'd, and left in Writing by *Hieronimo Catena*, Secretary to Cardinal *Alexandrine*, That *Robert Ridolph*, a *Florentine*, who had liv'd for a long time a *Factor in London*, was employ'd by Pope *Pius* V. (for he durſt not, it ſeems, ſend a publick *Nuntio*) to animate the Papiſts in *England*, to an Inſurrection; a Charge he was very diligent in the Performance of. There aroſe alſo ſome little Suſpicion, on the account of ſome private Conferences, held between *Lidington*, the Bp. of *Roſs*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, at *York*: The laſt of which was importun'd by the other two, to uſe his beſt Endeavours, for the Preſervation of the Queen, under her Afflictions; and an Offer was made him, to marry her, if he pleas'd: But this he modeſtly declin'd, as not over ſafe. Nevertheleſs, he promis'd his beſt Service to the diſtreſs'd Queen, as far as it conſiſted with his Honour and Loyalty. This Jealouſy was much increas'd, by the frequent Reſort of *Ligon*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Servant, and a rank Papiſt, to *Bolton* (a Caſtle of the Lord *Scroop*'s) where the Queen of *Scots* reſided, in the Cuſtody of Sir *Francis Knolles*, on pretence only, of paying the Compliment of a Viſit to the Lord *Scroop*'s Lady, who was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Siſter. And tho' there could be nothing gather'd from all this, that amounted to a Certainty; yet it occaſion'd the Removal of the Queen of *Scots*, from *Bolton*, which lay in a Popiſh Neighbourhood, to *Tutbury*, a more Inland Part of the Country; where ſhe was committed to the Cuſtody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Q. of *Scots* committed to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

'Twas now time for Queen *Elizabeth* to look well after the Safety of the Church, the State, and her own Perſon; and the rather, becauſe both the *Guiſes* in *France*, and the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, had begun their Projects laid at *Bayonne*, for the extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion. For in *France*, the Peace treated of in the Beginning of the Year, dwindled into nothing; and Edicts were publiſh'd, to prohibit the Exerciſe of the Reform'd Religion, to diſplace the Profeſſors of it from any Offices of Truſt, and to command the Proteſtant Clergy to leave the Kingdom, within ſuch a time. And now did they ſuffer every where extreme Perſecution, notwithſtanding Queen *Elizabeth* had ſolicited very hard, by her Ambaſſador *Norris*, that a firm and hearty Peace might be eſtabliſh'd; and had ſeveral times advis'd the King, not to incenſe 'em by trying odd and dangerous Experiments; but to have a *Care* of thoſe, in the firſt Place, who, by driving away his beſt Subjects, endeavour'd to weaken the Power of *France*, to ſ[illegible] degree,

The third Civil-War in *France*.

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as to leave it an easy and ready Prey to those who were inclin'd to disturb it. But when he was deaf to these Intreaties, and rais'd Money and Soldiers out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; the Queen likewise, that she might not baulk the Common-Cause, generously sent 100000 Angels to the Protestants, with Ammunition proportionable (for they now made a solemn Protestation, that they did not take up Arms against the King, but purely in their own Defence) and she likewise gave a courteous Reception to such of the *French*, as were forc'd, on the score of Religion, to fly their Country: The same she did to the *Netherlanders*; who flock'd to *England* in vast Multitudes; as a Retreat from the Storm of the Duke of *Alva*'s Cruelties practis'd against 'em. She gave them the Liberty of Settling themselves at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidston*, and *Southampton*; which turn'd to the great Advantage of *England*; for they were the first that brought into the Nation the Art of making those slight Stuffs, call'd *Bays* and *Says*, and other Linnen and Woollen-Cloths, of the same kind.

Original of the Low-Country-Wars.

And here, it may not be altogether impertinent, [illegible]ive a brief Account of the Rise and Causes of the War, which broke out, about this time, in the *Netherlands*; since 'tis so interwoven with the Affairs of *England*, that it will of course fall often in my way to mention it.

When the *Spaniard* could by no means be prevail'd on, to remit any Part of that Severity, which was practis'd in the *Low-Countries*, on a Religious Account; but tyranniz'd over Mens Consciences, by the Authority of the new-erected Court the *Inquisition*, and would not permit the States of the *United Provinces* to assemble and meet (whereby they were hinder'd from consulting and taking Measures for the Security of their Affairs, the only Remedy they could have Recourse to, under their Calamities) but govern'd 'em by Laws and Statutes fetch'd from *Spain*; and not by the Customs and Usages of their own Country: It happen'd, that a few of the Mob rais'd a Tumult, and pull'd down and broke the Images and Pictures in all the Churches. And tho' the Hurly-burly was soon appeas'd, yet the King of *Spain*, hearkening to those who were for putting a Yoke of Servitude on the Neck of a Free People, tax'd the whole Country with a publick Rebellion, for the private Mutiny a small Number of 'em were engag'd in: And, to let 'em see, their Liberty was now at the last Gasp, he sent Don *Ferdinando Alvarez* Duke of *Alva*, a Person of noted Cruelty, to take upon him the Charge of the Government. This D. of *Alva* was not in the least Degree ally'd to the Royal Family; but got the supreme Command, contrary to all the Customs and Usages of the Country: Upon which, he stripp'd the Ordinary Provincial Synods of all Authority, erected new Courts of Justice, and condemn'd and executed the Noblemen by incompetent Judges, placing *Spanish* Garrisons in all the Cities and Towns, and building Forts to keep them in awe, and forcibly demanding the Twentieth Penny upon every Alienation of Lands, and the Tenths upon Goods and Moveables. And this ended in a long and dangerous War.

Money sent from some of *Italy*, sent a vast Sum of Money out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, to raise a *Bank*.

Money sent from Spain to the Netherlands. And defended from the French, by the English.

About this time, the *Genoa* Merchants, and some of *Italy*, sent a vast Sum of Money out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, to raise a *Bank*. 'Twas brought in a great Ship of *Biscay*, and four lesser Vessels; which, after having been chaced by *Tury Chastellerie*, a *Frenchman*, and brought off by *William Winter*, an *Englishman*, did, with much ado, escape into *Plimouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*, *English* Sea-ports. As soon as the Queen heard of it, she order'd the Officers belonging to those Places, to treat the *Spaniards* very civilly, and protect their Ships against the *French*. And *Gerard de Spesi*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambassador in *England*, apprehending some Danger from the *French*, solicited the Queen (who took his Word, that it was the King of *Spain*'s Money) to issue out fresh Warrants, for securing of the Vessels from the *French*, who lay hard-by, ready to seize 'em. Having obtain'd this, he made a second Address, that the Money might be carry'd thro' *England*, and so sent, by a safer Passage by Sea, to *Antwerp*. This likewise the Queen granted, and promis'd them Security both by Sea and Land. In the mean time, the *French* were very near taking one of the Ships, had they not been beaten off by the *English*. Therefore to secure the Money, 'twas thought the wisest way to get it landed; but before 'twas all on shore, *De Spesi*, being over-credulous on the wrong side, inform'd the Duke of *Alva*, that the Queen had seiz'd on the Money: And whilst he was advising with the Duke about the matter, *Odet* Cardinal of *Chastillion*, who had retir'd hither from the Troubles in *France*, gave the Queen Intelligence, that the Money did not belong to the King of *Spain*, but to certain Merchants of *Genoa*; and that the D. of *Alva* design'd to apply it, against their Will and Consent, to the Ruin of the Protestants. Hereupon, a Debate was held in Council, Whether the Money was to be seiz'd or not? Most were of Opinion, that the best way would be to send it over into the *Netherlands*, lest the King of *Spain*, who was a very potent Prince, should by this means increase the Animosity, he at present bore to the *English*. But Queen *Elizabeth*, being certainly informed by one or two of the right Owners, who were mightily afraid, lest the Duke of *Alva* should seize upon it, that it really and solely belong'd to the Merchants, and not one Piece of it to the King of *Spain*; resolv'd to borrow it of the Merchants, and give 'em Security, as Princes usually do, in the case of Goods found in their Harbours; and as the King of *Spain* had done himself, not long since. And this she declared to the *Spanish* Ambassador, when he deliver'd the Duke of *Alva*'s Letters, for sending the Money over; and solemnly promis'd to return the Money, as soon as the King of *Spain* made it appear, he had a Right to it. Upon the same day, which was the 29*th* of *December*, the Duke of *Alva*, in a violent Disgust, arrested all the *English* Goods in the *Low Countries*, and kept the Owners Prisoners under a Guard; so that one might guess from the very timing of the matter, that the Duke design'd to awe the *English*, let the Queen make what Satisfaction she pleas'd for the Money: But she was so far from being scared, that she commanded, by way of Reprisal, that the *Netherlanders*, their Ships and Goods, should be all seiz'd; which were found to be abundantly more than the *English* Merchandize, which the Duke detain'd in the *Low Countries*; so that he now repented too late of his Proceedings, and that he had brought the Wound to a Gangrene, which at first might have been heal'd with all the Ease imaginable.

Spaniard owns the Money. *Q. stops it.* *English Goods arrested in the Netherlands.* *And the Netherlanders stop'd in England.*

Death of Roger Ascham.

The last day but one of this Year, was the last that *Roger Ascham* liv'd. (The Memory of a valuable Person must excuse a short Digression) He was born in *Yorkshire*, and educated at *Cambridge*, and was one of the first of our Country-men, that refin'd the Style of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and restor'd 'em to a Purity and Exactness, which deserv'd Commendation. He was for some time Tutor to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue; but being too much

1568. Ann. 11. much addicted to Dicing and Cock-matches, he liv'd and died a poor Man. He left behind him Two excellent Pieces, as Monuments of his Wit; both wrote in *English*, and entitl'd, the one *Toxophilus*, and the other *Scholarcha*. But to return to our History.

1569. *The Twelfth Year of her Reign.*

On the 6*th* of *January*, came out at *London*, a Proclamation concerning the Commodities of the *English*, which the Duke of *Alva* had arrested; wherein there was Mention made of most of those things already touch'd upon; and the Blame was laid upon *De Spesi*, who publish'd another Paper, and signify'd therein, that the said Proclamation was not set forth by the Queen's Order, but in the Queen's Name only, by some, that had no Kindness for the King of *Spain*, and were dispos'd to favour the *Netherland*-Rebels. He bestow'd large *Encomiums* on the Queen, for her former Favours shewn to the *Spaniards*, was sorry to find her Affections so much warp'd, and took it ill, that his Character found no better Credit; especially when seconded by the Duke of *Alva*'s Letters: He wonder'd that the Money should be detain'd; whereas, in his Judgment, it were more for the Queen's Advantage, to supply the King of *Spain* with Money, against his bad Subjects, than take any from him, at such a Juncture. In fine, he tax'd her Majesty as the first Aggressor, and excus'd the Proceedings of the Duke of *Alva* and himself. But this did not satisfy him; and so he dispers'd abroad an Heap of scandalous Libels, that contain'd grating Reflexions upon the Queen's Reputation, under the fictitious Name of *Amadis Oriana*. For this he receiv'd a Reprimand, and was, for a day or two, kept under a Guard; and the Queen did not fail to remonstrate to the K. of *Spain* this ill Treatment, tho' to no purpose.

Proclamation concerning the *Engl.* Goods stopt, &c.

Spanish Ambassador's answer.

Conspiracy against *Cecil*.

On the account of the Moneys being detain'd, certain Peers of *England*, and amongst others, the Marquiss of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Pembroke*, *Leicester*, and others, began to clamour against *Cecil*; as they had done once or twice before, about the Supplies sent to the Protestants of *France*. But the real Cause was this, that they envy'd the Interest he had in the Queen, were jealous of his favouring the House of *Suffolk*, in the point of the Succession, and apprehended him as a main Bar to the Progress of their Designs. They therefore laid their Heads together, to get him thrown into the Tower, *Throckmorton* (another of those who could not bear his Greatness) having insinuated to them, that could they once get him clapt up, 'twould be no difficult thing to effect his Ruin. But the Queen had timely Intelligence of these Designs, by what means, I know not; and *Cecil* had the Happiness of finding the whole Project dash'd by the sole Bravery of his Royal Mistress, who surpriz'd them in the very Instant, and, by the Authority of her Royal Presence, aw'd 'em out of those base Measures. She likewise defeated another Plot of theirs, which was more closely laid; and that was, to proclaim the Queen of *Scots* undoubted Heir of the Crown, should Q. *Elizabeth* do otherwise than well: And this was in opposition to a Pamphlet, which was disperst, in favour of the *Suffolk*-Title.

The *Spaniards* demand the Money.

About this time comes *D'Assonville*, in the D. of *Alva*'s Name, to require the Money which was seiz'd; but having no Letters of Demand from the *Spaniard*, he was referr'd, by the Queen, to her Council; to whom he refused, at first, to apply himself: But soon after, he changed his Mind, had a Hearing at the Board, and return'd home, without dispatching the Business he came about. 1569. Ann. 12.

The *English* Merchants were now setting up a new Factory at *Hamburgh*, in *Germany*, since the Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Trade with the *English*, and appointed Searchers to hinder them from bringing in, or exporting any Goods from the *Netherlands*: An active and busie Man among these Commissioners, was *John Story*, an *English* Renegade-Lawyer, who had practis'd with one *Bestall*, a sort of Conjurer, against the Queen's Life; and had given the Duke of *Alva* Directions, how to invade his Native Country. But being kid-nap'd on board a Ship, which was reported to have brought over *English* Goods, and some heretical Books and Writings, they presently set Sail, and carry'd him to *England*, where he was afterwards executed; as we shall shew in its proper Place.

The D. of *Alva* enraged against the *English*.

The Duke of *Alva*, not satisfy'd with what had pass'd, order'd, that no Ships, but Men of War, should sail out of the *Netherlands*; and that they should attack the *English*, where-ever they met them. He procured the same Game to be play'd in *Spain*; where the *English* Merchants and Seamen were hook'd into the Inquisition, condemn'd to the Gallies, and their Goods put to Sale. And the King of *Spain* sent Letters of Command to the Count of *Mont-Agund*, Governor of *Andaluzia*, that no Oil, Allum, Sugar, Spices, or other Commodities of that sort, should be transported to *England*; supposing that the *English*, when depriv'd of these Conveniences, would not be long before they rebell'd: And he dealt likewise with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Ormond*, underhand, to give the Q. what Trouble they could; the one at home, and the other in *Ireland*; and this they were so loyal and ingenuous as to discover themselves. But no sooner had the Sailors and Seamen an account of all this, but they put to Sea with incredible Chearfulness, on purpose to annoy and rifle the *Spaniards*. So that the Queen was forc'd to restrain them by Proclamations, and to prohibit the buying of any Merchandizes from Privateers.

Trade in *Russia* stopt.

At this time also there was a stop to the *Russian* Trade, as well as that with the *Netherlands*, occasioned partly by the unfaithfulness of the several Factors, and the unhappy Quarrels among themselves; and partly through the Odium they lay under with the *Germans* and *Russians*; the latter complaining of their fraudulent Arts in raising the Prices of their Goods; and the *Germans* and *English*, that belong'd not to the *Russia* Company, That they had engross'd the Trade, and set up a Monopoly. To heal these Differences, Sir *Thomas Randolph* was sent the Year before into *Russia*. And tho' he was not very welcome to the Emperor, because he not only mention'd the matter of Trade without taking the least notice of the Treaty, which I had occasion to mention in the Year 1567. yet at his request, and out of the profound respect he bore to the Queen and Kingdom of *England*, he granted the *English Russian* Company an Exemption from all Customs, and leave to vend and dispose of their Manufactures where-ever they would through his whole Dominions; and to transport them into *Persia* and *Media* by the *Caspian Sea* (the Merchants of other Nations being not permitted to Trade beyond *Moscow*) He likewise gave them Rope-Houses for twisting their Cables for Shipping; and a woody piece of Ground of five Miles circumference to forge the Iron, and adopted the *English* for an *Opprisney*, i. e. for the Elect Seed of his People.

The *English* have new Privileges in *Russia*.

And

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Their Trade in those Parts.

And now did the *English* venture up farther into those Countries, and transported their Goods along the River *Dwina*, in Boats made of one entire Tree, which they towed and rowed up the Stream with Oars and Halsers, as far as *Wologda*. From thence they carried them seven Days Journey by Land to *Teraslaw*; and then thirty Days and as many Nights down the River to *Astracan*, by the *Wolga*, which is about a Mile over, and runs through a clayish Soil planted with Oaks and Birch-Trees. From *Astracan*, where they used to build their Ships, they ventur'd often (which was a very remarkable and memorable Attempt) to cross the *Caspian-Sea*, which is full of Flats and Shelves, and made their way through the vast Desarts of *Hyrcania*, and *Bactriana*, to *Teverin* and *Casbin*, Cities of *Persia*, in hopes at the long run to discover *Cathay*. But the War between the *Turks* and *Persians* encreasing to a great height, and the Robberies committed by the *Barbarians* being very frequent, the *Londoners* had not stomach to pursue this glorious Enterprize any farther. The Emperor dismiss'd *Randolph* with Presents, and with him *Andreas Gregoriwitz Savigna*, with a splendid Retinue after the fashion of that Country; who found an honourable Entertainment from the City of *London*, and a courteous Reception at the Queen's Hands. He exhibited a certain Treaty written in *Russian* Characters, which he insisted might be confirm'd (by private Letters) in the very same Words, in his Presence, and be translated into the *Russian* Tongue, and ratify'd by the Queen's Hand and Seal, and Oath; and that the Queen would likewise dispatch an Ambassador into *Russia*, in order to receive private Letters from the Emperor to the same purpose, and sign'd with his Hand and Seal, and the Ceremony of Saluting the Cross being to be perform'd at the same time in his Presence. The Queen sign'd the Treaty with a Clause of Reserve. *So far as she might lawfully do it without prejudice to any Contracts made with other Princes to support and aid one another against the common Enemy, and so far as might be no infringement of Law or Right.* And should he be forc'd by any Misfortune of publick Wars or private Treachery to quit his Country, she promis'd him faithfully, on the Word of a *Christian* Princess, before his Ambassador and the chief of her Privy-Council, and confirm'd it with her Seal, That she would Receive and Entertain him, with his Wife and Children, in a manner becoming so great a Prince, and assign him a convenient Residence, grant him the free use of his Religion, and leave him at liberty to depart when he pleas'd: For this was the sum and substance of those private Letters. But so far was this from satisfying the wild Caprice of one whose Will was his Law, that he wrote a long Letter, stuff'd with the repetition of what Civilities they had found at his Hands; upbraiding them as Ungrateful; and was very angry with the Queen for not sending an Ambassador along with his, to receive his Oath. In a word, he taxed the Queen for having neglected his Affairs, and minded only those of her Merchants (matters beneath the Thoughts of a Prince). Then he began to treat the *English* too with Slights and Affronts, as a sort of People who regarded their own Purse more than their Prince's Honour. And having entertain'd a suspicion, that they might put some stop to his Designs, he threatned hard to revoke the Privileges he had before granted them. But this he forbore to do, the Queen having sent him a kind and pacifying Letter by *Jenkinson*, which had this effect, That he ever after consider'd and respected her as his Sister, press'd her at several times to a more solemn Ratification of the Treaty, and retain'd a greater value for the *English* than any other Nation whatever.

Ambassy from Russia into England.

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Murray deals severely with the Queen's Friends.

Now when *Murray* had procur'd himself a safe return into *Scotland*, by putting the Queen of *Scots*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others, in hopes that he would get her restor'd to the Crown; on which account, she had, it seems, prevented the Design of some of her own Subjects, who had resolv'd to way-lay and murder him, he was no sooner got to *Edinborough*, but he summon'd together those of the Nobility, who were of the Loyal side, in pretence of consulting with them about the Queen's Restoration. And *Hamilton*, Duke of *Castle-Herault* (who was nominated Vice-roy by the Queen) and *Herris* happening to come before the rest, in compliance with the credulous Queen's Letters; *Murray* fearing the worst, circumvents and imprisons them, without staying for the rest; and then proceeds to harrass the rest of the Queen's Friends with all the Calamities of a Civil War.

Reports of Murray.

Hereupon several Reports were spread of *Murray* over the whole Kingdom: *That he had agreed with Queen* Elizabeth *to send the young King to be Educated in* England; *That the Castles of* Edinborough *and* Sterling *were to have* English *Garrisons in them: That* Dunbritton *was to be put into the Hands of the* English: *That* Murray *was to be proclaimed the lawful Successor to the Crown of* Scotland, *should the King die without Issue: And that he was to hold the Kingdom by way of Grant from the Queen.* This was so common and general a Report, and carry'd such a face of Probability, as to give the Nation a great deal of Trouble, and to make the Queen herself believe she was concern'd in respect to her own Reputation to clear off these Aspersions. To this end she put forth a Declaration, in which she protested, in the Word of a Queen, That these things were absolutely false, and contriv'd by some who were no well-wishers to either Kingdom. And that there had not been (to her knowledge) any manner of Contract made by Word or Writing between herself or her Ministers and *Murray*, since he came last into *England*. But the Earl of *Lenox*, Grandfather to the young King, requested the Queen, That if his Grandson could not be safe in *Scotland* from the designing Practises of ill Men, he might be sent into *England*. She declar'd moreover, That she look'd on another Report that went about concerning a Contract between *Murray* and *Hertford*, to be a mere Forgery, the purport of which was this, That they had obliged themselves to be mutually Assistant to one another, in seizing on the Crowns of both Kingdoms. To be short, she affirm'd, That it was no fault at all of hers that Things were not rightly concerted between the Queen of *Scots* and her Son, and that it should be her business to adjust them. And most certainly, the Queen was as good as her word, altho' it was not without some of those Pangs and Conflicts springing from the Jealousie and Emulation which never dies in the Breasts of Princes. And which were heightened very much by the compassionate Sense she had of the common Frailties of human Nature.

Q. Eliz. contradicts 'em.

She pities the Q. of Scots.

As this Sentiment was more and more increas'd from a view of the afflicted Queen's Circumstances; so did the Queen of *England*'s Fears abate in proportion, when she had receiv'd several Letters from her full of an affectionate Respect, and wherein she promis'd, That in Gratitude for the Civil Treatment she had found, as well as in regard to the nearness of Alliance, she would be far from attempting any thing against Queen *Elizabeth*, or from borrowing any foreign Aid in order to her Restoration: Insomuch

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much that the Queen of *England* used very pressing Mediations with *Murray* and other *Scottish* Noblemen, by *Wood*, *Murray*'s Secretary for Restoration of the Queen to her Regal Authority. However, that she might at least be permitted to share the Government with her Son; or, if this would not be granted, she might live amongst her own People as a private Person, without any Inchroachments upon her Honour, Freedom, or Safety. But *Murray* was not to be won to any Terms, when he was now mounted to an absolute pitch of Sovereignty

Secret Consultations upon the rumor of *Norfolk*'s being to marry the Queen of *Scots*.

It was whisper'd about this time, among Persons of better Note, That the Duke of *Norfolk* was to marry the Queen of *Scots*. And this several Persons wish'd heartily, according as their Interests ran, or their Affections were engag'd. The Papists, they hoped for the Advancement of their Religion by this means; and others promis'd themselves, that the Publick would be the better for it. Most certain it is, that a great many who observed the Queen's averseness to Marriage, and that foreign Princes, who were Enemies to *England*, consider'd the Queen of *Scots* as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*, believ'd it would tend more to the Settlement of Affairs, and the Fixing of the Queen of *Scots* to just Measures of Government, *should she marry the Duke of* Norfolk *the first Nobleman in* England, *a Man of popular Interest, and bred up in the Protestant Religion; than should she admit of a foreign Prince, who might, by her help, embroil both Kingdoms, and at last inherit them; whereas 'twas the general wish to have them united in a Person of* English *Blood, should the young King of* Scots *do otherwise than well. Nor did they spare some private Endeavours to get him over into* England; *that since he was Heir to the Crown of it, he might be Educated in the National Religion, and so the more firmly engage the Love and Esteem of the* English, *be a means of removing all points of Scruple as to the Succession, and free Queen* Elizabeth *from any apprehensions of danger from the Duke or the Queen of* Scots, *when she had such a Pledge of Security in her own Hands.*

Moreover, to prevent any Enterprize of the Duke's against him, and to excite in him a greater Affection for the young Prince, a Project was put on the Anvil, That the Duke's young and only Daughter should be contracted to him. Among these Projectors, were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke* and *Southampton*, and a great many Barons; as also *Leicester* himself (but whether his ingaging herein had any other aim than the Duke's Ruin, is not certain). However they all agreed in opinion, that the matter ought to be first communicated to the Queen, and pursued as should seem fitting to her Royal Pleasure and Consent, since she was to appoint the Measures for the Security of her Person, Religion and Government. But the substance of this entire Matter I shall give you from the written Confession of the Duke himself, which I have seen; and out of the Diary and Memoirs of the Bishop of *Ross*, who acted a considerable Part in this Transaction.

When the Commissioners met at *York* about a Year since, *Lidington* and the Bishop of *Ross* propos'd to the Duke, as they were Hawking, a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, the same that *Murray* did, not long after, at *Hampton-Court*.

Murray's Proposal to the D. of *Norfolk*.

Murray, being in private Discourse with the Duke and a few more, made as if he desir'd nothing so much, as that matters might be well compos'd in *Scotland*, and his dear Sister, the Queen, restor'd to her just Authority, on condition she would pass a general Act of Amnesty for all Faults committed against her by her Subjects. He could not however dissemble his Apprehensions, That should the Queen marry out of *France*, *Spain* or *Austria*, she would be apt to revenge the Indignities she had suffer'd, alter the Religion established, and involve *England* in hazardous Circumstances. To prevent all which, he promis'd his utmost Endeavours, that after his Sister had married a mere Boy, and then a wild and improvident young Fellow, (to use his own Expression) she should now enjoy a good Husband and a wise Man in the Person of the Duke; a thing which could not but mightily promote the Tranquility of both Kingdoms, the Security of the two Queens, and the firm Settlement of Religion itself. And as he, for his part, had an high value and veneration for the Queen of *England*; so he should make it his study to cultivate and improve a good Understanding between *England* and *Scotland*, and by that means reconcile with more ease the Queen of *Scots* to the Persuasion himself had embrac'd.

The same Thoughts did *Murray* impart, by *Melvin*, to the Queen of *Scots*, and tender'd her his best Offices for the bringing it about. But the Duke made answer, *That he could resolve nothing as to a Proposal of that kind, before the Queen stood acquitted of the Crimes laid to her Charge.* Yet the Bishop of *Ross*, after all this Indifference in the Duke, used all possible Essays to work him up to a Compliance. 'Twas not many Days after, that Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* meeting the Duke at *Whitehall*, signify'd to him, after great professions of Respect and Civility, That he understood the Earl of *Leicester* design'd to transact with him about a Marriage between him and the Queen of *Scots*, which, *Throckmorton* said, was very strange to him, because 'twas not long ago that *Leicester* was carrying on the same Design for himself. But he beg'd leave to advise the Duke as a Friend, That whenever *Leicester* made such a Motion, he should offer him the advantage of it, as being the first Pretender: But should he insist upon it with any urgency; that then he should decline it, on the score of those heavy Impeachments the Q. lay under. 'Yet I could 'wish (continu'd *Throckmorton*) with all my Heart, 'that she were your own, both for the sake 'and benefit of the true Religion, and to bring 'the Queen of *Scots* to an intire Dependance on 'the Queen of *England*. Let me nevertheless 'leave this Caution with you, to take *Leicester*'s 'Advice, if you make any farther steps in this 'matter, for you will hardly compass the 'Queen's consent without him.

The Dukes answer.

Leicester propounds the same Marriage.

He proposes the Match to *Norfolk*.

Within a Day or two, *Leicester* propos'd the matter to the Duke, who made much such an Answer as *Throckmorton* had advis'd him; and when they came to touch upon the Point of the Queen's Impeachment, *Leicester* put the best face upon every thing, and made use of *Candish* his Name and Reputation, whom he recommended to the Duke's Service, tho' he had not the highest opinion of his Fidelity. After this, *Leicester* broke the matter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Duke of *Arundel*; and both they and *Throckmorton* join in recommending him by several Letters to the Queen of *Scots* Bed. The Duke likewise sent her another full of amorous Respects, and the offers of his best Service: And from this very time, he made them privy to all the Letters he wrote to or receiv'd from her; and there were frequent Conferences held with the Bishop of *Ross* about the properest means to consummate the Marriage: And in *May* 1568, they offer'd to the Queen of *Scots*, by the Hand of *Candish*, the following Articles, written with *Leicester*'s own Hand.

1. *That*

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Articles of Marriage propounded to the Queen of *Scots*.

1. *That ſhe ſhould attempt nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen of* England, *or her Heirs, as to the Succeſſion.*

2. *That ſhe ſhould make a League Offenſive and Defenſive between the two Kingdoms.*

3. *That ſhe ſhould eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in* Scotland.

4. *That ſhe ſhould receive ſuch of her Subjects into Favour as had appear'd againſt her.*

5. *That ſhe ſhould revoke her aſſignment of the Kingdom to the Duke of* Anjou.

6. *That ſhe ſhould marry ſome Nobleman of* England, *and particularly and expreſly the Duke of* Norfolk, *the firſt Peer of the Realm.*

She accepts 'em.

If ſhe would give her conſent to theſe Articles, they engaged to get the Queen of *England*'s concurrence, and to effect in a little time her Reſtoration to her Crown, and her Confirmation of her Title as to that of *England*. Theſe Terms ſhe readily clos'd with, all but the Buſineſs of the Treaty, which ſhe could not comply with without conſulting the *French* King. She proteſted there was no ſuch thing as an Aſſignment made to the Duke of *Anjou*; but however, ſhe would procure his Renunciation if required. She adviſ'd them, in the firſt place, to ſecure the Queen's Conſent, to keep off any Inconvenience that might ariſe to the Duke or herſelf, a thing ſhe had already had a ſad experience of in the inſtance of her Match with the Lord *Darly*, which was made up without the Queen's privity. However they thought it beſt to ſift the Inclinations of ſome more of the Nobility; who, moſt of them, gave their conſents with this Proviſo, *That the Queen were not againſt it*. Neither did the Buſineſs meet with any oppoſition from the Kings of *France* or *Spain*; they were only jealous of *Murray*, that, altho' he had appear'd the moſt officious Promoter of it, he would at the long run prove the greateſt Obſtacle to the Deſign. 'Twas however the General Reſolution, That *Lidington*, who was juſt then expected, ſhould be imployed to learn the Queen's Thoughts. The Duke, in the mean time, acquaints the Lord *Lumly* with all the Steps that had been taken; and with much ado prevail'd on *Leiceſter* to allow him the liberty of conſulting ſome other Freinds of his about the matter: And not long after he diſcover'd the buſineſs to *Cecil*, with the conſent of the Earl of *Pembroke*.

A contrivance on foot to get the Q. of *Scots* out of Cuſtody.

'Twas about this time that *Leonard Dacres* was forming a Contrivance to get the Queen out of her Confinement at *Whinfield* in the County of *Derby*, in Cuſtody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. *Northumberland*, who had a hand in the Plot, diſcover'd the matter to the Duke; but he put a ſtop to the execution, for fear they ſhould contrive to marry her into *Spain*, and in hopes too that Queen *Elizabeth* would in a little time give her conſent.

'Twas not long before the Queen had a very full and certain account of this intended Match, by the Intelligence of ſome Court-Ladies, who are excellent at the diſcovery of ſuch Intrigues. But when the Duke came to underſtand this, he earneſtly intreated *Leiceſter*, both himſelf and by his Friends *Pembroke* and *Throckmorton*, inſtantly to acquaint the Queen with the whole proceeding. *Leiceſter* uſed a great many Traverſes and Delays, as if he deſign'd to watch the faireſt Opportunity. But *Cecil* obſerving a great uneaſineſs in the Duke, adviſ'd him to be his own Intelligencer, and remove all Scruples from his own and the Queen's Thoughts, by laying the whole matter before her. *Leiceſter* gives him the clean contrary Advice, and promiſes to break the buſineſs to the Queen in her Progreſs. But whilſt he uſed theſe fair Words and long Delays, the Queen took the Duke to Dinner at *Fernham*, and pleaſantly adviſ'd him to *be very careful on what Pillow he laid his Head*. At laſt *Leiceſter* falls ſick at *Tichfield*, or feigns himſelf ſo at leaſt, and the Queen coming to make him a Viſit, found his Blood and Spirits withdrew as faſt as ſhe apply'd Expreſſions of Comfort to him. However, he ſo far recover'd his Fears, as to open to her the whole Buſineſs from the very beginning, and beg'd her Pardon with all poſſible appearance of concern.

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Leiceſter opens the buſineſs to the Q.

She diſcourages the Duke.

After this, the Queen call'd the Duke to her into the Gallery, and roundly reprimanded him for attempting a Match with the Queen of *Scots* without her cognizance, and commanded him, on his Allegiance, to give over thoſe Pretenſions. The Duke made her a very hearty and cheerful Promiſe, that he would; and, as if he had a very ſlight regard for the Queen of *Scots*, was not ſhy to affirm, That his Eſtate in *England* was worth little leſs than the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the ill ſtate the Wars had now reduc'd it to; and that when he was at his own Tennis-Court in *Norwich*, he thought himſelf at leaſt a Petty Prince. However, his Mettle was conſiderably abated after this interview; and when he perceiv'd both in the Queen's Looks and Behaviour a greater Indifference to him than before, that *Leiceſter* had now laid aſide the Friend, and many of the firſt Nobility ſhrinking by degrees from his Intereſt, and declining his Converſation, paying him now and then, as they happen'd to meet, a ſhort Compliment, and away; he reſolved to go for *London* without taking leave; and took up his Reſidence with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who gave him all the Hopes and Encouragements he was capable of. The very ſame Day, the Queen, in a great diſguſt, refuſ'd the Suit of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in reference to the Enlargement of the Queen of *Scots*; and adviſ'd her to bear her Condition with leſs Impatience, or otherwiſe ſhe might chance to find ſome, on whom ſhe had grounded her beſt hopes, the Head ſhorter in a very little time.

He retires from Court.

When the report of this Marriage was more and more blazed abroad, and the *French* Ambaſſador was mighty importunate with the Queen to ſet at Liberty the Queen of *Scots*, which he did more by the Inſtigation of ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, than in obedience to the Orders of his Prince, as it afterwards appear'd; freſh Jealouſies ſprang up on both ſides; and *Cecil*, who had always expreſs'd a moſt pious concern for Religion and his Country, apply'd himſelf, with all poſſible Dexterity, to trace out the matter. To this purpoſe he wrote Letters to *Suſſex*, Lord-Preſident of the *North*, who was the Duke's great Familiar and Friend, to requeſt him to let the Queen know the utmoſt of what related to the Duke's Marriage. What anſwer he gave, I cannot tell. But whereas it had been obſerv'd, that there paſs'd ſeveral Interviews at *Hampton-Court* between the Duke and *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, Sir *George Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, was privately ſent to *Murray*, to ſift him whether the Duke had acquainted him with any part of his Deſign in relation to the Marriage. The Duke in the mean time, terrify'd with a falſe Report of a Rebellion in the *North*; and hearing from *Leiceſter*, that he was moſt certainly to go to the *Tower*, he withdrew himſelf to *Norfolk*, deſigning to continue there till by the management of his Friends at Court the preſent Storms ſhould blow over, or he could appeaſe the Queen by ſubmiſſive Letters at that diſtance. However, he had Spys ſet over him, who had their Directions to obſerve his very Looks, and Geſtures, as well as his general Conduct and Deportment:

Cecil applies himſelf to learn the Secret of the Marriage.

The Duke retire. to *Norfolk*.

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And when he found there was little to be expected from his Friends, and that 'twas the Opinion and Advice of *Heydon* and *Cornwallis*, and others of the first Rank and Quality in those Parts, that if he knew himself Guilty, he ought to fling himself upon the Queen's Mercy, he was half distracted with a Throng of different Thoughts and Scruples.

The Court fears a Rebellion.

The Court, in the mean time, were not without Suspicions and Fears lest this should end in a Rebellion: And 'twas commonly rumour'd, that if it did so, the Queen of *Scots* was to be put to Death. But the Duke being easie within, and conscious of no ill Designs that might bring him under the Charge of High-Treason, (for that Act of *Henry* VIII. *That none should marry with the Children of the Sisters, Brothers, or Aunts of the King, without the King's Knowledge, on pain of High-Treason*, was, it seems, repeal'd by *Edward* VI.) and being apprehensive withal, that the Queen of *Scots* would find the harder Treatment on the score of these popular Surmises, he sent some more Letters to his Friends at Court, to assure and acquaint them, That he had retir'd to his Seat for fear of being imprison'd; desiring them withal, to remove, if possible, those pestilent Reports which had been spread at Court, whither he was now preparing to come, in order to receive the Queen's Pardon.

The Duke returns to Court.

When he was got on his Journey as far as St. *Alban's*, *Owen* the Earl of *Arundel*'s Man, being privately sent from *Throckmorton* and the Lord *Lumly* (then in Costody) advis'd him, in their Names, to take the whole Matter upon himself, without charging *Leicester*, or any Body else, for fear he should make his Friends his Enemies. At the same Place he was met and complimented by *Edward Fitz-Gerard*, Brother to the Earl of *Kildare*, Lieutenant of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners; by whom he was convey'd to *Burnham*, about Three Miles from *Windsor*, where the Queen and Court were.

Murray makes a discovery of the whole Design.

Four Days after, the Abbot of *Dunfermelin* deliver'd Letters to the Queen from *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, intimating, That the Duke had been practising with him at *Hampton-Court* to favour and assist his Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*; and that he threatned him hard, if he did not comply: That he promis'd to him what Service he could, to prevent a Design upon his Life, to be put in execution, upon his Return, by one *Norton*. Whereupon the Duke engag'd for his safe Passage, and that he should not be assaulted by *Norton*, or any other. That shortly after, the Duke sent him a Letter, written in private Characters, wherein he desir'd his Concurrence to the Match; and that he sent him word likewise by *Boyd*, That he would never forsake the Queen of *Scots*. And more than all this, That the Ministers of the said Queen had almost possess'd him with a Belief, that the Queen of *England* had consented to the Marriage, and given the Queen of *Scots* great Encouragement in the point of Succession. Queen *Elizabeth* perceiv'd moreover, that she had made several broad Signs to some Peers of *England*, to draw them to her Interest, pretending she had an Affair in hand, which would secure the Queen, and promote the Advantage of both Kingdoms.

The Duke of *Norfolk* sent to the *Tower*.

The Duke, who carry'd on a very cautious Correspondence with the Bishop of *Ross*, *Leicester* and *Throckmorton*, by Letters convey'd in certain Ale-Vessels, or Bottles, was about this time examin'd upon the Business of his intended Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, and his private Conferences with the Bishop of *Ross*; and upon confessing a great deal, he was sent to the *Tower* under the Custody of Sir *Henry Nevil*, after he had receiv'd a sharp Reprimand for withdrawing from Court without Leave, and tax'd with a Design to disturb the Tranquility of the Nation.

Others after him.

Two Days after, the Bishop of *Ross* receiv'd his Examination, and *Robert Ridolph* (the Gentleman of *Florence*) that was so intimate with *Ross*, and the rest, was committed to Sir *Francis Walsingham*'s Custody. The Earl of *Pembroke* was confin'd to his own House, where he was privately examin'd; but in respect to his great Age and Quality, he found the Favour of having his Confession not set down in Writing, it being his own Request, because he was not able to write himself. Certain Noblemen, who were privy to the Matter, ask'd the Queen's Pardon, and own'd they had given the Duke their Advice and Consent to the Match, which *Murray* himself was the first Propounder of, but with this Restriction, That all the Parties concern'd stood engag'd to make the Queen acquainted with the Matters before it came to any Conclusion. In like manner, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who had a Share in the Plot, submitted themselves to the Earl of *Sussex*, Lord-President of the *North*, and begg'd the Favour of his Mediation with the Queen on their behalf.

Books printed against the Marriage.

There were likewise several Pamphlets printed against this Match, and in Opposition to the Queen of *Scots*, and her Title to the Succession; but in so pert and sawcy a way, that Queen *Elizabeth* resolv'd to call them in by a Proclamation; and conniv'd at the Bishop of *Ross*'s putting out an Answer to them.

And answer'd by the Bishop of *Ross*.

He immediately printed one under the Title of *Morgan Philips*; wherein he asserted the Honour of his Royal Mistress, defended her Title to the Crown of *England*, and wrote for the Lawfulness of a Female Reign; for that also was a Subject now in dispute: But he afterwards freely own'd, in his *Commentaries*, that the Arguments he had produc'd in Defence of her Title, as Successor, were privately borrow'd from Sir *Antony Brown*, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas; and *Carell*, two of the most eminent and judicious Lawyers in *England*.

About this Time arriv'd *Chapine Vitelli*, Marquis of *Cetona*, with Letters of a very ancient Date from the Duke of *Alva*, under colour of composing the Differences about *Trade*: but in reality, his Errand was to watch the Issues of a Rebellion just ready to break forth, and to take the Command of certain Forces which the Duke of *Alva* had promis'd under-hand to send out of the *Netherlands*. He had dispatch'd away *La Mot*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, before (as he confess'd himself) in the Habit of a Sailor, to sound the Ports: But it appearing, that the Marquis had only the Duke of *Alva*'s Commission for what he did, who was no more himself than a Deputy-Governor, there was some Scruple made, whether he was to be admitted under the Character of Ambassador or not. Yet the Queen was pleas'd to signify, that she would consider him as an Ambassador from *Spain*. But when he produc'd no other Orders, than a bare Demand of the Money that had been stopt, the Queen being much dispos'd to preserve a Peace, advis'd him to procure a more ample Authority for the Accommodation of Matters; which whilst he waited for, there was a current Report of a Rebellion just breaking out in the North of *England*.

A Rebellion in the *North*.

There went about a slight Rumour of such a Rising (to fetch the Matter something higher) in the beginning of *Autumn*; but it soon dropt, as having little or no Foundation: But it spread very much in a little time after, by reason of the frequent Consultations of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, and others; insomuch that *Sussex*, the Lord-President, sent for them, and examin'd them about the said Report. They confess'd, That they had heard such a Rumour, but flatly deny'd, that they were

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the Authors or Abettors of it; and they made the most solemn Asseverations, that they were ready to venture their Lives for the Queen, against all her Enemies whatsoever. Hereupon they were discharg'd, and commission'd to enquire after the Spreaders of this Report. However, it increas'd to that Degree, that the Queen (tho' she was not forward to believe any thing to the Prejudice of Persons of their Quality) commanded, however, the Earl of *Sussex* to warn them up to *London*, to avoid Suspicion. But *Sussex* order'd 'em to meet him, to consult barely about the Affairs of that Province (on what Design is hard to guess at). They hereupon made use of dilatory Excuses at first, and soon after flatly refus'd to come; which made the Queen send 'em her peremptory Orders, to appear presently before her (all Excuses and Pretences apart) to the end she might either awe them out of any rebellious Pursuits, or else drive 'em to that Extreme, before they had Forces and Materials ready for such a Design. For it appear'd not long after, that there were certain Supplies and Recruits from the *Scotish* Confederates, and from the Duke of *Alva*, appointed to be landed at *Hartlepool*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*.

As soon as *Northumberland* had read the Letters, between the Softness of his Nature, and the Consciousness of his Guilt, the Bigottry of his Persuasion, and the Violence of his Resentment for a conceiv'd Wrong done to him, in relation to a rich Copper-Mine found upon his Estate; but which was *Granted* away from him, by Virtue of the Queen's Right to Royal Mines; yet not without some Reserve of Favour to be expected from the Queen: he seem'd to labour under a very great Suspence, whether 'twere best to apply to her Majesty, to seek his Safety by Flight, or fairly turn Rebel. His Friends and Servants, who were ripe for Mischief and Sedition, observing their Master's Cowardice and Irresolution, alarm'd him at Midnight with the surprizing Cry, That *Oswald*, *Ulstrop*, and *Vaughan*, his Enemies, were ready, with Arms and Men, to take him Prisoner. They intreated him not to betray himself, his Friends, and the Faith of his Ancestors; and represented to him, That the *Catholicks* were ready all *England* over, to assert the *Romish* Religion, and that the Bells were rung backwards almost in every Parish, to encourage the People to an Insurrection. At this the Earl in a Panick Fear got out of Bed, and withdrew to a Lodge in his own Park, near *Topcliff*; and the next Night he retir'd to *Branspeth*, a Seat belonging to the Earl of *Westmorland*; where he found a great Number of People, who were no Strangers to the Secret.

Pretences of the Rebels.

The better to raise and amuse the Multitude, some were commanded to arm themselves, and join their Forces in the Queen's Defence: Others were possess'd, that all the Peers of *England* did now act in Conjunction with them, for the restoring of Popery: To others they pretended, That they were forced to take up Arms, to prevent the Encroachments of Upstarts, upon the ancient Nobility of *England*, and the Betraying thereof to a foreign Power. Under this Colour, they broke out into an immediate Rebellion, and were the first that disturb'd the Tranquility of the Nation, which had now lasted Eleven Years without Interruption, under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Nicolas Morton*, a Priest, was the great Incendiary, who had been sent from the Pope, to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an *Heretick*; and therefore to have no farther Right to her Crown and Kingdom. 'Twas not long before they publish'd a *Manifesto*, declaring, *That they took up Arms, with no other Design, than to restore the Religion of their Ancestors, to remove ill Counsellors from the Queen, to restore the Duke and other faithful Peers, who were depriv'd of their Title and Honour, to their Liberty and the Queen's Favour; and, that they attempted nothing against the Queen, to whom they vow'd a most constant Fidelity and Allegiance.* They likewise sent Letters to the Papists all round the Kingdom, and advis'd 'em to come in to their Assistance: But so far were they from joining with them, that most of 'em sent the Letters they had receiv'd, with the Bearers thereof, to the Queen: Every one strove who should be foremost in the Tenders of his Service, and the Offers of his Purse and Person, towards reducing the Rebels. Nor was *Norfolk* himself the last upon this Occasion; so that from hence the Queen had a fair Opportunity of discerning the good Affection of her Subjects towards her; and was not backward in acknowledging the abundant Goodness of God to her, upon that Account.

Letters sent the Papists.

The Rebels march'd first to *Durham*, a Bishop's See hard-by; where they abus'd and deface'd all the *English* Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer, which they found in the Churches. From thence they proceeded by small Journeys, saying Mass in all Places they came to, and marching in their Ranks, with Colours flying (some of 'em bearing the Five Wounds of Christ, and others the Chalice) whilst *Richard Norton*, a reverend old Gentleman, bore a Cross, with a Streamer, before them, as far as *Clifford-Moor*, not far from *Wetherbey*; where they made a Muster, the 13th Day after the Insurrection commenc'd; and reckon'd not above 600 Horse, and 4000 Foot. Having learn'd here, that the Queen of *Scots* (upon whose Account they had undertaken this Rising) was remov'd from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*, a very strong City; and committed to the Custody of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntington*; That *Sussex* was just by them, with a strong Party of new-rais'd Forces; That Sir *George Bowes* was behind them with a choice Detachment, and had fortify'd *Bernard* Castle; and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had strengthned *Carlisle*, and were then raising a Body of Men; they retir'd back almost the same way they came, and got to *Raby*, the chief Seat of the Earl of *Westmorland*. From thence they made a Fetch, and besieg'd *Bernard* Castle; which, for want of Provision, was soon oblig'd to surrender upon Terms; Sir *George Bowes*, with his Brother *Robert*, and the Soldiers of the Garrison, being permitted, by the Agreement, to march out with their Arms.

Their Banners.

Their Numbers.

Rebels take Bernard Castle.

On the same Day they were proclaimed Traytors to their Country, and *Sussex* march'd against them with 7000 Men, attended with *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Evers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. As soon as *Sussex* was come to *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great Consternation to *Hexham*; and soon after straggled in Companies, and by private Roads, to *Naworth* Castle: Where, receiving Intelligence, that the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Clinton* Lord Admiral, pursu'd 'em closely with 12000 Men, from the South of *England*, the Two Earls, with a small Company besides, withdrew themselves, unknown to the rest, into the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was forc'd to skulk in some of the poor Cottages at *Harclaw*, among the *Grahams*, who were notorious Robbers, and, after some time, betray'd him into *Murray*'s Hands. *Westmorland* was conceal'd by *Carr* of *Fernihurst*, and *Buckley*; and at last made his Escape, with some few *Englishmen*, into the *Netherlands*; where he liv'd wretchedly poor to the last, under a slender Pension allow'd him by the King of *Spain*. The rest, being dispers'd several ways, made a

They fly several ways.

shift

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66 Petty-Constables executed.

shift to save themselves, some by Flight, and others by lying hid. Threescore and Six Petty-Constables were hang'd up at *Durham*, for an Example; and among 'em the most noted Mutineer was one *Plomtree*, a Priest. At *York* were executed *Simon Digby*, *J. Fulthorpe*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Peneman*; and a few Months after, at *London*, *Christopher* and *Thomas Norton*; and some others in other Places.

After this, some of the first-rate Malecontents were convicted of High-Treason, and out-law'd; *viz.* *Charles* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anne* Countess of *Northumberland*, Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Worcester*, *Edw. Dacres* of *Morton*, *John Nevel* of *Leversege*, *J. Swinborne*, *Thomas Markenfeld*, *Egremond Radcliff*, the Earl of *Sussex*'s Brother, *Christopher Nevil*, *Richard Norton* of *Norton-Coniers*, *Christopher*, *Marmaduke* and *Thomas* of the *Norton* Family, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and about Forty more, of Noble Extraction. The Conviction and Outlawry of these Gentlemen, was confirm'd in the next ensuing Parliament; and the rest who had no Estates, and did not fly for't, receiv'd their Pardon.

Thus came this Rebellion to an happy End, *Chapine Vitelli*, who, as I before observ'd, was privy to this Design, seeming to stand in Admiration, before the Queen and several of the Lords, that so great a Flame was so suddenly extinguish'd; tho' it stung him to the quick, that his Errand into *England*, was, by this means, so foully disappointed. But the Embers of this Rebellion were not so totally quench'd; for they afforded Sparks enough, to burst into a new Flame, at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, near a Place call'd *Vallum Severi*, or *The Picts-Wall*. The Bellows to this Blaze was *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*. It happen'd, that the Lord *Dacres*, the Nephew of this Gentleman, by his elder Brother, died young, as I before hinted; and it stuck very much in his Stomach, that so plentiful an Estate would, by the Law, descend to his Nieces, who were contracted, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, their Father-in-law, to two of his Sons; on which account he enter'd a Suit against 'em: But the Cause going against him, he fell to plotting, and siding with the traiterous Party; and attempted (though in vain) to rescue the Queen of *Scots* from her Confinement. But when he saw the Rebellion was in a greater Forwardness than he expected, and that the Rebels were proclaimed *Traitors*, whilst he was at Court, as he was introduc'd to kiss the Queen's Hand, he offer'd her Majesty his best Service against the Rebels, and thereupon was sent home again: But, as it appear'd afterwards, he held Correspondence with them, by the way; sent 'em encouraging Messages, and Promises withal, of great Matters from the Ambassadors of foreign Princes; and among other Things, that he would be sure to make use of the Forces he had rais'd in the Queen's Name, to cut off the Lord *Scroop*, Warden of the West-March, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*. Which not being able to do, he sent recommendatory Letters after those Earls, who were making for *Scotland*, seiz'd on the Castle of *Greystock*, and the other Seats belonging to the *Dacres*, and fortify'd *Naworth* Castle, as his own, by Right of Inheritance: Then, under pretence of securing his own Estate, and resisting the Rebels, he got together a Gang of 3000 bordering Robbers, and others who had a Respect for the very Name of *Dacres*; as being by much the noblest Family in those Parts.

A new Rebellion breaks out

Against these the Lord *Hunsdon* march'd, with the Garrison-Troops of *Berwick*; and they not daring to trust to their Fortifications, came on to encounter them; and being flank'd with their Cavalry, and plac'd in a Triangle, prepar'd to receive them, at the little River *Gelt*. The Fight was hotly maintain'd on both sides, and *Leonard* (tho' he was crook-back'd, yet) perform'd every thing that could be expected from a brave Commander: But having lost a great many of his Men, he was forc'd to quit the Field to *Hunsdon*, (tho' it cost him dear) and retire, as well as he could, to the nearest Part of *Scotland*; from whence soon after, he went over into *Holland*, and ended his Days at *Louvain*, in a poor Condition; insomuch that his Father, who on his Death-bed pray'd to God to afflict him plentifully, for his Disobedience, seem'd to have something in him of the true Prophet. The Lord *Hunsdon* retook the Castles, and deliver'd them to the Care of *Norfolk*'s Servants, and the Queen publish'd an Act of Indemnity to all that had taken up Arms in the late Rebellion.

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Rebels are routed.

Although the Queen had her Hands full of these Disorders at home, yet was she not wanting either in Assistance or Commiseration to the poor distress'd Hugonots of *France*: For having press'd the several Princes of the same Persuasion, to lend their Hands to the Common-Cause; she supply'd the Queen of *Navarre* with Money, and took her Jewels as a Pledge; and also permitted *Henry Champernoon* (whose Cousin-German *Gawin* had marry'd the Earl of *Montgomery*'s Daughter) to command a Regiment of Volunteers, consisting of 100 Gentlemen, all well mounted, into *France*; and with this *Motto* in his Colours, *Finem det mihi Virtus*, viz. *Let Valour decide the Cause.* In this List of Volunteers, were *Philip Butshide*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young Person, who now first began to be taken notice of. These Things were no Secret to the *French* King, who, out of a Design to drain the Wealth of *England*, which flow'd away apace in the Relief of the *French* Protestants; or to divert it at least into some other Channel, resolv'd to raise a new Combustion in *Scotland*, by sending Supplies to those, who maintain'd the Castle of *Dunbritton*, for the Queen of *Scots*. To this purpose, he design'd to dispatch thither *Sebastian Martigues*, a Person eminent enough for martial Exploits; but he happen'd to be shot at the Siege of *S. John d'Angeli*; and so this Stratagem fell to the Ground.

Q. *Eliz.* assists the Protestants in *France*.

Nor was *Ireland* at this Time free from some Commotions: For *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, after they had insulted their Neighbours in *Munster*, grew too big to be restrain'd within the Bounds of Law, and destroying the Queen's good Subjects with Fire and Sword, they enter'd into a Confederacy with *James Fitz-Moris*, of the House of *Desmond*, *Mac-Artimore*, *Fitz-Edmund* Steward of *Imokelly*, and others; to do all they could, in Conjunction with the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniards*, to maintain Popery, and dispossess Queen *Elizabeth* of her Kingdom of *Ireland*. Hereupon, they were proclaim'd Traitors, and Sir *Peter Carew* the Elder had several Skirmishes with them, but with various Success. Nevertheless, they at last got together a Gang of desperate Fellows, and besieg'd *Kilkenny*; commanding the Citizens to deliver *Warham* St. *Legere*'s Wife into their Hands, But being repuls'd by several Sallies from the Garrison, they made a miserable Waste of the Country all about: And to feed and pamper the Mutineers Humour to the Height, *Juan Mendoza* was sent privately from *Spain*, when at the same time came the Earl of *Ormond* out of *England*, to compose and direct it; and had the Good-luck to effect his Design, by prevailing on his Brothers to submit themselves, which they did; but were never-

A Rebellion in *Munster* in *Ireland*.

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Another in *Ulſter*. In *Ulſter* likewiſe they were up in Arms; for *Turlough Leinigh* was ſo wavering himſelf, and kept ſuch reſtleſs Miniſters about him; that War and Peace were a kind of alternate Diverſion to him. But if the *Engliſh* Garriſons were not able to curb his Exorbitances, the *Highlanders* knew how to keep him within Bounds, by quitting the lean Paſtures of their own Iſland, and making bold with the Forage of his fatter Country: But to prevent their Incurſions on that ſide, there were ſeveral large Sums ſent out of *England*, to fortify the Sea-Coaſt. But all to no purpoſe; by reaſon of an Inconvenience common to *England*, as well as *Ireland*; where for the moſt part ſuch Men puſh forward, and are countenanc'd and employ'd, as are ſo wholly engag'd in their own, that they abſolutely neglect the publick Intereſt.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

ELIZA-

ELIZABETH,

ANNO 1570.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

1570.
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The Thirteenth Year of her Reign.

Murray fues to have the Queen of *Scots* in his Hands.

THE Rebellion in *England* being now fuppreſs'd, *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, did all he could to have the Queen of *Scots* in his Hands. To this end he offer'd Hoſtages, promis'd to deliver up the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*; and by his means the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the ſuppos'd Author of the Rebellion, is committed to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *London*. Then, to ingratiate himſelf with Queen *Elizabeth* by ſome meritorious Exploit, in *January* he enter'd that part of *Scotland* which borders upon *England*, at the Head of an Army, in ſearch of the *Engliſh* Rebels: A few of them he took, but thoſe of no Note; till at laſt he ſeiz'd upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, betray'd by his Hoſt as he lurk'd among the Pillagers on the Frontiers. Him he ſent Priſoner to *Lough-Levin*, and put the Borderers under ſevere Hardſhips.

He purſues the *Engliſh* Rebels.

He is ſlain

But the ſame Month, when, after the Fatigues he had endur'd, he ſeem'd now ſecure, he was ſhot below the Navel by one in Ambuſcade, as he was riding through the Streets of *Limmuch*, by the *Scots* call'd *Lithquo*. One *Hamilton* was the Aſſaſſin, who preſently fled over to *France*, where he liv'd for ſeveral Years after, often declaring, That he reveng'd himſelf thus privately of *Murray*, ſince his Patience could no longer away with the Injuſtice he had done him. For *Murray*, becauſe of his Loyalty to the Queen, had proſcrib'd him, clapt him up in Priſon, and threatned often to hang him, till he had ſurrender'd up a Farm that fell to him by his Wife, to a Creature of *Murray*'s. Upon this the Woman fell diſtracted, and he himſelf, in a Rage, broke out of Priſon, and committed the Murder. Nor could he afterwards be perſuaded in *France*, tho' look'd upon as a Man of a daring Spirit, to attempt the like againſt the Admiral *Coligny*; giving out, That he had indeed, to his Sorrow, reveng'd his own juſt Grievances, but that neither Reward nor Intereſt ſhould draw him on to revenge another Man's Quarrel.

Various Opinions of him.

Hereupon all *Britain* was full of Diſcourſe about the Regent's Murder, many making Wonders of Trifles; ſuch as his Mother's Dream after her Night's Lodging by ſtealth with King *James* V. of a Lion and a Dragon fighting together in her Womb. But the more ſober Perſons paſs'd their Judgments upon him, according to the Party they ſided with. Some commended him for expelling the *Romiſh* Religion out of *Scotland*, for preſerving the young King, for his impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and for his Bounty to learned Men, eſpecially *Buchanan*. Others blam'd him, for making a Cloak of Religion, the better to enrich himſelf and his Creatures with the Spoils of the Church; for his moſt unaccountable Ingratitude to the Queen his Siſter, to whom he was many ways obliged; and for his unmanly inſulting over her Female Weakneſs. And theſe, by their Surmiſes and Conjectures, and from the bad Inclinations of ſeveral that are baſe-born, gueſſed, that he who had outed the Mother of her Kingdom, would hardly ſpare the Son. The Queen of *Scots* was troubled that he met with ſo ſudden and violent a Death, before he had (as ſhe ſaid) repented ſeriouſly of his Offences to God, his Country, and his Prince. But the *Engliſh* that favour'd *Norfolk*, accus'd him, as far as they durſt, as a ſly and cunning Diſſembler.

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An Incurſion of the *Scots* and Rebels into *England*.

The Night after the Regent's Murder, *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buckluy*, two of the ſtouteſt Men among the *Scotch* Borderers, great Loyaliſts to the *Scotiſh* Queen, and who for their adhering to her Intereſts were baniſh'd and outed of all they had, brake the Peace, made an Incurſion into *England* at the Head of the *Scots* and ſome *Engliſh* Rebels, and laid waſte the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. This they did to be reveng'd of the Queen of *England*, becauſe for her ſake the late Regent had uſed the Borderers ſo ſeverely. Upon this Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was ſent Expreſs into *Scotland*, to repreſent before the *Scotiſh* Lords, in a publick Aſſembly, this ſo great an Injury; and to inform them, That if they (becauſe of the Diſorders now in *Scotland*) could not ſuppreſs the Violators of the Peace, the Queen would with her Forces chaſtiſe the Offenders, without hurting the Innocent. There was no Anſwer made to this, becauſe they had not as yet appointed a Regent. Yet, to protect the *Engliſh* Borderers from Wrong, and to curb the Inſolence of the Enemy, the Earl of *Suſſex* receiv'd Orders to levy Forces, and march againſt *Buckluy* and *Fernihurſt*; with Inſtructions only to fight thoſe who had lately, with the *Engliſh* Rebels, invaded and ravaged *England*, or had or ſhould countenance the *Engliſh* Rebels, contrary to the Confederacy. Nor could he be ſtaid, tho' the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, who favour'd the Queen of *Scots*, ſent *Trebour* to crave a Truce till they could inform Queen *Elizabeth* of the *Scotch* Affairs: But when they could not diſſuade her from

Complaint thereof made in vain.

Suſſex ſent to ſuppreſs 'em.

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from prosecuting her Designs, they first fell to Threatning, and then to Praying and Beseeching her, that certain Laws enacted and established in *Scotland* the last Two Years, might be repeal'd.

The English revenge themselves.

Nevertheless, in the middle of *April*, *Suffex*, with the Lord *Hunsdon*, and *Drury* Marshal of *Berwick*, entred *Scotland* with an Army; and coming into *Tividale*, laid waste great part of the County, burning all the Towns and Villages belonging to *Buckluy* and the Two *Carrs*, and plundering all their Estates; the Two Castles of *Fernihurst* and *Craling*, belonging to *Thomas Carr*, were razed and demolish'd: While, at the same Time, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* entring the Western Borders of *Scotland*, laid waste the Estate and Possessions of *Johnson* in *Anandale*, and plunder'd some others, who, with him, had favour'd the *English* Rebels; and in these Expeditions Three hundred Towns and Villages were burnt, and near Fifty Castles demolish'd.

Within a few Days, *Suffex*, with the Lord *Hunsdon*, makes a second Inroad into *Scotland*, and lay down before *Humes* Castle, whither the *English* Rebels used to fly: And after he had batter'd it with his Ordnance, it surrender'd upon Articles. There were not above Two of the Rebels found therein, who were immediately hang'd, and a Garrison put in the Castle. After which *Drury* was sent to besiege *Fast Castle*, another Fort belonging to the Lord *Humes*, which was soon yielded up to him.

They aid the King's Party in Scotland.

When the *English* Rebels had now betaken themselves to the utmost Parts of *Scotland*, and joining with others of the same Stamp with themselves, threatned the Borderers in *England*, and the Royalists in *Scotland*, with Fire and Sword; *Suffex*, at *Drury*'s Return, sent him back again seven Days after into *Scotland* with 1200 Foot and 400 Horse; who at *Coldingham* receiv'd Hostages for the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Marr* and *Glencarne*; and for the Barons of *Reuven* and *Lindsey*, who had with much Ardency invited in the *English*. Afterwards *Suffex* himself, attended by Sir *George Cary*, Sir *Thomas Mannours*, Sir *Robert Constable*, (whom with *Drury* he had Knighted) *Hierom Bons*, *William Knolls*, *Tho. Brickwell*, *Robert Games*, *Elrington*, *Carrit*, and other Commanders, march'd to *Edinborough*, and join'd his Forces with the said Earl's, and with *Lenox* newly return'd from *England*; though at the same time they suspected he favour'd *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots* Party. They march'd by *Lithquo* to *Glascow*, from whence *Hamilton* Duke of *Chastle-Herault* had withdrawn himself. From thence they drew off to *Hamilton-Castle*, which after the great Guns had play'd against, was soon surrender'd, and half demolish'd.

They take Hamilton-Castle.

They likewise fired a goodly Town of the *Hamiltons*, laid waste their Territories all over *Chisdall*, and in their Return did the same to *Hamilton's* Palace at *Lithquo*.

Lenox made Regent of Scotland.

Now the Lords of *Scotland* that were of the King's Party, having removed the *Hamiltons*, and the rest which had stood for the deposed Queen, met together about choosing a new Regent, and sent for Queen *Elizabeth's* Counsel. Her Answer was, *That she would not concern herself in the creating a Regent, lest she might seem to act in prejudice to the Queen of* Scots, *whose Cause was not yet decided.* But they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the Queen's Grandfather, first of all *Inter-Rex*, and soon after Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* not opposing it. For she knew he would, out of natural Affection, be most tender of his young Grandson, and most affectionate to the *English* for the Civilities he had receiv'd; and doubted not but he would be at her Devotion, since she had his Wife in her Power.

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The Spaniard sends Aid against the Royalists.

Whilst Queen *Elizabeth* thus favour'd the Royalists in *Scotland*, the *Spaniard* was not wanting to the Captive Queen; but by the Contrivance of *Hamilton*, Rector of the Church of *Dunbar*, sent privately out of the *Netherlands* great store of Arms and Powder, seven great Guns, and some Money, to *Huntley*, the Queen's Lieutenant in *Scotland*. In the mean time, *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, and *Argyle*, the Queen's Lieutenants, agreed, by the Queen's Consent, to dispatch *George* Lord *Seaton* in quality of Ambassador to the Duke *d'Alva*; who having Audience, deliver'd himself in these Terms:

Seaton's Embassy to the D. d'Alva.

'That he was sent from a Kingdom depriv'd of its publick Peace, and of a most excellent Princess, through the Treachery of disloyal Subjects. That the Sum of his Embassy was this: They desir'd, that Supplies might be sent over to redeem the Queen from a wretched Captivity in a strange Land, and the Realm from the Oppression of Foreigners. That the *Scotch* Rebels might be prohibited from Trafficking in the *Spanish* Dominions; and that the Ten thousand Ducats promised to the Queen of *Scots*, might be paid. That the Queen had thrown herself under the *Spaniards* Protection, as one whose sole Regard was to Honour, Justice, and Piety (Objects most worthy of a Catholick Prince). That she made use of the Duke *d'Alva* as a Mediator, on whose Endeavours did depend the Performance of those laudable Intentions of his Catholick Majesty. That he could propose no Advantage to the *Spaniard* hereby, that being a Thing unworthy of so great a Monarch: But that he offer'd him the eternal Alliance of a most renowned Queen, and of a very valiant Nation, and their assured Submission with thankful Hearts. That the Glory of his Father *Charles* I. was spread over all the World, by restoring the Duke of *Florence* and the *Mahometan* Prince to their former Dignity. But should he restore a Christian Queen, a constant Favourer of the Christian Religion, an absolute Princess, ally'd both by Blood and Confederacy to the greatest Princes in *Christendom*, and the most undoubted Heir of Two most flourishing Kingdoms; how glorious a Thing would that be, and how incomparable an Argument of his Piety? That hereby he might not only oblige *France*, *Denmark*, *Lorain*, the *Guises*, his *Holiness*, and the whole Catholick Church in general; but likewise, by following his Father's Example, in relieving and restoring deposed Princes, he might equal, yea, and far transcend his Father's Glory. That it highly concern'd him to revenge this dangerous Example of deposing Hereditary Kings, since he was the greatest Monarch of *Europe*, and his own Dominions being so far asunder, might very easily be expos'd to the like Insolency. Neither could there be offer'd him a more signal or advantagious Mark of Justice. For by restoring her, he would entirely bring over to his Alliance and Confederacy, a Queen-Dowager of *France*, an Absolute Queen of *Scotland*, the undoubted Heir of *England*, and the whole *Scotish* Nation, whose unshaken Fidelity in observing the League with *France* ever since the Reign of *Charles the Great*, is very well known to the whole World. Besides (had he a Mind worthy of himself) by this means he had an Opportunity of revenging the Wrongs offer'd him by the Queen of *England*, who favours his Rebels in the *Netherlands*, had intercepted his Money, abus'd his Ambassador, and seiz'd upon his Subjects Goods. That to lie still till *Scotland* should have submitted to the Queen of *England*, would argue him to be supinely careless and slothful. That this Wo-

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'man having made such an Addition to her Empire, and secur'd all at Home, would be a Terror to her Neighbours; and her Masculine Spirit, join'd with the Humour of her Sex, that is always ambitious of Command, would soon find out Methods of involving *Spain* in a long War. But were her Designs prevented, she might soon be curb'd with the fearful Apprehension of her own Condition; since the Captive Queen had but few Enemies in *Scotland*; most of the Nobility, and generally all the Catholicks of both Kingdoms, on her side, and all the Ports of *Scotland* in her Power: And for carrying on so Holy a War as this, his Holiness would not spare the very Revenues of the Church. The only Thing now wanting is, That his Catholick Majesty would do his utmost in so just, so pious, and so blessed a Cause. From him alone all the Catholicks of *Britain* do now expect either their Happiness, or their final Ruin.

The Duke d'Alva's Answer.

The Duke *d'Alva* reply'd, *That he would freely and readily do his utmost to promote this Business with the King of* Spain; *but that he could not prohibit the Commerce of the* Scotch *Rebels, since it was contrary to the Privileges of the* Netherlands; *But as for the Money, he promis'd it should be forthwith paid.* In the mean time *Seaton*, the better to oblige the *Spaniard* and the Duke *d'Alva*, went in Disguise to the Confederate *Netherlanders*, and by smooth Words, Feastings, and other insinuating Artifices, drew the *Scots* that serv'd under them to revolt; and when he was to be tortur'd for it, he narrowly escap'd with his Life to the Duke *d'Alva*, who promis'd him six Months Pay for Ten thousand Men. But it came to nothing, since by reason of the great Disorders in the *Netherlands*, he could send no Men into *Scotland*.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Ross* (who had industriously solicited the Queen of *Scots* Affairs in *England*, and had been committed to the Custody of the Bishop of *London*, as the private Fomenter of the late Rebellion) being now set at Liberty, procur'd the *French* King, by his Ambassador and *Montluc*, to be earnest with Queen *Elizabeth* for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*: They complain'd of her close Confinement, and that under the Earl of *Huntington*, her most bitter Adversary and Competitor, for that he made as open Pretensions to the Kingdom of *England* as she did. The same thing, by the Procurement of *Ross*, was very strongly urg'd by the *Spanish* Ambassador in his Mistress's Name. But the Queen, after she had reckon'd up the many sly Stratagems some had used to set the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty (whom she obscurely tax'd as accessary to the late Rebellion) answer'd, 'That it would be a piece of inconsiderate and most dangerous Folly to set her at Liberty, who by unlawful Artifices so openly aspir'd to the Kingdom of *England*: That Necessity had forc'd her to confine her more closely, to cut off some of her superfluous Train, and to join the Earl of *Huntington* (whom she acknowledg'd indeed to be her Kinsman, but yet had no Right to the Crown) with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, her former Keeper, who lately began to suspect the Trustiness of his own Servants, many of whom he had perceiv'd were daily drawn in to favour the Queen of *Scots*. That notwithstanding this, the Earl of *Huntington* had been remov'd from her some time ago. She likewise promised, That she would do all she could to compose Matters between the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects. And withal protested, she would not revenge the Injuries she had receiv'd. But yet she hoped, the *French* King, the *Spaniard*, and the Queen of *Scots* would give her Leave to provide for her own and her Peoples Security and Quiet, according as Nature, Reason, and her Princely Reputation or Honour justly require. If any of them could devise a more likely Expedient to ward off the Danger, she would very willingly hearken to it and embrace it.

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Debates about setting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty.

After this, there were frequent Debates at Court, whether the Queen of *Scots* should be sent Home, or kept still in *England*: And how the Safety of the Kingdom, the Queen, and Religion, might be best secur'd.

The Earl of Pembroke's Death and Character

At this Juncture, *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Son of *Richard* Son of *William Herbert* Senior Earl of *Pembroke*, presaging some Disaster to himself, departed this Life in his Climacterical Year; leaving behind him Three Children, *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Ann*; and, after a stately Funeral, was laid under a sumptuous Monument in St. *Paul's* Church. An extraordinary Man, who was in some sort the Raiser of his own Fortune. With *Henry* VIII. he got into great Favour, and was made his Chamberlain. By his wise Conduct he encreas'd his Wealth, especially after the King had marry'd *Katherine Parr*, his Wife's Sister. Under *Edward* VI. whilst the Court was distracted with Factions, he was made Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiff*, and Earl of *Pembroke*. Under Queen *Mary*, he commanded her Forces against *Wiat*, was General of the *English* Army at St. *Quintin's*, Lord-President of *Wales*, and twice Governor of *Calais*. Under Queen *Elizabeth*, he was made Great Master of the Houshold; whose Favour he lost for a time, because he was the chief Promoter of *Norfolk's* Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, tho' he had no ill Design in it. After he was dead, they were ready to proscribe him upon some Discoveries made, and some strong Presumptions against him.

Pius V. Bishop of *Rome*, who had hitherto carried on his Designs privately against Queen *Elizabeth*; and the last Year, by his Declaratory Bull, without any previous Admonition or Citation, had pass'd a private Sentence of Excommunication, and rais'd Rebellions against her, now caus'd the same to be publish'd and fix'd upon the Bishop of *London's* Palace-Gates, in these Words.

A Bull publish'd against the Queen.

A Declaratory Sentence of Pope Pius V. *against* Elizabeth *the pretended Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks her Adherents. Wherein likewise all her Subjects are declared absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and any other Duty they owe unto her: And whoever shall henceforward obey her, are included in the same Curse.*

Pope PIUS, *the Servant of God's Servants, for a standing Memorial of the Matter.*

'He that reigneth on High, to whom is ascrib'd all Power both in Heaven and Earth, hath committed the Absolute Government of his One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) to only One upon Earth, namely, to *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, and to *Peter's* Successor, the Bishop of *Rome*. Him alone has he made Prince over all Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build; that he may preserve the Faithful (knit together with one common Band of Charity) in the Unity of the Spirit, and present them safe and sound to their Saviour. In the Discharge of which Function, We, who are by the Divine Favour call'd to the Government of

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‘the ſaid Church, ſpare no Labour; but ſtrive earneſtly, that Unity and the Catholick Religion (which for the Tryal of the Faithful, and our Amendment, hath, by its Author's Permiſſion, been expoſed to ſo many Troubles) might be preſerv'd entire. But the Ungodly are grown ſo numerous and powerful, that now there is no Place in the Univerſe, but what they have endeavour'd to taint with their moſt pernicious Doctrines: To which, among others, *Elizabeth*, the pretended Queen of *England*, abandon'd to all Wickedneſs, is an Abettor; under whoſe Protection the moſt profligate Perſons have found a Retreat. Which very Woman, having ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and wickedly uſurp'd to herſelf *the Supremacy over the whole Church of* England, and the chief Authority and Juriſdiction thereof; has reduc'd that Kingdom to a miſerable Apoſtacy; which had been ſo lately reclaim'd to the Catholick Faith, and a thriving Condition.

‘For having ſtrictly prohibited the Exerciſe of the true Religion (which *Mary*, the lawful Queen, of famous Memory, had, by the Aſſiſtance of this See, reſtor'd; after it had been lately ſuppreſs'd by *Henry* VIII. an Apoſtate therefrom) and following and embracing the Errors of *Hereticks*; ſhe has diſſolv'd the Privy-Council, conſiſting of the *Engliſh* Nobility, and fill'd it up with Hereticks of an obſcure Deſcent; ſuppreſs'd the Embracers of the Catholick Faith, and ſet up, in their ſtead, wicked Preachers, and Miniſters of Impiety; aboliſh'd the Sacrifice of the Maſs, Prayers, Faſtings, the Choice of Meats, Celibacy, and the Rites of the Catholick Church; and commanded Books, containing in them downright Hereſie, to be publiſh'd throughout the whole Realm; and order'd impious Rites and Ceremonies (which ſhe herſelf entertain'd and obſerv'd, according to *Calvin*'s Inſtitution) to be likewiſe obſerv'd by her Subjects; preſum'd to eject Biſhops, Rectors, and other Catholick Prieſts, out of their Churches and Benefices; and to beſtow them, and other Church-Livings, on Hereticks; and to determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; prohibited the Prelates, Clergy, and Laity, from acknowledging the Church of *Rome*, or obeying its Injunctions, and Canonical Sanctions; compell'd moſt of 'em, by Oath, to ſubmit to her wicked Laws, to abjure the Authority and Obedience of the Pope, and to acknowledge her the ſole Head over Temporal and Spiritual Matters; impos'd Penalties and Puniſhments upon thoſe who obey'd not her Commands, and executed 'em upon thoſe who continu'd in the Unity of the Faith, and their former Obedience; caſt the Catholick Prelates and Rectors of Churches into Priſon, where many of 'em, worn out with continual Afflictions and Grief, have died miſerably. All which Things are ſo manifeſt and notorious to the whole World, and confirm'd by the ſerious Teſtimony of ſo very many, that no Excuſe, Defence, or Evaſion can be made. We therefore, ſeeing that Impiety and Wickedneſs receives daily Growth, and that the Faithful are perſecuted, and Religion abus'd, every Day more than other, by the Inſtigation and Endeavours of the ſaid *Elizabeth*: And ſince we perceive her Heart ſo harden'd and obdurate, that ſhe has not only contemn'd the ſolemn Intreaties and Admonitions of Catholick Princes, for her Safety and Converſion; but has alſo deny'd the *Nuntios* of this See, to croſs the Seas into *England*, for that purpoſe: We, I ſay, are conſtrain'd, at laſt, to make uſe of the Arms of Juſtice, againſt her; and cannot but lament, that we are forc'd to puniſh One, whoſe Anceſtors have been ſignally ſerviceable to the whole State of *Chriſtendom*. We therefore, ſupported by his Authority, whoſe Pleaſure it was to place us (though too weak for ſo weighty a Burden) on the Supreme Throne of Juſtice, do, by Virtue of our Apoſtolick Power, declare the ſaid *Elizabeth* an *Heretick*, and a *Favourer of Hereticks*, and her Adherents in the Crimes aforeſaid, to have incurr'd the Sentence of Excommunication, and to be cut off from the Unity of the Body of Chriſt. Moreover, we declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the ſaid Kingdom, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege whatſoever. And the Nobility, Subjects, and People of the ſaid Kingdom, and all others who have taken an Oath to her, to be for ever abſolv'd from any ſuch Oath, and all other Duty, Allegiance, and Obedience: We do likewiſe, by Authority of theſe Preſents, abſolve them, and deprive the ſaid *Elizabeth* of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other Things before-mention'd. And we charge and command all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforeſaid, That they preſume not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates, and Laws. And thoſe who ſhall do otherwiſe, are ſubject to the like Excommunication. But becauſe it cannot be expected, that theſe Preſents ſhould be publiſh'd in all Places where they are needful; our Will is, That the Copies of 'em, under a Publick Notary's Hand, and the Seal of an Eccleſiaſtical Prelate, or his Court, be of the ſame Force with all Men, judicially and extrajudicially, as theſe Preſents ſhould be, if they were exhibited and ſhewn. Given at *Rome*, at S. *Peter's*, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1569, *March* 28. and the Fifth Year of our Papacy. *Ca. Gloritrius.*

A Rebellion deſign'd in *Norfolk*, prevented.

Hereupon new Surmiſes aroſe, that ſomething extraordinary was to be expected. And truly, another Rebellion was like to break out in *Norfolk*; but was cruſh'd in its very Birth. Several *Norfolk* Gentlemen, willing to ſet the Duke at Liberty (for whom all of them had a ſingular Reſpect) laid a Plot, that at *Harleſtone* Fair, they would gather the Mob together by the Sound of a Trumpet, under pretence of driving the *Netherlanders* out of *England*; who, to avoid the Duke of *Alva*'s Tyranny, had many of 'em fled over to that County. Some of theſe Gentlemen were brought to a Tryal, and found guilty of High-Treaſon: Three only were executed (ſo merciful was the Queen). The moſt noted of them was *John Throckmorton*; who at his Tryal confeſs'd nothing, but at the Gallows, to excuſe the reſt, own'd himſelf the principal Author and Promoter of the Fact.

The Authors try'd and executed.

Felton hang'd.

John Felton, who ſet up the Pope's Bull on the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace-Gates, was now taken, (for fly he would not) arraign'd, and boldly confeſs'd the Fact, (which yet he would not allow to be a Fault) for which he was hang'd near the Place where he had ſet it up; getting thereby the empty Repute of a glorious Martyrdom. But moſt of the moderate Papiſts ſecretly diſliked the Bull; becauſe there had been no previous Admonition, as Juſtice required; and withal foreſaw the Storm that hung over their Heads, who before ſecurely exercis'd their Religion within their own private Houſes, or had made no Scruple of frequenting the Service of God, as now receiv'd in the *Engliſh* Church. And from that Time many of 'em continu'd firm in their Allegiance; eſpecially when they ſaw the neighbouring Princes, and the Catholick Countries, keep up their uſual Correſpondence

The Bull diſliked by the Papiſts.

And by moſt of them ſlighted.

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1570. with the Queen, and the Bull to be slighted, as an empty Noise of Words.

Ann. 13. The day *Felton* was arraign'd, the D. of *Norfolk* (having confess'd, that through Imprudence he had done amiss, and having so far repented of what he had done, that his Mind was averse from thinking on, and his Ears from hearing any Mention of the Match; and having bound himself in a Bond, not to concern himself any farther in the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, without Queen *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge) was discharg'd from the *Tower* of *London*, wherein the Plague was then hot; and remitted, to the Satisfaction of all Men, to his own House, where he liv'd under the easie Confinement of Sir *Henry Nevil*. Neither could he be proceeded against by the Statute of the 25 *Edward* III. concerning High-Treason, as *Cecil* intimated; who, favouring the Duke, did all he could to work him over to marry any other Woman; whereby he would afterwards be free from Suspicion, and the State be out of Fear. Notwithstanding there were some, who thought he was now set at liberty on purpose, that he might be brought into some greater Danger. This is certain; that more things came to light afterwards, than he was aware of; and the Fidelity of those, who were his greatest Confidents, either by Hope or Bribery, began to fail him.

The Duke deliver'd out of the *Tower*.

Cecil persuades him to some other Marriage.

These Times were very subject to Suspicions and Conspiracies. For a Plot was laid, to free the Queen of *Scots* out of Prison, by *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, the Earl of *Derby*'s younger Sons (which he had by the Daughter of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*) and by *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolston*, *Hall*, and others, in the County of *Derby*: But *Rolston*'s Son, one of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, discover'd the Plot; and they were all imprison'd except *Hall*, who fled to the Isle of *Man*; from thence was sent over to *Dunbritton*, by the Bishop of *Ross*'s Recommendations; afterwards, upon taking the Castle, was seiz'd, and executed at *London*. And the Bishop of *Ross* himself, lately set at liberty, was now again confin'd to the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, for holding secret Conferences with the Earl of *Southampton*, a violent Catholick.

Many imprison'd.

In the mean time, *Sussex* and the Lord *Scroop*, with some light arm'd Soldiers, made another Incursion into *Scotland*; fir'd the Villages all over *Anandale*, demolish'd *Anand* a Fort of *Heris's*, and *Carr-Laveroc* a Fort of *Maxwell*'s; because these two had made Inroads into *England*, and plunder'd it: And he press'd so hard on those who stood firm to the Queen of *Scots*, that the Duke of *Chastle-Herault*, *Huntley*, and *Argyle*, sent him a Bond, under their Hands and Seals, whereby they oblig'd themselves to forbear all Acts of Hostility, and withdraw themselves from the *English* Rebels. *Sussex*, upon his Return, knighted *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Russel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Curwen*, and *Simon Musgrave*, for their Valour: And himself was afterwards, for his approv'd Prudence and Virtue, made one of the Queen's Privy-Council.

An Expedition into *Scotland*.

Sussex made Privy-Counsellor.

Queen *Elizabeth* (being full of Jealousies about the *Bull*, and the *Norfolk*-Conspiracy) sent *Cecil* and *Walter Mildmay*, to the Queen of *Scots*, then at *Chattesworth*, in the County of *Derby*; to consult with her, how the Difference in *Scotland* might be best compos'd; she restor'd to her former Dignity; and the Security of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Safety of the young Prince, be best provided for. When they came thither in *October*, after a dangerous Journey, occasion'd by the Overflowing of the Waters; she did nothing but bemoan her forlorn Condition, complain of the treacherous Artifices of *Murray*, excuse *Norfolk*, and repose all her Confidence in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Goodness; on whose Power she understood all the Affairs of *Scotland*, as well as *England*, wholly depended. They propos'd, 1570. *Ann.* 13.

Treaty with the Q. of *Scots*.

'That for making a lasting Peace between both Kingdoms, the Treaty of *Edinborough* should be ratify'd: That she should renounce her Title and Claim to the Crown of *England*, during the Survival of Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs lawfully begotten: That she should not renew or maintain Confederacy with any against *England*: That she should not permit any foreign Forces to come into *Scotland*: That she should not hold any Correspondence with the *English* or *Irish*, without the Queen's Knowledge: That she should deliver up the *English* Fugitives and Rebels: That she should require the Damages suffer'd in the *English* Frontiers: That she should enquire, according to Law, as well into the Murder of her Husband the Lord *Darly*, as of *Murray*: That she should send her Son into *England*, as an Hostage: That she should not marry any *Englishman*, without the Queen of *England*'s Knowledge; nor any other, without the Consent of the States of *Scotland*: That the *Scots* should not cross into *Ireland*, without the Queen of *England*'s Leave: That for the Ratification of these things, the Queen and the Delegates to be appointed should give it under their Hands and Seals: That six Hostages, of the Queen of *England*'s naming, should be sent into *England*: That if the Queen of *Scots*, by herself or Agents, attempt any thing against Queen *Elizabeth*, she should *ipso facto* forfeit all the Right she claims to the Crown of *England*: That *Humes*-Castle and *Fast*-Castle be three Years in possession of the *English*: That some other Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantyr* be put into the *English* hands, to hinder the *Scotch-Irish* from infesting *Ireland*: Lastly, That the States of *Scotland* ratify the Premisses, by Act of Parliament.

Propositions of the *English*.

To these things she presently made a prudent and wary Reply; but refer'd them, for a fuller Answer, to the Bishop of *Ross*, her Ambassador in *England*, to *Alexander Gorden* Bishop of *Galloway*, the Earl of *Huntley*'s Uncle, and to *William* Baron of *Levingstone*; Delelates from her Lieutenants in *Scotland*: Who afterwards accepted some of these Articles, and others they rejected. Their Answer was this: That the *Edinborough*-'Treaty should be confirm'd: That the Title should be renounc'd, during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*: That the antient League with the *French* was to be consider'd of; which if they did not observe, the Queen would lose her Dowry, and the *Scotch* Nation be endamag'd, of whom 100 Cuirassiers, and 124 Archers were maintain'd for a Guard: That the Merchants, Students, and many who had purchas'd Estates in *France*, and were in Church-Livings, would be turn'd out, and depriv'd of very great Pensions and Privileges which they enjoy'd; and *Scotland* would be robb'd of the Alliance and Assistance of a most Potent Nation: That unless the *English* would fully make amends for these things, they could by no means renounce the *French* Confederacy: That they would not admit of any foreign Forces, unless such a Rebellion should break out, as could not be suppress'd by their own Arms at home: That the Queen of *Scots* should hold no Correspondence with the Subjects of *England*, to the Damage of *England*; provided the Queen of *England* likewise would hold none with the *Scotch* Subjects, to the Prejudice of *Scotland*: That if

Scots Answer.

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'there were any *English* Fugitives and Rebels in '*Scotland*, they were among the *Scotch* Rebels, 'and to be demanded of them: That the Injuries which were done should be examin'd by 'Delegates: That they would enquire into the 'Murder of the Lord *Darly* and *Murray*, according to the Laws of *Scotland*: That they could 'not deliver the King for Hostage, since he was 'in their Hands, who, under his Name, rebell'd 'against the Queen: That it was a new and an 'unheard of thing, that an absolute Princess 'should marry none but whom a foreign Prince, 'and her own Subjects should prescribe: That 'the *Scots* should not go over to *Ireland*, to the 'Prejudice of the Queen of *England*, without 'her Leave; if, on the other hand, in the same 'Article, the *Irish* be prohibited from coming over into *Scotland*: That for the ratifying the 'Premisses, they were willing to give Hostages, 'any the Queen of *England* should name; except the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and *Athol*. Besides, they agreed, That 'the Queen of *Scots* should forfeit her Title to 'the Crown of *England*, if ever she attempted 'any thing against the Queen of *England's* Title; provided the Queen of *England* would oblige herself, under the like Penalty, if she 'should attempt any thing against the Queen 'of *Scots*: As for *Humes*-Castle and *Fast*-Castle, 'they desire that they be restor'd to the Lord '*Humes*, the proper Owner of them; and no 'longer held by the *English*: That to deliver up 'a Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantyr*, into a Foreigner's 'Hands, would be nothing else but adding fresh 'Fuel to the Flames.

They cannot agree.

When they could not agree upon these Terms, nor any Delegates arriv'd from the Regent of *Scotland*; and because there went Reports about, that the Pope, the *French* King, and the Duke d'*Alva*, were solicited to send Succours for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*; and the *English* Rebels, *Westmorland*, the Countess of *Northumberland*, and the rest, were withdrawn from *Scotland*, (to whom the Pope had remitted 12000 Crowns, by the Hands of the Bishop of *Ross*) this Treaty came to nothing: Only Queen *Elizabeth* (who sat Mistress and Umpire, at the Helm of all *Britain*) order'd, by her Authority, the States of *Scotland* to be prorogu'd, and a Treaty to be frequently debated; since the Heads of both Parties were a very great Annoyance to all *Scotland*.

Ross craves aid for the delivery of the Q. of *Scots*, but in vain.

The Heads of this Treaty were sent by the Bishop of *Ross*, to the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Spaniard*; and he gave them to understand, that the Queen of *Scots* would be forc'd to consent to them, unless they sent her timely Aid and Advice; which he very earnestly desir'd, tho' to no purpose. For they had their Hands full of other Business; and the *Spaniard* was wholly taken up in his Preparations for a Marriage with *Anne* of *Austria*, the Emperor *Maximilian's*, and his own Sister's Daughter, who at this time set sail out of *Zealand*, towards *Spain*; for whose Convoy over the *British* Seas to *Spain*, Queen *Elizabeth* dispatch'd *Charles Howard*, with a Fleet of Men of War, and several Noblemen; in testimony of the Love and Esteem that she bore to the House of *Austria*.

Queen Elizabeth's Respect to the House of *Austria*.

Anniversary of her Reign first celebrated.

The Twelfth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign being now happily expir'd (wherein the credulous *Romanists* expected, according to the Prediction of Conjurers, to see their Golden-Day, as they call'd it) all true-hearted *Englishmen* were full of Joy, and with Thanksgivings, Sermons, repeated Prayers, Turnaments, melodious Ringing of Bells, and other such like Expressions of Joy, began to solemnize the 17*th* of *November*, being the Anniversary of the Beginning of her Reign; which was continu'd as a Testimony of the Good-Will and Esteem they bore her, all her Life long.

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Death of Earl of Cumberland.

About this time died *Henry Clifford*, the Second Earl of *Cumberland* of that Name; the Son of *Henry Clifford*, whom *Henry* VIII. had rais'd to that Honour, in the Year 1525. but descended of an ancient and noble Family; very famous for their Marriages with the Heirs of the *Viscii*, and *Viponts*, or *de veteri ponte*; who were formerly Hereditary Viscounts of *Westmorland*. He had by his first Wife *Eleanor*, (one of the Daughters of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Mary*, King *Henry* VIII's Sister) one Daughter, namely, *Margaret*, who marry'd with great Hopes and Splendor, to *Henry*, the Earl of *Derby's* Son, as being sole Heiress to the Family of the *Cliffords*. But these Hopes were cut off, when, by a Second Wife, *Anne Dacres*, he had Two Sons, who succeeded each other in their Father's Honour.

Sir N. Throckmorton.

At the same time died *Nicholas Throckmorton*, whom we have often mention'd; the fourth Son of Sir *Geo. Throckmorton*, by *Katharine* the Daughter of *Nicholas* Lord *Vaux*: A Man of a large Experience, piercing Judgment, and singular Prudence; who being very busie in Queen *Mary's* days, had very near lost his Life, for all his extraordinary Prudence: And under Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' he discharg'd several Embassies, with a great deal of Diligence, and much to his Praise, yet could he not be Master of much Wealth, nor rise higher than to those small Dignities (tho' glorious in Title) of Chief Cupbearer of *England*, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer; and this, because he acted in Favour of *Leicester*, against *Cecil*; whose Greatness he envy'd. It was in *Cecil's* House, where, as he was feeding heartily at Supper, upon a Sallad; he was seiz'd, as some say, with an Inflammation of the Lungs; as others, with a Catarrh, not without Suspicion of Poison; and died very luckily for himself and Family, his Life and Estate being in great Danger, by reason of his turbulent Spirit.

Rebellion in *Ireland* comes to nothing.

In *Ireland*, *Connogher O-Brian*, Earl of *Twomund*, not being able to bear with *Edward Fitton*, Governor of *Connaugh*, (who began to be very strict in his Government, and to cut off all the Hopes the *Irish* Lords had, of living on the Spoils of their Subjects) had laid a private Plot with several to raise a Rebellion; which very fortunately was crush'd in its very Birth. For, the day before they design'd to rise, *Fitton*, a perfect Stranger to the whole Intrigue, very civilly told *Twomund*, that he and some of his Friends would come and dine with him, on the morrow. *Twomund*, his Conscience flying in his Face, and seiz'd with Fear, (the worst Ghesser in such a doubtful Case) presently thought his Plot was discover'd, and that he must expect an Enemy, not a Guest, of the Governor: Whereupon he forthwith cross'd over to *France*, all Men wondering what was become of him; and the Conspirators, fearing he was gone into *England*, to discover the Business, remain'd quiet. When he came to understand how Cases stood, he repented seriously of what he had done, made an ingenious Confession of the whole Matter, to *Norris*, the Ambassador in *France*; and, by his Intercession, was re-admitted into Q. *Elizabeth's* Favour, and restor'd to his Estate.

Stukely flies out of *Ireland*.

But *Thomas Stukely*, an *Englishman*, a lewd, profuse, and vaunting Rascal, (who, after spending his Estate, had fled into *Ireland*) being disappointed of the Hopes he had, of being Steward of *Wexford*; having vented many base and scurrilous

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rilous things againſt his Princeſs, who deſerv'd far better from his hands; and being ſo contemptible a Wretch, that he was not able to raiſe any Diſturbances; at laſt eſcap'd from *Ireland* to *Italy*, to Pope *Pius* V. Where by the cunning Arts of Inſinuation, he wheedled himſelf into an incredible degree of Credit and Reputation with the Pope, who then deſir'd nothing ſo much as the utter Ruin of Queen *Elizabeth*. For he promis'd, and boldly bragg'd, that with 3000 *Italians*, he would drive the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and burn the *Engliſh* Fleet. Which afterwards he, like a Villain, attempted to do; but fell in the Enterprize, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

1571. *The Fourteenth Year of her Reign.*

Royal-Exchange.

In the very firſt Month of this Year, Queen *Elizabeth* entered *London*, in great State; where ſhe viſited that ſumptuous Burſe, which Sir *Thomas Greſham*, Citizen of *London*, and her Majeſty's Merchant, had erected for the Uſe of Merchants; and by ſound of Trumpet, after the Manner of a Dedication, her Herald nam'd it, *The Royal Exchange*.

Cecil created Baron Burleigh.

The Form of creating Barons.

A few days after, ſhe who had been ſo ſparing in diſpenſing of Honours, that for Twelve whole Years, ſhe had advanc'd but Four to the Dignity of Barons; by her Royal Letters Patents, ſolemnly created *William Cecil*, her Secretary, being inveſted in Baron's Robes, Baron of *Burleigh*, in this Form. *In conſideration not only of the continual Services, in the time of our Predeceſſors, Kings of* England; *but alſo of the faithful and acceptable Duty he hath, from the very Beginning of our Reign, always perform'd, and continues ſtill to perform; not only in the great and weighty Affairs of the Council-Board, but in the general Adminiſtration of the State: and for his Circumſpection, Courage, Prudence, Dexterity, Probity of Life, Providence, Care, and Faithfulneſs; We, out of our ſpecial Grace, moved thereto by certain Experience, have created, advanc'd, and preferr'd him, to the State, Degree, Dignity and Honour of Baron of* Burleigh; *and have impos'd, given, and beſtow'd upon him, the Name, Stile, and Title of Baron of* Burleigh, *to have and to hold, to him and his Heirs-Male, begotten of his Body, for ever*, &c. I have the more willingly mention'd, and ſhall mention him and others, whom ſhe rais'd to the Dignity of Barons; becauſe 'tis one of the higheſt Degrees of Honour. For the Parliamentary Barons of *England* are Peers, Nobles and Counſellors of the Realm, by Birth; who enjoy a great many Immunities and Privileges, which 'tis not proper to mention here; eſpecially, ſince ſome of them I have already taken notice of elſewhere.

Their Dignity.

Letters ſent by the Pope to the Q. of *Scots*.

Juſt before this, *Ridolpho*, the *Florentine* we already mention'd, who had, for fifteen Years together, been a Merchant in *London*, privately convey'd the Pope's Letters to the Queen of *Scots*: Wherein he promis'd a great deal of Zeal, Aid, and Aſſiſtance, for advancing the Catholick Religion, and her Intereſt; deſiring ſhe would favour and truſt *Ridolpho* with all her Secrets, and let his Holineſs know by him (who then deſign'd for *Italy*) by what means the Catholick Religion, and the common Grievances of *Britain* might be redreſs'd. *Ridolpho* likewiſe, by his own private Letters, begg'd the Queen to communicate theſe things, and recommend him to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the reſt of her Friends. But ſhe wav'd anſwering it (tho' the *French* King, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke *d'Alva* had written to her upon the ſame account) till ſhe ſaw what the Treaty on foot would come to.

For, there came to *England*, in the King's Name, the Earl of *Morton*, *Petcarn* Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gilly*, about the Affairs of *Scotland*; who being commanded by Queen *Elizabeth*, to give her a more clear Account of their Cauſes for depoſing the Queen, and to prove them to be lawful; gave in a large Remonſtrance in Writing: Wherein, by an inſolent ſort of Freedom, and with Boldneſs of Expreſſions, they endeavour'd to prove, by an ancient Law of *Scotland*, by ſome antiquated Inſtances, and other new ones gather'd up, no one knows where: *That the People of* Scotland *are ſuperior to the King: And that upon* Calvin's *Authority, Popular Magiſtrates are every where conſtituted, to curb in the Ambition of Kings: And that 'tis lawful for them to impriſon and depoſe bad Kings.* But they bragg'd much of their Clemency towards the depos'd Queen, in that they had given her leave to ſubſtitute her Son in her Room, and to appoint him Tutors: *That it was by the Peoples Favour, not her Innocence, that ſhe liv'd*; with many other ſuch like things, which turbulent Spirits inſolently invent, againſt the Majeſty of Princes. Queen *Elizabeth* peruſ'd the Paper, but not without Diſpleaſure; and privately condemn'd it, as deſign'd for the weakning of Regal Authority. But to the Delegates ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe could not yet ſee any juſt Cauſe for being ſo ſevere upon the Queen*; therefore ſhe order'd them *to conſult immediately, about Methods for healing the Differences in* Scotland.

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Writing of the *Scots* againſt Regal Power.

Condemned by Q. of Engl.

Terms propos'd by the *Engliſh*, for the delivery of Queen of *Scots*.

Hereupon it was propos'd at the Lord-Keeper *Bacon's* Houſe, to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and the Baron of *Levingſtone*, the Queen of *Scots* Delegates; 'That for the Security of the Kingdom and Queen of *England*, and of ſuch Nobles in *Scotland*, as were of the King's Party; before the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lord *Homes*, the Lord *Hereis*, and another of the Barons, ſhould be given for Hoſtages: And that the Forts of *Dunbritton* and *Homes*, ſhould be in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, for 3 Years. They anſwer'd, 'That no doubt but the Queen of *Scots*, who had freely thrown herſelf under the Queen of *England's* Protection, would be willing to ſatisfy her, as far as conveniently ſhe might: But to deliver up ſo great Men, and ſo ſtrong Forts, would wholly rob the miſerable Queen, of the Strength of all her trueſt Friends, and ſafeſt Garriſons; and ſo expoſe her an eaſie Prey to her Enemies. However, they offer'd two Earls, whereof one ſhould be one of the three abovementioned, and two Barons, in Hoſtage, for two Years. But as for the Caſtles, they could not by the League be put into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; unleſs as many were deliver'd up to the *French*. But (ſaid *Bacon*) all *Scotland*, your Prince, Nobles, and Caſtles, are too little to ſecure the Queen and the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of *England*: therefore the Queen of *Scots* was not to be ſet at liberty, upon any Security the *Scots* thought fit to propoſe.

Anſwer of her Deputies.

Engliſh reject their Offers.

Upon this, they preſently concluded, and gave out publickly, that they were at laſt ſenſible, that the *Engliſh* were fully deſign'd and reſolv'd to keep the Queen a Priſoner for ever in *England*; and withal, to break off the Treaty; ſince they ſo ſtiffly inſiſted upon ſuch Security, as *Scotland* was never able to give. However, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Council declar'd, that they heartily deſir'd the Queen of *Scots* might be ſet at liberty, provided ſufficient Security were given. And for this purpoſe, they conferr'd with *Morton* and his Collegues, about theſe Matters, and ſending the King into *England*: who anſwer'd flatly, *That they had no Commiſſion to conſult*,

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either about receiving the Queen into Scotland, *or delivering the King.* But the Queen of *Scots* Delegates rejected this, as an idle Come-off; 'Since 'they who were the Authors of the Queen's de'poſing, were ſufficiently empower'd to con'ſult about ſetting her at liberty. Nor was 'there any Reaſon, why they ſhould require a 'Commiſſion from the reſt of the Conſpirators, 'ſince their Crime had made them all Equals. 'As for the Prince, being ſcarce five Years old, 'he could give them no Authority; and as for 'the Regent, he had referr'd all to Q. *Elizabeth's* 'Diſpoſal. They therefore deſired, that either the Commiſſioners might be compell'd to a Conference, or elſe that Matters might be reaſonably adjuſted without them. But Queen *Elizabeth* perceiving nothing could be done for her own, the King's, and Queen's Security, unleſs both Factions would agree; thought it reaſonable, that the States of *Scotland*, now ready to convene, ſhould chooſe certain Men, who ſhould uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for making up the Breach.

Jangling between the Scotch Commiſſioners of both Parties.

Hereupon the Biſhop of *Roſs* and his Collegues openly complain'd, that ſome of the *Engliſh* Council had abus'd the Queen of *England's* Prudence, and the Queen of *Scots* Patience; impos'd ſlily upon the foreign Princes, and fed up the *Scots* with vain Hopes. And the Queen of *Scots* herſelf, full of Reſentments and Complaints, and weary of ſuch Delays, recall'd the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and *Levingſtone*. But the Biſhop of *Roſs*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had commanded to depart from *London*, ſhe order'd to ſtay at *London*, by the Privilege of an Ambaſſador; which thing ſeveral look'd upon with an ill Eye. Her own Party in *Scotland* ſhe ordered to riſe up in Arms, and rely no longer on thoſe prejudicial Truces and Conferences.

Complaint made againſt the *Engliſh* Counſellors.

For whilſt theſe Tranſactions paſs'd in *England*, the Queen of *Scots* Party were ſeverely uſed, many of them were executed, ſeveral ſlain, *Dunbritton*, ſeated upon the Marſh of *Glotta*, or *Cluid*, one of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in *Scotland*, taken, and *J. Hamilton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Duke of *Chaſtle-Herault's* Brother, hang'd on a Gibbet, as guilty of the King's Murder; tho' he was not try'd according to the Laws of the Land, but only accus'd of it by a Prieſt, who declar'd he had heard it formerly of the Regicides in Confeſſion.

The Q. of *Scots* Party oppreſt.

Archbp. of S. *Andrews* hang'd.

When the Captive Queen was now out of all Hopes, but full of Sorrow; all her Retinue, beſides ten Servants and a Maſs Prieſt being cut off, and when ſhe ſaw herſelf debarr'd of all the Means of procuring her Saftey and Liberty, which even Nature allow'd to be reaſonable, ſhe could not then but diſcloſe that which ſhe had kept ſo long within her own Breaſt. She therefore ſecretly ſends a long Draught of her Deſigns, which ſhe had before drawn up, and ſeveral Love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, written in Cyphers known only to them two; and other Letters to be convey'd by *Ridolpho* to the Pope and the *Spaniſh* King; which *Ridolpho* ſhe commended as a Man very loyal and true to her Intereſts, and very neceſſary for her turn. *Higford*, the Duke's Secretary, who tranſcribed thoſe Papers in an uſual Character, being order'd to burn them, hid them under a Mat in the Duke's Bed-Chamber, and, as it ſeems, on purpoſe too. This *Ridolpho*, once himſelf in the Duke's Preſence, and often by *Barker*, urg'd thus:

The Q. of *Scots* Writings to *Norfolk*.

'That he had taken notice of a great many, 'as well of the Nobility as Commonalty in *England*, who wiſh'd for a Revolution in the 'State; and that theſe were of three ſorts. 'Some who in Queen *Mary's* Days had been in 'Authority and Favour, and now made little or 'no Figures: others who were addicted to the '*Popiſh* Religion, and took it ill that they could 'not have the free Exerciſe of it: And Others, 'who, cheriſhing new hopes, were very un'eaſie under their preſent Condition. That 'theſe Men wanted nothing to put them upon 'any Deſign, but a Leader of noble Extract, 'Money, and a foreign Aid. That none could 'be pitch'd upon for a Leader of more noble 'Blood, nor a fitter Perſon than the Duke, a 'Man ſo very much eſteem'd by all ſorts of 'People. That it was but juſt to revenge the 'Injuries he had receiv'd, who had been ſo long 'a Priſoner contrary to the Laws of his Nation, 'and now, to his Diſgrace, was not call'd to 'the Parliament-Houſe, wherein he had a Place 'and Vote, as being the Chief among the Peers, 'and Earl-Marſhal of *England*. To prevail upon him the more effectually, he produc'd a Catalogue of the Gentlemen, who had devoted themſelves and Eſtates to the Duke's Service, if he would undertake the Buſineſs. As for a foreign Aid he declar'd, 'That the Pope (provided the Ca'tholick Religion might be encourag'd) would 'bear the Charge of the whole War; who the 'laſt Year, when the Bull was publiſh'd, had 'laid down an Hundred thouſand Crowns, where'of Twelve thouſand *Ridolpho* himſelf had diſtri'buted among the *Engliſh* Fugitives. That the '*Spaniard*, incens'd with the Wrongs offer'd him 'by the *Engliſh*, would ſupply him with Auxilia'ries, of 4000 Horſe and 6000 Foot, which 'might be tranſported to *Harwich*, a Sea-Port-'Town in *Eſſex*, (near which Place the Duke 'had many powerful Adherents) and that moſt 'Commodiouſly, and without the leaſt Suſpicion, 'in the beginning of the Summer, when the 'D. of *Medina Coeli* was juſt coming into the *Ne'therlands* with a ſtrong Fleet. Laſtly he con'cluded, That ſuch Caution might be uſed, 'that the Duke might be clear of all Suſpicion 'of aiming at the Crown, and the Queen of '*England's* Safety might be ſecur'd, provided ſhe 'either embrac'd or tolerated the *Romiſh* Religion, 'and conſented to the Q. of *Scots* Marriage with 'the Duke.

Ridolphi's Diſcourſe.

Theſe things the Duke liſtned to, as having ſome ſhew of Probability, but refus'd to ſubſcribe to the Letters of Credit (as they call them) which *Ridolpho*, upon his departure, preſented to him. Nor would he hearken to the Plot which *Roſs*, with great Induſtry, had contriv'd and imparted to him by *Parker*, viz. 'That the Duke, with a 'ſelect Company of Gentlemen, ſhould ſuddenly 'ſeize upon the Queen, and give a Diſturbance 'to the Parliament; which *(he intimated)* might 'be eaſily done at this Juncture, when ſo many 'Gentlemen devoted to the Duke, who at ano'ther time could not eaſily meet together with'out ſuſpicion, would now very readily put 'theſe things in Execution. That he had juſt 'Reaſons for it, becauſe the Duke had been a 'long time Priſoner, contrary to the Laws of 'his Country, and not admitted to ſit in Parlia'ment; and becauſe ſevere Laws were deviſed 'againſt the Catholicks. Nor did he want Ex'amples: For *Caſtratio* in *Italy*, and others elſe'where, had come off with ſucceſs in very da'ring Deſigns, by giving a ſudden Blow. That 'five Gentlemen in *Scotland* had very lately di'ſturb'd the Parliament wherein *Murray* was to 'be Proſcrib'd, and ſeiz'd the Queen: And that 'by the ſame means, and with as much eaſe (if 'they clos'd with the Opportunity) Queen *Eli'zabeth* might be ſeiz'd, the Marriage with the 'Queen of *Scots* be concluded, and the *Popiſh* Re'ligion in *England* ſecured without much ſtir or a 'foreign Aid.

Roſs's Plot

This

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The Attempts of others.

This Design the Duke (who was naturally averse to any base Action) detested from his Heart, as villainous and full of danger. But at the same time *Henry Piercy* offer'd his Service to *Ross* towards the setting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, provided *Grange* and *Carr* of *Fernihurst* would receive her at the Frontiers of *Scotland*, and his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland* should be deliver'd out of *Scotland*. But because he was somewhat suspected by reason of his intimate Acquaintance with *Burghley*, and because he put off the thing from time to time, this Plot came to nothing; as likewise did that of *Powel* of *Sandford*, one of the Band of Gentlemen Pentioners, and of *Owen*, a Retainer of *Arundel's*; who were both ready to have undertaken the same, had not *Ross* forbad them, as Men unfit for so great an Enterprize, being Persons of little or no Note. What was else transacted more closely in this Business, we shall omit at present, till time shall give a farther Discovery.

An Earthquake in *Herefordshire*.

Whilst things were carry'd on thus secretly at *London*, there happen'd a terrible Earthquake at *Kinnaston*, a small Village in the East of *Herefordshire*. For on the 17th of *February*, at six in the Evening, the Earth sunk, and a Hill with a Rock of Stones at the Foot of it raised itself up (as if it had risen from a long sleep) with so great a roaring and noise at first as was heard at a great distance; then it mounted higher, leaving a great Pit behind it, and carrying along with it whole Trees as they grew, Sheep-cotes, and Flocks of Sheep. Some of the Trees were thrown down and cover'd with Earth; others stuck so firm in the Hill as it rose, as if they had taken root there at first. In the place whence it departed, it left a Pit forty five Foot wide, and an hundred Yards long. The Ground in all was about twenty Acres, which in going threw down a Chapel that stood in the way. It remov'd a Yew-Tree which stood in the Church-yard, from the *West* to the *East*. With the same violence it forc'd forward the High-ways, with Sheep-cotes, Hedges and Trees. Of Arable Ground it made Pasture, and of Pasture Arable Ground. The rising Ground which lay in its way roll'd before it, and being crush'd together with great violence, became a higher Hill, like a Mount cast up. Thus when it had walked from *Saturday* Evening till *Monday* Noon, weary as it were of the Journey, and tired with its own Weight, it stood still.

Char. IX. of *France* marries the Emperor's Daughter.

A little before this, in *France* a Marriage was solemniz'd with great and royal Pomp, at *Masiers* on the River *Mats*, between *Charles* IX. King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, the Emperor *Maximilian's* Daughter. Queen *Elizabeth*, for the Affection she bore the Emperor, whom she honour'd as a Father, for her Love to the *French* King, her Neighbour and Ally, and for her own Honour, sent over *Thomas Sackvill*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, into *France*, to congratulate their Marriage, who was there honourably received, according to his Prince's Merit and his own. In his company was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, a Man of great Experience, with whom the Queen-Mother of *France*, herself a *Florentine*, designing her own and her Children's Welfare, transacted publickly about a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*. Some of the Articles she sent by him immediately to Queen *Elizabeth*: And afterwards the King of *France* solicited his Brother's Cause very vigorously by *Mauvsier* his Ambassador, and by *La-Mott Fenellon*, and *Foix*, who jointly and separately urged Q. *Elizabeth* upon it for almost a whole Year.

Buckhurst his Embassy into *France*.

Marriage propos'd betwixt Q. *Eliz.* and the D. of *Anjou*.

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The hopes conceiv'd thereof.

There were some hopes this Marriage would succeed, because the Duke (being Young, and brought up under *Carvalette*, no Enemy to the Protestant Religion) was not as yet a stiff Catholick, and might by degrees be brought over to Protestantism. Which, if brought about, would be of great advantage (as they guessed) to the Protestant Religion: Since he, being one of a Warlike Disposition, might with the joint Forces of the *Germans* and *English* subdue the *Papists*, establish a lasting Peace between *England* and *France*, frustrate the Designs of the *Scottish* Queen, the Pope and the *Irish* Rebels; and add to the Crown of *England*, the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in probability much greater Matters. In a word, were this Match neglected, never would a more Honourable one be proposed.

Articles propounded by the *French*.

After various Debates, the *French* proposed three Articles, concerning *the Duke's Coronation*, *the joint Administration of the Kingdom*, and *the Toleration of his Religion*. To which, at length, this Answer was made: *That the Queen could not grant, without the assent of the Parliament, that he should be crown'd after the Marriage; but in regard of the Marriage, she would willingly agree, that he should wear the* Matrimonial Crown, *(as she phrased it) provided it were not to the prejudice of her Majesty, her Heir or Successor, if the Parliament so pleas'd; and she would pay him all the Respect that was due to a Husband. As for* the joint Government, *she thought it not unreasonable that he whom she honour'd with the Title of* King *and* Husband, *should be likewise admitted her Consort and Partner in the Government. But for* tolerating his Religion, *she could not as yet, for several weighty Reasons, assent to.* Which Reasons (as I had them from Queen *Elizabeth's* Letters) were these: *That altho' the external Exercise of the Christian Religion with different Rites and Ceremonies might be tolerated among the Subjects of one and the same Kingdom; yet a different, yea a quite contrary Exercise of the Queen, who is the Head of her People, from her Husband, would seem not only dangerous, but very absurd.*

Q. *Eliz.* answer.

She desires the *French* King and the Queen-Mother *to consider as well her Danger as the Duke of* Anjou's *Honour. By tolerating his Religion she should break the established Laws, give offence to her best Subjects, and encouragement to her worst; which things were certainly more considerable than the Duke of* Anjou's *Honour.* But the *French* reply'd, 'That it 'was no ways becoming the Duke to live without the exercise of his Religion; for this would 'seem altogether irreligious: Neither would it 'be for Queen *Elizabeth's* Honour, to have him 'branded for an Atheist. On the other hand Queen *Elizabeth* urg'd, *That if the Duke would plentifully water the Seeds of the reformed Religion already sown, and suffer more to be sown, he would soon see this would redound to his greatest Honour.*

French reply.

Queen's answer.

The Issue.

At last the matter came to this issue; 'That 'if the Duke would be present with the Queen 'at Divine Service, and would not refuse to hear 'and learn the Principles of the Protestant Religion, she would agree that neither the Duke 'nor his Family should be compell'd to use the 'Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, nor be 'disturb'd in the use of other Divine Rites that 'were not manifestly repugnant to God's Word; 'provided it were done in a certain and private 'Place, so as the *English* might have no opportunity thereby to violate the establish'd Laws. *Foix* stuck at that Phrase, *the Word of God*: For whose satisfaction Queen *Elizabeth* order'd instead of *God's Word*, to insert *God's Church*. Which when he liked worse, and would have had instead of it, *the Catholick Church*, Q. *Elizabeth* declar'd

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clar'd against it: And hereupon the Business by degrees grew cold.

With what intent the Marriage was propounded.

Some thought the *French* King and his Mother were never serious in the business, but that their design was, by a mention of a Marriage with a Protestant Princess, to assure the Protestants of the sincere Love they had for them; and so put a stop to a secret Treaty of Marriage which they suspected was carrying on between Queen *Elizabeth* and the King of *Navarre*, whom the *French* King would have to marry his Sister. Neither was it believ'd in *England*, that Queen *Elizabeth* gave any serious heed to it; but only with a design that the King, his Mother, and his Brethren might be more favourable to the *French* Protestants; the Queen of *Scots* Hopes might be frustrated, the Designs of the *Spaniard* and the *Irish* against *England*, excited thereto by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, might be disappointed; and the Pope's Fulminations, procured by the *French* King, be blown over. For at that time *Leicester* (who knew more of the Queen's secret Intentions than any Man) wrote to *Walsingham*, then Ambassador in *France*, *That the Queen had some inclination to marry, but a very cold one; and that she had perswaded herself to agree to it rather as it was convenient she should marry, than that she had any desire of her self to it. Besides, That if the Duke should not insist on that Point in the Treaty concerning* Toleration of Religion, *yet the Queen would bind him by such a Caution, that he should never afterwards care for the Marriage.*

Q. of *Scots* Marriage hastned.

The *French* were not more forward in making up this Marriage, than some in *England* were in hastening another Marriage betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom by their wicked Counsels they had so far prevailed upon, that, contrary to his Promise, he began again to think of marrying her; which was at first thus discover'd.

By what means discover'd.

Ridolpho the *Florentine*, who was sent (as we said) to solicite the Queen of *Scots* Affairs Beyond-Sea, had communicated to *Charles Bayliff* a *Netherlander*, the Queen of *Scots* Servant, all his Transactions with the Duke *d'Alva*; and had given him Letters written in Cyphers, for her, the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Ross*, and the Baron of *Lumley*, made up in one Packet; which *Bayliff* brought over himself, tho' *Ross* had order'd him to leave them with the Governor of *Calais* to be convey'd over.

But as soon as *Bayliff* was arriv'd at *Dover*, he was apprehended and imprison'd, and the Packet sent to the L. *Cobham*, Governor of the Cinque-Ports. *Ross* was the first that had notice of it, who manag'd his Business so industriously and cunningly with the Lord *Cobham*, that the Packet was deliver'd to him, and another Packet made up of other obsolete Letters deliver'd to the Council; and this *Bayliff* was acquainted with. But however, being put to the Rack, he confess'd some things, and among the rest, that a Packet of Letters was come to *Ross's* Hands. Nor was *Ross* ignorant of this, who presently sent away *Cuthbert* his Secretary, and left his Cyphers and what else might do him any Prejudice, among his Friends: So that when *Sussex*, *Burleigh*, *Mildmay* and *Sadler* made a careful Search in his House, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by Questions, who stiffly maintained, that an Ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his Prince. However, the third Day after he was committed to the Custody of the Bishop of *Ely*, and a while after convey'd to the Isle of *Ely*. Sir *Tho. Stanley* likewise, and Sir *Tho. Gerard* Knights, and *Rolston* (all three mentioned formerly) were cast into the *Tower* of *London*. And *Henry Howard*, who had aspir'd to the Archbishoprick of *York*, was upon suspicion committed to the Custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Ross committed to Custody.

And others.

Mony sent to the Queen's Party in Scotland.

About this time the Queen of *Scots* had sent a certain Sum of Money to the *French* Ambassador, to be by him convey'd to her Party in *Scotland*. He deliver'd it to *Barker* and *Higford*, who giving the Duke an Item of it, delivered it to *Brown* a Citizen of *Shrewsbury*, one of the Duke's Retainers, in order to be convey'd by *Banister* and *Lowder* into *Scotland*, to the Lord *Heris*. *Brown*, being one of a suspicious Nature, and perceiving by the Weight that Gold Coin was deliver'd him for Silver, put the same with the Letters into the Hands of the Privy-Council.

Betray'd.

By this the wiser sort observed that the Duke hereby first became guilty of High-Treason, in that he would have relieved *Heris* and the *Scots* who were proclaimed Enemies, and had [illegible] the Frontiers of *England*. Upon this *Higford* was cast into Prison, who presently of his own accord confessed the whole matter about the Money, and withal discovered where he had hid the Letters, and Cyphers, and the Queen of *Scots* Draught before-mentioned, *viz.* under the Mats and Tiles.

A Le- [illegible] the Q. of Scots writing.

In this Draught she discoursed at large of the following Particulars. 'That the *French* approved of the Conference begun with the *Scots*, 'and yet proposed a Marriage between the Duke 'of *Anjou* and Queen *Elizabeth*, upon no other 'design, but that they might more speciously 'deny the Aid they had promised for her Restoration. That they privately opposed her Marriage with *Don John* of *Austria*, and were mightily for that with *Norfolk*, only in hatred to the 'Spaniards. That the Duke *d'Alva* was so averse 'to the Design of sending back the Queen of '*Scots* into *Scotland*, that he thought it would 'tend to the utter Ruin of the Queen, and the 'Catholick Religion in *Britain*: Because when 'the Queen was once return'd into *Scotland*, she 'must of necessity either undergo the danger of 'a Siege, or hazard a Battel with the Rebels, 'who with the *English* Supplies would soon get 'her into their power, before any foreign Forces could come to her Assistance. Since then 'she could not be safe in *Scotland*, nor expect any 'thing from *France* now embroil'd with intestine 'Wars: He thought it her best way to have recourse to the *Spaniards* Assistance, who had 'profer'd her Marriage with *Don John* of *Austria*; '(which yet she was ready to refuse, upon an 'assurance that the Duke of *Norfolk* would restore the *Popish* Religion in *Britain*) and withal, 'that her Son should forthwith be convey'd out 'of *Scotland*, and sent into *Spain*; where he 'might be safely kept, brought up from his 'Childhood in the Romish Religion, and deprive the *Scots* of all their Pretences, who 'cloak'd their Rebellion under his Name. For 'the management of this Business, and the procuring foreign Aid, *Ridolpho* was to be sent 'away presently, with this Advice, that by all 'means he should keep these things from the 'knowledge of the *French*.

When the Council had receiv'd this Draught, the Letters above-mention'd, and others sent by the Pope; and when *Barker*, being apprehended, had confess'd every Particular, Sir *Ralph Sadler* was order'd to keep a strong Guard upon the Duke's House at *London* (formerly a Seat of the *Carthusian* Friars). The third Day after, the Duke himself was examin'd, and (not knowing what his Servants had confessed, but supposing the Draught with the Letters were burnt) he stifly denied all which they had confessed. Hereupon, within a Day or two, namely the 7th of

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Norfolk committed again to the Tower. And some others.

September, he was, to the great Grief of the People, carried back to the *Tower* of *London* (from whence the Year before he was releafed) by Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilson*. Afterwards *Banister*, the Duke's Counsellor at Law, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, and *Thomas* his Brother, *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powel*, *Goodier*, and others, were clapt in Prison, who every one of them, in hopes of Pardon, confess'd what they knew.

He confesseth the Matter.

As soon as the Council produc'd these Mens Confessions, the Queen of *Scots* and *Ross*'s Letters, with the Draught, to the Duke's Face, he was strangely daunted: But upon sight of the Draught and the Letters, which he had fondly suppos'd to have been burnt, he was amaz'd, and at last brake forth into these Words; *I am betray'd and undone by my Confidents, not knowing how to distrust them, tho' Diffidence is the very Essence of Wisdom.* However, he humbly pray'd the Council to intercede for him to the Queen, promising to conceal nothing which he knew, and solemnly protesting, That he had never consented to any thing which might prejudice the Queen, or injure the Realm; but had declar'd heartily against the Plots they laid for surprizing the Queen, for seizing upon the *Tower* of *London*, and setting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty: And that he never thought of calling over foreign Forces into *Britain*, but only to suppress the Queen of *Scots* rebellious Subjects. The same Day he was examin'd upon Fifty Articles, or thereabouts, and conceal'd nothing. Afterwards the whole Proceeding was reported in the Star-Chamber, in a full Assembly of the Nobility, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* being present; and after that to all the Citizens at the *Guild-hall*, by *William Fleetwood* their Recorder.

Craves Pardon.

Extenuating his Fault.

Consultation concerning the Bishop of *Ross*.

But since by the Confession of all, even of the Duke himself, the Bishop of *Ross* was charg'd as principal Contriver of the Business, they entred into a serious Consultation what should be done with him, being an Ambassador. For whilst he (after the manner of other Ambassadors) thought he might lawfully promote the Interest of his Prince by any Methods, and that by the sacred and inviolable Privilege of Ambassadors, he was not to be accountable to another's Jurisdiction; he had already committed many Irregularities, by raising Rebellion, and holding nocturnal Cabals with the Earl of *Southampton* and others; and now lately with the *English* Fugitives in the *Netherlands*, the Duke *d'Alva*, the *Spaniard*, and the Pope, for invading of *England*. It was therefore proposed to *Daniel Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*, learned Civilians.

Questions and Answers concerning the Privileges of an Ambassador.

First, *Whether an Ambassador that raises Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and not rather be liable to Punishment as an Enemy?*

They answer'd, 'That such an Ambassador, 'by the Law of Nations, and the Civil Law of 'the *Romans*, has forfeited the Privileges of an 'Ambassador, and is liable to Punishment.

Secondly, *Whether the Minister or Agent of a Prince deposed from his publick Authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador?*

They answer'd, 'If such a Prince be lawfully 'deposed, his Agent cannot challenge the Privi'leges of an Ambassador, since none but Abso'lute Princes, and such as enjoy a Royal Preroga'tive, can constitute Ambassadors.

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince, which comes into another Prince's Kingdom, and is there kept Prisoner, can have his Agent; and whether that Agent may be reputed an Ambassador?*

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They answer'd, 'If such a Prince have not for'feited his Principality, he may have an Agent: 'But whether that Agent may be reputed an Am'bassador, depended upon the Authority of his 'Commission.

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince declare to such an Agent, and his Prince in Custody, that he shall be no longer reputed an Ambassador, that Agent may by Law challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador.*

They answer'd, 'That the Prince may forbid 'the Ambassador Entrance into his Kingdom, and 'may command him to leave the Kingdom, if 'he keep not himself within the Bounds pre'scrib'd to an Ambassador: Yet in the mean 'time, he may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambas'sador, according to the Authority deputed to 'him.

Ross disown'd for an Ambassador.

According to these Answers of the Civilians, *Ross* being call'd up from the Isle of *Ely*, and receiving a sharp Reprimand, it was declar'd by the Council, that he should be no longer reputed an Ambassador, but be severely punished according to his Demerits. He answer'd, *That he was the Ambassador of an absolute Queen that was unjustly deposed, and had, according to his Duty, carefully endeavoured the Delivery of his Princess, and the Safety of both Kingdoms: That he came into* England *with the full Authority of an Ambassador under public Warrandise, which he had produc'd; and that the sacred Privileges of Ambassadors are by no means to be infring'd.* *Burghley* most gravely inform'd him, 'That neither the Privileges of an Ambassage, 'nor Letters of publick Warrandise, could pro'tect Ambassadors that offend against the publick 'Majesty of a Prince, but that they are liable to 'be punished for the same, else wicked Ambassa'dors might plot against the Life of Princes, 'without any Punishment. On the other hand, he stiffly maintained, *That the Privileges of Ambassadors had never been violated* (to use his own Words) via Juris, *but* via Facti: And he pleasantly wish'd them *not to shew him fouler Play than the* English *Ambassadors*, Throckmorton *in* France, *and* Randolph *and* Tamworth *in* Scotland *had found; who had raised Rebellions, and openly fomented them; and yet suffered no greater Punishment, than the being commanded to depart within such a Time.* When they began to urge him with Testimonies of *Englishmen*, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received Custom, which (as he said) was grown into a Law, *The Testimony of an* Englishman *against a* Scotchman, *or of a* Scotchman *against an* Englishman, *was not to be allow'd of.* After some Debates whether this would hold good, unless betwixt the Borderers of both Kingdoms, and that in Cases relating to the Frontiers; and whether the *English* Ambassadors had raised Rebellions; *Ross* was committed to the *Tower* of *London*; where being kept close Prisoner, within a while he answer'd to all Questions, with this Proviso, That his Answers should not be prejudicial to any. 'He excused the Queen of *Scots*, 'for that she being a Prisoner in the Flower of 'her Age, could not but use her utmost Endea'vours to regain her Freedom, since Q. *Elizabeth* 'deny'd her Access to her Presence, debarr'd 'her from all Hope of her Liberty, and openly 'reliev'd her Enemies. The Duke he excus'd, in 'that he had done nothing as to the Marriage 'with the Queen of *Scots*, but with the Consent 'of many of the Queen's Council; nor could he 'forsake her, tho' he had promis'd to do so under 'his Hand and Seal, since there was before a 'mutual Engagement of Marriage betwixt 'em. Lastly, he excus'd himself, 'For that since he 'was an Ambassador and a Servant, he could

Burghley's Reply.

Ross's Answer.

He waveth the Testimony of *Englishmen*.

He answers to Articles.

'not

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'not without a Sin depart from his Duty, and abandon his Princeſs in her Diſtreſs. But that he propos'd the Deſign of ſeizing on the Queen, with 'no other Intent, than to try whether the Duke 'had Courage to undertake ſuch an Attempt. The Crimes of the other Conſpirators he cunningly extenuated; but could by no means be brought to tell the Names of the Gentlemen who had devoted their Service to the Duke in ſeizing the Queen. But he confeſs'd, that by the Queen of *Scots* Orders, he had, by Servants employ'd betwixt them, treated with the Duke, *Arundel*, *Lumley* and *Throckmorton*, and with the Lord Viſcount *Montacute*, by *Lumley*, about putting the Caſtles in *Scotland*, the Hoſtages, and the King of *Scots*, into *Engliſhmens* Hands, about renouncing the Title, and giving up the *Engliſh* Rebels. Thus far of theſe Tranſactions for this Year, extracted wholly out of the Duke's Confeſſion, and *Roſs*'s own Account under his own Hand to the Queen of *Scots*.

Lenox Regent of *Scotland* ſlain.

At this very Time *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of *Scotland*, and the King's Grandfather, ſummon'd in the King's Name a Convention of the States at *Sterling*, where (whilſt he liv'd in Security) he was ſuddenly ſurpriz'd by the Nobility of the adverſe Faction, who held a Parliament in the Queen's Name at *Edinborough*. And after he had ſurrender'd himſelf to *David Spenſe* of *Wormſtone* (who did all he could to protect him) he was ſlain, together with *Spenſe*, by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had for about 14 Months carefully govern'd the Kingdom for the King his Grandſon: Whilſt on the one ſide, the *French* King ſupported the Queen's Party; and on the other ſide, Queen *Elizabeth* the King's; not ſo much that their Friends might overcome, as that themſelves might not be overcome: Queen *Elizabeth*, in hopes that the young King might be deliver'd into her Hands; the *French* King, that *Dunbritton* and *Edinborough* might be ſurrender'd to him, who grievouſly oppreſs'd the *Scotch* Merchants, prohibiting them Commerce with *France*, and drew many daily to the Queen of *Scots* Party, in hopes they might enjoy their Trading. In *Lenox*'s Room, by the unanimous Conſent of the King's Party, *John Areskine*, Earl of *Marre*, was elected Regent; who being a Man of a very mild Nature, and very affectionate to his Country, when he had ſtruggled no leſs under the turbulent Counſels of his own Party, than the Inſolencies of his Adverſaries, died for very Grief, after he had govern'd Thirteen Months.

The Earl of *Marre* Regent of *Scotland*.

Laws againſt turbulent and ſeditious Perſons.

The Iniquity of theſe Times, and the Love which the Parliament of *England* (now met at *Wiſtminſter*) bare to their Prince and Country, was the Occaſion of a Law for preventing the Practices of ſeditious Perſons, whereby, according to the Tenour of former Laws, it was provided; *That if any Man ſhould attempt the Death or perſonal Hurt of the Queen, or raiſe War, or excite others to War, againſt her: If any one ſhould give out, that ſhe is not the lawful Queen of this Realm, but that any other can claim a juſter Title thereto: Or ſhould pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schiſmatick or Infidel; Or ſhould uſurp the Right and Title of the Kingdom during her Life; or ſhould affirm, that any other has a Right to the Crown; or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown and the Succeſſor thereof; every ſuch Perſon ſhould be guilty of High-Treaſon. That if any one, during the Queen's Life, ſhould by any Book, written or printed, expreſly maintain, that any Perſon is or ought to be the Queen's Heir and Succeſſor, except the Natural Iſſue of her Body; or ſhould publiſh, print or diſperſe any Books or Writings to that Effect; he and his Abettors ſhould for the firſt Offence be impriſon'd for a whole Year, and forfeit the one half of his Goods: If any ſhould offend a ſecond time, he ſhould incur the Penalty of a* Præmunire, *that is, Loſs of all his Goods, and perpetual Impriſonment.*

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Some look'd upon this as too ſevere, who thought it would tend to the eſtabliſhing the Quiet of the Nation, if an Heir-Apparent were declar'd. But it is incredible what Jeſts thoſe that lewdly catch at Words made upon that Clauſe, *Except the Natural Iſſue of her Body*; ſince the Lawyers term thoſe Children *Natural* which are gotten out of Wedlock, whom Nature alone, without the Intervention of honeſt Matrimony, hath begotten; and thoſe they call *Lawful*, according to the Tenour of the Common Law of *England*, *who are in lawful Matrimony begotten of ſuch a one's Body*. So that I my ſelf, being then a young Man, have often heard People ſay, That this Word was inſerted into the Act by *Leiceſter*, with a Deſign, that one time or other he might impoſe ſome Baſtard Son of his upon the *Engliſh* for the Queen's *natural* Iſſue.

Againſt Papiſts.

It was alſo enacted, "That whoſoever by "Bulls, or other Reſcripts of the Pope, ſhould "reconcile any Man to the Church of *Rome*, "and thoſe who ſhould be ſo reconcil'd, ſhould "be guilty of High-Treaſon. That whoſoever "ſhould relieve ſuch as did ſo reconcile Men, or "ſhould bring into *England* any *Agnus Dei's*, "Grains, Crucifixes, or other Things conſecrated by the Pope, ſhould incur the Penalty of a "*Præmunire*. That whoſoever ſhould not diſcover ſuch Reconcilers, ſhould be guilty of concealing Treaſon (commonly call'd *Miſpriſion of* "*Treaſon*).

Rebels.

Beſides, the Conviction and Proſcription of the Rebels in the North was confirm'd, and their Goods and Poſſeſſions, within the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, adjudg'd to the Queen and her Succeſſors (againſt *James Pilkington* the Biſhop, who laid Claim to the Royalties between the Rivers of *Teſe* and *Tine*). This was done, in regard of the vaſt Charge the Queen was at in freeing the Biſhop and his Dioceſe, from the Rebels; yet with *Proviſo*, that this ſhould not prejudice the Right of the Church of *Durham*, for the future. Againſt the Inſolence likewiſe of ſuch, as being devoted to the Pope, and contemning the Authority of the Laws, and their Allegiance to their Prince, had daily withdrawn themſelves in great Numbers, without the Queen's Leave, to foreign Countries, to contrive Innovations in the State; it was provided, That under Forfeiture of their Eſtates, they ſhould, within ſuch a Time, return and ſubmit themſelves, and that the fraudulent Conveyances, which they had made, ſhould be void. *So* much againſt the Papiſts.

Fugitives.

Covetous Church-men.

Puritans.

On the other ſide alſo was reſtrain'd, by wholſome Laws, as well the Covetouſneſs of certain Church-men, who (as if born for themſelves alone) did, to the notorious defrauding of their Succeſſors, waſte the Church-Revenues, and let out Leaſes for many Years: As alſo the Inſolence of others, who, deſirous of Innovation, oppos'd the Articles concluded upon in a Synod at *London*, in the Year 1562. for aboliſhing of Schiſms. It was likewiſe propos'd, That if the Queen of *Scots* ſhould again offend againſt the Laws of *England*, ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt by Law, as if ſhe were the Wife of an *Engliſh* Peer. But the Queen, by interpoſing her Authority, prevented the Enacting thereof.

And the Queen of Scots.

John Story condemned.

As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, in the beginning of *June*, a Conſultation was held about *John Story*, Doctor of Law, one of the Duke *d'Alva*'s Searchers (of whom mention was made before, in the Year 1569). Wherein it was debated, Whether he, being an *Engliſhman* born, who in *Brabant* had conſulted with a foreign

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Prince, about invading his own Country; and had inform'd him how it might be invaded; were not guilty of High-Treaſon. The ableſt Lawyers ſaid he was. Whereupon being arraign'd, and charg'd with High-Treaſon, for having conſulted with one *Preſtal*, a great Magician, againſt his Prince's Life, for having conſpir'd the Death of her and the King of *Scots*, curs'd her daily in his Grace at Meats, and inform'd the Duke *d'Alva*'s Secretary, how to invade *England*, raiſe a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and at the ſame time ſend the *Scots* into *England*. He refus'd to ſubmit himſelf to Trial, and to the Laws of *England*; affirming that the Judges had no Power over him, ſince he was not a ſworn Subject to the Queen of *England*, but to the King of *Spain*. However he was condemn'd according to the ordinary Form of *Nihil dicit*, (becauſe no Man can relinquiſh his Country where he was born, nor abjure his native Soil, or his Prince, at his Pleaſure) and ſuffer'd the Death of a Traitor.

Differences between the English and Portugueſe compounded.

Now there had been Differences for ſome years depending, between the *Portugal* and the *Engliſh* Merchants; whilſt the *Engliſh* had from the year 1552. exercis'd a gainful Trade for Gold with the Negroes, on that part of *Africa* which they call *Guinea*; and the *Portugueſe*, as the firſt Diſcoverers of thoſe Coaſts, did all they could, by force of Arms, to prevent them: So that ſometimes they had ſome Skirmiſhes by Sea, and ſeiz'd one another's Ships. But *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, now out of his Minority, that he might procure a Peace, ſent *Francis Gerard* into *England*; who made a League with the Queen, upon ſome ſuch Conditions as theſe: 'That 'there ſhould be a perfect Amity and free Com'merce on both ſides: That neither of them 'ſhould attempt any thing to the Prejudice of 'the other, nor aſſiſt the Enemies, Rebels or 'Traitors of the other: That all Merchandize, 'Money, and Ships that were arreſted ſhould be 'reſtor'd: And that, to gratify the King of *Por*'*tugal*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould prohibit the *Eng*'*liſh* from making any Voyages upon the Seas 'and Lands of the *Portugal*-Conqueſt; which 'Prohibition, if they did not obſerve, let it be 'at their Peril, if they ſhould be depriv'd of 'their Lives and Goods by the *Portugueſe*. The 'Kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarbe* were except'ed; and the Iſles of *Azores*, *Madera*, and the 'Coaſt of *Barbary*; where they were allow'd to 'have free trading.

Death of Marquiſs of Northampton.

This Year *William Parr* Marquiſs of *Northampton*, ſweetly ended his Life: A Man very well vers'd in the ſofter Studies of Muſick, Amours, and other courtly Diverſions. He was advanc'd by King *Henry* VIII. firſt to the Dignity of Baron *Parr* of *Kendall*, then to the Marriage of *Anne Bourchier*, ſole Heireſs to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and withal to the Title of the Earl of *Eſſex*, upon the King's marrying his Siſter. By King *Edward* VI. he was promoted to the Style and Honour of Marquiſs of *Northampton*. Under Q. *Mary*, he was condemn'd for High-Treaſon, having taken up Arms for the pretended Queen *Jane Grey*: yet was he ſoon after pardon'd by her, and reſtor'd to his Eſtate; and afterwards by Queen *Elizabeth* re-inſtated in his Honours. He had no Children, but left for his Heir *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew by one of his Siſters.

And of Bp. Jewel.

About this time alſo died *John Jewell*, ſcarce Fifty Years of Age: A Man of an excellent Genius, deep Knowledge in Divinity, and ſingular Piety. He was born of honeſt Parentage in *Devonſhire*, prov'd a moſt excellent Student in *Corpus-Chriſti*-College in *Oxford*; in Queen *Mary*'s Days liv'd an Exile in *Germany*, and by Queen *Elizabeth* was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*. In the Year 1562. he publiſh'd *An Apology for the Church of* England; and in two *Engliſh* Volumes he very learnedly maintain'd the Proteſtant Doctrine againſt *Thomas Harding*, an Apoſtate from the ſame: Which Volumes are now extant in a *Latin* Verſion.

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Iriſh Affairs.

Sir John Perott Preſident of Munſter.

Sir Will. Fitz-Williams Ld. Deputy.

Ireland was at this time pretty quiet; for Sir *John Perott*, Governor of *Munſter*, ſo haraſs'd *James Fitz-Morris*, who had rifl'd *Kilmalock*, that he was oblig'd to hide himſelf in Lurking-holes near *Ardagh*; and at laſt (as we ſhall ſhew in its proper Place) brought him to that paſs, that he humbly begg'd Pardon. *Sidney* the Lord-Deputy return'd into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, who had marry'd his Siſter, was ſubſtituted in his room.

The Fifteenth Year of her Reign. 1572.

The Beginning of the New-year preſented the *Londoners* with a new and ſorrowful Spectacle in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. For a wooden Scaffold was erected in the midſt of the Hall, reaching from the Gate to the upper End; where there was a Tribunal built, with Seats on both ſides; ſuch a Sight as they had not ſeen in full Eighteen Years. On the 16*th* day of *January*, was *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, brought before this Tribunal, between Sir *Owen Hopton* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and Sir *Peter Carew*, Knights; the fatal Ax being carry'd before him, with the Edge turned from him. Upon the Bench or Tribunal ſat *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, conſtituted Lord High-Steward of *England*, for that day. On each ſide of him ſat theſe Noblemen, who were appointed to be his *Triers*, whom we call *Peers*; namely,

Duke of Norfolk arraign'd.

His Peers.

- *Reginald Grey* Earl of *Kent*.
- *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Suſſex*.
- *Henry Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*.
- *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*.
- *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*.
- *Edward Seymour*, or of *Saint Maur*, Earl of *Hertford*.
- *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*.
- *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*.
- *Walter D' Evereux* Viſcount *Hereford*.
- *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord-Admiral.
- *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord-Chamberlain.
- *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, Secretary.
- *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*.
- *James Blount* Lord *Mountjoy*.
- *William* Lord *Sands*.
- *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*.
- *William* Lord *Burroughs*.
- *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*.
- *John Powlett* Lord *Saint John* of *Baſing*.
- *Robert* Lord *Rich*.
- *Roger* Lord *North*.
- *Edmund Bruges* Lord *Chandois*.
- *Oliver* Lord *Saint John* of *Bletneſho*.
- *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurſt*. And,
- *William Weſt* Lord *De la Ware*.

Form of the Arraignment.

After Silence was proclaim'd the Commiſſion was read; wherein the Authority granted to the Lord-Steward was contain'd: Then *Garter*-King-at-Arms put a white Rod into his Hands, which the Lord-Steward preſently deliver'd to his Gentleman-Uſher, who ſtanding by him held it upright all the time of the Trial. Then were the Earls and Barons call'd over, and every one anſwer'd to his Name. Silence being again proclaim'd, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to return his Writ, and to bring the

1572. Ann. 15. Duke to the Bar. The Duke was presently brought: On the one side of him was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, on the other Sir *Peter Carew*, and next him stood the Ax-bearer, with the Edge turn'd from the Duke. After Silence was proclaim'd again, the Clerk of the Crown spake to the Duke in these Words: Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *late of* Kenninghale *in the County of* Norfolk, *hold up thy Hand.* When he had held up his Hand, the Clerk read, with a loud Voice, the Crimes he stood arraign'd for; namely,

Heads of his Accusation. 'That in the Eleventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards, he had enter'd into a treasonable Conspiracy, about deposing her from her Throne, and taking away her Life, and invading the Kingdom, by raising War, and bringing in a foreign Power.

'That tho' he knew for certain, that *Mary* late Queen of *Scots* had usurp'd the Crown of *England*, with the Title and Arms thereof; yet he had treated about a Marriage with her, (without acquainting the Queen) and had lent her a great Sum of Money, contrary to what he had promis'd under his Hand.

'That tho' he was sure, that the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, *Markenfield* and others, had raised a Rebellion against the Queen, and were driven into *Scotland*, yet he had supply'd them with Money.

'That in the thirteenth Year of the Queen's Reign, he had by his Letters craved Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* V. the Queen's professed Enemy, of the *Spaniard*, and the Duke *d'Alva*, to set the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, and restore the *Popish* Religion in *England*.

Lastly, 'That he had reliev'd *Heris* the *Scot*, and other the Queen's Enemies in *Scotland*.'

These Articles being read, the Clerk ask'd the Duke, whether he were Guilty or not Guilty?

He desires Council, which is deny'd him. The Duke crav'd, that if the Law would allow it, he might have Council assign'd him to defend his Cause. Lord-Chief-Justice *Cateline* answer'd, 'That the Law could not allow it. It is fit *(said the Duke)* I should submit myself to the Opinion of the Judges; but in this Case there are many nice Points; nor had I notice till within these fourteen Hours, that I should be brought to my Tryal. I have been also unprovided of Books. I see now I must fight for myself without Weapons. However, I have heard that in the Reign of King *Henry* VII. Sir *Henry Stafford* had Council allow'd him in a case of High-Treason. *Dier*, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, answer'd, 'That *Stafford* had Council assign'd him about the Privilege of Sanctuary, from whence he was violently drawn: But in the case of High-Treason, he pleaded his own Cause without Council. To day then *(said the Duke)* I must plead for my Life, my Estate, my Children, and (which is above all) my Honesty, (as for my Honour, let it go). If I die innocent, God will be sure to avenge my Cause. Yet let me ask this one Question; Whether that Enumeration of my Crimes be to be taken for true in every Part, and to which Part I must answer? *Cataline* said, 'Since the Causes are true, that Enumeration is also to be taken for true. I desire *(said the Duke)* to be inform'd, whether every Particular therein be High-Treason; for I have heard say, that in a Case of the Lord *Scroop's*, in the Reign of *Henry* IV.—— As he was going on, the Clerk interrupted him, crying, '*Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, art thou guilty of those Crimes, or no? He answer'd, 'Not guilty. The Clerk ask'd him again, '*How wilt thou be try'd? He answer'd*,

He accepts the Trial. 'To God and these Peers I commend my Cause.

'The Heinousness of these Crimes daunts me, but the Royal Goodness of the Queen refreshes me, from whom I could expect no better. But of you, my Lord Steward, I earnestly desire, that I may have a fair Tryal, and that my Memory, which is very weak, may not be overcharg'd with any Variety of Matter. That I have such as you for my Peers and Judges, I acknowledge my self happy; to most of whose Integrities I would willingly and readily commit my Life. I trusted to my Innocence, and so have not shifted for my self by Flight. Yet I must ingenuously confess, I have fail'd in my Duty towards the Queen; but not so as to amount to High-Treason. I beseech you that these lighter Crimes may not promiscuously be reckon'd among Crimes of High-Treason.

The Charge. Then said *Barham* the Queen's Serjeant at Law; 'The Crimes of High-Treason, where-with you stand charg'd, are these. You [illegible] conspir'd to depose the Queen, and take away her Life: You design'd to marry the Queen of *Scots*: You invited foreign Forces into the [illegible]dom: You reliev'd the Rebels; and you [illegible]ed the *Scots*, the Queen's Enemies. [illegible] (said the Duke) *pray do not aggravate the* [illegible] *with Words by objecting the Marriage, and other things which amount not to High-Treason.* *Barham* coming to the Peers, pleaded to this Effect: 'That whoever is willing to marry that Woman, which lays a Claim to the Kingdom, the same Man affects the Kingdom. But this the Duke went about to do, when he was one of the Commissioners at *York*, for hearing the Queen of *Scots* Cause; at which time he was bound by Oath, to consider impartially the Accusations and Defences on both sides. *That Case* (said the Duke) *has several Particulars in it, which amount not to High-Treason.* The Lord-Steward of *England* commanded the Duke not to stray from the Matter in hand, by his Digressions; who, when *Barham* clamorously insisted upon it, acknowledg'd that the Queen of *Scots* had indeed laid Claim to the Kingdom of *England*, but had long ago desisted from that Claim. *Barham* shew'd to the contrary, that she had not relinquish'd it, because she would not yet renounce the Title which she pretended; and he sharply accus'd the Duke, of Instructing the Queen of *Scots* Delegates, what they should answer; and this was prov'd out of the Bishop of *Ross's* Confession. The Duke confess'd that *Lidington* had mention'd the Marriage to him, but that he refus'd it, and gave no Instructions to the Commissioners; and withal desir'd, that *Ross* might be brought Face to Face against him.

The first Article, with the Duke's Answer.

The 2d. & answer. Then *Barham* press'd at large many things (already mention'd) concerning the Marriage, to prove that the Duke had affected the Crown; and was often urging and repeating this Question, 'What else could the Duke propose to himself, whilst he resolv'd, without the Queen's Knowledge, to marry the Queen of *Scots*; a Woman without a Fortune, without a Kingdom, (her Son being now establish'd on the *Scottish* Throne) but that he might, by means of her, enjoy the Kingdom of *England*, and consequently deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life. *These things* (said the Duke) *are far fetch'd, to prove I ever intended the Deposing and Death of the Queen.*

Concerning the Surprizal of the Tower of London. 'Well then, (said *Barham*) to come a little nearer; 'tis very well known, that you enter'd into a Design of seizing the *Tower* of *London*, which is certainly the greatest Strength of the Kingdom of *England*: So that it thence follows that you then attempted the Destruction of the Queen; since no Kingdom can away

with

'with the Government of Two Rival-Princes.

1572. Ann. 15. The Duke did not deny, but that one *Hopton* had mention'd to him the Design of seizing the *Tower*; but that he rejected the Motion. 'What made 'you then (said *Barham*) to consult with the 'Earl of *Pembroke* about it, who dissuaded you 'from it?

Other Instances. *Barham* went on, and urg'd, That when the Queen demanded to have the young King of *Scotland*, certain Castles, and the *English* Rebels in *Scotland*, deliver'd into her Hands; the Duke privately advis'd the *Scots* not to assent to it. He likewise accus'd him of attempting to set the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty; and that after he had solemnly given it under his Hand, that he would have nothing to do with her.

Candish's Testimony reject- [illegible] the [illegible] Now was *Candish* produc'd as a Witness, That the Duke had fully resolv'd upon the Marriage, and had ask'd him, Whether, if Queen *Elizabeth* [illegible] die, he would draw his Unkle over to his [illegible]. These Things the Duke utterly deny'd, [illegible] rejected his Testimony, as a Man in Poverty, [illegible] beggarly Witness. Besides it was proved, [illegible] the Duke had privately sent his Servant to [illegible] Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, [illegible] advise 'em not to break out into open Rebellion, since it would be very dangerous. There were likewise produc'd the Queen of *Scots* Letters to the Duke; wherein she was concern'd, that *Northumberland* was taken, before he had arm'd himself for the Rebellion. (For so it had been reported to her; whether designedly or no, I cannot tell).

To these Things the Duke answer'd, 'That it 'could not from these Arguments be prov'd, he 'had any Design upon the Queen's Life; and that 'nothing as yet alledg'd was of any Force against 'him, but only the Bishop of *Ross*'s Testimony: 'And that since he was a Foreigner, his Testi-

A Foreigner's Testimony not to be admitted. 'mony (by the Authority of *Bracton*, a Man 'well vers'd in our Common Laws) was not to be 'admitted. That he had never such an Esteem 'for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, 'as to repose his Life in their Hands. That his 'own Innocence had been such a Surety to 'him, that he never so much as thought of 'flying.

Third Article and Answer. 'It is sufficiently evident (said *Gerard*, the 'Queen's Attorney) that the Duke did resolve 'upon a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, upon 'no other Design, than to destroy the Queen: 'That he likewise seriously consulted about inva-'ding the Kingdom, is manifest by his Letters to 'the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke *d'Alva*. 'What he transacted with *Ridolpho*, is now appa-'rent from those obscure Notes in Cyphers hid 'under the Tiles in *Howard*'s House; and from 'the Letters (which he had order'd to be burnt) 'found under the Mat, in the Entrance of his 'Bed-Chamber. All which Things might be ea-'sily prov'd, by the Examinations of those Men, 'who were neither terrify'd by Torture, nor con-'victed of Treason. To these Things the Duke answer'd, 'I was neither the Author nor the Fa-'vourer of those Consultations with the Pope and 'the *Spaniard*; but I always dislik'd them. Let 'them who have committed the Offence, bear the 'Blame; and not lay it at my Door, to excuse 'themselves.

Gerard farther accus'd the Duke, That he had treated with *Ridolpho*, about transporting 10000 Men out of *Flanders*, to be landed at *Harwich*, a Sea-port in *Essex*; and this he prov'd out of *Barker*'s Examination: That Letters were likewise sent by *Ridolpho* to the *Spaniard* and the Duke *d'Alva*, to which, tho' the Duke would not set his Hand; yet by *Ross*'s Advice, he sent *Barker*, his Secretary, to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to assure him, that the Letters were his.

'My Memory (said the Duke) fails me, nor 'can it attend to so great a Variety of Matter. 1572. 'You Lawyers have your short Notes, but I must Ann. 15. 'answer *extempore*. Certainly, 'tis very unlikely, 'that I, who have been always averse to the *Ro-* Duke no 'mish Religion, should have any thing to do with Friend to 'the Pope. I had rather be drawn in pieces with Popery. 'Horses, than revolt from the Religion which I 'profess. The very Situation of *Harwich* is 'enough to clear me of this Accusation. Who is 'not sensible, how hard a Matter it is, to lead an 'Army through that Country; which is full of 'Hedges, and very inconvenient, by reason of the 'narrow Ways? Had I intended a War against 'my Prince, I should certainly have furnish'd my 'self with Arms; but these full Ten Years I have 'bought me no more than Eight Breast-pieces, 'and no Powder at all. Such Letters I should ne-'ver have committed to *Barker*'s Trust, but rather 'to *Banister*'s, who was to me worth a great many '*Barkers*.

Now were produc'd the Bishop of *Ross*'s Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, from the *Tower*; which being intercepted, confirm'd the Things that have been alledg'd. The Duke desired to see the Letters, for he seem'd to suspect they were counterfeit. *You need not question the Letters* (said the Lord High Steward) *they are* Ross's *own Hand-Writing*. There was also produc'd another short Letter, written with Oker by the Duke, to his Servant, ordering him to burn a Packet of Letters hid in such a Place, and to lay the Blame upon *Ross*; who, by the Privilege of an Ambassador, would easily elude the Law. To this the Duke answer'd, 'Being inform'd that it was 'nois'd about, that I accus'd many; I answer'd 'it in that short Letter; and when I saw every 'thing was narrowly pry'd into, I order'd that 'Packet to be burnt, to save some from Dan-'ger.

Bromley the Queen's Solicitor, or Second Attorney, produc'd *Ridolpho*'s Letters; wherein he intimated, that the Duke *d'Alva* approv'd of the Plot; as also the Pope's Letters to the Duke, dated the 4th of *May*. Then *Wilbraham* made an eloquent Speech, concerning the Validity of the Testimonies of the Bishop of *Ross* and the Duke's Servants. The Duke reply'd, ''Tis not in my 'Power to refute such a set and so polish'd an 'Oration. But yet that Orator (said he) let him 'be never so well skill'd, has omitted to shew, 'how great the Power of Fear is, which often-'times removes a resolute Mind from its Place 'and Station. And here again he urg'd and commended *Bracton* against the Validity of foreign Witnesses. *Cateline* the Lord Chief Justice an- Foreigners Testi-swer'd, That in such Cases as this, the Testimo- mony in nies of Foreigners were valid; and that it was at some Ca-the Peers Pleasure, to credit or discredit such Te- ses valid. stimonies.

Now it came to be prov'd, That the Duke had Fourth reliev'd the Rebels that were fled: Which appear'd Article. from the Countess of *Northumberland*'s Letters, wherein she thank'd the Duke for the Money he had supply'd her Husband and her with.

That which was last of all objected, concerning Fifth Ar-relieving the *Scots* the Queen's Enemies, was prov'd ticle. from the Duke's Letters to *Banister*, from *Banister*'s own Confession, and from the Money deliver'd to *Brown* of *Shrewsbury*.

Here the Duke ask'd the Judges, 'Whether 'the Subjects of another Prince in Confederacy 'with the Queen, were to be reputed the Queen's 'Enemies? *Cateline* answer'd, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might wage War with any Duke of *France*, and yet at the same time be at Peace with the *French* King.

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When it now grew late, the Lord-Steward asked the Duke, if he had any thing more to say for himself. He answer'd, *I confide in the Equity of the Laws.* The Lord-Steward commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to take the Duke from the Bar: And after Silence proclaim'd, turning to the Peers, he said: 'You have heard how '*Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, being charg'd with 'High-Treason, and not confessing himself guil-'ty, hath submitted his Cause to God and you. 'It is for you therefore to consider with your-'selves, whether he be to be held guilty, and to 'give in your Verdict upon your Conscience and 'Honour. And withal he ordered them to withdraw and advise together.

The Lord-Steward's Direction to the Peers.

Verdict.

After a short space they return'd to their Seats. Then the Lord-Steward beginning with the last, said, *My Lord* Delaware, *is* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk *guilty of that High-Treason charg'd against him, or no?* He rising up, and laying his Hand on his Breast, answer'd, *Guilty.* So answer'd the rest, being ask'd in their order.

Then was the Duke brought again to the Bar, to whom the Lord-Steward spake in this manner. Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *thou hast been arraign'd upon divers Crimes of High-Treason, and hast submitted theyself to God and these Peers, who have all found thee Guilty. Hast thou any thing to say why Sentence should not be pass'd upon thee?* The Duke answer'd, *God's Will be done, who will judge between me and my false Accusers.*

Silence being now kept, the edge of the Ax was turn'd towards him. Upon this *Barham* requir'd the Lord-Steward in the Queen's Name to pass Sentence; which he with Tears in his Eyes pronounc'd according to the usual Form, in these Words: 'Forasmuch as thou *Thomas* Duke of '*Norfolk* hast been charg'd with High-Treason, 'hast pleaded not Guilty, and submitted thyself 'to the Judgment of thy Peers: This Court ad-'judgeth thee to be carried back from hence to 'the *Tower*, then to be laid upon an Hurdle, and 'drawn through the City to the Gallows, there 'to be hang'd, and being half dead, to be cut 'down, thy Bowels taken out, and after thy 'Head is cut off, to be quartered: Thy Head 'and Body to be dispos'd of according to the 'Queen's pleasure; and God have mercy upon 'thy Soul.

Sentence of Death.

The Duke having heard this Sentence, with a presence of Mind answer'd: 'Sentence is pass'd 'upon me as upon a Traytor: I have none to 'trust to but God and the Queen: I am exclu-'ded from your Society, but hope shortly to enjoy 'the heavenly. I will fit my self to die. Only 'this one thing I crave, That the Queen would 'be kind to my Children and Servants, and take 'care that my Debts be paid.

These things, which I heard myself, I have the more exactly penn'd down, since in such weighty Matters it may be of some use to Posterity to have the very least Particulars recorded.

Barney & Mather executed.

Some few Days after, *Barney* and *Mather* were Executed, for having conspir'd with one *Herle*, a wicked Accomplice of theirs, the Death of certain Privy-Counsellors, and the freeing the Duke out of the *Tower*. But *Herle* soon discover'd the Plot; and being produc'd as a Witness against them, *Herle*, (said *Barney* smiling) *thou art one Hour before-hand with me, else I had stood in thy place as thine Accuser, and thou in mine, as guilty, and to be hang'd.*

This Plot, and several others that were laid to deliver the Prisoners, hastned the calling of a Parliament. Against which the Queen promoted *Walter D'Evereux*, Viscount *Hereford*, to the Honour of Earl of *Essex*, because by the Great Grandmother's side he descended from the *Bourchiers*, Earls of *Essex*: And *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, a Man of a plentiful Estate in *Lincolnshire*, to the Dignity of Earl of *Lincoln*. Besides, she summon'd four new Barons to this Parliament, *viz.* *John Powlet* of *Basing*, the Marquis of *Winchester's* Son; *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheny*, and *Henry Norris*.

Earls created.

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Barons made.

At which time it was Enacted by the Authority of Parliament, 'That whosoever should seize 'upon, demolish, or burn any of the Queen's 'Forts, should be guilty of Felony: That who-'ever should hold them by Force against the 'Queen, burn her Ships, or block up her Ha-'vens, should be guilty of High-Treason. And likewise, 'That if any Person should go about 'to deliver any Man imprison'd upon the Queen's 'Writ, for Treason, or suspicion of Treason, 'before his Arraignment, the said Person [illegible] 'forfeit his Estate during Life, and [illegible] 'son'd during the Queen's pleasure: [illegible] 'he should incur the Penalty of Death; i[illegible] 'demn'd, the Penalty of High-Treason.

An act for security of Forts, &c.

Another against attempts to rescue [illegible]

As the Severity of these Laws was only [illegible] sary for the Time; so the Parliament thou[illegible] it should be only Temporary; namely, [illegible] the Queen's Life. But so many Designs of th[illegible] nature were set on foot, as hastned the Duke's Execution; which however was put off for about four Months. Nor till then could the Commons in Parliament, the Counsellors at Court, nor the Importunity of Preachers, by suggesting the greatness of the Danger she was in, overcome the Queen's Clemency.

But on the 2d of *June*, at Eight in the Morning, the Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected upon *Tower-Hill*; whereon he was no sooner mounted, and *Alexander Nowel* Dean of St. *Paul's*, who was there as his ghostly Comforter, desired the Multitude that stood round to keep Silence; but he said; ''Tis no new thing for Men to suf-'fer Death in this Place; tho' since the begin-'ning of our most gracious Queen's Reign, *I am* '*the first, and God grant I may be the last.* At this the People cry'd, *Amen.* Then (to give you an Abstract of what I heard at large) he went on: 'I acknowledge my Peers have justly sen-'tenced me worthy of Death; nor have I any 'design to excuse myself. I freely confess that I 'treated with the Q. of *Scots* in Things of great 'moment without my Sovereign's Knowledge, 'which I ought not to have done; whereupon I 'was cast into the *Tower*. But I was afterwards 'set at Liberty, having made an humble Sub-'mission, and promised upon Honour to have 'nothing more to do with her; yet I confess I 'acted contrary, and this in truth disturbs my 'Conscience. But I neither promised nor sware 'it at the Lord's Table, as is commonly repor-'ted. I once confer'd with *Ridolpho*, but not to 'the Queen's Destruction. For there are seve-'ral which know I had to do with him about 'Money-matters, upon Bills and Bonds. I found 'him to be one that envied the Peace of *England*, 'and forward to contrive any Villany.

Duke of Norfolk brought to execution.

His Speech and Confession at his death.

'Two Letters from the Pope I saw, but by 'no means approv'd of them, nor of the Rebel-'lion in the *North*. I have not been Popishly in-'clin'd ever since I had any Tast of Religion; 'but was always averse to the Popish Doctrine, 'and embrac'd the true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, 'and put my whole trust in the Blood of *Christ* 'my blessed Redeemer and Saviour. Yet I 'must own that some of my Servants and Ac-'quaintance were addicted to the Romish Reli-'gion. If in this I have offended either God, 'the Church, or the Protestants, I pray God and 'them to forgive me. Then after the reading

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a Pfalm or two, he faid with a loud Voice, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit.* After this, he embrac'd Sir *Henry Leigh*, whifper'd fomething to him, and Dean *Nowel*, who turning to the People, faid, 'The Duke defires you would all of you pray to God to have mercy on him, and withal keep filence, that his Mind may not be difturbed. The Executioner ask'd him Forgivenefs, and had it granted. One offering him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes; he refus'd it, faying, *I am not in the leaft afraid of Death.* Then falling on his Knees, he lay proftrate with his Mind fix'd upon God, and Dean *Nowel* pray'd with him. Prefently after, he ftretched his Neck upon the Block, and his Head was immediately cut off at one Blow, and fhew'd by the Executioner as a doleful fight to the forrowful and weeping Multitude.

The manner of his death.

Various Opinions about him.

It is incredible how dearly the People loved him, whofe Good-will he had gain'd by a Munificence and extraordinary Affability, fuitable to fo great a Prince. The wifer fort of Men were varioufly affected: Some were terrified at the greatnefs of the Danger, which during his Life feem'd to threaten the State from him and his Faction. Others were mov'd with Pity towards him, as one very nobly Defcended, of an extraordinary good Nature, comely Perfonage, and manly Prefence; who might have been both a Support and Ornament to his Country, had not the crafty Wiles of the Envious, and his own falfe Hopes, led on with a fhew of doing the Publick Service, diverted him from his firft courfe of Life. They call'd likewife to mind his Father's untimely End, who tho' a Man of extraordinary Learning, and famous in War, was yet beheaded in the fame Place five and twenty Years before, and that upon very flight Grounds, *viz.* for Quartering the Arms of *Edward* the Confeffor with his own; which yet we read that the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he Defcended, had born by Permiffion of King *Richard* II.

Hieron. Catena's relation of the affair.

Here it will be worth our while to add briefly what *Hieronymo Catena* hath publifhed concerning this bufinefs in the Life of *Pius* V. Bifhop of *Rome*; an Author for his Integrity made Free of the City of *Rome*, and Secretary to Cardinal *Alexandrino*, *Pius* V's Nephew; that fo we may fee whence the whole Bufinefs proceeded, and by whom this Plot was contriv'd. '*Pius* V. (fays he) being very zealous to reftore the Romifh Religion in *England*, and at the fame time to remove Queen *Elizabeth* out of the Throne; fince he could not have an Apoftolical Nuncio, or any other publick Minifter, to carry on his Defigns, procur'd one *Robert Ridolpho*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, (who liv'd in *England* under pretence of being a Merchant) to ftir up the People to contrive the Deftruction of Q. *Elizabeth*. He manag'd the Bufinefs carefully, not only with the Catholicks, but alfo with fome Proteftants, who entred into the Confpiracy, fome out of a private grudge to thofe who afpir'd to the Crown, and others in love with Innovations. Whilft thefe Things were carry'd on privately, there happen'd a Difference betwixt the *Spaniard* and Queen *Elizabeth*, about fome Money that was intercepted. The Pope laying hold on this Occafion, perfuaded the *Spaniard* to affift the Confpirators in *England* againft Q. *Elizabeth*, by which means he might the more fecurely carry on his Defigns in *Flanders*, and the Romifh Religion might be reftored in *Britain*. He likewife perfuades the *French* King to do the like, as oblig'd to it upon the account of his Kinfwoman the Queen of *Scots*; and by the good Service of the *Scots*, who had by their Incurfions diverted the *Englifh* Forces from aiding the Proteftants of *France*; and laftly, by the merit of thefe noble Confpirators in *England*, who by their Artifices had hindred the Queen of *England* from openly affifting the *French* Proteftants. Upon which account the *French* King had promis'd them his Aid for Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, but fail'd them. In the mean time *Ridolpho* brought it about, that the Confpirators drew the Duke of *Norfolk* into the Affociation, made him their Head, and promis'd him Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, fhe alfo confenting thereto. The Pope, to forward the bufinefs, publifh'd a Bull, depofed the Queen, abfolved her Subjects from all their Oaths and Allegiance, and fent printed Copies thereof to *Ridolpho*, to be difperfed all over *England*. Upon this the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weftmorland* took up Arms againft their Prince; who foon after, for want of Money, withdrew into *Scotland*. *Norfolk* and others were caft into Prifon, amongft whom was *Ridolpho*, whom the Pope had order'd to furnifh the Confpirators with an hundred and fifty thoufand Crowns, which, he being in Prifon, could not do.

Defigns of *Pius* V. againft Q. *Eliz.*

With the *Englifh*

With the *Spaniard.*

With the *French.*

The D. of *Norfolk* drawn in.

Pope's *Bull* againft the Queen.

Rebellion in the North.

'But forafmuch as the Queen could not difcover the bottom of this Plot, he with the reft were difcharg'd, and then diftributed the Money among the Confpirators, who fent him to the Pope to certify him, that every thing was prepar'd and in a readinefs at home againft Queen *Elizabeth*, and to intreat the *Spaniard*, that the Supply out of *Flanders* might forthwith join them. The Pope commended the Defign; (tho' the Duke *d'Alva*, to whom *Ridolpho* in his Journey communicated the bufinefs, lik'd it not, as being too full of Danger.) This *Ridolpho* he fent to the *Spaniard* upon another Pretence, and to the King of *Portugal*, with Inftructions, and at the fame time by Letters he promis'd Aid to *Norfolk*.

'He urges the *Spaniard* to affift the Confpirators; and the more effectually to perfuade him, promifes to go himfelf to their Affiftance, and, if need were, to mortgage all the Goods of the Apoftolick See, Chalices, Croffes, and holy Veftments. That there was no Difficulty in it, if he would fend *Chapini Vitelli* out of *Flanders* with an Army into *England*. Which the *Spaniard* ordered to be done with all expedition, and the Pope himfelf provided Money in the *Netherlands*.

'But the Duke *d'Alva* was not pleas'd with thefe Projects, who both envy'd *Vitelli* the Glory of this Action, and would have had his Son prefer'd before him; and at the fame time feared fome Hoftile Attempt from *France*. Withal he propos'd to their Confideration, Whether if *England* were conquer'd, it would fall to the *Spaniard*? Whether the *French* King would not oppofe it? And whether the Pope could give them a Supply fufficient for fuch an Undertaking? However the *Spaniard* expreffy commanded him to invade *England*, fending *Ridolpho* back with Money into *Flanders*. But by God's permiffion the whole Defign was difcover'd to Queen *Elizabeth* by a certain Foreigner, and *Norfolk* was taken and put to death. The Pope was concerned at it, and the *Spaniard* forry for it, who faid in the prefence of Cardinal *Alexandrino*, the Pope's Nephew, That never any Plot was laid more advifedly, or concealed with greater Confent and Conftancy, which in fo long a time was never difcover'd by any of the Confpirators: And that in 24 Hour's time Forces might have been tranfported eafily from the *Netherlands*, which might have fuddenly feiz'd upon the Queen and the City of *London*, reftor'd

D. *d'Alva* oppofes the defign.

For what reafon.

The defign fruftrated.

Pope and *Spaniards* forry for it.

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'restor'd Religion, and settled the Queen of *Scots* 'upon the Throne; especially since *Tho. Stukely*, 'an *English* Deserter, had taken upon him at the 'same time, with 3000 *Spaniards*, to reduce all '*Ireland* under the Subjection of the *Spaniard*, and 'with one or two Spy-boats to fire the *English* 'Fleet.

Thus far *Hieronymo Catena*; some of which Things were unknown to the *English*, till he published them in his Book printed at *Rome*, with the Privilege of *Sixtus* V. in the Year 1588. Now to the purpose, if this be beside it.

Expostulation with the Queen of *Scots*.

Scarce Ten Days after the Duke's Execution, *William* Lord *De-la-Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of Law, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queen's Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, now overcome with Grief and Mourning, to expostulate with her by way of Accusation: 'That she had usurp'd the Title and Arms of the 'Crown of *England*, and had not renounced the 'same, as was agreed upon in the Treaty of '*Edinborough*: That for the full possessing her self 'thereof, she had treated of a Marriage with the 'Duke of *Norfolk*; without acquainting the 'Queen therewith; for the Consummation whereof, and for freeing the Duke out of the *Tower* 'by Force of Arms, she had used all Methods 'possible by her Ministers. That she had raised 'a Rebellion in the *North*, reliev'd notorious 'Rebels in *Scotland* and *Flanders*; petition'd for 'a foreign Aid from the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and 'others, by *Ridolpho* an *Italian*, in order to invade '*England*, and conspired with certain of the *English*, who should free her out of Prison, and 'declare her Queen of *England*. That she had 'received Letters from the Pope, wherein he 'promised to cherish her, as a Hen does her 'Chickens, and to esteem them true Sons of the 'Church, who should stand for her. Lastly, 'That she had procur'd the Pope's Bull against 'the Queen, and permitted her Party in foreign 'Parts to stile her publickly Queen of *England*.

Her Answer.

First of all she declared to them, 'That she 'was an absolute Sovereign, and dependent on 'none. Then she answer'd the Things objected against her with a settled Mind and Countenance: 'That she her self had not usurp'd the Title and 'Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, but the *French* 'King, her Husband, had impos'd them upon her 'whilst young, and under a Husband's Power, and 'therefore she was in no Fault. That she had 'neither born them since her Husband's Death, 'nor would challenge them as long as Queen *Elizabeth* or her Children liv'd.

'As for the Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, 'she never intended it to the Queen's Prejudice; 'for she was of the Opinion it would be for the 'Good of the Common-wealth: but she had not 'renounc'd it, being contracted to him. That 'she did advise the Duke to free himself out of 'Prison and Danger, as she was oblig'd to do by 'the Love of a Wife.

'That she had rais'd no Rebellion, nor was 'accessary to any, but was always most ready to 'discover any Designs form'd against the Queen, 'if she would but vouchsafe to give her Audience 'in her Royal Presence. That she never reliev'd 'the *English* Rebels, only by Letters recommended the Countess of *Northumberland* to the Duke '*d'Alva*. *Ridolpho*, whom she knew to be in 'the Pope's Favour, she made use of in Money-'Concerns; but had received no Letters from 'him.

'That she had excited none to set her at Liberty. That she had indeed lent a willing Ear 'to such as offer'd her their Service herein, and 'to this purpose had communicated to *Rolston* and '*Hall* a private Cypher.

'That she had indeed now and then received 'Letters from the Pope, very full of Piety and 'Consolation, but no such Forms of Speech as is 'said were in them.

'That she was not the Procurer of the Bull; 'only she had seen a printed Copy thereof, 'which when she had read, she cast into the 'Fire. If any in foreign Parts write or stile her 'otherwise than they ought, let them bear the 'Blame. That she had never by Letters desir'd 'Aid of the Pope, or the *Spaniard*, for the invading of *England*; but had indeed implor'd 'their Assistance, to resettle her in her Kingdom, and that with the Queen's Knowledge.

'That if any Scruple remain about those Letters, or about consummating the Marriage by 'Force of Arms, she prays, That (since she is 'born of the Blood-Royal of *England*) she may 'give in her personal Answer at the next Session 'of the *English* Parliament.

Seditions in *Scotland*.

Scotland, in the mean time, was most miserably harass'd with intestine Divisions; whilst on the one side, those of the Queen's Party, presuming on the Favour of the *French*; and on the other side, those of the King's Party, relying on the Assistance of the *English*, prosecuted one another with mortal Hatred and deadly Wars. Yet the *English* and *French* seem'd very desirous of composing the Difference, sending their Ambassadors into *Scotland*.

French King and Queen Elizabeth endeavour to compose 'em.

The *French*, supposing this to be the most proper Method, propos'd, That some good and equitable Persons should be chosen to govern the Kingdom of *Scotland* for a Time, in neither the King's nor Queen's Name. For they would not acknowledge the King of *Scots* for King, since he had no other Right to the Crown than from his Mother, and the Mother, they thought, could not be depos'd by her own Subjects: That she therefore was to be acknowledg'd as Queen, and the ancient League between her and the *French* King to be observ'd.

But for different Reasons.

On the contrary, the *English*, by weighty Arguments maintain'd, 'That such an Administration of Government would be downright 'Anarchy: That the Commonwealth could not 'be govern'd by so many: That the *Scots*, who 'had always been under the Government of a 'King, would never consent to the Election of 'such Governors: That the Estates of the Kingdom had depos'd the Queen, and had duly constituted and inaugurated the King; and that 'that ancient League was not contracted betwixt Persons, but the Kingdoms of *France* and '*Scotland*: And that the most Christian King was 'by the very Tenour of the League oblig'd to 'defend the King of *Scots*. For it was provided in express Words, *That the Kings of* France, '*if at any Time the Succession of the Crown of* Scotland *should be controverted, should defend him, to* '*whom the Estates of* Scotland *adjudg'd the Kingdom.* 'As for the Causes of deposing the Queen, the '*Scots* who had done it were to be consulted in the 'Case.

Reasons why the *French* King favoured the Q. of *Scots*.

However, the *French* King openly favour'd the Queen of *Scots* Party, and was very importunate with Queen *Elizabeth* for her Delivery, lest (as his Ambassadors ingenuously declar'd) he should seem to neglect her that had been Wife to the King his Brother, and was now Dowager of *France*; to break the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots*; to slight the Family of the *Guises*, now so very powerful in *France*; or to approve of that pernicious Example of deposing Kings: And (which was the main Argument) lest she, being abandon'd by the *French* King in her Distress, should close with the *Spaniard*, and

at

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at length the most Potent Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by her Means should be joined in a League with *Spain*, to the endangering of *France*.

Q. *Eliz.* argues the case with the *French*.

To these Things Queen *Elizabeth* gently reply'd: 'Let the *French* King have a care what Esteem he puts upon the Queen of *Scots*; tho' she has been Queen, and be now Dowager of *France*, yet she privately consulted with the *Spaniard* about breaking off the Match, with the D. of *Anjou*. Let him consider whether he does not violate that ancient League, if he defend not the young King. Let him consider how much *France* is oblig'd to the Family of the *Guises*; by whose Counsels *France* itself has been involv'd in a deadly War, *Scotland* alienated from the *French*, and the Q. of *Scots* herself brought under these sad Circumstances. The example of deposing Kings is certainly very dangerous, and to be condemn'd to the Pit of Hell; but let the *Scots* be responsible for that. I here unwillingly mention what I utterly dislike. Yet whether the *French* formerly mislik'd it, I know not, when *Pepin* deposed *Childerick*, and *Hugh Capet Charles* of *Lorrain*, from their Ancestor's Kingdoms; translating the Crown to other Families: And when *Philip le Bon* the *Burgundian* turned *Jaquetta* out of *Hainault* and *Holland*; or the *Danes* when they banish'd *Christian* II. and his Daughters out of the Kingdom; or the *Spaniards* when they excluded Queen *Uraca* from her Kingdom, and imprison'd her. That Sons should be admitted to the Government upon their Mother's Exclusion, is no new thing. Thus *Henry* II. King of *England*; *Alphonsus* the young Son of *Uraca* King of *Castile*; and within our memory *Charles* V. King of *Spain* and *Sicily*, mounted the Throne during their Mother's Lives. That Queens have been imprison'd, every Age furnishes us with Instances; and *France* may sufficiently testify it; which has seen the Wives of three Kings successively (*viz.* of *Lewis Huttin*, *Philip le long*, and *Charles the Fair*) imprison'd, not to say worse. To speak the truth, I detain the Queen of *Scots* in honourable Custody for *England*'s and my own Security. This Policy the *French* taught me; who (to provide for their own Safety) clapt *Childerick* into a Monastery, *Charles* of *Lorrain* into a deep Dungeon, and *Lewis Sforza* Duke of *Milan* into an Iron Cage.' Other things of this nature she repeated out of the *Spanish* History, as one that was very well acquainted with the Histories of all Nations. Lastly; She concluded, 'That such great Examples had always something of Injustice in them: But she desir'd the *French* King to defend the young King of *Scots*, who was lawfully enthron'd, according as he was oblig'd by the League, for this would tend more to the *French* Nation's Glory, than did the unfortunate Expeditions which they made in behalf of that infamous Creature *Joan* of *Naples*.

French K. and Q. *Eliz.* abate their affection to the Q. of *Scots*.

But when it was known for certain, that the Queen of *Scots* at that very time carry'd on a private Confederacy with the *Spaniard*, by her Minister the Lord *Seaton*; who arriving in *Essex*, had return'd through *England* into *Scotland* in a Seaman's Habit, and had promis'd the *Scots* who were of the Queen's Party Supplies from the Duke *d'Alva*; both she was confin'd closer, and the *French* King's Affection by degrees grew cold towards her. And certainly the Duke *d'Alva* omitted nothing which might serve towards the venting that secret Grudge which he bare towards Q. *Elizabeth*; and she was no less diligent to ward off the Blow, and defeat his Designs. In the beginning therefore of this Year, when he made his Complaint by the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* furnish'd themselves with Warlike Provisions out of *England*, and were harbour'd in the *English* Sea-Ports, the Queen immediately issued forth a strict Proclamation, commanding the *Netherlanders* that were suspected of Rebellion to depart the Land, and an Embargo to be laid on their Ships of War. This was of very ill Consequence to the Duke *d'Alva*. For *William Van-der Mark* Lord of *Lumey*, and other *Netherlanders*, being either terrified by this Proclamation, or privately forewarned, withdrew themselves out of *England*, as it were forc'd by despair, seiz'd upon the *Briel* at the mouth of the *Maes*, soon after drew *Flushing* and other Towns to revolt, driving out the *Spaniards* just as they were going to build Fortresses to be the Fetters of their Freedom; and in a short time excluded the Duke *d'Alva* from almost all Command of the Sea. By this advantage of the Sea they disturb'd and harrass'd the *Spaniard* with so long a War, not without a notable oversight in the Duke, (as Martial Men have thought) and unbecoming so great a General, who for full four Years had grosly neglected the Sea-Coasts of the *Netherlands*.

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The Confederate *Netherlanders* banish'd out of *England*.

They seize upon the *Briel*.

D. *d'Alva's* oversight.

English-men go to the Wars in the *Netherlands*.

Now after a famous Muster of the *Londoners*, and an Exercise performed before the Queen at *Greenwich*, the Martial Men, who rusted with Idleness at Home, began to flock into *Flanders* out of *England*: Some (according to the Parties they affected) to the Duke *d'Alva*; Others, and those the far greater Number, to the Prince of *Orange*, who, for Religion and Liberty's sake, opposs'd the Duke *d'Alva*.

First of all *Thomas Morgan* carry'd over Three hundred Men to *Flushing*. The report of whose arrival is thought to have kept off the D. *d'Alva*, who was preparing to attempt the recovery of *Flushing*. Afterwards, through the Procurement of *Morgan*, nine Companies of the *English* arriv'd there under the Command of Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who, joining with the *French*, first made an attempt upon *Scluis* and *Bruges*, and then upon *Tergoes* in *South-Beverlandt*. But their Ladders being too short, the *French* and *English* disagreeing, and *Mondragon* coming to the relief of the Besieged, they retir'd to *Flushing*, not without loss of Men. This Place the *French* and *English* cunningly endeavour'd to be Masters of; but being divided by Animosities, fomented by the cunning Artifices of the Prince of *Orange*, they could not effect their Design.

Fren. K's Dissimulations.

In *France* the Protestants had at this time a flattering Calm; and King *Charles* was wholly intent upon the *Low-Country* War, being (as he pretended) the only Remedy to prevent a Civil War at Home: And under this colour, he pretended a willingness to enter into a Confederacy with the *German* Princes and Queen *Elizabeth*, as a Testimony of his Good-will towards the Protestants, whom yet he had secretly mark'd out for Destruction. This Confederacy was concluded at *Bloys* the 11th of *April*, between him (who was afraid of the *French* Protestants and the *Spaniard*) and Queen *Elizabeth*, (who was no less afraid of intestine Broils, and the Plots of the Duke *d'Alva*.) Commissioners for the *French* King were *Francis* Duke of *Montmorency*, *Renat Biragus*, *Sebastian L'aubespine*, the Bishop of *Limogues*, and *Paul Foix*: For the Queen, Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *Francis Walsingham*.

Confederacy of *Bloys*.

The Articles briefly extracted out of the Original, were as follow.

Articles of the Confederacy.

'The Articles in this Treaty shall not recede from the former Treaties made between the said Princes and their Predecessors, unless they are inconsistent with this present League.

'This

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'This League shall be a Confederacy, Bond 'and Union, betwixt the said Princes, for a 'mutual Defence, against all Persons, of what 'Degree soever; who shall, under any Pretence 'or Cause, none excepted, invade, or go about 'to invade, their Persons, or the Territories by 'them possess'd.

'This League shall remain in full Force, not 'only between the said Princes, but also be-'tween their Successors; if such Successor shall 'within a Year, by his Ambassadors and Letters, 'signify to the surviving Prince, that he accepts 'of the same Conditions: Otherwise the Sur-'vivor shall be understood to be free from all 'Observance of this League.

'This League shall be of Force against all, 'even against those who shall be in Alliance 'with either King or Princes; and against all 'Leagues contracted, or to be contracted.

'The Queen of *England* shall be bound, upon 'Request made by Letters, sign'd with the *French* 'King's Hand, requiring her Assistance; to send 'into *France* within two Months, 6000 arm'd 'Foot, or 500 Horse, at his Choice, to be en-'ter'd into his Pay, as soon as they shall arrive 'in *France*.

'For a Defence by Sea, the Queen of *Eng-'land* shall send Eight Ships of a reasonable Bur-'den, with 1200 Soldiers, and all other Neces-'saries on board them.

'The Seamen and Soldiers shall be only *Eng-'lishmen*; but they shall be under his Pay, and 'he shall find them all Necessaries, and provide 'them Victuals, from the time they enter into 'his Service: Nevertheless they shall obey the 'Admiral of *France*. The Queen of *England* 'shall victual her Ships for two Months; for 'which the *French* King shall pay her, within 'two Months.

'The *French* King, upon Notice given him, 'by Letters sign'd by the Queen of *England's* 'Hand, that she is assaulted by War; shall be 'bound to send over into *England* or *Ireland*, 'within two Months, 6000 Foot; or, if she had 'rather, 500 Cuirassiers, which with others shall 'make up 1500 Horse; and about 3000 Foot, 'with serviceable Horses and Arms, after the '*French* Fashion; to be enter'd into her Pay, as 'soon as they shall arrive upon her Domini-'ons.

'For Sea-Service, he shall equip Eight Ships, 'mann'd with 1200 Soldiers, in manner as is a-'foresaid.

'They shall serve as long as the invaded Prince 'shall think fit to retain them.

'The Form of the Succours and Pay shall be 'contain'd in a Schedule hereunto annex'd.

'The one shall be bound to sell to the other '(when invaded) both Arms and other Neces-'saries.

'They shall make no Innovations in *Scotland*, 'but defend it against Foreigners; not suffering 'Strangers to enter, or foment the Factions in '*Scotland*: but it shall be lawful for the Queen 'of *England* to chastise by Arms, those *Scots* who 'shall countenance or harbour the *English* Rebels 'now in *Scotland*.

'This League shall have only that Constru-'ction, which the bare Force and Propriety of 'the Words will allow of.

'Both Princes shall ratify every particular 'Article, by their Letters-Patents; and shall '*bona fide*, really and effectually deliver them 'interchangeably, to the Ambassadors on both 'sides, within three Months.

For the ratifying this League by the *French* King, *Edward Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord-Admiral of the Sea, was sent into *France*, with a great Train of Noblemen; among whom were the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Sands*, and others. In like manner the *French* King sent into *England* the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Paul Foix*, in great Splendor; that the Queen might likewise ratify it, by Oath, before them, and *Bertrand Salignac Mota Fenellon*, his ordinary Ambassador. This was done at *Westminster*, the 16*th* of *May*. The next day, Queen *Elizabeth*, by the *French* King's leave, chose *Montmorency* to be a Knight of the Garter, as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Kindness she had receiv'd from his Father *Annas* High-Constable of *France*. Which Honour King *Henry* VIII. had conferr'd upon *Annas* himself, as a Pledge of the Love he bore to that Family; which has the Title of *First Christian of* France, and is esteem'd the most noble Family in all *France*.

League ratify'd.

Montmorency made Kt. of the Garter.

Montmorency, during his Stay in *England*, made these short Propofals, in the *French* King's Name: 'That as much Favour, as could in Safety, might 'be shewn to the Queen of *Scots*: That there 'might be a Cessation of Arms in *Scotland*, and 'an Agreement confirm'd there by the Parlia-'ment: But if a Parliament could not be hold-'en conveniently, that then certain Men cho-'sen for both Parties, by the *Scots*, might meet 'at *London*, for composing the Differences; to-'gether with the *French* King's, and the Queen 'of *England's* Commissioners. But it was an-swer'd, 'That greater Favour had been shewn, 'and would, for the *French* King's sake, be still 'shewn to the Queen of *Scots*, than she deserv'd; 'tho' the Estates of the Realm now assembl'd in 'Parliament, were of opinion, that the Queen 'could never be secure without some Severity 'shew'd towards her. As for an Agreement and 'Cessation of Arms, the Queen has done what 'she could towards it; and for that purpose had 'very lately sent *Drury*, Marshal of *Berwick*, in-'to *Scotland*, with *Croc*, the *French* Ambassador. 'But they could by no Arguments induce *Grange* 'and the Garrison in the Castle of *Edinborough*, 'to hearken to Peace: being fondly in hopes of 'Succours from *France* and the *Netherlands*; tho' '*Huntley* and *Hamilton* of *Arbroth* had, for the 'Duke his Father, given it under their Hands 'in Writing, to Queen *Elizabeth*; That they 'were ready to entertain a Peace; and the rest of 'the Queen's Party had promis'd as much.

He mediates an agreement in *Scotland*.

The answer.

Then *Montmorency* earnestly solicited again the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but when they could not agree about the Exercise of Religion, he return'd into *France*, leaving the Matter desperate; whilst a Marriage was preparing, with great Solemnity, between *Henry* of *Navarre*, and *Margaret*, the *French* King's Sister. To this Marriage the Queen of *Navarre*, and the choicest of the Protestants, were allur'd, by flattering Promises, and a credulous Hope of a lasting Peace, and the renewal of Friendship; but not without a notable Piece of Dissimulation. There were likewise invited out of *England*, under pretence of doing'em Honour, *Leicester* and *Burleigh*; and out of *Germany*, the Elector *Palatine's* Sons; that being allur'd into the Toils, both they, and with 'em the Evangelical Religion, might, at one Blow, be either butcher'd, or at least receive a mortal Wound. For no sooner was the Marriage solemniz'd, but of a sudden a black Tempest eclips'd their so much hop'd-for Sun-shine; even that horrid Massacre of *Paris*, and the bloody Butcherings of the Protestants, which, with an unheard of Wickedness, were committed throughout the Cities of *France*, upon Men of all Qualities. Yet they pretended Justice, even and Piety too; and by Edicts sought a specious Cloak

He solicites the Marriage with *Anjou*.

King of *Navarre* marries Fr. King's Sister.

Massacre of *Paris*.

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Cloak to cover that impious Fraud; as if the Protestants had enter'd into a wicked Conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the King's Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes of the Blood. For there were Medals coin'd in Memory of the Fact; in the Fore-part whereof, with the King's Picture, was this *Motto*, *Virtus in Rebelles*, *Virtue against Rebels*; on the other side, *Pietas excitavit Justitiam*, *Piety has excited Justice*.

Marriage propos'd to Queen *Elizabeth* with the Duke of *Alenzon*.

A little before this, the Queen-Mother of *France* (who always pretended great Kindness to the Protestants, a Woman very inquisitive into Futurity, and prone to believe the Predictions of Astrologers; who, by the Position of the fix'd Regal Stars at their Nativities, had foretold, that every one of her Sons would mount a Throne) commanded *Mota-Fenellon* to propose to Queen *Elizabeth*, a Marriage with her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alenzon*; that, if possible, she might procure him the Title of King; or, at least, by this Office of Kindness, hinder Queen *Elizabeth* from assisting the Protestants in *France*. *Mota-Fenelon* propos'd this Marriage at *Kenelworth*, two Days before the Massacre at *Paris*. But Queen *Elizabeth* modestly excus'd herself, upon the account of their Difference of Religion, and Inequality of Age: for he was scarce Seventeen Years old, and she was now above Eight and thirty. However, she promis'd to consider of it; nor did *Alenzon* cease to press the Business home, by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

Earl of *Northumberland* beheaded.

The same Month, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who upon his Rebellion had fled into *Scotland*, was, for a Sum of Money agreed upon, deliver'd to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, by *Morton*; who had been extremely beholden to the Earl, whilst himself liv'd an Exile in *England*. (But who has ever prov'd grateful to Men in Adversity?) He was shortly after beheaded at *York*.

Death of Marquis of *Winchester*.

As *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* were cut off this Year, by the Stroke of the fatal Ax, in the Flower of their Age; so a peaceable Death took away two others of the chief of the Nobility, both of the Privy-Council, in their old Age; namely, *William Powlet*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, Marquiss of *Winchester*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Baron *St. John* of *Basing*: a Man that had pass'd thro' very great Honours. He died in the Ninety seventh Year of his Age; after he had seen One hundred and three Persons that were descended from him. In his Office of High-Treasurer was constituted *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*. The other was *Edward* Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley* and *Strange* of *Knocking*; with whom the Glory of Hospitality seem'd to fall asleep.

Cecil made Ld. Treasurer. Earl of *Derby* dies.

Sir *Will. Peter* dies.

This Year likewise died Sir *William Peter*, Knt. one of the Privy-Council, Secretary to *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter: having perform'd many Ambassies with Approbation: Who being descended of honest Parentage at *Exeter*, after he had, by his Wisdom and Learning, gain'd a plentiful Estate, did, for the Encouragement of Learning, by Queen *Mary*'s Grant, very bountifully enlarge the Revenues of *Exeter*-College in *Oxford*; wherein he had been educated.

Queen sick of Small Pox.

The Queen also her self, who had hitherto been very healthy (never eating without an Appetite, nor drinking Wine without some Allay), fell sick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton-Court*. But she recover'd before there was any News of her being sick; and falling to the Care of the Government, order'd *Portsmouth* to be strengthen'd with new Fortifications, her Navy to be increas'd with more Men of War, Musters to be observ'd in every County at set Times, and the Youth to be train'd up to War; and this when she enjoy'd a profound Peace. The Money which she had borrow'd of her Subjects, she repaid with Thanks. For this her People were no less in love with her, than they were for two seasonable Proclamations, publish'd in the Beginning of the Year.

She restrains the Number of Retainers,

By one of which she commanded, That such of the Nobility should be proceeded against according to the ancient Laws, as kept a greater Retinue than they ought. For their Men being thus entertain'd, exempted themselves from the publick Offices of the State, maintain'd Factions, and offended many ways against the Laws; presuming upon the Power of the Noblemen to whom they belong'd.

And Concealers.

By the other she restrain'd a most ravenous sort of Men, call'd *Concealers*; by revoking their Commission, and forcing them to restore what they had taken away. For they being appointed to discover, whether any Lands belonging to the Crown were conceal'd by private Men; had begun, by a sacrilegious kind of Avarice, to seize upon Lands given by our pious Forefathers, to Parish-Churches and Hospitals; as also upon Bells, and the leaden Roofs of Churches. But these Grievances, tho' they have been now and then suppress'd, yet they have as often sprung up again.

Rebellions in Connaught.

In *Ireland* some Commotions arose, thro' the severe Government of Sir *Edward Fitton*, Governor of *Connaught*: Which Severity, when the Sons of *Richard* Earl of *Clan-Richard*, whom he had by divers Wives (being Men who always us'd to do what they pleas'd) could not away with; they rais'd a Rebellion, and passing the *Shannon*, committed insolent Robberies upon the Inhabitants all over *West-Meath*. Their Father, descended from an ancient *English* Stock, nam'd *de Burgo*, a Man with a reverend grey Head, and of a moderate Disposition, went to the Lord Deputy, clear'd himself from the Crime of Rebellion, and consulted with the Council of *Ireland*, by what means he might restrain his dissolute Children. But the Queen, for the better Security of the publick Peace, thought fit by degrees to remove *Fitton* from *Connaught*, and made him Treasurer of *Ireland*. And a while after, the Earl's Sons, being pursu'd by the Soldiers in Garrison, humbly submitted themselves to the Lord-Deputy.

And in *Lemster*.

In *Lemster* also the *O-Moors*, a seditious sort of Men, rais'd an Insurrection; who being presently proclaim'd Rebels, return'd to their Duty, by the Persuasion of the Earl of *Kildare*. At this Time Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Queen's Secretary, a discreet and learned Man, taking pity of the forlorn Condition of *Ireland*, obtain'd of the Queen, that a Colony should be transported into a *Peninsula* of *Ireland*, call'd *Ardes*, on the Eastern Part of *Ulster*, under his base Son, the only Son he had; that so those half-barbarous People might be taught some Civility. His Hope was, that the Place might be easily defended by Garrisons plac'd in that strait *Isthmus*, by which it is join'd to the rest of the Island. He granted to every Footman an Hundred and twenty Acres, and to every Horseman an Hundred and forty; which are as much as Five hundred *English* Acres: for which they were to pay yearly a Peny for every Acre. But it fail'd of the wish'd Success: For his Son *Thomas*, when he had transported the Colony, was intercepted and slain, by the Treachery of *Neal Brian Artho*. But *Malbey*, an *Englishman*, Governor of *Lecale*, a Place hard by, supposing no unjust Death could be inflicted upon a treacherous Villain, soon after kill'd *Neal*, leaving him to be devour'd by Wolves.

A Colony transplanted into Ireland.

1572. *Ann.* 15.

A new Star.

I know not whether it be worth while to mention that which all Historiographers of our Time have recorded, *viz.* That in *November* a new Star, or, as some style it, a *Phænomenon*, appear'd in *Cassiopea*'s Chair; which (as my self observ'd) in Brightness exceeded *Jupiter* in the *Perigee* of his *Excentrick* and *Epicycle*. It continu'd in the same Place, full Sixteen Months, being carry'd about with the diurnal Motion of the Heaven. *Thomas Digsey* and *John Dey*, two famous Mathematicians amongst us, have learnedly prov'd, by the Doctrine of *Parallaxes*, that it was in the Celestial, not in the Elementary Region; and were of Opinion, that it disappear'd by little and little, by ascending. 'Tis certain, that after Eight Months, all Men perceiv'd it to grow less and less. *Theodore Beza* wittily apply'd it to the Star, which appear'd at the Birth of CHRIST, and the Slaughter of the Infants under *Herod*; and admonish'd *Charles* IX. King of *France*, who had acknowledg'd himself Author of the Massacre of *Paris*, to beware, in this Verse,

Beza's Prophecy.

Tu vero, Herodes, *sanguinolente, time;*
i. e.
And look thou, bloody Herod, *to thy self.*

Nor was he out, in his Conjecture: For in the Fifth Month after the disappearing of this Star, after long and horrible Pains, he died of excessive Bleeding.

1573.

The Sixteenth Year of her Reign.

Spanish Fleet defeated.

The *Spanish* Affairs in the *Netherlands* being very much disturb'd, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* falling off, and the *Spanish* Fleet (with which the Duke of *Medina Cœli* was commanded, with *Vitelli Chapini*, to aid the Papists in *England*) routed by the *Zealanders*; the Duke *d'Alva*, tho' unwillingly, began to be more favourably inclin'd towards the *English*. Therefore in *January*, the Commerce, which had been prohibited, between the *Netherlanders* and the *English*, in the same Month of the Year 1568, was now at last permitted for two Years; and the Articles agreed upon at *Bristol*, upon that account, were ratify'd by the *Spaniard* in *June*. Amongst which was this Clause: 'And if this mutual Correspondence 'and strict Amity shall for a Time be overshadow'd; yet it shall in no wise be understood to 'be broken and dissolv'd. And if the Business 'cannot be adjusted by Commissioners, within 'a Time prescrib'd; the said Intercourse, at the 'End of the said two Years, shall cease. And cease it did, by degrees, before the two Years were expir'd; by reason of the Troubles that increas'd all over the *Netherlands*; and a new Intercourse was begun with the Confederate States.

Traffick between the Netherlanders and English renew'd.

Queen makes the English amends.

But Queen *Elizabeth* (to her vast Honour) fully repair'd the Damages of the *English* Merchants, out of the *Netherlanders* Goods, which were stopt; return'd the Overplus to the Duke *d'Alva*; and wholly agreed with the Merchants of *Genoa*, about the Money that was intercepted; which had been the first Occasion of the Breach: Whereas the Duke *d'Alva* did not so much as restore one Farthing to the *Netherlanders*, out of the *Englishmens* Goods. And (which was yet more glorious, and to her Subjects much more pleasing) she discharg'd *England* of the Debts, which her Father and Brother had contracted with Foreigners; which had been very much increas'd by the Interest. Now she restor'd likewise the Charters of the City of *London* (which had been so often renew'd) to the great Joy of the Citizens.

Pays her Predecessors Debts.

1573. *Ann.* 16.

Innovators disturb the Church's Peace.

Yet was both the Queen and the Ecclesiastical State very much disturb'd by some of their own Profession; who, pretending to be very zealous, and breathing nothing but Evangelical Purity, not only defam'd the Ecclesiastical Polity (as stain'd with *Romish* Dregs) both by publick and private Preaching, and by publishing Books, entitled, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, and *An Apology for the Admonition*; but also refus'd to frequent the Divine Service, as it was establish'd; framing and usurping to themselves other Rites in Divine Worship. So that the Queen, disliking them as Men of a turbulent Spirit, greedy of Novelty, and very forward to root up what was well establish'd; to prevent a Schism, commanded the Rigour of the Law, concerning *Uniformity of publick Prayers*, to be every where put in Execution: and the Books to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Bishops, or some of her Council, upon pain of Imprisonment; tho' *John Whitgift*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had solidly confuted them.

Ministry libell'd by Papists.

There was likewise publish'd, by the *English* Fugitives and Rebels, an infamous Book, entitled, *A Treatise of Treason*; wherein they accus'd *Bacon* Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and *Cecil* Lord *Burleigh* Lord-Treasurer of *England*, of Treason against their Country; thereby to bring those Persons under the *Odium* of the Prince and People; who, by their Prudence and Vigilance, had prevented or broken their villainous Designs and wicked Hopes. But the Queen was so far from crediting these Accusations, that by a publick Proclamation she declar'd them to be improbable, false, and mere Slanders, maliciously invented by the profess'd Enemies of the true Religion, and their Country; upon no other End, than by their secret Artifices to deprive the Kingdom of its most faithful Counsellors. Wherefore she charged all Men to give no Credit to these Libels, but to slight and burn them; unless they had rather undergo the Penalty to be inflicted upon the Encouragers of Sedition. However, these Books (such is the natural Curiosity of Mankind) because prohibited, were very much read, till (as it often happens) being contemn'd, they grew out of Request.

de Gondy's Ambassy.

The last Year, in *November*, was born to *Charles* King of *France*, a Daughter, to whom the King requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-Mother; both to engage her the more firmly to him, by all Offices of Kindness; and to cut off all Hopes of Assistance out of *England*, from the *French* Protestants. For these Ends, and to borrow Money, he sent into *England* an eloquent Courtier, one *Albert Gondy* (commonly call'd Count *de Rhetz*.) He in a set Speech endeavour'd to persuade the Queen, that the Massacre of *Paris* (which some term'd a Villainy, but he a Remedy) was executed, not out of Hatred to the Protestant Religion, but to break the Neck of a Conspiracy, plotted by the Admiral *Coligni* and others: notwithstanding which, the King would most religiously observe the Edicts of Religion. He pray'd the Queen not to hearken to such Men as were clamorous and timorous without Cause; but religiously to observe the League lately enter'd into, and advise them to be obedient to their King, whom they should find very merciful.

Queen's Answer.

She promis'd to be mindful of the League, and that the King should find nothing wanting on her Part, which might become a most loving Confederate. But for the Money to be borrow'd, she desir'd to be excus'd. Nor did he mention the Money, but only in Policy; namely, that she should not supply the Protestants, if they desir'd it, with the Money, which she deny'd

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ny'd the King. And truly, ſhe took this Occaſion of denying them Money; remembring how baſely they had ſerved her, about Money-matters, in the firſt Civil-War. In this Embaſſy, *Rhetz* prevail'd ſo far, that the Proteſtants, from that time, met with leſs Favour and Aſſiſtance from her Hands, for a while.

Earl of Worceſter ſent into France.

A little after, *William Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, was ſent into *France*, with a Font of pure Gold; to be preſent as Surety, in the Queen's Name, with the Deputies of the Empreſs *Mary*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*; at the Baptizing of the *French* King's Daughter. Which when the Proteſtant Pirates, both *French* and *Netherlanders*, underſtood, (ſuſpecting him to be a Papiſt) it miſs'd but little, but they had intercepted him in his Paſſage over. However, they riff'd one or two Ships of his Company, killing ſome of the Paſſengers.

Sea clear'd of Pirates.

At this the Queen was ſo diſpleaſed, that ſhe ſent out *William Holſtock*, Comptroller of her Navy, with ſome few Men of War; who ſcour'd the Seas, either taking or ſcattering the Pirates, and retaking ſome Merchant-Ships out of their Hands. But whereas many of 'em had promis'd their Service to *Montgomery*, (now in *England*) for the Relief of *Rochelle*, he happen'd to ſet ſail out of *England* too late; and with ſo ſmall a Fleet, that he did them no good at all.

French in Engl. abuſe one another.

Hereupon, ſome *French* Proteſtant Refugees in *England*, being very much incens'd, out of Hatred to the contrary Religion, offer'd Injuries to ſome other *Frenchmen* that were come over; drawing their Swords upon them, and among the reſt, upon the Servants of *Flerie*, who was come privately into *England*, from *Alenzon*, about the Marriage: Yea the *Vidam* of *Chartres*, ignorant of *Flerie*'s Negotiation, accus'd him, to the Queen's Council, as if he came with a Deſign to take away *Montgomery*'s Life.

French Ambaſſador complains of ſuccours ſent into France.

On the other hand, the *French* Ambaſſador complain'd to the Q. that *Montgomery* had, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, contrary to the League, undertaken a Voyage to *Rochelle*; and that the *Engliſh* Merchants had ſupply'd the beſieged *Rochellers* with *Victuals*. She anſwer'd, 'That ſhe did and 'would religiouſly obſerve her Faith given in the 'League. That thoſe Auxiliaries were Pirates, and 'being outlaw'd, had put to Sea without her Commiſſion, and carry'd counterfeit Flags; and for 'her part, ſhe heartily wiſh'd they might be puniſh'd. Moreover, that the *Engliſh* Merchants, 'having been baſely us'd at *Bourdeaux*, had traded to *Rochelle*, without her Leave: That they 'are Men which always mind their own private Gain: And withal ſhe deſir'd, that ſome 'more commodious Port in *France* might be aſſign'd them to trade in, inſtead of *Rochelle*.

Queen excuſes herſelf.

The *French* King was very well pleas'd with theſe Anſwers; That the Queen of *England* would ſtand to her Promiſe; and that now ſhe was ſo far drawn off from minding the *French* Proteſtants, that they could look for no Aſſiſtance from her.

She is ſolicited to marry with Alenzon.

Hereupon the *French* King and his Mother were more and more in Love with her, when they perceiv'd her ſincere in obſerving the Amity betwixt them; and ſhe receiv'd ſeveral Love-Letters ſent by *Alenzon*, from the Camp before *Rochelle*; and all this Year the *French* King and his Mother earneſtly ſolicited the Marriage, by *Mota-Fenellon* their Ordinary Ambaſſador, and by *Chaſteau-Neuf*, ſent extraordinarily for that purpoſe.

Q. gives a willing Ear to it, out of a double Fear.

Certainly Queen *Elizabeth* now began ſeriouſly to think of Marrying, upon a double Fear ſhe was in, for lack of Children: On one hand, ſhe fear'd Contempt at home; and on the other ſhe fear'd Attempts from abroad: Againſt both ſhe was perſuaded, and would often ſay as much to others, That an Husband and Children were the ſureſt Bulwarks.

Courtiers argue againſt it.

On the contrary, it was argu'd by ſome ſelfiſh Courtiers, 'That Religion and Equity were 'the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of a State, againſt all 'Attempts: Nor had ſhe any Reaſon to fear the 'Contempt of her own People; whoſe Hopes 'and Fortunes depended on her alone; whoſe 'Hearts were devoted to her, as they had been 'to a long ſeries of her Anceſtors; and whoſe 'Eyes were every day refreſh'd with the Luſtre 'of her Vertues: With other ſuch like Expreſſions, familiar amongſt Courtiers. And when ſhe often ſaid, *That moſt Men neglect the Setting-Sun*: Theſe fawning Flatterers would as often tell her, *Who will neglect the wholſome Beams of the clear Sun-ſhine, to behold the faint and confus'd Glimmering of the leſſer Stars riſing together?* For ſo they call'd the Competitors.

Leave given to Alenzon to come into England.

In the mean time, the Queen-Mother uſed frequent Intreaties, that her Son the Duke of *Alenzon* might have leave to come into *England*, to ſee her; who, being weary'd with ſo many Letters, at laſt aſſented to it; provided he would not think it a Prejudice or a Diſgrace to him, if he return'd without Succeſs.

But is privately adviſ'd not to come, and why.

But as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had Intelligence, that his Brother *Henry*, the Duke of *Anjou*, was elected King of *Poland*, and that the *French* King was ſick; ſhe adviſ'd *Alenzon*, by Sir *Edward Horſey*, Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*, not to be too haſty in coming over to *England*: And ſhe gave theſe Reaſons for it: 'That upon the account of the 'Maſſacre ſo barbarouſly committed upon the 'Proteſtants throughout *France*, for their Religion, even in the midſt of Nuptial Solemnities, 'when he himſelf firſt ſued for a Marriage with 'her; the Proteſtants in *England* ſuſpected, that 'this Marriage would prove as fatal. And they 'were the more inclined to think ſo, becauſe *Alenzon* himſelf, immediately after, went to the 'Siege of *Rochelle*, breathing nothing but Hatred 'againſt the Proteſtants; and had wrote, in ſeveral Letters thence, that he would viſit the Q. 'after he ſhould ſee *Rochelle* won: So that his 'Rage towards the Proteſtant Religion ſeem'd 'hotter than his Love towards her. Whereupon 'very many in *England* ſuſpected, that he intended to come into *England*, to proſecute his 'Courtſhip, with a Sword dy'd in the Blood of 'thoſe, who profeſs'd the ſame Religion as the '*Engliſh* did. Wherefore ſhe friendly and lovingly adviſ'd him, to be the Means of a Peace 'in *France*; and firſt to give ſome notable Teſtimony of his Affection to the Proteſtants: 'that ſo *England* might receive him, as a more 'welcome Gueſt and Suitor.

Peace in France.

A Peace being afterwards concluded in *France*, and the Proteſtants allow'd the Exerciſe of their Religion, in certain Places; the *French* King and the Queen-Mother were again very ſolicitous for conſummating of the Marriage; (For they were deſirous of removing *Alenzon* out of *France*, being a Perſon of a crabbed Temper, and prone to raiſe Commotions) and withal they intreated Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the D. of *Anjou* ſhould take his Journey by Sea into *Poland*, he might have her Royal Word, for his ſafe Paſſage through the *Britiſh* Seas. She was not only very willing to grant this, but alſo offer'd her Fleet for his Convoy. In the mean time, *Alenzon* fell ſick of the Meaſles, which the Queen-Mother ſignify'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Gondy* Count *de Rhetz*, and excus'd his not coming into *England*, becauſe of his Sickneſs.

Gondy returns into England, where he is nobly entertain'd.

Gondy found Queen *Elizabeth* at *Canterbury*, where ſhe entertain'd him honourably. At this time *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſolemniz'd the Queen's Birth-day, viz. the 7th of *September*, in a large

1573. Ann. 16. Palace of the Archbishop's, which himself had repair'd. To this Solemnity he invited the Queen, *Gonday* and *Mota-Fenellon*, with as great a number of Nobility, as the Emperor *Charles* V. and King *Henry* VIII. had in the same Palace been feasted within the Year 1519.

Morton made Regent of *Scotland*. In *Scotland*, *James Douglass* Earl of *Morton* was by the special Instance of Queen *Elizabath*, constituted Regent of *Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of *Marre*; who, being established in his Authority in a Convention of the States, enacted wholsom Laws in the King's Name for the maintaining of Religion against Papists and Hereticks. But the charge of the King's Person (because the Earl of *Marre*, to whom by peculiar Right the charge of the Kings of *Scotland* in their Minority belongs, was under Age) he settled upon *Alexander Areskine* upon these Conditions: 'That the Papists and factious Persons should be 'deny'd all access to him: That an Earl should 'be admitted with two Servants, a Baron with 'only one, all others alone, and every one of ''em without Weapons.

French K. endeavours to supplant him. In the mean time the *French* King, having sent thither Monsieur *Viriac*, used his utmost Endeavours to supplant the Regent before his Authority was settled, setting up against him *Athol*, *Huntley*, and others, to whom he promis'd great Rewards. Q. Eliz. to support him. Queen *Elizabeth*, endeavouring all she could to the contrary, inform'd the *Scots* by Sir *Henry Killegrew*, that the bloody Massacre of *Paris* was executed by the joint Contrivance of the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Spaniard*, for the utter extirpation of the Protestants. Therefore she advis'd them not to be corrupted with the *French* Pensions, nor disunited by Factions, so as to open a way for those foreign Forces which *Strozzi* was suspected to be bringing over; but manfully and unanimously to endeavour the Defence of their Religion, which was the only Band of Concord betwixt the *Scots* and *English*; and to take timely Care of the King; or send him into *England*, that he might not be convey'd into *France*. However, some of the Nobility, sworn to the Captive Queen's Party, absolutely declar'd against the King's or the Regent's Authority; And to compose Matters in *Scotland*. till Queen *Elizabeth*, interposing her Authority, by *Killegrew*'s means, prevail'd upon *James Hamilton* the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, (who were chief of them) to accept of these reasonable Conditions, Upon these Conditions. *viz.* 'That they should allow the Religion 'establish'd in *Scotland*, submit themselves to the 'King, and to the Government of *Morton* and 'his Successors in the Regency. That they 'should abjure the Authority of all others. That 'those who should attempt any thing against Re'ligion, the King, or the Regent, should be de'clar'd Traytors by an Act of Parliament. That 'the Sentences pronounc'd against the *Hamiltons* 'and the *Gourdons* should be repeal'd, excepting 'such as concern'd the Murder of the late Re'gents *Murray* and *Lenox*, which should be left to 'Queen *Elizabeth*'s Decision. (But this she refer'd to the King, and thought it fit to be defer'd till the King were of Age to take upon him the Government according to the Laws of *England*). And, 'That all Offences committed since 'the 15th of *June*, 1567, (except the Murder of '*Lenox*) should be remitted to those who should 'sue for a Pardon. However, for the Security of the King and the Regent, lest the one should be in danger of being murder'd, and the other convey'd into *France*, it was thought fit that the Q. of *England*, by a publick Instrument, should pass her Royal Word, That neither the *Hamiltons*, nor any other, should be call'd in Question, or Fined for the Murder of the Regents without her consent. And this, for the securing the publick Peace in so turbulent a Time, was confirm'd in a Convention of the States. 1573. Ann. 16.

But *William Kircald* of *Grange*, (whom *Murray* the Regent had made Governor of *Edinborough-Castle*, taking an Oath of him in the King's Name) the Lord *Humes*, *Lidington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and others, who thought the Queen of *Scots* was too severely dealt withal; would by no means accept of these Conditions: But being obstinate, and contemning the Authority of the King and the Regent, held and fortified that Castle in the Queen's Name. *Lidington* was their Counsellor; and they trusted much to the unapproachable strength of the Place, to the warlike Ammunition that was in it, (for there all the King's Magazine was kept) and to the Succours promis'd by the Duke *d'Alva* and the *French* K. which last had sent them some Money, (the greatest part whereof was intercepted at *Blackness*) and more he would have sent, had he not been prevented by the tedious Siege of *Rochelle*. When neither the Regent by offering Rewards, nor Queen *Elizabeth* by Perswasion or Threatning, could induce these Men to accept of any Conditions of Peace, but they still maintain'd the Castle against the Regent, every day annoying *Edinborough*, the Seat of Justice, with their Shot and Incursions, and invited over Auxiliary Forces from *France*: Then Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not endure the *French* should have the least Footing in *Scotland*, was at last prevailed upon by the Regent, and promis'd him Men, Ordnance and Ammunition for the reducing of the Castle, upon these Conditions.

Grange & others reject the Conditions. *Grange defendeth Edinborough Castle.* *Q. Eliz. promiseth aid for taking it.*

'The Regent shall not compound with the Besieged without the *English* Generals knowledge, 'nor he on the other side without acquainting 'the Regent and the King's Council. If the '*English* take the Castle, it shall be delivered up 'to the King within ten Days, with all the Am'munition, Utensils, Rolls and Records of the 'King and Realm; but the rest shall be a Prey 'to the Assailants. The *English* shall fortify no 'Place in *Scotland*, but with the consent of the 'Regent and the Nobility. The Regent shall 'supply the *English* with all the Assistance and 'Provision he can. The Besieged, after the ta'king the Castle, shall be retain'd to be proceed'ed against according to the Law, the Q. of *Eng*'*land* being first acquainted therewith. If any 'of the *English* should be kill'd, their Wives and 'Children should be paid Stipends out of the Re'bels Estates. If any wounded, they likewise 'shall receive Stipends till they be cured. If any 'of the *English* Ordnance receive Damage, and 'the Powder and Ball that shall be spent, shall 'be made good out of the King's Store in the 'Castle, or out of the Rebels Estates. And ten 'Hostages shall be sent into *England* to secure the 'sending back the Forces and Ordnance, unless 'they are cut off by the common Misfortunes of 'War. *Upon what Conditions.*

Edinborough Castle besieged by the English Forces. Upon these Conditions Sir *William Drury*, Martial of the Garrison of *Berwick*, entered *Scotland* with several great Pieces of Cannon, and Fifteen hundred Men; among whom were several Gentlemen as Volunteers, *viz.* *George Cary*, *Henry Cary*, *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Leigh*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *William Killegrew*, and others. Having join'd the *Scotch* Auxiliaries, he beleaguer'd the Castle, after he had to no purpose summon'd them twice in the King's Name to surrender. At first they play'd upon the Castle with their Mortars for four Days together from five Batteries, and especially upon *David*'s Tower, which after some Days was batter'd to the Ground. Afterwards giving the Assault,

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Spurr-Fort was taken, while those who at the same time assaulted the Castle on the other side, were beat back, not without some loss of Men.

The Castle parleys. The next Day the Besieged hung out a Flag, and desir'd to parley with *Drury*. *Kircald* himself and *Robert Melvin* were let down by a Rope from the Castle, and *Henry Leigh* with *Fleck* a *Scot* were likewise taken into the Castle as Hostages. They demanded, *That they might freely enjoy their Lives and Estates: That* Humes *and* Lidington *might upon the account of the private Animosities of some Persons withdraw into* England: *That* Kircald *might stay in* Scotland, *or at least have leave to depart*. When they would not grant these Things, but only allow the Soldiery to depart unarm'd with their Baggage; the third Day after, the Garrison being very thin, at variance among themselves, wounded, and spent with Watchings and Toil, without the least hopes of Succour, and pinch'd It is surrender'd. for want of Water, (for one of their Wells was stopt up with the Ruin of a Stone-Wall, and the other lay open to the Enemies great Shot) they yeilded themselves and all they had the thirty third Day of the Siege, to Queen *Elizabeth* and *Drury*. Upon the receipt of Letters from *England*, *Drury* re-deliver'd the Castle, with all the Prisoners, to the Regent, for the King's use. Of these *Kircald* and others hang'd. Prisoners, *Kircald*, his Brother *James*, *Mosman* and *Coky*, two Goldsmiths who had adulterated the Money in the Castle, were hang'd; tho' for the sparing *Kircald*'s Life an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offer'd to be for ever Vassals to the Regent, to pay a yearly Pension of 3000 Marks, and 2000 Pounds of *Scottish* Money in hand; and to give good Security that he should for the future continue a faithful Subject to the King. *Humes* and others who were dispers'd into several Castles, were spared at the intercession of Queen *Elizabeth*, not without commendations of her Clemency. *Lidington* was sent to *Leith*, where *Lidington's* death. he died of a violent Distemper, yet not without suspicion of being poison'd: A Man of very great Experience among the *Scots*, and of an excellent Wit, had it been less wavering. Upon which account *George Buchanan*, who envy'd him in a Writing of his call'd the *Chameleon*, represents him in his Life-time as one more mutable than the *Chameleon*, and sharply taxes him as a party-colour'd Enemy to the King's Grandmother, his Mother, *Murray*, the King himself, and his Country. From this time *Scotland* took breath after Peace in *Scotland*. the Civil War; and as well the Heads of the Parties, as the Soldiers, going over to *Swedeland*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, gain'd great Commendations for their Martial Valour.

And that *England* might be the better secur'd Bp of *Ross* banish'd out of *England*. from all domestick Attempts upon the Queen of *Scots* account, *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross* (who had serv'd his Queen with an approved Loyalty, tho' to the Ruin of some, and the Danger of more) was dismiss'd from the *Tower*, and commanded to depart *England*. He accordingly withdrew into *France*, being deadly afraid of the E. of *Southampton*, (whose Life he brought into danger by the Discovery he made) and of *Henry Howard* the D. of *Norfolk*'s Brother, for the appeasing of whose Displeasure, he wrote an Apology for himself. He was scarce gone, but *H. Cokin*, his private Letter-Carrier, was apprehended, and by his confession *Morgan* discover'd; who, being a forward Man to promote any secret Designs for the Queen of *Scots* Interest, and very eager to put them in execution, presently fled. *Atslo*, the principal Physician among the Papists; and *Good*, both of 'em Doctors of Physick; and *Francis Berty*, were kept in Prison for some Months, for holding a private Correspondence with her by Letters; and upon the same account were *Henry Goodyer* and *Richard Lowder* had in Suspicion.

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In the mean time the Bishop of *Ross* was not wanting in the Duty of a most faithful Subject to the Queen of *Scots*, but solicited the Emperor, Being absent he attempts new Commotions. the Pope, the *French* King, and the Catholick Princes of *Germany*, who held him in hopes, but performed just nothing. But herein he complained that it happen'd very unluckily, that the Duke *d'Alva* (on whom he had chiefly relied) was D. *d'Alva* called home out of the *Netherlands*. just upon leaving the *Low-Countries*, having obtained a fair dismission from his Government, under pretence of recovering his Health. But really the *Spaniard* call'd him Home, as he was cruelly pursuing an intire Conquest, having already reduced almost all *Holland* under his Power. He was persuaded by Cardinal *Granvell* and *Raderigo Gomez de Sylva*, that the Duke's Power grew too great, that his Name sounded higher than his Prince's, and that through the Rigor of his violent Government the *Netherlanders* were driven to a Revolt; nay more, to Desperation. However, some Bloody-minded Persons were of opinion, that no fitter Man could be found in all *Spain* to make an end of that War, and reduce the *Netherlands* into the form of a Province. Those hot-headed Men seem'd to pity the King, if ever he hoped by Mildness to bring under his Obedience the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederates, who were obstinately bent and resolved to retain their Liberty, abounded in Riches, and were secured by the situation of the Places they maintain'd. *Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens*, great Commendator of *Castile*, was appointed the *Requesens* succeeds him. Duke *d'Alva*'s Successor, a Man of a milder Disposition; who, desiring to obtain Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour by all good Offices, and minding his own Concerns, would not meddle either with the *Scottish* or the *English* Affairs.

I know not whether I should here mention *Burchett* put to death. the frantick Opinion of *Peter Burchett*, who was persuaded that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the Truth of the Gospel. So far had the Error of this Opinion transported the Man, that he drew his Dagger upon *Hawkins*, that famous Sea-Captain, and wounded him, taking him for *Hatton*, who was then in great Favour with the Queen and her Privy-Council, whom he had heard to be an Enemy to the Innovators. The Q. was so extraordinarily incensed at this Fact, that she commanded that the Man should be presently punish'd by Martial or Camp-Law, till she was Martial Law. inform'd by some prudent Persons, that Martial-Law was not to be used but in Camps, or in turbulent Times; but that at Home, and in Times of Peace, the Proceeding must be carry'd on in the way of a judiciary Process. Being therefore brought to his Tryal, he maintained, That what he had done was consonant to the holy Scriptures, and therefore lawful. Whereupon being just about to be condemn'd for Heresie, he promis'd to renounce his Opinion; yet he still shifted it off, and would not. Upon this he was thrown into the *Tower* of *London*, where he slew one of the Keepers, knocking him on the Head with a Billet which he snatcht up out of the Chimney: he was condemn'd of Murder, had his right Hand cut off, and nail'd to the Gallows, and then he was hang'd, discovering a silent Reluctancy.

In the beginning of this Year died *William* The death of *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord-Privy-Seal, Son of *Thomas Howard*, that Martial Duke of *Norfolk*, by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*. He was a Man of most approved Fidelity and unshaken Courage; who being first of all Governor of *Calais*, was by Queen *Mary* prefer'd to be a Baron, and made Lord-High-Admiral of *England*. He was after-

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afterwards her Lord-Chamberlain, as he was also Queen *Elizabeth*'s; till, being broken with Age, he resign'd it a few Months before his death to *Sussex*, being made Lord-Privy-Seal, which (as I formerly hinted) is the fourth degree of Honour in *England*. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Barony, and a while after was made Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, as also Lord-High-Admiral of *England*.

The death of *Reginald* Earl of *Kent*.

Not long after died also *Reginald Grey* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen, a Year before, had raised from a private Man to the Dignity of Earl of *Kent*, after that this Title had lain dormant for fifty Years, from the Death of *Richard Grey* Earl of *Kent*, who had squander'd away his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this Man's Grandfather. His Brother *Henry* succeeded him in his Honour.

And of Dr. *Caius*.

Neither must we pass over in silence *John Caius*, a famous Physician, born at *Norwich*, and bred up at the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Padua*, who died about this time, having spent his whole Life in Physick, translated a great deal of *Galen* and *Celsus* into *Latin*, and Commented upon more, and at last bestowed all his Wealth to the advancing of Learning, joining a new College to old *Gonvil-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and giving a perpetual Allowance for 23 Students. Whereupon they grew into one Name of *Gonvil* and *Caius* College, where he lies intomb'd with this Inscription, FUI CAIUS.

Gonvil and *Caius* College.

Commotions in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, two restless Families, having raised several Troops of Rovers, made a cruel Assault upon *Athlone* upon the River *Shannon*, and then sack'd and burnt it. But Sir *John Perott*, President of *Munster*, hinder'd them from joining their Forces with the Rebels of *Munster*; for with continual Incursions he so harass'd and prosecuted *James-Fitz-Moris*, *Fitz-Edmunds* Steward of *Imokelley*, and the rest of the Rebels, killing many, and forcing the Castle of *Mayn* with a *French* Garrison in it, that he made them glad to ask Pardon with Submission in the Church of *Kilmalock*, that is, S. *Malachie's Cell*.

Perott suppresseth the Rebels.

The E. of *Desmond* escapes out of Prison.

And at the same time the Earl of *Desmond* with his Brother *John*, who were the Authors of that Rebellion, were by Sir *Edmund Fitton* brought back out of *England* into *Ireland*, and thrown into Prison at *Dublin*, whence notwithstanding they shortly after made their escape.

In *Ulster*, *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had seiz'd a great part of the Country of *Clandeboy*, burnt the Town of *Knock-fergus*, that is, *Fergus*'s Rock; and others in those Parts began to raise Tumults.

An Expedition of the E. of *Essex* into *Ireland*.

Against these *Walter D'Evereux* (whom Queen *Elizabeth* had lately created Earl of *Essex*) craved leave to undertake an Expedition, following therein the Council of those who desir'd above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into Dangers, under pretence of procuring him Honour. Which he knew well enough: But being a stirring Man, and one not unacquainted with Warlike Discipline from his very Youth, he held on his Resolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that upon certain Conditions the one half of *Clandeboy*, if he drove out the Rebels, should be granted to him and his Soldiers: For the Defence whereof he should maintain at his own charge 200 Horsemen and 400 Foot. And to furnish himself for the War, he borrow'd of the Queen Ten thousand Pounds of *English* Money, mortgaging his Lands in *Essex* for the same.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, fearing least the Name of so great an Earl should eclipse his Glory in *Ireland*, advised the Queen, that he might not be sent, feigning I know not what general Revolt of all *Ulster*. But *Essex* for all that was sent; and, that the Lord-Deputy's Honour and Authority might stand uneclips'd, he was commanded to receive his Patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of *Ulster*; which he was long in procuring, and that not without very importunate Solicitation.

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After he had been tossed with a sad Tempest at Sea, he arriv'd towards the end of *August* at *Knock-fergus*, with the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Rich*, *Henry Knolles*, and four of his Brethren, *Michael* and *John Cary*, *Henry*, *William* and *John Norris*, and a Band of Soldiers which had been hastily collected. Before his arrival, *Brian-Mac-Phelim* had driven away his Cattle, which were all his Wealth, into the inner Parts of the Country, (for besides Sheep and Hogs, he had Thirty thousand Cows). After his arrival, he congratulated him, and most frankly proffer'd him all Kindness; as also did *Mac-Gilespie*, *Mac-Guilly*, *Hugh* Baron of *Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about. The Earl promis'd to pardon *Mac-Phelim*'s Rebellion, and endeavour'd to oblige him to him by his Civility. But he shortly after revolted, and withdrew himself with all his Friends to *Turlough-Leinigh*; upon which follow'd daily Skirmishes with the *English*. The L. *Rich*, being call'd away by his private Occasions, return'd after a Month into *England*; *Henry Knolles* also, by reason of Sickness, and many others, alledging some one Cause, and some another, withdrew themselves dayly by degrees out of that rude and barbarous Country.

He is forsaken of his Companions.

Essex made grievous Complaints to the Queen and his Friends by Letters, 'That his noble Comrades began to flag and 'languish: That the Expedition was undertaken 'somewhat too late; Victuals too long before 'they came to 'em, and those tainted: That the 'common Soldiers were inconsiderately chosen 'at first, and many of them had miscarry'd: 'That *Mac-Phelim* was revolted, and that by the 'Cunning or rather Treachery of *Pierce* an *English* Captain, who had formerly born some Sway 'among the *Irish* in those Parts. For his part, 'he was unable to bear the Charges of the War: 'Neither had the Lord-Deputy as yet sent him 'his Patent; so as he could exercise no Authority 'over the bordering People. He therefore 'prayeth the Queen to carry on the Service in 'her own Name, and by her own Command, 'tho' he bare the one half of the Charge. Afterwards he besought *Sussex*, *Leicester* and *Burghley*, to perswade the Queen to allow Pay for 100 Horse, and 600 Foot, and to grant him *Mayo*, a *Peninsula*, or almost Island. And when the Queen had now determin'd to call home *Essex* out of *Ulster*, Tumults arising in *Munster*, *Leicester* and others overcame her so by their Perswasions, that he was not sent for. And the Lord-Deputy commanded, that whilst he himself march'd against *Desmond*, who was escap'd out of Prison contrary to his Word given, *Essex* should march to the Borders of *Ulster*. Which tho' it somewhat troubled him, who was now wholly busied in making Fortifications in *Clandeboy*, yet he obey'd; and, marching on in *Munster* with *Kildare*, he perswaded *Desmond* to lay down Arms, who not long after submitted himself.

He is beset with Difficulties.

He perswadeth *Desmond* to submit.

Now *Essex*, having receiv'd his Patent, undertook a long March against *Turlough Leinigh*, *O-Donell* joining with him. But from *Con O-Donell*, *Turlough*'s Son-in-law, who would not serve under him, he took the Castle of *Liffer*, and gave it to *Hugh O-Donell*; *Turlough* in the mean while spinning out the time with Parlies, till that *Essex* was of necessity to return: Who as he had tired out his Body with Labours and Cares all the Summer; so now, Winter approaching, he consider'd seriously with himself

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His Project for securing Ulster.

himself, by what means *Ulster*, which had been so long neglected, that it was grown wild and savage, might be reduc'd to Civility. And upon mature Deliberation of the Matter, he shewed, That if Three Towns were built at the Queen's Charge, and Ten Forts by the common Purse of the Soldiers, in such convenient Places as he had design'd, above Seven thousand Pounds of *English* Money might be gather'd yearly from those People; and after Two Years, the Queen should not need to maintain any more Garrisons there.

He is in danger by Mac-Phelim.

Whilst he was wholly taken up about these Projects, and other commendable Endeavours for providing of Victuals, he escap'd narrowly from being slain by the *Irish*. For *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had of late treacherously slain one *Moore* an *English* Captain, had conspir'd with *Turlough* and the *Hebridian Scots*, to cut him off. Which as soon as he understood, he thought it best not to expect their coming, but to set upon them. And set upon them he did so resolutely, that, with the Slaughter of 200 *Irish*, he took *Brian* and *Rory Oge* his half Brother, and *Brian's* Wife. With these Actions was the Year well nigh spent in *Ireland*, to no Man's Advantage, but to *Essex's* great Damage; and also to the great Loss of *Chaterton*, an *English* Gentleman, who upon certain Conditions with the Queen, had unfortunately undertaken to carry over *English* Colonies into *Fues* and the Territory of *O-Hanlan* adjoining.

Mac-Phelim taken Prisoner.

Chaterton's Enterprize overthrown.

The Seventeenth Year of her Reign.

1574.

Alenzon maketh means to see the Queen.

In the first Month of the Year, *Francis* Duke of *Alenzon* did by Letters full fraught with Love, and by *Maveisier* the *French* Ambassador, endeavour more earnestly than before, that he might come into *England* upon safe Conduct, and salute Queen *Elizabeth* in Person, for whom being absent, he had so singular a Love and Respect. She, being overcome with his Importunities, yielded to it (though she under-hand advised him otherwise) and gave him her Royal Word, that he might come when he pleas'd before the 20th of *May*; liberally promising, That he should fail of no Kindness which might be expected at the Hands of a most loving Princess. Certainly she now loved and respected him more heartily, after she understood for certain that he bare a mortal Hatred to the *Guises*, her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought to *Alenzon*, *Valentine Dale*, Doctor of Law, Ambassador in *France* (in the Room of *Walsingham*, now made Secretary) gave Queen *Elizabeth* notice, That *Alenzon* and *Navarre* were suspected to endeavour a Change of Affairs. For the Queen-Mother, being a Woman of an high Spirit, began to suspect, that he practised secretly with *Navarre*, *Montmorency*, and others, to remove her from the Government, if any thing should befall the King other than well. And this her Suspicion the *Guises* increas'd, suggesting to her, That her Son *Alenzon* had not long before held intimate Familiarity with *Coligny*, the Ringleader of the Protestants in *France*. *Alenzon* being question'd about it, amongst other Things, voluntarily confess'd, That he had for a good while been a Suitor for Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*; wherein, believing that *Coligny's* Friendship would be of good Use unto him, he had now and then had Discourse with him thereof, and of the *Low-Country* War. Notwithstanding, both he and *Navarre* had Keepers set over them. But *Thomas Wilks*, *Dale's* Secretary, came privately to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of *England's* Name; promising, that she would omit no Opportunity to help and relieve them. Whereof that subtle old Woman soon got Knowledge, and so prosecuted *Wilks*, that he was fain to withdraw himself into *England*; where she also follow'd him with Letters of Complaint, insomuch, that he was sent back into *France*, and there humbly crav'd Pardon. *Navarre*, not unmindful of the Consolation he gave him, when he came to be King of *France*, and saw him in *Normandy* Twenty five Years after, Knighted him. Afterwards, Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the Queen-Mother, if it were possible, to restore *Alenzon* and *Navarre* to their former Grace and Favour. But before he arriv'd in *France*, King *Charles* was dead; for whom a solemn Funeral Obsequy was kept with great Magnificence in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*.

She granteth it.

He is suspected at home.

Committed to Custody.

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The Death of Charles IX.

Lord North's Ambassy to Henry III.

As soon as *Henry* III. of that Name, King of *France*, was return'd out of *Poland* into *France* to take the Crown, *Roger* Lord *North* was sent over into *France*, to congratulate the new King both about the Kingdom and his Return; to condole the rending of *France* in pieces by Civil Wars; to persuade him to Peace, and the Observation of the late Edicts; to restore *Alenzon* into Favour; to pacify the Displeasure conceiv'd against *Montmorency* and the Marshal of *Cosse*; and to procure Favour towards the Lady *Charlotta* of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Monpensier's* Daughter, who had withdrawn her self into *Germany* for Religion. But he effected nothing: For now *France*, as it were, thrust forward by Destiny, ran desperately headlong into a cruel War. Nevertheless, the King and his Mother sent *la Guarde* into *England*, with Letters from them both, to prosecute the Business of Marriage for her Son *Alenzon*. For he now stomaching it very much, that he was so unworthily led about by his Mother like a Prisoner, and holding secret Correspondence with the Politicians in *France*, they purpos'd to rid him away into *England*, in Hopes of Marriage, thereby to divert the young Man's Mind from War and Faction at home.

The King & Queen Mother commend Alenzon to the Queen of England.

They favour the Queen of Scots against the Regent.

Nevertheless, in the mean time they left no Stone unturn'd in *Scotland*, by secret Contrivances, to procure that the young King might be sent over into *France*, and *Morton* the Regent laid aside; sending privily to this purpose certain *Scots* of the *French* Guard into *Scotland*. And this the Queen of *Scots* much desir'd, being persuaded that if her Son was once in *France* out of Danger, she and the Catholicks in *England* should be more mildly dealt withal. For hereby she thought it would come to pass, that the *English* Faction in *Scotland*, which was hitherto supported by the Authority of the King's Name, would presently fall to the Ground; and the *English*, as he grew more and more ripe in Years, would stand in Fear of him, both from *France* and from *Scotland*. And no less did the *French* wish the same, fearing lest the Regent of *Scotland*, being most devoted to the *English*, would dissolve that ancient League betwixt the *French* and the *Scots*. Notwithstanding, when the Regent earnestly intreated, that there might be a League of mutual Defence concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland* against Foreigners, he was not heard nor minded; perhaps, because at the same Time he sued that a yearly Pension might be assign'd him, and some other *Scots*. But those were hearkned unto, who, upon a light Suspicion, charg'd the Queen of *Scots*, the Countess of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* also himself, as if they had made up a Match between *Charles*, the King of *Scots* Unkle, (to whom the King had lately in a Parliament confirm'd the Earldom of *Lenox*) and *Elizabeth Candish*, the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Daughter

Queen Elizabeth neglecteth the Regent.

She believeth Tale-bearers against the Queen of Scots.

by

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by a former Husband, without acquainting the Queen. For which Cause the Mothers of them both, and some others, were detain'd a while in Custody; and all the Blame was laid upon the Queen of *Scots*.

Earl of *Huntington* made President of the Council of the North.

Whilst now there arose sundry Suspicions, whether this Marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington* was made President of the Council in the North, and furnish'd with new and secret Instructions in this Matter. This Presidentship, which is now a Place of great Honour, did, from a mean Beginning, grow up in a short Time to this high Estimation. For (to relate to Posterity what I have heard, by a free and brief Digression) when in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. the Rebellion of the Northern People about the suppressing of Abbies was quell'd, and the Duke of *Norfolk* staying in those Parts, many Complaints were brought to him of several Wrongs, done in the Rebellion; some of 'em he made up himself, and others he committed to Men of Discretion, under his Seal, to be by them compounded and accorded. Which when the King understood, he sent him a peculiar Seal to use in these Cases: And the same Seal he committed, after the Duke was recall'd, to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and appointed him Assistants, with Authority *to hear and determine the Complaints of the Poor*. He was then first named *President*, and the Authority of his Successors has ever since increas'd very much.

Original of this Council.

Excess of Apparel restrain'd.

In these Days, a wondrous Excess in Apparel had spread it self all over *England*; and the Habit of our own Country, thro' a peculiar Vice, incident to our Nation, of imitating Foreign Fashions, grew into such Contempt, that Men, by their new-fashion'd Garments, and too gaudy Apparel, discover'd a certain Deformity and Arrogance of Mind; whilst they jetted up and down in their Silks glittering with Gold and Silver, either embroider'd or lac'd. The Queen observing, that to maintain this Excess, a great Quantity of Money was carry'd yearly out of the Land, to buy Silks, and other outlandish Wares; to the impoverishing of the Commonwealth; and that many of the Nobility, who might be of great Service to the Commonwealth, and others, that they might seem of noble Extraction, did, to their own Undoing, not only waste their Estates, but also run so far in Debt, that of Necessity they came within Danger of the Law thereby; and attempted to raise Troubles and Commotions, when they had wasted their own Patrimonies; although she might have proceeded against them, by the Laws of *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Mary*, and thereby have fined them in great Sums of Money; yet she chose rather to deal with them by way of Command. She commanded therefore, by Proclamation, that every Man should, within Fourteen Days, conform himself, for Apparel, to a certain prescribed Fashion, lest they otherwise incurr'd the Severity of the Laws: and she began the Conformity her self in her own Court. But, thro' the Untowardliness of the Times, both this Proclamation, and the Laws also gave way, by little and little, to this Excess of Pride, which grew daily more and more unreasonable: And with it crept in riotous Banquetting, and prodigal Bravery in Building.

England beautify'd with Buildings.

For now there began more Noblemens and private Mens Houses to be built here and there through *England*; and those neat, large and sumptuous Edifices, than in any other Age before: and verily to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but to as great Decay of the glorious Hospitality of the Nation.

Of the *Englishmen* who serv'd in *Holland*, under *Edward Chester* and *Gainsford*, some this Year wanted Valour, and some good Success. For, those that lay in Garrison at *Valkenbourg*, quitted their Post, and after yielded themselves to the Enemy: who notwithstanding were pardon'd, lest Queen *Elizabeth* should deny Harbour to the *Spanish* Fleet, that was now passing through the *British* Sea, to the *Low Countries*. Others of 'em at the Sluice of *Gouda*, after they had endur'd a smart Skirmish with the *Spaniards*, and had beaten them back, were surpriz'd unawares, by the Enemy swimming the River, and forced from their Hold; 200 of them being slain, and three Colours taken.

Cowardise of some *English* in the *Netherlands*. Others defeated.

I know not whether it be worth while to mention such small Matters as these; to wit, The devout Credulity of certain *London*-Ministers, deluded this Year by a Maid, who counterfeited her self to be possess'd by the Devil: A monstrous Whale left on the dry Shore, upon the Coast of the Isle of *Thanet*; whose Length was measured to be Twenty of our Ells, the Breadth from the Belly to the Back-bone Thirteen Foot, and the Space between the Eyes Eleven Foot: That the *Thames* ebb'd and flow'd twice in an Hour: That the Clouds flam'd with Fire in the Month of *November*, streaming from the North towards the South; and the next Night the Heaven seem'd to burn, the Flames arising from the Horizon round about, and meeting in the Vertical Point. Blame me not for mentioning these Things in a short Digression, considering that the gravest Historians have recorded such like Matters more at large.

Ministers deluded. A great Whale. An unusual flowing of the *Thames*. Sky seems to burn.

The Eighteenth Year of her Reign. 1575.

League with *France* renew'd.

Henry III. King of *France*, being return'd out of *Poland*, and inaugurated at *Rheims*, made it his first and chiefest Care to confirm by his Oath and Subscription, the Confederacy of *Blois*, enter'd into the Year 1572. betwixt his Brother *Charles* and Queen *Elizabeth*, and to deliver the same to *Valentine Dale*, her Ordinary Ambassador: which she in like manner ratify'd, at *Saint James's* near *Westminster*. Howbeit, within a while after, he mov'd this Question by a Letter, Whether or no the *mutual Defence against all Men*, mention'd in the said League, did comprehend the Cause of Religion? Whereunto when she had answer'd plainly, That it did, and that she would be ready for a mutual Defence against all Men, even in the Cause of Religion, if it were required, according to the Condition of the League; he prepared himself to war against the Protestants: and *Alenzon* being engaged to the adverse Party, there follow'd thereupon a deep and long Silence concerning his Marriage. Nevertheless, for *Alenzon's* sake, Queen *Elizabeth* furnish'd a great Sum of Money to *Casimir*, for the bringing of certain *German* Horsemen into *France*, against the Disturbers of the publick Peace.

War begun in *France*.

While her Mind was taken up with these *French* Matters, in the mean Time the *Netherlandish* Affairs stood thus. Don *Lewis Zuniga de Requesens*, who succeeded the Duke of *Alva*, bent himself wholly to recover (if it were possible) the Sea-Coasts, which the Duke of *Alva* had, by a notable Oversight in so great a Captain, neglected; whereby the *Low-Country* War was so many Years prolong'd. But in regard he was unprovided of Shipping (for the *Spanish* Ships, which, by the Help of the *English*, were brought into *Flanders* a little before, for that purpose, had miscarry'd, being miserably torn and weather-beaten) he sent *Boischot* into *England*, to levy, with the Queen's Consent, Ships and Seamen, against the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*. But he

Requesens craves Shipping out of *England*, but in vain.

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he prevail'd not: for the Queen would not hazard her Ships and Seamen in another Man's Quarrel; and she publickly commanded, that no Man should set out Ships of War, without Licence first obtain'd from her; and that no *English* Seamen should serve under other Princes.

Other Requests deny'd him.

Boischot therefore desir'd, that she would not be offended, if the *English* Exiles in the *Netherlands* serv'd at Sea, under the *Spaniard*, against the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free Access to the Ports of *England*, and buy Victuals for their Money. She in no wise allow'd, that those *English* Rebels (for so she call'd those whom he term'd *Exiles*) should serve under the *Spaniard*; nay she hoped *Requesens* would not shew them any Countenance, and pray'd him not to do it; particularly naming *Thomas Copley*, (whom the *Spaniards* purpos'd to set out to Sea, to make Prize both of the *English* and *Netherlanders*, having dignify'd him with the Titles of *Great Master of the* Maese, *Lord of* Gatten *and* Roughty) And to give Liberty of her Ports to Rebels and sworn Enemies, were nothing else but the Height of Madness. *Boischot*, that he might obtain something reasonable of her, required, in the King of *Spain*'s Name, that the *Netherland* Rebels against the *Spaniard* might be expell'd out of *England*. She deny'd it, forasmuch as those whom he call'd Rebels were Men of no Note, poor and silly Wretches, who had attempted no Disturbances, but had fled into *England* for fear of the War, despoil'd of their Country and Inheritance, whom to deliver into the Tormenter's Hands, were a piece of Inhumanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality. And she put him in mind how prejudicial it had been to the *Spanish* Affairs in the *Netherlands*, when, at the Duke of *Alva*'s Request, she commanded the *Netherlanders* to depart out of *England*, in the Year 1572. For the Count *Van-der-Mark* and others, being commanded to be gone out of *England*, thereupon took the *Briel*, and gave Beginning to that War. But yet, that she might not seem to forget or neglect the ancient League with the House of *Burgundy*, (which notwithstanding the *Spaniard* had refus'd to confirm with her) she commanded by publick Proclamation, that the *Netherlanders* Ships of War should not stir out of the Havens of *England*, and that those *Netherlanders* who had taken up Arms against the *Spaniard*, should not be admitted into the Havens of *England*; and by Name, the Prince of *Orange*, and those of his House, the Earls of *Culenbourg*, *Berg*, *Van-der-Mark*, and fifty others, the most remarkable Men of that Faction.

Q. forbids the Confederate Netherlanders Entrance into her Ports.

And this she did the more willingly, because *Requesens* had, at the Intercession of *Wilson* the *English* Ambassador, remov'd the Earl of *Westmorland* and other *Englishmen*, out of the *Netherland* Provinces of the *Spaniard*, and had dissolv'd the *English* Seminary at *Doway*. Instead whereof, the *Guises*, by the Procurement of Pope *Gregory* XIII. erected another at *Rheims*.

Requesens removes *English* Rebels out of the *Netherlands*. Dissolves their Seminary at *Doway*.

Prince of *Orange* thinking to beg Protection of the *French*, is dissuaded by Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Prince of *Orange* finding himself too weak to withstand the Force of the *Spaniard*, and hoping for no Good out of *England*, enter'd into Consultation with his Friends, to whose Protection they might best betake themselves. And when Queen *Elizabeth* understood that he cast his Eyes and Mind upon the *French* King, she first sent *Daniel Rogers* to dissuade him: which when *Rogers* could not do, (for he had dealt before, concerning the matter, with *Coligny* Admiral of *France*, and the *French* King) she sent *Henry Cobham*, the Lord *Cobham*'s Brother, to the *Spaniard*, to inform him, of how dangerous Consequence it would be, if *Holland* and *Zealand* should revolt from him to the *French* King; and to persuade him, by the best Reasons he could, to change War for Peace: who seem'd to listen to the Motion. And withal, she signify'd the same things to *Requesens*, by *Robert Corbet*. Neither ceas'd she to divert the Prince of *Orange* from his purpose, by *J. Hastings*: but by means of the Opposition of *Vilers*, a *French* Preacher, he effected nothing.

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Vilers perswades him.

This *Vilers* (I speak it upon my own Knowledge) came formerly into *England*, a poor needy Fellow, in a thread bare Cloak; and grew rich, by a common Collection made him for reading a Divinity-Lecture. He, fearing least the Prince of *Orange* should look towards the *English*, amongst other thing, affirm'd, that Queen *Elizabeth* had never a Martial Man, to whose Valour and Fidelity she could entrust an Army, but *Suffex*; and he not much favouring the Protestant Religion. He also buzz'd abroad, what he had heard of *Coligny*, that the *English*, if they once set Footing in the *Netherlands*, would resume their ancient Hatred against the *French*.

Confederates consult about a Protection.

But the Civil-Wars among the *French* cut off from the Prince of *Orange*, and the *Netherlanders*, all Hope of Aid out of *France*. Whereupon, they enter'd into a new Consultation, whom they should fly to, for Succour and Protection. The Princes of *Germany*, they knew were already averse enough, in their Hearts, from the *Spaniards*; but they did not unite their Counsels together, for the Common Good; they were sparing of laying out Money; they agreed not in all Points with the *Netherlanders*, in Religion; and the Emperor, being ally'd in Blood to the *Spaniard*, would cast Rubs in their Way. The *French* (they saw) were embroil'd with Civil-War at home, in such sort as they could not tell when it would have an End. Besides, there were inveterate Grudges and Heart-burnings betwixt the *Netherlanders* and the *French*; and those of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the People bordering upon the *French*, would oppose them all they could. The Government of the *French* was no less rigid than that of the *Spaniards*: the Ports of *France* not very commodious for the *Netherlanders* Navigation. But as for the *English*, they were (as being under the same Parallel) of the same Temper and Disposition with them; their Religion the very same, their Language not much differing, their Country near at hand, full of Havens commodious for Navigation, and abounding with Merchandize: the Queen was very powerful both by Sea and Land, courteous, bountiful, one that would maintain their Privileges; her Government would be gentle, and not burdensome by Exactions. Thus they argu'd.

And fly to the Q. of England.

Into *England* therefore are sent *Philip* of *Marnix* Sieur of *Saint Aldegond*, *Janus Deuza* of *Nordwick*, *William* of *Nivelle*, *Paul Buys*, Advocate for the States of *Holland*, and Dr. *Melsen*, a Lawyer; who by an Honourable Embassy, and in an eloquent Oration, offer to the Queen, either the Possession or Protection of *Holland* and *Zealand*, she being a Princess descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa* Wife to *Edward* III. and Daughter to *William* III. of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*; by whose other Sister the hereditary Title of those Provinces was descended to the *Spaniard*.

She considers of it.

These things the Queen gave a ready and attentive Ear to. And first she weigh'd in her Mind seriously, the Cause which they maintain'd against their King and Lord; the Enmity of the *Spaniard* against her; the Jealousies of the *French* King; and the great Expences and doubtful Chances of War; and also how great Offence the Novelty of such an Example might give. Then she question'd, whether she had any just Title to *Holland* and *Zealand*, by the House of

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Bavaria, and whether she might lawfully enter into Covenant with another Prince's Subjects to protect them; as also whether they might lawfully do it without the Emperor's consent, who was *Supreme Lord of the Fee.* Next, she gave no Credit to what some would make her believe, that those Countries came to the *Spaniard*'s Ancestors by Election of the Subjects, not by Right of Inheritance. Finally, upon mature Deliberation of the Matter, after he had thanked the Prince of *Orange* and them for their apparent Good-will towards her, she answer'd, *That she esteem'd nothing more glorious, than to deal with Faith and Honour, and as beseemeth a Prince. That she was not yet satisfy'd how she might with her Honour and a safe Conscience take those Provinces upon their Proffer into her Protection, much less Possession. But she would deal seriously with the* Spaniard, *to procure them an happy Peace.*

She rejecteth them.

Champigny's Embassy from Flanders.

At the same time came *John Perenott*, Lord of *Champigny*, the Cardinal of *Granvill*'s Brother, from *Requesens* to Queen *Elizabeth*; who modestly put her in mind of observing the League betwixt *England* and *Burgundy*, and besought her, that she would not intermeddle in the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. She, tho' the *Spaniard* had refus'd to confirm the said League, yet promis'd to observe it. Nevertheless she would provide (she said) for her own Honour and Safety, in case the ancient Form of the *Burgundian* Government were chang'd, and foreign Soldiers receiv'd daily in so great Numbers into the Neighbouring Province to her.

Death of *Requesens.*

Before such time as *Champigny* was return'd home, *Requesens* was dead, and presently the Affairs of the *Netherlands* were in a confus'd Condition, the Soldiers harassing all places with Fire and Sword, and the Estates of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, &c. reassuming their former Authority in governing the State: Which the *Spaniard* also was forced to confirm unto them till the coming of Don *John of Austria*, whom he had appointed to be their Governor. To these Estates Queen *Elizabeth* sent *William Davison*, to exhort them effectually to bend their Minds to Peace, being very careful that the *Spaniard* might receive no Damage, and to preserve unto him, as far as lay in her power, the *Netherland* Provinces whole and safe. But the *Spanish* Soldiers mutinying and growing outragious, nothing was effected.

The Q. laboureth to compose the *Netherland* Differences.

A Tumult on the Borders of *Scotland*, between the *Scots* & *English*.

In *England* there was all this Year a quiet Calm, saving that in the *Middle-March* towards *Scotland* there happen'd a sudden Bickering in the Month of *July* betwixt the Borderers, upon this Occasion. Sir *John Forster* Kt. Warden of the *Middle-March*, and at this time Governor also of *Berwick*, had condescended beneath his Quality to a Parley at *Red-Square-Hill* with *J. Carmichell*, Warden of *Liddesdale* in *Scotland*. For Governors were not wont to meet but with Governors, and Wardens with Wardens, as Equals in Dignity. Both of them, besides certain Gentlemen attending them, were accompany'd with an armed Rabble of Thieves and Malefactors belonging to both Borders, most of them bearing an inveterate and deadly Fewd one against the other. These, after their wonted manner, turning their Horses to grazing in the next Fields, encompassed the Governor and the Warden on all sides: Whom, when they heard fall to hot Words about delivering up of Raparees, and mistrusted that themselves (who had no Livelihood but by their Weapons) were the Men that should be deliver'd up, every one of them having a guilty Conscience, they began to quarrel about a Spur that was taken up, and presently betook themselves to their Weapons, every Man falling upon his particular Enemy whom he hated, or else to the taking of Horses as Booty. Whether the *Scots* or the *English* began first is uncertain. At the first Shock the *English* beat back the *Scots*, and took *Carmichell* Prisoner: But when they fell carelesly to pillaging, and to rifling of certain Pedlars, a Company of *Scots* came upon them from *Jedburgh*, by means whereof *Carmichell* escap'd, the *English* were put to flight, and Sir *George Heron* Kt. Warden of *Tindale* and *Rhedesdale*, and others, were slain. *Forster* himself the Governor, *Francis Russel* the Earl of *Bedford*'s Son, and Son-in-law to *Forster*, *Cuthbert Collingwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others were taken Prisoners, and carry'd into *Scotland* as far as *Dalkeith*, where the Regent lay; who entertain'd them with all Civility, but detain'd them a little while, fearing lest, if they were presently dismissed, while their Blood was hot for the loss of their Friends, they might attempt a Revenge, and raise Combustions and War betwixt the two Kingdoms. Neither did he at last let them go, but upon Faith given under their Hands to appear in *Scotland* at a set Day.

Sir *George Heron* slain.

Englishmen carry'd Prisoners.

Q. *Eliz.* taketh it in great disdain.

As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had intelligence hereof, now if ever she was filled with Anger and Indignation, taking it in high scorn, that the *Scots*, who (as she said) did owe their Liberty and Tranquility to her and the *English*, had broken the Peace, invaded the *English* in *England*, slain some of them, taken Prisoner the Warden of the *Middle-March*, who was also Governor of *Berwick*, with divers others, carry'd them away captive into *Scotland*, and not dismiss'd them till they had given Assurance under their Hands for their Return. All these Things she took as done wrongfully and injuriously, in Disgrace of the *English* Nation, and of her own Honour. And the rather, because the Regent had appointed the Hearing of this Matter to be within the Limits of *Scotland*; and had also propounded whether or no the Commissioners should meet armed. For this latter seem'd a point of Hostility; that other, of Ambition, namely, that the Regent of *Scotland* should now prescribe a Place of Meeting to the Queen of *England*, whereas she not long before had appointed *Murray* the Regent his Place of Meeting at *York*. Neither could the Regent, now terrify'd at her Threats, satisfy her, till such time as he came unarm'd to *Bondenrod*, on the Borders of both Kingdoms; and there met the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the *English* Commissioner, and with complimental Words, promis'd to close this Wound by the best Offices he could, and (to repair the Honour of the *English* Nation) sent *Carmichell*, his intimate Friend, into *England*, who was kept a while at *York* a Prisoner at large, but afterwards sent back with Honour and certain Presents. For it was found that the Fault lay in *Forster*, whilst he too obstinately took the Part of a notorious Malefactor. Thus was Amity renew'd betwixt the Queen and the Regent. And after that time he never fail'd to shew himself her constant Friend, restraining the Raparees of the Borders, to his own great Commendations, and to the general Good of both Kingdoms.

The matter compounded.

The death of the D. of *Chastel-Herault.*

There died this Year no Man of any great Note in *England*, but in *Scotland* a most noble Person, namely, *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, and Earl of *Arran*; who, being Great Grandson to *James* II. King of *Scots* by his Daughter, was appointed Tutor to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and Governor and Heir-apparent of the Kingdom during her Minority. After, when he had deliver'd her to the *French*, he was made Duke of *Chastel-Herault* in *France*; and was after that constituted by Queen *Mary* (being then a Prisoner) the first of the three Lieutenants of *Scotland*. Whose

Cause

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Cause whilst he most constantly maintain'd, being an open-hearted Man, and of a mild Disposition, he was perpetually tossed and turmoiled by the vexatious Contrivances of turbulent Persons.

Essex in distress in *Ireland.*

In *Ireland* the Earl of *Essex* being laid in wait for by *Turlough* and the Baron of *Dungannon*, and wrestling with many Difficulties out of *England*, hearing now that there was a Consultation about his calling home, bewail'd himself for the Miseries into which he was wrongfully fallen, complain'd of the undoing of himself and his Friends, lamented the Condition of *Ireland*, which he perswaded himself might be brought into Order with Two thousand Men; and very earnestly intreated that he might compound Matters with *Turlough*, to his Honour. And when he had now resign'd up his Command in *Ulster* to the Lord-Deputy, because he was not able with that small Power of Men which the Lord-Deputy had assign'd him to prosecute his Enterprize, he was commanded to take it again. But scarce had he taken it and marched against *Turlough*, when Letters came, that he should absolutely desist from War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon made, he marched against the *Hebridian Scots*, who had seiz'd upon *Clandeboy*, drove them into the Lurking-places, and by the Conduct of *Norris* attempted the Isle of *Rachlin*, put Four hundred of the Islanders to the Sword, forced the Castle, and put a Garrison therein. And now, in the midst of his Course of Victory, he was again, beyond his expectation, commanded to resign his Authority; and as an ordinary Captain had the Command of 300 Men given him; and through *Leicester*'s cunning Dealing nothing was omitted, whereby to break his mild Spirit with continual Crosses one in the neck of another.

Sidney the third time made Deputy of *Ireland.* Divers Rebels submit themselves.

Now was Sir *Henry Sidney* sent the third time Lord-Deputy into *Ireland*, whereas the Pestilence consum'd the People of the Isle far and near. He notwithstanding goeth into *Ulster*, and many came in to him, falling upon their Knees, and craving his Protection, namely, *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guire*, *Turlough Leinigh*, and others. In *Leinster* in like manner did the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, two rebellious Families, who by Force and Arms had seiz'd upon their ancient Inheritances in *Leise* and *Ophalie*, out of which they had been thrown by the Law. Being come into *Munster*, he assisted as a close Mourner to honour the Funeral of Sir *Peter Carew*, a very noble Knight, and of approved Valour; who being Heir to *Fitz-Stephen* and *Raymund* the *Gross*, the first Conquerors of *Ireland*, and to the Barony of *Idrone*, had recover'd a part of his Inheritance which had been lost a long time. The Earl of *Desmond* coming to see him at *Cork*, offered him his best Service, and Obedience with all Submission. From thence going into *Connaught*, he receiv'd into his Protection the Earl of *Clan-Richard*'s Son, who had rebell'd, but now most submissively crav'd Pardon in the Church of *Galway*: And he govern'd the Country with great Commendation.

Death of Sir *Peter Carew.*

1576.

The Nineteenth Year of her Reign.

French propound a Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth.*

In the beginning of the new Year those two Marriage-Brokers, *Mota Fenellon* and *Porte*, began again to tickle Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ears with Love-Stories about her Marriage with *Alenzon*. To whom answer was made, *That that Business was now out of season, for* Alenzon *could not come over*, France *being embroil'd with Civil Wars, and* Alenzon *deeply engag'd therein.* Yet were there one or two Messengers sent into *France*, to renew Brotherly-love betwixt the King and *Alenzon*, and to dissuade them from meddling with the Affairs of the *Netherlands*, lest the *Spaniard* should endeavour to raise new Combustions in *France*. And the more to deter the *French* King from it, she put him in Mind how easie a matter it would be for the *Spaniard*, who was now thoroughly furnish'd with all Provision for War in *Italy*, either to seize upon *Saluzes*, or to land his Forces in *Provence*, and make himself Master of the Coast of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, *France* being so exhausted of its Wealth: And other like matters she put him in mind of.

She perswades 'em to Peace.

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And from meddling in the Netherlands.

For the Prince of *Orange*, for his own private Ends, and in hopes to retain the Principality of *Orange*, which is situate in *France*, ceased not to invite the *French* into the *Netherlands*, and permitted the *Zealanders* and *Hollanders* (who infested the Seas round about with their Privateers, being Men as it were born in the Sea) to rob the *English* Merchants Ships, whom they accus'd to carry Victuals to their Enemies the *Dunkirkers*, and to transport the Merchandize of the *Antwerpers* and others into *Spain*, under counterfeit Names, which they were wont themselves to export formerly to their own Advantage, but now durst not, as being conscious to themselves of their Revolt. For restraining of these, *Holstock* being sent forth again with Men of War, took above 200 Pirates, and put 'em in Prisons all along the Sea-coast. But to demand Restitution of the Goods they had taken, there were sent into *Zeland* Sir *William Winter* Kt. and *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Council, to consider of the Value of the Things in controversie, and agree about Restitution, upon certain Conditions. But by reason of the Avarice of the *English* Merchants, and the Insolency of the *Zelanders*, the Quarrel broke out again, which was shortly after compounded with loss to both Nations.

Zelanders infest the *English.*

They are restrain'd by the Q.

All things were now in the utmost Confusion in the *Netherlands*, whilst the *Spaniards* without any Authority, thrust certain Counsellors of the Estates into Prison, and committed such Outrages in the Country, rifling their Goods, and doing them all kinds of Injuries, that the Estates were driven of necessity to take up Arms. And forthwith they dispatched their Messengers into all Countries; and by *Obigny* signified to Queen *Elizabeth* how they were abus'd, and the Causes of their taking up Arms. The Queen by Dr. *Wilson* earnestly exhorteth both the States and the *Spaniards* to lay down Arms, and enquireth diligently for what reason the States Counsellors were committed. In the mean time the most beautiful City of *Antwerp*, which hardly yielded to any the most flourishing Mart-Towns of all *Europe*, was miserably sack'd by the *Spaniards*, the Houses of the *English* Merchants plunder'd and rifl'd, and they themselves (tho' free from all Blame) constrain'd to pay the Soldiers a great sum of Gold for their Ransom. *Obigny*, laying hold on this Opportunity, importunately desir'd to borrow a great sum of Money of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Name of the States, to restrain this *Insolency* of the *Spaniards*. The Queen, having receiv'd certain *Intelligence* that they had before desired Money of the *French* King, denied them, but promis'd to make earnest *Intercession* with the *Spaniard* for a Peace. And to that purpose she sent into *Spain* Sir *John Smith*, Cousin-German to King *Edward* VI. a Man of *Spanish* Comportment, and very well *known* to the *Spaniard*; who was most graciously *Entertain'd* by the King, and retorted with such Discretion the disgraceful Injuries of *Gasper Quiroga* Archbishop of *Toledo* against the Queen, in hatred of her Religion, and of the Inquisitors of *Sevil*, who would not allow the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith* in the Queen's Title,

Confusion in the *Netherlands.*

Antwerp sack'd.

Queen *Elizabeth* labours to compound the *Netherland* Troubles.

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Title, that the King gave him Thanks for it, and was displeased with the Archbishop, desiring the Ambassador to conceal the Matter from the Queen, and expresly commanded the said Title to be allow'd her. For he knew the Queen's Advice was expedient for this Affair, tho' he follow'd it not, the Fate of the *Netherlands* (if I may so say) inforcing him to take another Course.

Don *John* of *Austria* cometh into the *Netherlands.*

At this time Don *John* of *Austria* came into the *Netherlands* with Supreme Power to Govern the same, who was the base or natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* V. To whom the Queen likewise sent Sir *Edward Horsey*, Governor of the *Isle of Wight*, to congratulate his Entrance, and to offer him Assistance in case the States should call in the *French* to the *Netherlands*. But *Sowvingham* making most importunate suit in behalf of the States, she sent them over Twenty thousand Pounds of *English* Money, upon condition they should never change their Religion nor their Prince, nor receive the *French* into the *Netherlands*, nor refuse a Peace, if Don *John* of *Austria* would condescend to reasonable Conditions: And that if he did come to a Peace, the *Spanish* Soldiers should be satisfied with the said Money, who now mutiny'd for lack of Pay. So careful was she to retain the wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the *Spaniard*, that she omitted no Opportunity of deserving well of him, and preserving Peace.

Q. Eliz. relieves the States with Money, to keep the *Netherlanders* in Obedience to their K.

Commerce restor'd betwixt the *English* and the *Portugals*.

In *England* there was at this time a pleasant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade betwixt the *English* and the *Portugals* was open'd again, which by the private Avarice of certain Persons had of late been obstructed: For the *English* were now permitted to Trade in *Portugal*, *Algarbia*, the Isles of *Madera* and the *Azores*, and the *Portugals* in *England* and *Ireland*, for the Space of three Years; in which time the Differences about detaining of Merchandizes were to be debated. And this was publish'd by a Proclamation.

A Passage sought to *Cathay* by the Western Ocean.

At this time some studious Heads, moved with a commendable Desire to discover the more remote Regions of the World, and the Secrets of the Ocean, put forward some well-mony'd Men, no less desirous to reap Profit by it, to discover whether there were any Strait in the North-part of *America*, through which Men might sail to the rich Country of *Cathay*, and so the Wealth of the East and West might be conjoin'd by a mutual Commerce. These learned Men argued, that probably there was some Strait open'd a Way in that Part; taking it for granted, that the nearer the Shore a Man cometh, the shallower the Waters are. But they who sail from the Western-Coast of *Iseland* find by experience the Sea to be deeper: So as it may probably seem to join with that Sea which the Mariners call *Mare del Sur*, on the other side of *America*. Then they argu'd, That whereas the Ocean is carried with the daily motion of the *Primum Mobile*, or the uppermost Heaven, being beaten back by the Opposition of *America*, it runneth Northward to *Cabo Fredo*, that is, the Cold Cape or Promontory, about which place it should be emptied thro' some Strait into the Sea *del Sur*; otherwise it would be beaten back with the like violence upon *Lapland* and *Finmark*, as it is in the South Part of the World beaten back from the Strait of *Magellan* (a Strait full of Isles, and by reason of the narrowness of the Strait, being so full of Isles, uncapable of so great a quantity of Waters) along the Eastern-Coast of *America* to *Cabo Fredo*. For Testimony they bring *Ant. Jenkinson* an *Englishman*, than whom no Man had more perfect knowledge of the North Part of the World; who hath demonstrated, that an huge quantity of Waters must needs be poured forth out of the *Cronian* or Frozen Sea into the Sea *del Sur*: Also *Bernard le Torr*, a *Spaniard*, who affirmeth, That returning from the Isles of the *Molucca's* into *America*, he was driven back again to the *Molucca's* by force of Waters rushing against his Ship from the North, when he was above the *Equator* Northwards: And other Things they alledged for proof hereof. Herewith these mony'd Men being persuaded, they sent *Martin Frobisher* with three Pinnaces to discover this Strait; who setting out from *Harwich* the 18th of *June*, enter'd, on the 9th of *August*, into a Bay or Strait, under the Latitude of 63 Degrees; where he found Men with black Hair, broad Faces, flat Noses, swarthy Colour'd, Apparell'd in Sea-calves Skins; the Women painted about the Eyes and Balls of the Cheeks with a blue Colour, like the ancient *Britains*. But all being so frozen up with Ice in the Month of *August* that he could not hold on his Voyage, he returned, and arriv'd in *England* the 24th of *September*, having lost five Seamen, whom the *Barbarians* had intercepted. Nevertheless the two Years next following he sailed to the same Coasts to perfect his Enterprize; but being encounter'd every where with heaps of Ice like Mountains, he was kept from entring any farther into the Bay. Being therefore tossed up and down with foul Weather, Snows, and unconstant Winds, he gathered a great quantity of Stones, which he thought to be Minerals, and so return'd Homewards. Which Stones, when neither Gold nor Silver, nor any other Metal could be extracted from them, we have seen cast forth to mend the High-ways. But these matters are publish'd at large, and every where to be sold.

With what probability.

Frobisher's Voyage to discover the Strait.

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Death of *Maximilian* the Emperor.

About this time died *Maximilian* the Emperor, a Prince both prudent, just, profitable and advantageous to the Empire, and one that had well deserv'd of Queen *Elizabeth* and the *English*. As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* heard the Certainty of his Death, she was very much troubled at it, and sent Sir *Philip Sidney*, as her Ambassador to *Rodolph* King of the *Romans*, officiously to signify both her Grief for his Father's Death, and her Joy for his Succession: and also in his way, to condole with the Elector *Palatine*'s Sons, the Death of their Father *Frederick* III. as likewise, to put Count *Casimir* in mind, by the by, of the Money she had disburs'd in the *French* War. For by that War was Peace restor'd to *France*, *Alenzon* had settled upon him, in *Apennage*, as they term it, the Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Tours*, and *Berry*; *Casimir* was promis'd Eleven Millions of Franks, for Pay for his *German* Horsemen, and some of the *French* Queen's Jewels were pawn'd for three hundred thousand Crowns. But nothing at all was paid back again to Queen *Elizabeth*, who notwithstanding held herself fully satisfy'd, that it was well bestow'd in a good Cause. *Casimir* answer'd ingenuously, and in his *German* Sincerity, that the *French* King had not kept his Word, and that 'twas not long of him, that the Money was not repaid.

And the Elector Palatine.

Death of the Earl of *Essex*.

As in *Germany*, the Loss of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Elector *Palatine*, Princes of Christian Vertue, was very great, in regard of their singular Moderation: so in *England* and *Ireland*, was that as great of *Walter D' Evereux* Earl of *Essex*; tho' he were in degree far inferior to them. A very excellent Man certainly he was, in whom Honesty of Carriage vy'd with Nobility of Birth: both which notwithstanding could not prevail against Envy. For after he was constrained to give over his laudable Enterprize in *Ireland*, he return'd into *England*, having much wasted his Estate; where openly threatning *Leicester*, whom he suspected to have done him Injuries,

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juries, he was by his cunning Court-tricks, who stood in fear of him, and by a peculiar Court-Mystery, of wounding and overthrowing Men by Honours, sent back again into *Ireland*, with the insignificant Title of *Earl-Marshal of* Ireland. Where pining away with Grief and Sorrow, he piously rendered his Soul to Christ, dying of a Bloody-Flux, in the midst of grievous Torments; after he had desired the standers-by, to admonish his Son, who was then scarce ten Years old, to have always before his Eyes the six and thirtieth Year of his Age, as the utmost Term of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had passed: and which his Son never attained to, as we will shew in its propper place. The Death of this Nobleman carry'd with it a Suspicion of Poison among the vulgar sort, (who always suspect them to be poisoned, whom they esteem and love) altho' *Sidney* Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent Inquisition made, wrote to the Council in *England*, that the Earl, upon his first taking his Bed, said many times, that this was a thing usual and ordinary with him, that whensoever he was troubled and perplexed in Mind, he fell into the Bloody-Flux; and that he suspected nothing at all of Poison; and that his Body retain'd the same Colour in his Sickness, which it had in his perfect Health, no Spot, no Infection, no shedding of the Hair or Nails, and being embowell'd, no Sign at all of Poison appear'd; that tho' the Physicians differed in their Judgments, yet they apply'd nothing against the Force of Poison; and that his Cup-bearer was falsly accused of infusing something in Water, and mixing it with his Wine. Yet have we seen the same Man openly pointed at for a Poisoner.

Suspected of Poison.

Leicester suspected about it. The Suspicion was increas'd by *Leicester's* presently putting away *Douglass Sheffeild* with Money and fair Promises (whether his Mistress, or his Wife, I cannot say) on whom he had begotten a Son; and now more openly making Love to *Lettice*, *Essex's* Widow, to whom afterwards he joined himself in a double Matrimony. For tho' it were reported, that he had already privately marry'd her; yet Sir *Francis Knolles*, Father to *Lettice*, who was acquainted with *Leicester's* Rambling and Inconstancy in his Love, would not believe it, (fearing lest he should put a Trick upon his Daughter) unless he might see the Marriage perform'd in his own Presence, with some Witnesses by, and a Publick Notary. But these things were done a Year or two after.

Sir *Anth. Cook* dies. At this time ended his Life in *England* Sir *Anthony Cook*, Knight, a Man of seventy Years of Age, of severe Gravity, and great Learning; having been School-Master to King *Edward* VI. in his Childhood; a Man happy in his Daughters, whom having brought up in Learning, both *Greek* and *Latin*, above their Sex, he marry'd to Men of good Account; namely, to Sir *William Cecil*, who was Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, and Sir *Thomas Hobey*, who died Ambassador in *France*, Sir *Ralph Roulet*, and Sir *Henry Killegrew*.

A Tumult in *Ireland*. Before *Essex's* Death, (to return a little back) the Earl of *Clan Richard's* Sons, who scarce two Months before had obtain'd of the Lord-Deputy a Pardon for their Rebellion, gathered together again a Rabble of lewd Fellows, and outragiously practis'd their Robberies and Depredations all over *Connaught*. The Town of *Athenry*, which the Inhabitants were now repairing, they burnt, and put the Workmen to the Sword, out of a barbarous Hatred against the Inhabitants, because they begun to conform themselves to the Laws, and live civilly. But upon the Lord Deputy's coming, their thieving Troops were dispersed, and fled, after their wonted manner, into their Lurking-holes; and their Father the Earl of *Clan-Richard* himself was cast into Prison at *Dublin*, as accessary to their Crimes. The Lord-Deputy being returned back, they crept out of their Holes again, and in vain besieged *Balla-Keogh*-Castle, with Loss of Men, being their Father's chief Seat, wherein a Garrison had been put, under the Command of *Thomas Strange*. The Lands of *Mac-William Eughter*, that is, the younger, they wasted; joining to them the Island-*Scots*. But at the coming of the Lord-Deputy, they vanish'd again, hiding themselves in their Holes, as before.

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Sir *Will. Drury* President of *Munster*. Sir *Will. Drury*, who was lately Marshal of *Berwick*, being now newly made President of *Munster*, by his Wisdom and Valour, brought the whole Country into Subjection, and Obedience to the Laws; except the *Peninsula* and County-Palatine of *Kerry*; whether, as into a Sink, many Malefactors, Thieves, Men in Debt, and suspected of capital Crimes, had resorted, and grew insolent, as presuming upon a kind of Impunity; by reason of the Privilege of the Place. For, King *Edward* III. had granted to the Earl of *Desmond*, *all the Royalties which the Kings of* England *had in that County, except Firing, Rapes, Forestalling and Treasure-trove*. The President notwithstanding judging that those Royalties were granted for the Preservation of Justice, and not for Impunity to Offenders, enter'd into it, valiantly put to flight the choicest Companies of those Rogues, whom *Desmond* had placed in Ambush, hunted out the Malefactors all over *Kerry*, and severely punished many of them; while *Desmond* fretted, and made a most heavy Complaint to the Lord Deputy against *Drury*, both of this, and about the Payment which they call *Ceass*. This Payment is an Exaction of Victuals, at a certain Rate or Price, (such as *Canon Gleba* was among the Ancients, that is, a Custom of paying Corn yearly) for the Maintainance of the Lord-Deputy's Houshold, and the Garrison-Soldiers. Hereof, not only he, but also in *Leinster*, the more civilized part of *Ireland*, the Lord Viscount *Baltinglass*, the Barons *Delvin*, *Hoth*, and *Trimleston*, and all the better sort of the Nobility and Gentry, complain'd; refusing to pay it, as not to be demanded but by Authority of Parliament. Those which were sent, in this Behalf, by them into *England*, were first heard by the Council, and then committed to Prison; as in like manner were those in *Ireland*, which sent them, till they submitted themselves: forasmuch as it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, that it had been an antient Institution, and that it was a Privilege of the Crown, (otherwise called *a Royal Prerogative*) which is not subject to the Laws, and yet is not repugnant to the Laws, as the Learned in the Laws have judged. But the Queen commanded the Lord-Deputy to use a Moderation in such Exactions, saying according to the old Proverb, that she would have her Subjects, *whilst they were poll'd, not to be flay'd*. And 'tis reported, that she should say, "Ah! "how do I fear, lest it be objected to us concerning the *Irish*, which was objected in old "time to *Tiberius*, by *Cato*, concerning the *Dalmatian* Commotions; You, you it is that are "in Fault, who have committed your Flocks, "not to Shepherds, but to Wolves.

Clears *Kerry* of Rogues.

A *Ceass*, what it is.

Irish complain of Exactions.

Queen moderates them.

The Twentieth Year of her Reign.

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Don *John* of *Austria*, when he found himself too weak for the States of the *Netherlands*, who were very strong in themselves, and back'd also with the Amity of their neighbouring Princes; sent

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ſent *Gaſtelle* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to thank her for the Aſſiſtance offer'd him againſt the *French*, and to profeſs to her his ready Inclination to Peace. She, by Sir *Edward Horſey*, who was now ſent thither the ſecond time, commends his Inclination to Peace; and withal, treats with him about reſtoring the *Engliſhmens* Goods, which were ſeiz'd at *Antwerp*.

Don *John* of *Auſtria* inclines to Peace. Q. *Eliz.* perſuades him to it.

A ſlow Anſwer was returned hereto, in regard he was much hindred (as he pretended) by other Cares, being wholly taken up about a *perpetual Edict of Peace*, (as he called it) which notwithſtanding ſcarce laſted a Year. Queen *Elizabeth* being ſeriouſly deſirous of a Peace, ſent Sir *Tho. Leighton* to the Prince of *Orange* to perſuade him to attempt nothing in an hoſtile way, till Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Return, who was ſent to the *Spaniard*, to procure a Peace. The Prince of *Orange*, condemning from his Heart that *Perpetual Edict*, had opportunely learn'd, that Don *John* was projecting to marry with the Queen of *Scots*: which he gladly laid hold on, and by *Famier* preſently acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* therewith, to divert her Mind from the Peace. Yet ſhe, as if ſhe underſtood nothing of it, congratulated Don *John*, by *Daniel Rogers*, about the *perpetual Edict of Peace*, tho' ſhe were now aſcertain'd, that Don *John*, thro' the Perſuaſion of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, and the *Engliſh* Fugitives, and being much forwarded and favoured therein, by the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Guiſes*, had already ſwallowed the ſaid Marriage in hope, and withal the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and had now determin'd to ſeize upon the *Iſle of Man* in the *Iriſh* Sea, as commodious for invading *England*, from *Ireland*, and the Weſtern Coaſt of *Scotland*, where the Queen of *Scots* had very many devoted to her; as alſo in the oppoſite part of *England*; namely, *North-Wales*, and the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*; where the generality of the People were very much addicted to the Popiſh Religion.

Prince of *Orange* diverts her.

Don *John* projects to marry the Queen of *Scots*.

And by her to get the Kingdom of *England*.

And certainly Don *John*, (as we have learned from *Perez*, who was Secretary to the *Spaniard*) having been formerly tranſported with Ambition, when he found himſelf diſappointed of his Hope of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, had privately delt with the Pope, about depoſing Queen *Elizabeth*, marrying the Queen of *Scots*, and conquering of *England*; and had ſo far prevailed, without once acquainting King *Philip*; that the Pope, as it were out of a Deſire of the publick Good, excited King *Philip* to War againſt *England*: and Don *John* himſelf, being ready to depart from the *Netherlands*, proſecuted the ſame himſelf in *Spain*; and afterwards made Suit by *Eſcovedo*, whom he ſent out of the *Netherlands*, that ſome Port Town might be granted him in *Biſcay*, from whence he might invade *England* with a Fleet. But King *Philip*, diſliking theſe Projects, began to neglect the Man as too ambitious. And theſe things Queen *Elizabeth* never perfectly underſtood, till (as I ſaid) the Prince of *Orange* inform'd her thereof.

His Dealing with the Pope about it.

There aroſe alſo a new ſuſpicion from *Thomas Copley* (one of the prime Men among the *Engliſh* Fugitives) his being recommended to the *French* King by *Vaux*, Don *John*'s Secretary, and receiving from him the Dignity of Knighthood, and Title of Baron. Yet *Copley* labour'd to clear himſelf of all Suſpicion, profeſſing his Obedience towards his Princeſs, and that he had accepted that Title, with no other intent, but that the greater Honour might come to his Wife, the Companion of his Exile, and the larger Penſion to himſelf, from the *Spaniard*; foraſmuch as Noblemen, that are dignify'd with Titles, are in better Eſteem among the *Spaniards*; and the Title of *Baron* he thought did belong to him of Right, whoſe Grand-mother was eldeſt Daughter to the Lord *Hoo*, and his Great-grand-mother eldeſt of the Heirs of the Lord *Wells*.

Copley made a Baron by the *Fr.* K.

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Don *John*, in the mean time, ſecretly proſecuted the ſaid Marriage; and withal to blind the Queen's Eyes, ſent the Viſcount of *Gaunt* on an Embaſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*, to acquaint her with the Conditions of the Peace, and to requeſt a longer time for the Payment of the Money which the States had borrowed. To this latter ſhe willingly agreed, and dealt with him again by *Wilſon*; about Recompence for the Damages done to the *Engliſh* Merchants, at the Sacking of *Antwerp*. But he only deluded her, and while he ſeemed to be intent upon the *Perpetual Edict of Peace*, brake forth into War, ſurprized Towns and Caſtles by Craft, and wrote to the *Spaniard*, that the beſt Courſe was to fall upon the Iſlands of *Zeland*, before he ſet upon the inner Provinces; and feeding his own Hopes, he endeavoured to perſuade him by *Eſcovedo*, his Secretary, that *England* might eaſilier be won, than *Zeland*.

Don *John*'s diſſimulation.

He renews the War.

Hereupon, when all things in the *Netherlands* now tended to War, the States ſent the Marquis of *Hauree* and *Adolph Metkerk*, Ambaſſadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, to borrow of her own hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, for eight Months. To which ſhe anſwered, 'That if they could borrow 'it any where elſe, ſhe and the City of *London* 'would very willingly give Security for it, up'on condition, that certain Towns in the *Ne'therlands*, which ſhe ſhould name, would be'come bound to repay the Money within a Year. A League alſo was contracted with the States, of mutual Aid by Sea and Land, upon theſe Conditions.

The States deſire to borrow Money of the Q.

'The Queen ſhall aſſiſt the States with 1000 'Horſe and 5000 Foot, whoſe Pay and Char'ges the States ſhall defray at *London*, the third 'Month after they take Shipping: and after the 'War ended, they ſhall ſend them back at their 'Charges into *England*. The General or Com'mander of this Army, being by Nation an *Eng'liſhman*, ſhall be admitted into the Council of 'the States. Nothing ſhall be determined con'cerning War or Peace, without acquainting 'the Queen or him therewith. They ſhall en'ter into no League with any whoſoever, with'out her Approbation: and in the ſame, if ſhe 'will, ſhe ſhall be comprehended. If any Prince 'do attempt Hoſtility againſt the Queen or 'Kingdom, under any Pretence whatſoever, 'the States ſhall to their Power oppoſe him, 'and ſhall ſend the Queen the ſame number of 'Succours; and upon the ſame Conditions. If 'any Diſorder ariſe among the *States*, it ſhall 'be referr'd to the Queen's Arbitration. If any 'Fleet be to be rigg'd and prepared, by the Queen 'againſt her Enemies, the States ſhall furniſh 'out 40 Ships of reaſonable Burden, with Sea'men and all Neceſſaries, which ſhall be under 'the command of the Admiral of *England*; and 'ſhall ſerve under the Queen's Pay. The States 'ſhall by no means receive into the *Netherlands* 'ſuch *Engliſhmen* as the Queen ſhall proclaim Re'bels. If they make Peace with the *Spaniard*, 'they ſhall procure the Confirmation of theſe 'Articles, either jointly, or apart by themſelves, 'at the Queen's Choice.

Queen's League with the States.

Preſently after this League was made, the Queen, leſt ſhe ſhould be ſlandred, as a Supporter of the Rebellion in the *Netherlands*, ſent *Thomas Wilks* to the *Spaniard*, to inform him as follows: 'That 'foraſmuch as there were not lacking ſome ill-'diſpoſed Perſons, who ſought, by cunning Ar'tifices, to break off Amities between Princes, 'and

Reaſons thereof.

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'and by their unjuſt Backbitings, to ſtain her Reputation, as if ſhe blew the Fire of the *Netherlandiſh* Combuſtions: Firſt, ſhe prays the King, and the Governors of the *Netherlands*, to call to mind, how often and how earneſtly ſhe had long ſince friendly forewarn'd them of the Miſcheifs hanging over the *Netherlands*: And then when they firſt deſign'd to revolt, how carefully ſhe endeavour'd, by frequent Meſſages to the Prince of *Orange* and the States, to keep them within their Duty and Obedience to the King; yea, when thoſe rich and wealthy Provinces were offer'd her for Poſſeſſion, how ſincerely ſhe would not ſo much as take them into her Protection: And laſtly, when all things were in a moſt deſperate and deplorable State, how largely ſhe ſupply'd Money, that the States might not be, for want thereof, neceſſitated to ſubject themſelves under another Prince, and break the deſign for Peace lately ſet on foot. And when ſhe heard that the Prince of *Orange* refus'd to embrace the Peace that was made, ſhe not only adviſ'd him to embrace it, but alſo (as ſhe religiouſly proteſts) did by Threats, in a manner command him. Whether theſe be things unbeſeeming a Chriſtian Princeſs, that is affected to Peace, and moſt deſirous to deſerve well of her Confederate the *Spaniard*, let the *Spaniard* himſelf, and all Chriſtian Princes, judge. And now, that the Wars may ceaſe, and he may have the *Netherlanders* at his Devotion, ſhe adviſes him to receive his afflicted People into former Grace and Favour, to reſtore their Privileges, to obſerve the Conditions of the laſt Peace, and to appoint them another Governor, of his own Family. Which things could not (as ſhe ſignify'd) be effected, unleſs Don *John* were remov'd; whom the States diſtruſted, and hated with a deadly and implacable Hatred; and whom ſhe herſelf knew for certain, by his ſecret Practices with the Queen of *Scots*, to be her moſt mortal Enemy; inſomuch as ſhe could expect nothing from the *Netherlands*, but aſſur'd Danger, as long as he was Governor there. But now, when ſhe ſaw what great Forces Don *John* had rais'd, and how many Auxiliary-Companies of *French* were in a Readineſs, ſhe profeſſes, that to preſerve the *Netherlands* to the *Spaniard*, and to divert the Danger from *England*, ſhe had promis'd Aſſiſtance to the States; who had reciprocally promis'd, that they would continue in the King's Obedience, and alter nothing in Religion. But if ſhe perceiv'd that the King would not except of theſe Propoſals, but reſolv'd to break aſunder the Bars of their Privileges and Rights, and to bring theſe miſerable Provinces into Slavery, as taken by Right of War; ſhe could not neglect, both to defend her Neighbours, and to provide for her own Security. But if the States ſhould ſhake off their Allegiance towards their King, and attempt any thing contrary to what they have promis'd, ſhe would forthwith turn her Forces againſt them.

Spaniard bears 'em patiently.

Theſe things he was not very willing to hear. But yet, becauſe he knew that Queen *Elizabeth* was able to do much, either to compoſe or diſturb the Affairs of the *Netherlands*, and underſtood alſo for certain, that there was a Plot laid by Don *John* againſt her, he diſſembled the matter, and withal pray'd her to continue her Endeavours for making a Peace, and not raſhly to credit every falſe Rumour ſpread abroad, or believe that he attempted any thing unbecoming a Prince in Amity with her.

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Don *John* complains of the States to the Q.

Whilſt *Wilkes* manag'd theſe Affairs in *Spain*, Don *John* of *Auſtria* ſends *Gaſtelle* to Queen *Elizabeth*, (whom he both fear'd, and whoſe Confuſion he wiſh'd) heavily accuſing the States, laying foul Crimes and Accuſations to their Charge; and withal declaring the Cauſes at large, why he arm'd his Men again. Thus ſat ſhe as an heroical Princeſs and Umpire betwixt the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the States; ſo as ſhe might well have uſed that Saying of her Father, *Cui adhaereo, praeeſt*, that is, *The Party to which I adhere, gets the upper Hand*. And true it was, which one has written, *That* France *and* Spain *are, as it were, the Scales, in the Balance of* Europe, *and* England *the Tongue, or Holder of the Balance*.

England holds the Balance of *Europe*.

A ſtink at an Aſſizes cauſes a peſtilent ſickneſs.

About this time, while the Judges of Aſſizes ſat at *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes*, a ſawcy foul-mouth'd Bookſeller, was indicted for ſcandalous Words againſt his Princeſs; the greateſt part of thoſe who were there preſent, whether through a poiſonous and peſtilent Vapour, or the Stink of the Priſoners, or Damp of the Ground, were taken in ſuch a manner, that they died almoſt every one of them, within forty days or thereabouts, except the Women and Children; and none elſe were touch'd with the Contagion. Amongſt thoſe that died, were *Robert Bell*, Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, a ſage and grave Man, and famous for his Knowledge in the Law, Sir *Robert D'Oiley* and Sir *William Babington* Knights, *D'Oiley* Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire*, *Harcourt*, *Weneman*, *Fettiplace*, Men of great Note in thoſe parts, *Barham* an excellent Lawyer, almoſt all the Jury, (as they call 'em) and others, to the Number of 300, or thereabouts.

Hitherto fair and calm Weather ſhone upon the Papiſts in *England*, who by a merciful Connivance enjoy'd their own Service of God, in their private Houſes, in a manner, without any Puniſhment; although it were prohibited by the Law, by which a pecuniary Mulct was to be inflicted on them: neither did the Queen think fit that Violence ſhould be offer'd to their Conſciences. But after that Thunderbolt of Excommunication was ſhot from *Rome* againſt the Q. this fair Weather turn'd by little and little into Clouds and Tempeſts, and caus'd a Law in the Year 1571. againſt thoſe who ſhould bring into the Realm any ſuch Bulls, *Agnus Dei's*, or conſecrated Grains, as private Tokens of Papal Obedience, or ſhould reconcile any Man to the Church of *Rome*. Yet was there no Man, in ſix Years time, proceeded againſt upon that Law, tho' ſome were apprehended, who had offended againſt it. The firſt that was convicted by this Law, was one *Cuthbert Maine* a Prieſt, who being an obſtinate Maintainer of the Pope's Power againſt his Prince, was put to death at *St. Stephen's Fane* (commonly called *Launſton*) in *Cornwall*; and *Trugion*, a Gentleman that had harbour'd him, had his Eſtate confiſcated, and was himſelf condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment. But theſe and ſuch like Eccleſiaſtical Matters, I will touch but lightly; becauſe others are in hand with the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Times, and, I hope, with ſincere Faithfulneſs; a thing yet ſcarce to be hop'd for, whilſt Mens Minds are ſo full of Rancour and Prejudice, upon the account of Difference in Religion.

Maine a Prieſt executed.

The death of Lord *Latimer*.

This Year the Title of Lord *Latimer*, after it had flouriſh'd with great Honour and Wealth, in the Family of the *Nevils*, from the Days of King *Henry* VI. was extinct in *John Nevil*; who, having no Heir-male, left a large Inheritance to four Daughters; whereof the firſt was marry'd to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*; the ſecond to

Thomas

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Thomas Cecil, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the third to Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth to Sir *John Davers*: from which Daughters has issu'd a numerous Progeny.

Secretary Smith dies.

Sir *Thomas Smith* also, one of the Queen's Secretaries, died this Year (being his Climacterical Year) of a Consumption: A Man worthy to be remember'd for his great Learning, and his Wisdom shew'd in many Embassies. He was born of honest Parentage at *Saffron-Walden* in *Essex*, brought up in Queen *Margaret*'s College in *Cambridge*, and at riper Years made choice of to be sent into *Italy*, at the Queen's Charges. (For even till our days, certain young Men of promising Hopes, out of both Universities, have been maintain'd in foreign Countries, at the King's Charge, for the more complete polishing of their Parts and Studies). From thence he return'd with the Title of Doctor of the Civil-Law, and found such Favour with the D. of *Somerset*, Protector to King *Edward* VI. that he was made one of the King's Secretaries, (*Cecil* being the other) Steward of the Stannaries, Dean of *Carlisle*, and Provost of *Eton*-College, whereof he had very well merited. Queen *Mary* deprived him of these Dignities, assigning him 100 *l.* a Year Pension during Life, howbeit on Condition that he should not depart the Realm. As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, he was call'd again to the Service of the Commonwealth, and was present with the Divines, at the correcting of the *English* Liturgy; and afterwards, with great Commendations, perform'd those Embassies which I have mention'd in there proper places. In the Year 1571. being made one of the Queen's Secretaries, he sent his base Son, which was all the Sons he had, to carry over a Colony into *Ardes*, a *Peninsula* in *Ireland*, who died there unfortunately, as I have before said. He was very beneficial to the Commonwealth of Learning in *England*, by procuring the Law concerning Corn for the Colleges of Students: and indeed more beneficial than by his Writings, although he left behind him a Work unfinish'd, concerning the Commonwealth of *England*, a special Book of the Orthography of the *English* Tongue, another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*, and an exact Commentary concerning Money, (or, *De re Nummaria*) very well worth the publishing. In the Place of Secretary to the Queen, he was succeeded by *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of Law, Master of St. *Katharine*'s near *London*, who departed this Life within four Years.

Rebellion in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Conors*, and others whose Ancestors *Sussex*, Lord-Deputy, had, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, depriv'd of their Patrimonies in *Leise* and *Ophalie*, for their Misdemeanors, and had assign'd 'em no other place to live in; brake forth into Rebellion, *Rory Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger, being their Ringleader: the Town of *Naas* they fir'd; *Lachlin* they assaulted, but being repuls'd by the Valour of *George Carew* the Governor, they treacherously intercepted *Henry Harrington* and *Alexander Cosbey* at a Parley; whom when *Harpoole*, a Captain of a Company, undertook to rescue, and to that end assaulted the Cottage in the Night, wherein *Rory* was, and those Gentlemen bound to a Post; *Rory*, awakening with the Uproar, wounded *Harrington* and *Cosbey*, with several Blows, in the dark; and made a desperate Escape, by the favour of the Night, through the midst of the Soldiers, which had beset him. But a few days after, laying a Trap for the Baron of the upper *Ossery*, he was intercepted himself, and cut in pieces; freeing thereby the Neighbouring People from farther Fears.

Rory Oge.

The One and twentieth Year of her Reign.

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Queen's Care for the *Netherlanders*.

Although the *Spaniards* were not very well pleas'd, to hear those things which *Wilks* propounded, and dissembled the matter, (as I said a little before) yet Queen *Elizabeth* seriously pitying the *Netherlanders*, whose Provinces, by the great Commodiousness of their Situation and mutual Friendship, had adhered to *England* for many Ages, as if they had been conjoin'd with it in a Matrimonial Knot; and therefore not enduring that the *French*, by undertaking their Protection, should get them into his Possession; sent the same *Wilks*, at his Return out of *Spain*, to Don *John* of *Austria*, to give him secret Notice, that the Duke of *Anjou* (for so he was now call'd, who before was Duke of *Alenzon*) was invited by the States, with an Army of *French*; and therefore it was his safest course to yield to a Truce; lest he expos'd the Provinces to present Hazard. But he, being a Man of a fiery and martial Spirit, and puffed up with Pride, at his Success in a Battle fought against the Estates at *Gemblours*, answer'd in one Word, *That he neither intended a Truce, nor fear'd the* French. Nevertheless Queen *Elizabeth*, respecting her own Good, and the Good of the *Netherlands*, sent Sir *Edward Stafford* into *France*, to learn whether there were any Preparations on the Frontiers of *France*, toward the *Netherlands*, and what Levies of Men they were making.

Several *English* go over into the *Netherlands*.

Out of *England* had now transported themselves *John North*, the L. *North*'s eldest Son; *John Norris*, the L. *Norris*'s second Son; *Henry Cavendish* and *Tho. Morgan*, Colonels; with many Volunteers, to learn the Rudiments of Military Discipline. *Casimire* also, the Elector-Palatine's Son, brought down an Army of *German* Horse and Foot into the *Netherlands*, to the great Charge of Queen *Elizabeth*. Don *John*, having a great desire to assault the States Camp at *Rimenant*, or to provoke them to Battel, before all their Succours were come together out of *France* and *Germany*, posted thither sooner than was expected; and the Horsemen that stood Centinel presently retreating, he pursu'd 'em with an hot and furious Charge, as if he were sure of the Victory. But they taking fresh Courage, soon repuls'd Don *John*'s Men. Who wheeling off, endeavour'd to break through certain Hedges and Covers where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers were dispos'd, but could not, meeting a warm Reception from the *English* and the *Scots*; who, throwing off their Cloaths by reason of the hot Weather, fought in their Shirts tied up between their Thighs. *Norris*, the General of the *English*, fighting stoutly, had three Horses slain under him, and got great Commendations in this Battel for his Martial Valour; as did also *Stuart* a *Scottishman*, *Bingham* Lieutenant to *Cavendish*, and *William Markham*.

Don *John* repuls'd.

English fight manfully.

A fruitless Embassy to the *Netherlands* for Peace.

To comfort and relieve these *Netherland* Provinces, embroil'd with Civil War, there came from the Emperor the Count of *Swartzenberg*, from the *French* King Monsieur *Pompon de Bellievre*, and from Queen *Elizabeth* the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, to find out some way for making a Peace. But they all return'd without effecting any thing, since Don *John* would by no means admit of the reform'd Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* flatly refus'd to return into *Holland*.

Ratcliffe and his Companion executed by Don *John*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Sussex* by his second Wife, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and one of the Chief in the Northern Rebellion, who serv'd under Don *John*, was accus'd by the *English* Fugitives, as if he had been

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been ſent over underhand to murder Don *John*, and was taken in the Camp at *Namur* with one *Grey* an *Engliſhman*, as acceſſary to the Plot, and they were both of 'em executed. The *Spaniards* give out, that *Ratcliffe* at his Death confeſs'd voluntarily, that he was ſet at Liberty out of the *Tower* of *London* purpoſely, and encourag'd by *Walſingham*, with great Promiſes, to commit the Fact. The *Engliſh* that were there preſent deny that he made any ſuch Confeſſion, tho' it's true the Fugitives did what they could to extort ſuch a Confeſſion from him. But Perſons whoſe Minds differ in Religion, do too-too much obſcure the Light of Honeſty and Truth on both ſides: And who knoweth not that Fugitives do deviſe many things out of meer Hatred, and a deſire to ſlander and backbite others?

Death of Don *John* of *Auſtria*.

At that very inſtant Don *John*, in the flower of his Age, laid aſide his fond Ambition, together with his Life, by the Peſtilence; or, as ſome ſay, out of very Grief, becauſe he found himſelf neglected by the King his Brother, after he had gaped firſt after the Kingdom of *Tunis*, whereby *Guletta* or *Goletta* in *Africa* was loſt, and then after the Kingdom of *England*; and had ſecretly enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Guiſes*, without the privity of the *French* King and the *Spaniard*, for the defence of both Crowns.

The D. of *Anjou* proſecutes his Marriage with Q. Elizabeth.

The Duke of *Anjou* in the mean time, tho' his Mind were ſet upon the *Netherland* War, yet, to ſhew that he could attend both Military and Love matters at once, proſecuted his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had begun to ſue for whilſt he was Duke of *Alenzon*. And firſt *Baskerville*, being ſent for this purpoſe, came to the Queen (in her Progreſs) at *Melford*, *Cordall's* Houſe, in *Suffolk*. Shortly after came *Rambolette* from the *French* King. And laſtly, after a Month more, came *Simier* from *Anjou*, a Man of Wit and Parts, and one throughly verſed in Love-fancies, pleaſant Conceits, and other Gallantries, accompany'd with many of the Nobility of *France*: Whom the Queen entertain'd at *Richmond*

Leiceſter frets at the kind Reception of the *French* Ambaſſadors.

ſo kindly, that *Leiceſter* raged, being now quite fruſtrate of his long hoped-for Marriage. And indeed a little before, when *Aſtley*, one of the Queen's Bed-chamber, covertly commended *Leiceſter* unto her for an Husband, ſhe anſwer'd in a Paſſion: *Doſt thou think me ſo unlike myſelf, and ſo unmindful of my Royal Majeſty, that I would prefer my Servant, whom I myſelf have raiſed, before the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom, in my chooſing of an Husband?*

The death of the Counteſs of *Lenox*.

Much about this time *Margaret Douglaſs*, Counteſs of *Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* VIII. by his eldeſt Siſter, Widow of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and Grandmother to *James* King of *Great Britain*, having ſurvived eight Children which ſhe had been Mother of, paſs'd to her Heavenly Country in her Climacterical Year, and was bury'd at *Weſtminſter* with a ſtately Funeral at the Queen's Charges. She was a Matron of ſingular Piety, Patience and Modeſty; who was thrice caſt into the *Tower*, (as I have heard her ſay herſelf) not for any crime of Treaſon, but for Love-matters. Firſt, when *Thomas Howard*, Son of *Thomas Howard*, the firſt Duke of *Norfolk* of that Name, falling in love with her, died in the *Tower* of *London*: Then for the love of *Henry* Lord *Darly*, her Son, to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*: And laſtly, for the love of *Charles* her younger Son, to *Elizabeth Candiſh*, Mother to the Lady *Arbella*, with whom the Queen of *Scots* was accuſed to have made up the Match, as I have ſaid before.

Scottiſh Matters.

Now to give a touch of *Scottiſh* Matters. About the beginning of this Year, *Thomas Randolph* was ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* into *Scotland*, to learn in what Condition the Affairs of *Scotland* ſtood; to congratulate the King concerning his Proficiency in Learning, (which, by reaſon of his ſingular Towardneſs and moſt excellent Memory, was certainly very great, even above his Age) and to knit his Mind firmly unto the *Engliſh*, by recounting the Queen's Kindneſſes towards him; and the motherly Affection ſhe bare him; to deal with *Argyle*, that the *Hebridian* or *Wild Scots* might not aſſiſt the Rebels in *Ireland*; as alſo to perſuade *Morton* the Regent to lay aſide with all ſpeed his Enmity to *Argyle*, *Athol*, and others, leſt he got himſelf the Hatred of the Nobility, and quite alienated the Queen's Mind from him. He was now privately accus'd to have ſtain'd the Reputation of his former Wiſdom and Proweſs by his Covetouſneſs and Avarice; and in ſhort time grew into ſuch a general Hatred, that by joint conſent of the States, the Government was tranſlated from him to the King, tho' in reſpect of his Age not ſo capable thereof (for he was then ſcarce twelve Years old) and twelve of the chief of the Nobility nam'd to be aſſiſtant to the King with their Counſel, every three Months three of them by turns: Amongſt which was *Morton* himſelf, that they might ſeem to lead him down, not to throw him down from his former Dignity.

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Randolph ſent into *Scotland* with ſundry Inſtructions.

Morton the Regent removed from his Place, and the King takes the Government.

The King ſends an Ambaſſador into *England*.

The King having taken upon him the Government, forthwith by *Dunfermelin* made a grateful acknowledgment of the Civilities of Queen *Elizabeth* towards him, as proceeding not ſo much from nearneſs of Blood, as from their common Profeſſion of the true Religion. The Confederacy of *Edinborough* made between both Kingdoms in the Year 1559, he deſir'd might be ratified, the better to reſtrain the Robberies of the Borderers, and prevent the Deſigns of the Adverſaries of the true Religion; that Juſtice might be adminiſter'd indifferently between the People of both Kingdoms; that full Reſtitution might be made of all Goods taken by Piracy; and that his ancient Patrimony in *England* (that is, the Lands and Poſſeſſions granted to *Matthew* and *Margaret* his Grandfather and Grandmother) might be put into his Hands as next Heir, for now (the Revenues of the Kingdom of *Scotland* being much diminiſh'd) he wanted Money to provide for his Houſhold, and to maintain a Guard anſwerable to his Royal Dignity.

The effect of his Embaſſy.

Queen's anſwer.

The firſt Requeſt the Queen readily granted: But for that concerning his Patrimony, ſhe was not ſo eaſily intreated. And yet ſhe would not give ear to thoſe who affirm'd, that the Lady *Arbella*, Daughter to *Charles* the King's Unkle, and born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*: Neither yet would ſhe hear the Ambaſſador, who ſhew'd out of former Hiſtories, that the Kings of *Scotland*, born in *Scotland*, had in ancient Times ſucceeded, without any Controverſy, by Hereditary Right, to Lands in *England* in the County of *Huntington*; and earneſtly beſought her, that ſhe would not deny a Prince, her neareſt Kinſman, the Privilege of Citizens, which ſhe had often granted to Foreigners and Strangers. But ſhe commanded the Rents of thoſe Lands to be ſequeſter'd by the Lord *Burghly*, Maſter of the Wards; and ſignify'd to the Ambaſſador, that the King ſhould ſatisfie his Grandmother's Creditors out of the Earl of *Lenox* his Lands in *Scotland*. For ſhe took it not well that the King, after the death of *Charles* his Unkle, had revok'd the *Infeoffment* of the Earldom of *Lenox* made to his Unkle and his Heirs, and that to the Prejudice (as was ſuggeſted) of the Lady *Arbella*; tho', by the Privilege of the *Scots*, it

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was ſtill lawful for them to revoke all ſuch Grants and Donations as were Prejudicial to the Realm, and made in their Minority.

Demands of the *Engliſh* Council.

The Council of *England* were of opinion, that the Confederacy of *Edinborough* needed no Confirmation, as that which was already firm and in full force. They requir'd the Ambaſſador to propound ſomewhat which might at leaſt in part recompenſe the Queen's Courteſies towards the King, (who had not ſpared her *Engliſhmens* Blood in his Defence) and might confirm the Amity betwixt 'em. Hereupon, according to his Inſtructions, he propounded that a League might be made, not of *Offence*, but of *Defence*, and mutual Aſſiſtance againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Confederates, upon certain Conditions, and againſt the Invaders of both Kingdoms, and the Rebels thereof upon account of Religion. Over and above this, the *Engliſh* thought it reaſon, that ſeeing the Queen neither had omitted nor would omit any thing for the King's Preſervation, and for that reaſon had incur'd the great Diſpleaſure of many, the Eſtates of the Realm of *Scotland* ſhould give her Security, that the King ſhould not, during his Minority, make or renew any Confederacy with any other whomſoever, contract Marriage, or be ſent any where out of *Scotland*, without the knowledge of the Queen. But theſe things, as being Matters of great Importance, were by the *Scots* put off to another Time, to be exactly and deliberately conſider'd of.

Morton reſumeth the Government.

In the mean while *Morton* preſum'd upon his own Wit, (which certainly was very quick and ſharp) and upon his long Experience, and the Number of his Adherents, while he thought nothing to be well done which he did not himſelf, and could not endure not to be *the Man* he was, reſumed unto himſelf the Government, neglecting his Collegues, and ſlighting the preſcrib'd Form of Government. The King he kept in his own power within the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and at his own pleaſure either excluded or admitted whom he liſted. Whereupon the Nobility being incens'd, choſe the Earl of *Athol* for their Head, and made Proclamation in the King's Name, That all that were above Fourteen Years of Age, and under Threeſcore, ſhould meet together with Weapons, and Victuals for fifteen Days, to ſet the King at Liberty. And meet they did in great Numbers, and marched with Banners diſplay'd to *Fawkirk*, where *Morton* with his Forces appear'd againſt them. But Sir *Robert Bowes* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, by his Mediation, and propoſing of reaſonable Conditions, ſtay'd them from Fighting. And *Morton* ſoon after, as if he were weary of publick Employments, withdrew himſelf to his own Houſe: Not long after which died the Earl of *Athol*, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon. Which ſome Men incens'd againſt *Morton* laid hold on, amongſt other things, as a Means to bring him into Hatred, and ceaſed not to proſecute him (as we ſhall ſhew) till they had quite overthrown him.

The Nobility riſe againſt him.

The death of the E. of *Athol*.

A deſign of the Pope and *Spaniard* to invade *England*.

In *Ireland* there happen'd this Year no memorable Matter. But for invading of *Ireland* and *England* both at once, and depoſing of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of the Reform'd Religion, both the *Spaniard*, and *Gregory* the thirteenth Biſhop of *Rome*, had their ſecret Conſultations and Deſigns, carrying on their own private Ends under the pretence of reſtoring Religion. The Pope, that he might get the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marquis of *Vineola*: The *Spaniard*, that he might privately and underhand relieve the *Iriſh* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* had ſuccour'd the *Netherlanders*; whilſt Amity in Words was in the mean while maintain'd on both ſides: As alſo, that he might (if it were poſſible) by the Pope's Authority poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of *England*, and thereby the eaſier reduce the *Netherland* Confederates into Order; whereof he had no hopes, unleſs he were Maſter of the Sea; and this he ſaw could not be, unleſs he was firſt Maſter of *England*. And there is no doubt but as he oweth the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Navarre*, to the Bounty of the Popes; ſo would he alſo very gladly have holden *England* of him as an Homager.

T. Stukely undertakes war againſt his own Country.

Theſe two, who knew that the greateſt Strength of *England* conſiſted in the Navy-Royal and the Merchants Ships, which were both built and furniſh'd for Sea-ſervice, thought it good that the *Italian* and *Low-Country* Merchants ſhould upon ſome Pretence or other, hire the greateſt part of theſe Merchants Ships for long Voyages, and while they were abroad, the Navy-Royal ſhould be ſurpriz'd and overpower'd by a greater Fleet; and that at the ſame time, *Thomas Stukely*, an *Engliſh* Fugitive, of whom I have ſpoken before in the Year 1570, ſhould with a Body of Men join with the Rebels in *Ireland*. He, like a ſubtil old Fox, had by his vapouring Brags of himſelf, and by promiſing the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope's baſe Son, wrought himſelf into ſuch Favour with that ambitious old Man, that he honour'd him with the Titles of Marquis of *Lemſter*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlaugh*, Viſcount *Morough*, and Baron of *Roſs*, (which are places of good Note in *Ireland*) and gave him the command of 800 *Italians*, levied at the *Spaniard's* Charge and Pay for the *Iriſh* War. With theſe putting to Sea from *Civita Vecchia*, he arriv'd at length in *Portugal*, at the Mouth of the River *Tagus* or *Teyo*; where, by the operation of the Divine Providence, theſe Deſigns againſt *England* and *Ireland* were diſappointed.

The Expedition of *Sebaſtian* K. of *Portugal* into *Africa*.

For *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, who was to have the principal Command and Managing of this Expedition into *England*, (ſince being puffed up with youthful Heat and Ambition, he had not long before promis'd his utmoſt Help and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhop of *Rome* againſt the *Mahometans* and the *Proteſtants*) was with great Promiſes drawn to the War of *Africa* by *Mahomet* the Son of *Abdalla* King of *Fez*, and dealt with *Stukely* to accompany him firſt with thoſe *Italians* into *Mauritania*. *Stukely* was eaſily perſuaded, (and the *Spaniard* diſdaining that the Pope's Son was deſign'd King of *Ireland*, was not unwilling to it) and went with Don *Sebaſtian* into *Mauritania*; and in that memorable Battle, wherein three Kings, *Sebaſtian* aforeſaid, *Mahomet* and *Abdal Melech*, were ſlain, he finiſh'd the Interlude of a looſe Life with an honeſt Cataſtrophe or Concluſion.

He, with two other Kings, and *Stukely*, ſlain in Battel.

The *Spaniards* deſign diverted upon *Portugal*.

Had not this fatal End of Don *Sebaſtian* diverted the *Spaniards* Mind from the Invaſion of *England*, to the hopes of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, a great Storm of War (if any Credit may be given to the *Engliſh* Fugitives) had fallen upon *England*. For they write, That thoſe vaſt Forces which the *Spaniard* had begun to levy in *Italy*, and were to be poured into *England*, were employ'd for the Conqueſt of *Portugal*. Neither could he be perſuaded (being wholly bent upon the Conqueſt of that Kingdom) ſo much as once to think of *England*, tho' the *Engliſh* Fugitives with great importunity urged him thereunto, and the Biſhop of *Rome* promis'd him a conſecrated Banner or Croſs for this, as for an Holy War. But when certain Intelligence came, that *Stukely* and his *Italians* were ſlain in *Mauritania*, and that the *Spaniard* ſet his Mind upon nothing but *Portugal*, the *Engliſh* Fleet which waited for

Stukely

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Sir *William Drury*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. Sir *Henry Sidney* leaves *Ireland*.

Stukely upon the Coaſt of *Ireland* was called home: And Sir *William Drury* Preſident of *Munſter*, when he had now at ſeveral times been Lord-Deputy above eleven Years; and when he was ready to take Ship, he bade *Ireland* farewell, with that Verſe out of the *Pſalms*, *When Iſrael departed out of Egypt, and the Houſe of Jacob from amongſt a barbarous People.* A ſingular Man he was, and one of the moſt commendable Deputies of *Ireland*, to whoſe Wiſdom and Valour *Ireland* cannot but acknowledge it ſelf very much indebted, tho' for the moſt part it uſes to complain of its Deputies.

1579.

The Two and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

Caſimire comes into *England*.

John Caſimire, Son to *Frederick* the third Elector-Palatine, who had the laſt Year (tho' ſomewhat too late) brought a ſtrong Army of *Germans* into the *Netherlands*, at a vaſt charge to the States and Queen *Elizabeth*, and had done no Service with them, being now drawn by the mutinous Inhabitants of *Gaunt* to take their part, came into *England* in the Mouth of *January*, in a ſharp and ſnowy Winter, to excuſe himſelf about the Miſcarriage of his Expedition, laying the whole blame upon the *French*. He was moſt honourably received, and conducted with great Pomp into *London*, with Torches lighted, by the Lord-May or, the Aldermen and Citizens, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertain'd with Tilting, Barriers, and coſtly Banquets, and honour'd with the order of St. *George*, the Queen herſelf buckling on the Garter about his Leg: and after the ſettling of a yearly Penſion on him, and many rich Preſents made him, he return'd in the middle of *February* into the *Netherlands*, being tranſported in one of the Queens Ships; where he found that mercenary Army diſbanded. (His Army disbanded.) For when *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, who was by the *Spaniard* made Governor of the *Netherlands*, was ready to fall upon the *Germans*, and they wanted their Pay, after a ſmall Skirmiſh, and loſs of ſome Men, they demanded Money of him to depart out of the *Netherlands*. He on the contrary demanding (imperiouſly, but pleaſantly) Money of them, that they might depart ſafely with their Lives, they were content with his Paſſport, and made haſte home, not without Diſhonour to themſelves, and greater Damage to the States.

Q. *Eliz.* relieves the States with Money.

Queen *Elizabeth* notwithſtanding failed not the States, but furniſhed them with a great Sum of Money: For which *William Daviſon* (who was ſent a little before to quiet the Diſtempers of thoſe of *Gaunt*, which were violent againſt Churches and Churchmen) brought into *England* the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, mortgaged by *Matthias* of *Auſtria* and the States.

Simier promotes the D. of *Anjou's* Marriage. *Leiceſter* oppoſes it.

In the mean while, *Simier* ceaſed not amorouſly to woo Queen *Elizabeth* in *Anjou's* behalf. And altho' ſhe ſtiffly excus'd herſelf a long time, yet he brought her to that paſs, that *Leiceſter*, (who from his Heart was againſt the Marriage) and others, ſpread Rumours abroad, that by Love Potions and unlawful Arts he had inſinuated into the Queen's Affection, and induc'd her to the Love of *Anjou*.

Simier endeavours to bring *Leiceſter* out of Favour.

Simier, on the other ſide, left no Means uneſſay'd to remove *Leiceſter* out of his Place and Favour with the Queen; revealing to her his Marriage with *Eſſex's* Widow: Whereat the Queen grew into ſuch a Paſſion, that ſhe commanded *Leiceſter* not to ſtir out of the Caſtle of *Greenwich*, and intended to have committed him to the *Tower* of *London*, which his Enemies much deſired. But *Suſſex*, tho' his greateſt and deadlieſt Adverſary, and one that earneſtly endeavour'd to promote the Marriage with *Anjou*, diſſuaded her, whilſt out of a ſolid Judgment, and the innate Generoſity of his noble Mind, he was of opinion that no Man was to be troubled for lawful Marriage, which amongſt all Men hath ever been had in Honour and Eſteem. Yet glad he was that by this Marriage he was now put beſide all hope of marrying with the Queen. Nevertheleſs *Leiceſter* was ſo incenſed hereat, that he bent himſelf to revenge the Wrong he had receiv'd. And there wanted not ſome who accuſed him, as if he had ſuborned one *Tuder* of the Queen's Guard, a Bravo, to take away *Simier's* Life. Certainly the Queen commanded by publick Proclamation, that no Man ſhould offer any Affront to *Simier*, his Attendants or Servants, either by Word or Deed.

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A Gun diſcharged at the Queen's Barge.

About this time it happen'd, that while the Queen for her Pleaſure was rowed in her Barge upon the *Thames* near *Greenwich*, attended by *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hatton* her Vice-Chamberlain, a young Man diſcharged a Piece out of a Boat, and ſhot one of the Barge-men in the Queen's Barge through both his Arms; who was preſently apprehended, and led to the Gallows for a Terror to him: But he ſolemnly proteſting that he did it unwillingly, and thought no harm, was ſoon diſcharged. Neither would the Queen believe what ſome buzzed in her Ears, that he was purpoſely ſet on, to miſchief either her or *Simier*. So far was ſhe from giving way to any Suſpicion againſt her People, that ſhe was many times wont to ſay, *That ſhe could believe nothing of her People which Parents would not believe of their Children.*

Anjou comes into Engl.

Some few Days after, the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf arrived privately in *England* with one or two only in his Company, and came to the Queen unexpectedly at her Court at *Greenwich*; where they had ſome private Diſcourſe together, all By-ſtanders being removed, which I liſt not to ſearch into (for the Secrets of Princes are an inextricable Labyrinth:) Which done, he return'd, having been ſeen but by very few.

A Conſultation about the Marriage.

But after a Month or two, ſhe commanded that *Burghley*, Lord-Treaſurer, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham*, after ſerious Conſiderations of the Dangers and Advantages which might ariſe from her Marriage with him, ſhould conſult with *Simier* about the Writings and Contract of the Marriage.

The Dangers if accepted.

The Dangers ſeem'd to be; Leſt he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the receiv'd Religion: Leſt he ſhould either endeavour to get the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom for himſelf by the Pope's Donation, or betray it into the Hands of the Queen of *Scots*, and marry her after the Queen's Death; or elſe after his Brother's Death return into *France*, and appoint a Viceroy over *England*, which the *Engliſh* would by no means endure. Moreover; leſt he ſhould engage the *Engliſh* in foreign Quarrels: Leſt the *Scots*, preſuming upon their ancient League with the *French*, ſhould take greater Heart and Courage againſt the *Engliſh*: Leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould engage himſelf againſt ſo great and united a Power. And laſtly, Leſt the People, being burden'd with Payments for the Maintainance of his Greatneſs and State, ſhould break out into Rebellion.

The Advantages by it.

The Advantages ſeem'd to be theſe: That a firm Agreement would be eſtabliſh'd with the *French*: That the Rebellions of the Papiſts (if any ſhould be) would be the eaſier ſuppreſſed: That all hopes would be cut off from the Queen of *Scots*, and from thoſe who ſought to her for Marriage, or who any way favour'd her: That the *Spaniards* would be brought to compound Matters in the *Netherlands*, and confirm the League of *Burgundy*: And that *England* might at length enjoy

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a found and joyful Security, by means of the Queen's Children, a thing so often wish'd for. But if this Marriage should be neglected, they feared lest the *French* would be incens'd, and the *Scots* alienated: that *Anjou* would contract a Marriage with the *Spaniard*'s Daughter, with whom he might receive the *Netherland* Provinces in Dowry: that the *French* King and the *Spaniard* would aid the Queen of *Scots*, draw the King of *Scots* to their Party, provide him a Wife for their own turn, and utterly abolish the Reform'd Religion; and that the *English*, when they saw no Hopes of Children by the Queen, would adore the Rising-Sun. Which things could not but be a great Torment and Anguish to her Mind.

Inconveniences, if neglected

In these days, as some *English* fear'd an Alteration of Religion by means of the Duke of *Anjou*; so also did the *Scots* by means of another *Frenchman*, viz. *Amate* or *Esme Stuart D'Aubigny*, who came about this time into *Scotland*, to visit the King his Cousin. (For he was Son to *John Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather; and was surnamed *D'Aubigny* of *Aubigny* in *Berry*, which *Charles* VII. King of *France* gave in times past, to *John Stuart* of the House of *Lenox*, who, being Constable or General of an Army of *Scots* in *France*, defeated the *English* at *Beauge*, and was afterwards slain by them in the Battle of *Harrans*; and ever since this Title has belong'd to the younger Brothers of that House.) This *D'Aubigny* the King embraced with singular Kindness, gave him very fair Lands and Possessions, admitted him to his inwardest Counsels, made him Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Captain of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, and (having first in an Assembly of the Estates formally revoked the Letters-Patents, whereby he had in his Minority created *Robert*, Bishop of *Cathness*, his Grandfather's third Brother, Earl of *Lenox*, and recompens'd the said *Robert* with the Earldom of *March*) created him first Earl, then Duke of *Lenox*. This extraordinary Favour of his with the King, procur'd him Envy from many, who secretly muttered, that he, being a Man most devoted to the *Guises* and the *Romish* Religion, was sent into *Scotland*, to subvert the true Religion. This increas'd the Suspicion, because he apply'd himself to *Morton*'s Adversaries, and made Intercession for calling home *Thomas Carre* of *Fernihurst*, a Man of all others most in the Interest of the Queen of *Scots*, while *Morton* in vain oppos'd the same, whose Power now manifestly declin'd, (tho' he seem'd to have highly merited, as having defeated the *Hamiltons*, and taken the Castle of *Hamilton*, and *Duffrane*.) Some there were who at this time wrought the *Hamiltons* into great Disfavour with the King; making use of their Name as a Scare-Crow to him, and molesting them in such sort, that for their own necessary Defence they held those Castles against the King: but they were forced to surrender them, and being convict, by Parliament, of the Murder of the Regents, as well *Murray* as *Lenox*, they were proscribed. Of these *Hamiltons*, some fled into *England*, for whom Queen *Elizabeth* earnestly interceded by *Erington*, as well in point of Honour as of Justice, forasmuch as she in the Year 1573. for establishing Peace, had engaged, that they should not be called in question for those Matters, but with her Consent.

D'Aubigny comes into *Scotland*.

Aubigny whence so named.

He is raised to Honours.

Suspected of [illegible]

Hamiltons incur the King's displeasure.

Proscrib'd

Interceded for by Q. *Eliz.*

About this time also, through her Intercession, in another part of the World, the Grand Signior *Amurath Cham*, upon Treaty betwixt *William Harbourn* an *Englishman*, and *Mustapha Beg* a *Turkish* Bassa, granted that the *English* Merchants *might freely traffick throughout his whole Empire, in like manner as the* French, *the* Venetians, *the* Polonians, *the King of the* Germans, *and the other neighbouring Nations did.* Whereupon, they by the Queen's Authority and Privilege, grew into a Society or Company; which being called the Turky-*Company*, have ever since found a very gainful Trade to *Constantinople*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petrazzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and elsewhere in *Asia*, for Spices, Cottens, raw Silk, Tapestries, *Indian* Dye, Grapes of *Corinth*, or Currants; Soap, &c.

Original of the *Turky*-Company

The execrable Impiety of *Matthew Hamont*, which about this time he openly, at *Norwich*, pour'd out against God and his Christ, and is (I hope) extinct with his burning alive, is rather to be buried in Oblivion, than to be remember'd. And for my part, I am not of their mind, who think it expedient for the publick Good, that all manner of Villanies, Poisonings and Impieties, should be made known and publish'd: for he that relates such things, does as good as teach them.

Hamont's Impiety

This was the last Year of Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, under which Title he exercis'd and enjoy'd, by an Ordinance of Parliament, the Honour and Authority of Chancellor of *England*. A man exceeding gross-body'd, sharp-witted, of singular Wisdom, rare Eloquence, excellent Memory, and the Life, as it were, of the Privy-Council. In whose Room succeeded *Thomas Bromley*, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of *England*.

Sir *Nicolas Bacon* dies

Bromley succeeds him.

After *Bacon*, followed Sir *Thomas Gresham*, Knt. Citizen of *London*, the Queen's Merchant, Son of Sir *Richard Gresham*, Knight; who, for an Ornament to his Country, and the Use of Merchants, built a very fair Walking-place in *London*, which Queen *Elizabeth* nam'd *The Royal Exchange*; and gave a large and spatious House he had in the City, to the Promotion of Learning; founding therein Lectures of Divinity, Civil-Law, Physick, Astronomy, Geometry, Rhetorick, and Musick, with competent Stipends.

Death of *Gresham*, who built the *Exchange* and *Gresham* College in *London*.

In *Munster*, a Province in *Ireland*, *James Fitz-Morris* rais'd a new Rebellion; the same *James*, who a while before, falling upon his Knees before *Perott*, President of *Munster*, had with great Lamentations and humble Intreaties, begg'd his Pardon, and most religiously vow'd his Fidelity and Obedience to the Queen. This Man, I say, (who was never well but in Troubles) had withdrawn himself into *France*, promising the King, that if he would assist him, he would unite *Ireland* to the Scepter of *France*, and restore the *Romish* Religion in that Isle. But being weary'd out with Delays, and in the end laugh'd at, he went from *France* into *Spain*, and made the same Promises to the Catholick King. The King sent him over to the Pope; from whom having (at the earnest Solicitation of *Sanders* an *English* Priest, and *Allen* an *Irish* one, both of 'em Doctors in Divinity) gotten a little Money, the Authority of a Legate granted to *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Recommendation to the *Spaniard*, he returned into *Spain*, and from thence arriv'd, about the first day of *July*, with those two Divines, three Ships, and a small Body of Men, at *St. Mary Wick* (which the *Irish* contractedly call *Smerwick*) in *Kerry*, a *Peninsula* of *Ireland*; where, in a place solemnly consecrated by the Priests, he erected a Fort, and drew up his Ships close under it: which Ships *Thomas Courtney* an *English* Gentleman, who lay by chance at Anchor with a Man of War, in a Road hard-by, soon after set upon, took and carry'd away, and deprived the *Spaniards* of the Benefit of the Sea. *John* and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a few

Ja. Fitz-Morris's Rebellion in *Ireland*,

Raised by the Pope and the *Spaniard*.

He lands a Party in *Kerry*.

Rebels Ships taken.

Irish,

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Irish, join themselves forthwith with their Cousin Fitz-Morris: But the Earl himself, who wish'd well to their Design, gather'd his Friends together, as if he meant to oppose them, having cunningly shifted off the Earl of Clancarty, who was coming to him with a select Body of Men, to assist him against the Enemies and Rebels.

Desmond favours the Rebels.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy had certain Intelligence, that the Enemies were landed, he commanded the Earl of Desmond and his Brothers jointly, by Henry Davill, an English Gentleman, and a stout Soldier, and very familiar with the Desmonds, that they should forthwith assault the Fort: Which when they shifted off, and refus'd to do, as a thing full of Danger, Davill departed, and John Desmond follow'd after him. At Tralsy, a small Town, he overtook him at his Inn, and in the dead of the Night, having corrupted his Host, broke into his Chamber with certain Cut-throats, having their Swords drawn, where Davill slept securely with Arthur Carter, Lieutenant to the Marshal of Munster, a stout old Soldier: but being awaken'd with the Noise, when he saw John Desmond in the Chamber with his Sword drawn, he rais'd himself up, saying, *What is the matter, my Son?* (for so he was wont familiarly to call him) *I will be no longer thy Son*, (said he) *nor shalt thou be my Father: Thou shalt die.* And with that they slew both him and Carter that lay with him, stabbing them in many places, after that Davill's Lacquey, by interposing his naked Body, had done the best he could, for a while, to defend his Master, and had received some Wounds. Then he slew all Davill's Servants one after another, who were lodg'd here and there in several Chambers; and so returning all begoar'd with Blood, he boasted among the Spaniards, of the Murder: And *let this* (said he) *be a Pledge to you, of my Faithfulness towards you and the Cause you are engaged in.* This Fact Sanders commended, *as a sweet Sacrifice in the Sight of God.* James Fitz-Morris misliked the Manner of the Murder; and wish'd rather it had been done upon the Way, than in his Bed. The Earl, when he heard it, condemn'd the Fact, detesting it with all his heart.

Davill slain in his bed.

Sanders approves the Murder.

Spaniards in despair.

The Spaniards, when they saw so small a Number of Irish join with them, and those unarmed and pitiful Fellows, contrary to what Fitz-Morris had promis'd them; began to despair of themselves, and to cry out they were undone, and to bewail their Condition; for they saw no Way to escape either by Sea or Land. Fitz-Morris exhorts them to wait patiently, assuring them that there were great Forces coming to their Aid, and feignedly takes a Journey to St. Cross in Tipperary, under pretence of performing a Vow he had made in Spain; but indeed to gather together seditious Fellows out of Connaught and Ulster.

Skirmish betwixt the Rebels and the a Burghs.

Whilst he, with a few Horsemen and twelve Footmen, took his Journey through the Lands of William a Burgh, his Kinsman, (who in the former Rebellion was engaged with him) his Horses tiring, he took some out of the Plough near the High-way: the Plough-men, making an Out-cry, call together the Neighbourhood, to recover their Horses; amongst whom the Sons of William a Burgh, being couragious young Men, took Horse, and pursu'd him so hard, that they overtook him. Fitz-Morris seeing Theobald a Burgh and his Brethren, who not long since had been Rebels with him, spake to them friendly in this manner, *Cousins*, (says he) *let us not fall out for a Jade or two. I doubt not but when ye understand the Cause of my Returning into* Ireland, *ye will join your Party with me.* Theobald answer'd, *Of our former Rebellion, both myself, my Father, and my Friends do greatly repent us: Our Fidelity and Obedience we have sworn to our most gracious Princess, who has pardon'd us our Lives; and to her we will keep our Allegiance. Therefore restore us our Horses, or I will make you restore them.* And withal, charging him with his Lance, he ran at him. They fought a while, and Theobald and one of his Brothers, with some of his Party, were slain: and withal, Fitz-Morris himself fell down dead, being run through with a Lance, and shot in the Head with a leaden Bullet; and most of his Men were slain. His Head was cut from his Body, his Body quarter'd, his Quarters set upon Poles at the Gates of Kilmalock, where he had formerly (as I said before) with solemn Protestations, sworn Allegiance to his Prince, in the Church, before Perott. The Queen, by her Letters mixt with Grief and Love, comforted William a Burgh for the Loss of his Sons, honour'd him with the Title of Baron of Castle-Conell, and gave him a yearly Pension: whereat the old Man being fill'd and overcome with sudden Joy, died shortly after.

Fitz-Morris with most of his men slain.

William a Burgh made a Baron, dies for Joy.

Now was Drury Lord-Deputy come near to Kilmalock, and sent for the Earl of Desmond, who appear'd before him, promis'd his Fidelity and Obedience to his Princess, and bound himself by Oath, that both himself in person and his would serve her against the Rebels. Whereupon he was dismiss'd, to gather his Men together, and return to the Lord-Deputy. John Desmond, the Earl's Brother, who was put in Fitz-Morris's Room among the Rebels, by an Ambush surpriz'd and slew Herbert and Prise, two English Captains, with their Companies; and was hurt himself in the Face. But the Companies were made up again, with six hundred Men out of Devonshire: and Perott was sent out of England with six Men of War, to defend the Coast.

Desmond's feigned submission.

John Desmond defeats the English.

At which time the Lord-Deputy, being daily more and more afflicted with Sickness, was fain to retire to Waterford, for Recovery of his Health, and committed both the Managing of the War, and the Presidentship of Munster, to Nicholas Malbey Governor of Connaught, an experienced old Soldier. As he was departing, Desmond's Wife fell upon her Knees, and offer'd him her only Son and Heir in Hostage for his Father. For after he was departed from Kilmalock, he appear'd no more: tho' Malbey now and then by Letters put him in mind of his Duty and Promise. Malbey, supposing it not good to delay any time, marches into Conilo, a wild and woody Country, against the Rebels; where John Desmond encounter'd him in a pitch'd Field, with the Pope's hallow'd Banner display'd: and they fought smartly on both sides. At length, Fortune favouring the Valour of the English, John first betook himself to Flight, and left his Men to the Slaughter; amongst whom was found that Allen the Divine, who had encourag'd them to the Engagement, promising them assur'd Victory.

Malbey President of Munster.

He defeats the Rebels.

That Night the Earl of Desmond, who had stood a Spectator from an Hill hard-by, dissemblingly by Letters congratulated the President concerning his Victory, and under pretence of Friendship, advis'd him to remove his Camp from thence. Malbey sent back the Messenger, and by his Letter commanded the Earl to come and join his Forces with his: whom when he had in vain expected the space of Four days, he marched forward to Rekel, a small Town of Desmond. Now Desmond, who had in Shew and Words, so long and so egregiously play'd the Dissembler, ceases longer to act that Part, and openly discovers his rebellious Spirit. The same Night the Rebels charged Malbey's Camp, in the dark; which notwithstanding they found so strongly fortify'd, that they retired without effe-

Desmond openly rebels.

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ſting any thing. The Preſident, in regard the Place ſeem'd commodious to divide the Rebels Forces, put a Garriſon into it, and march'd from thence towards *Askettin*, a Caſtle of the Earl's, upon a Rock, compaſs'd about with the River *Askettin*, and kept by a Party of Soldiers. Yet before he would aſſault the ſame, he wrote again to *Deſmond*, and exhorted him not to incur the Stain of Rebellion, but to return to his Duty; laying before him, the Queen's Clemency, the ancient Dignity of the Houſe of *Deſmond*, the Glory of his Anceſtors, and his own Infamy with Poſterity. He on the contrary both continu'd obſtinate in his Reſolution, and ſtrengthen'd his Camp all the Ways he could, both with the lately-arriv'd *Spaniards*, and with *Iriſh*. At this time, in the beginning of *October*, *Drury* the Lord-Deputy died at *Waterford*; a Man certainly of approv'd Vertue, and bred up in the Wars, from his very Youth, in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Death of L. Deputy Drury.

The Lord-Deputy being dead, *Malbey*'s Authority in *Munſter* died alſo; therefore, putting his Soldiers into Garriſon-towns, he retired into *Connaught*, his own Government. By the Lord-Deputy's Death the Rebels take Courage, and conſult how to free themſelves from their Subjection to the *Engliſh*. The beſt Courſe (they thought) was, to block up the Garriſons round on all ſides, and ſo to famiſh them. *James Deſmond* therefore beſieged *Adar*, where *William Stanley* and *George Carew* had their Quarters: but the Garriſon fearing Hunger, the worſt of all Evils, weary'd the Beſiegers with ſuch frequent Sallies, that they broke up the Siege, and left the Beſieged at liberty to fetch in Booty out of the Country adjoining; which they valorouſly and ſtoutly perform'd, wounding *James* himſelf.

Rebels encouraged thereby.

In the mean time, the Council of *Ireland* choſe Sir *William Pelham* for Juſticer of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Lord-Deputy, till a Lord-Deputy ſhould be created; and the Earl of *Ormond* they made Preſident of *Munſter*, who ſent the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Son, whom he had in Hoſtage, to *Dublin*, to be there kept. *Pelham* Lord-Juſticer went into *Munſter*, and ſent for the Earl of *Deſmond*: but he, by Letters ſent by his Wife, excus'd himſelf. *Ormond* therefore was ſent to command him to deliver up *Sanders* the Divine, the foreign Soldiers, and the Caſtles of *Carigo-Foyle* and *Askettin*, into the Lord-Juſticer's hands, to ſubmit himſelf abſolutely, and uſe his Forces againſt his Brothers, and the reſt of the Rebels: which if he did, he might obtain Pardon of his Rebellion; otherwiſe he ſhould be proclaimed a Traitor and Enemy to his Country. When he ſtill ſhifted and avoided to do it, he was, in the beginning of *November*, proclaim'd Traitor, and guilty of High-Treaſon, for having dealt with foreign Princes, for the Conqueſt and Deſtruction of his Native Country, reliev'd *Sanders* and *James Fitz-Morris* Rebels, harbour'd the *Spaniards* who eſcaped out of the Fort at *Smerwick*, hang'd up divers faithful Subjects, diſplay'd the Pope's Banner againſt the Queen, and brought Foreigners into the Realm. This being proclaim'd, the Lord-Juſticer committed the Proſecution of the War to *Ormond*.

Pelham made Juſticer of Ireland.

He puts Deſmond in mind of his duty.

Proclaims him Traitor.

Deſmond turned himſelf againſt another part of *Munſter*, ſurpriz'd and ſack'd *Youghall*, a Port-town ſtrongly fortified, where he found no Reſiſtance. *Ormond* lays all waſte far and near, quite through *Conilo*, the Rebels only Refuge, drives away their Cattle, and gives them for Booty to his Men. The Mayor of *Youghall* he commanded to be hanged before his own Door, for refuſing to receive in an *Engliſh* Garriſon; and puts a Garriſon into the Town. Then he prepares to beſiege the *Spaniards* in *Strangicallia*: but they had before withdrawn themſelves out of Danger; yet the *Engliſh* purſuing them, put them every Man to the Sword, and miſerably harraſs'd the Rebels all over *Munſter*. But *Deſmond* and his Brethren, tho' lurking and hiding their Heads, ſignify'd to the Lord-Juſticer, in a long Letter, that they had undertaken the Protection of the Catholick Faith in *Ireland*, and that by Authority from the Pope, and Direction of the Catholick King: and therefore they kindly adviſe him to join with them in ſo pious and meritorious a Cauſe, for the Salvation of his own Soul.

Youghall taken by the Rebels.

Ormond purſues them.

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Deſmond's Impudence.

The Three and twentieth Year of her Reign. 158

The Lord-Juſticer ſmiling and jeſting hereat, return'd into *Munſter*, aſſembled the Gentlemen, and wiſely kept them with him, not ſuffering them to depart, but upon Hoſtages given, and Promiſe made to do their beſt Service with him and *Ormond* againſt the Rebels: who ſoon after, dividing their Forces, hunt after the Rebels. The Baron of *Lixnaw* they force to yield himſelf; then beſiege the Caſtle of *Carigo-Foyle*, which *Julio* an *Italian* with a few *Spaniards* defended: and having made a Breach in the Walls, by means of their great Ordnance, they enter'd it by force, and put the Garriſon either to the Sword or the Gallows, and with them *Julio* himſelf. Then was the Caſtle of *Ballilough* fir'd and abandon'd by the Garriſon, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Engliſh* come on; as was alſo *Askettin*, the Keeping whereof was committed to Sir *Peter Carew* and *George* his Brother, with a new Garriſon of *Engliſhmen*. The Territory of *Mac-Auley* was haraſs'd: and from thence the Lord-Juſticer enter'd into *Kerry*, over the boggy Hill of *Slewlougher*, drove away a great Number of Cattle, and ſlew very many of the Rebels. *James Deſmond*, the Earl's Brother having ſpoil'd the little Country of *Muskeray*, belonging to *Cormac Mac-Teg*, (whom the Lord-Juſticer had diſmiſs'd, upon condition he ſhould do his Country good Service againſt the Rebels) happened upon *Donell*, *Carmac*'s Brother, who put many of his Men to the Sword, recover'd the Booty, took *James*, who was mortally wounded, and delivered him to *Warham St. Leiger*, Marſhal of *Munſter*, and to *Walter Raleigh* (who then firſt had any Command of Forces). They brought him to his Trial, and, having found him guilty of High-Treaſon, put him to the uſual Death of Traitors, ſetting up his Head for a Spectacle upon *Cork*-Gate. *Deſmond* himſelf being diſtreſs'd with all kind of Miſeries, and no where ſafe, ſhifted from place to place, ſent his Wife to the L. Juſticer to beg his Pardon, and by his Friends earneſtly deal with *Winter*, (who then waited for the *Spaniards*, upon that Coaſt, with a well-order'd Fleet) that he might be convey'd over into *England*, to beg the Queen's Mercy.

L. Juſticer and Ormond purſue the Rebels.

Several places taken, or quitted.

James Deſmond taken and executed.

Deſmond diſtreſs'd.

The Lord-Juſticer being now advertis'd, that *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, appointed to be Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, was arrived in *Ireland*, committed the Care of the Army in *Munſter* to *George Bourchier*, Son to *John* the ſecond Earl of *Bath*, and returned himſelf, by eaſie Journeys, to *Dublin*, to deliver up his Charge to his Succeſſor. No ſooner was the Lord *Grey* arrived, but, before he had receiv'd the Sword and Enſigns of his Command, hearing that certain Rebels, under the Leading of *Fitz-Euſtace*, and *Pheag Mac-Hugh*, the Head of the powerful Family of the *O-brins*, did commit Thefts and Robberies, and had their Refuge in *Glandilough*, 25 Miles from *Dublin* Southward, that he might both gain to himſelf a Reputation, and by a ſevere Beginning ſtrike a Terror into them, he order'd the Captains and Commanders, which came from all places to ſalute him, to gather their Forces together, and to march with him

Arthur L. Grey Deputy of Ireland.

Marches againſt the Rebels.

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him againſt the Rebels; who preſently retired to *Glandilogh*. This *Glandilogh* is a graſſy Valley, fit for fatning of Cattle, and a great part of it ſomewhat wet, beſet round about with craggy Rocks and a ſteep Downfal, and with Trees and Thickets of Wood, the Paths and Croſs-ways whereof are ſcarce known to the Dwellers thereabouts. When they were come to the place, *Cosbey*, Captain of the *Iriſh* light Footmen, (whom they call *Kerns*) who knew the places perfectly well, acquainted the reſt, how dangerous it was to enter into that Valley, being ſo commodious for Ambuſhes: yet he perſuaded them to venture couragiouſly, and himſelf, being above threeſcore Years of Age, led the way before 'em, and the reſt follow'd after. As ſoon as they were deſcended into the Valley, they were charg'd from the Hedges with ſmall Shot, as it were with a Storm of Hail, by the Rebels from all parts round about, whom yet they could not ſee. The greateſt part of 'em by far were ſlain; the reſt with much ado climbing up the Rocks, through cumberſom and difficult Ways, eſcaped to the Lord-Deputy, who upon a Hill attended the Succeſs with the Earl of *Kildare*, and *James Wingfield* Maſter of the Ordnance; who, not ignorant of the Danger, ſtay'd *George Carew* (one of his Nephews) with him againſt his Will, being reſerv'd for greater Honour. There were ſlain *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audley*, and *Cosbey* himſelf, Men of great Repute for Martial Affairs.

English defeated and ſlain.

Within a ſhort time after, arriv'd at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, about 700 *Italians* and *Spaniards*, under the Command of *San-Joſepho* an *Italian*, ſent from the Pope and the *Spaniard*, under pretence of reſtoring the *Romiſh* Religion, but indeed to diſtract Queen *Elizabeth*'s Forces, and to divert her Mind from the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. They landed without Reſiſtance: for *Winter*, who had waited for 'em a good while, upon that Coaſt, with ſeveral Men of War, was return'd into *England*, the Autumnal Equinox being now paſt. The Enemy ſtrengthen'd the Place with Fortifications, and nam'd it *the Fort del Or*. But as ſoon as News was brought 'em, that *Ormond*, Preſident of *Munſter*, approach'd, they abandon'd the Fort by the Perſuaſion of the *Iriſh*, and withdrew themſelves into the Valley of *Glaningelly*, environ'd with ſteep Hills and Woods. Some of 'em the Preſident took, who being examin'd of their Number and Intent, confeſs'd, *That they came but 700 ſtrong, but brought Arms ſufficient for 5000, and that they expected more Men daily out of* Spain. *That the Pope and the* Spaniard *had reſolv'd to drive the* English *out of* Ireland, *and had ſent a great Sum of Money to that purpoſe, which they had deliver'd into the Hands of* Sanders *the Pope's Nuntio, the Earl of* Deſmond, *and* John *his Brother*. The ſame Night the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, not knowing which way to turn themſelves, (for they were not uſed to lurking in Holes) return'd in the dark to the Fort; and hard-by 'em encamp'd the Earl of *Ormond*. But being unprovided of Ordnance and other Neceſſaries for an Aſſault, he ſtay'd for the Lord-Deputy's Coming; who came ſhortly after, accompany'd by *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Deny*, *Mackworth*, *Achim*, and other Commanders. At the ſame time alſo was *Winter* return'd out of *England*, with the Men of War; not without a Check for his departing.

Some *Italians* and *Spaniards* arrive in *Ireland*.

They raiſe a Fort.

Are beſieged.

The Lord Deputy ſent a Trumpet to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, who ſent them, and why they had built a Fort in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Kingdom, and withal, to command 'em to depart with all ſpeed. They anſwer'd, they were ſent, ſome from the moſt Holy Father the Pope, and ſome from the Catholick King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope had given *Ireland*, ſince Queen *Elizabeth* had juſtly forfeited her Title to it, for Hereſie. They would therefore hold what they had gotten, and get more alſo, if they could. When the Lord-Deputy and *Winter* had conſulted together, about the managing of the Siege, the Seamen, in the dead of the Night, brought certain Culverins out of the Ships, and having rais'd a Battery near the Shoar, drew them up the next way, and planted them. The Soldiers in like manner on the other ſide levell'd *their great* Pieces for Battery, and both of 'em at once play'd for four days together againſt the Fort. The *Spaniards* made one or two Sallies, but to their own Loſs. Of the *Engliſh* not one Man was ſlain, but *John Cheek*, a comely and couragious young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a very learned Knight.

L. Deputy ſummons them.

A Sally or two.

San-Joſepho, who had the Command of the Fort, being a faint-hearted Man, and terrify'd with the continual playing of the Ordnance, began preſently to think of yielding the Place: and when *Hercules Piſanus* and other Commanders earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, as a thing diſhonourable to a Soldier, and urged him to prepare for a vigorous Defence, leſt they ſhould by their Cowardice diſcourage the *Iriſh*, who were now ready to relieve them; he by his Agents, ſuch was his cowardly Spirit, tamper'd with the common Soldiers, and wrought them to conſent to a Surrender, ſeditiouſly offering Violence to their Leaders. Hereupon, when they ſaw no Relief come either out of *Spain*, or from *Deſmond*, they hung out a white Flag the Fifth Day, and beat a Parley. Which was deny'd 'em, becauſe they had join'd themſelves with the Rebels, with whom it was not lawful to have any Parley. Then they crav'd that they might depart with Bag and Baggage: but neither was this granted. Afterwards it was deſired that this might be granted to their General and certain principal Men amongſt them: neither would this be allow'd 'em, tho' they ſued very earneſtly for it. And the Lord-Deputy (inveighing very bitterly againſt the Pope) commanded them to yield themſelves upon Diſcretion. When they could obtain no other Terms, they ſet up their white Flag again, and cry'd *Miſericordia, miſericordia*, and abſolutely ſubmitted themſelves to the Lord-Deputy's Mercy: who preſently adviſ'd with his Officers, what ſhould be done with them. But in regard thoſe who yielded, equall'd the *Engliſh* in Number, and ſome Danger threatned from the Rebels, who were above 1500 ſtrong, hard by; and the *Engliſh* were ſo deſtitute of Victuals and Apparel, that they were like to mutiny, unleſs they were reliev'd out of the Fort, by the Spoil of the Enemy, and Shipping was wanting to carry the Enemies away; it was concluded, (againſt the Mind of the Lord-Deputy, who ſhed Tears at the Determination) that the Commanders ſhould be ſaved, and the reſt promiſcuouſly put to the Sword for a Terror; and that the *Iriſh* ſhould be hang'd up: which was preſently put in Execution. Yet the Queen wiſh'd it had not been done, deteſting from her Heart ſuch Cruelty, tho' ſeemingly then neceſſary, againſt theſe Perſons who had yielded themſelves; and hardly did ſhe allow of the Reaſons for the Slaughter committed. Thus much of Matters in *Ireland*, which I have mention'd all together, that the Series of the Story might not be interrupted, tho' other things fell out in the mean while, which in reſpect of their time ſhould have been mention'd firſt.

Cowardiſe of the Governor.

They parley.

Yield.

Are cruelly treated.

In *England*, in the beginning of this Year, the Neck-attire, which we call Ruffs, being unreaſonably large, and with huge wide Plaits,

Exceſs of Apparel reſtrain'd.

and

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and Cloaks reaching down almoſt to the Ancles, no leſs uncomely than expenſive, were reſtrain'd by Proclamation. Swords alſo were reduc'd to the length of three Foot, Daggers to twelve Inches beſides the Handle, and the Pikes in the Boſſes of Bucklers to two Inches. In like manner, in regard that great multitudes of People reſorted from all Parts to *London*, whereby the City and Suburbs were now much enlarg'd with Buildings, (whilſt the reſt of the Cities and Towns of *England* ran to Decay) that unleſs it were timely prevented, neither the ordinary Magiſtrates would ſuffice to govern the Multitude, nor the Countries round about to feed them; and the Contagion of Peſtilence, if any ſhould happen, would ſpread it ſelf farther and more dangerouſly, by means of the Houſes ſtanding ſo thick together, and being peſter'd with numbers of Inhabitants; the Queen by Proclamation prohibited any new Dwelling-houſes to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City, upon pain of Impriſonment, and loſs of the Materials provided for the Building: And order'd that no more than one Family ſhould dwell in one Houſe.

And new Buildings in the Suburbs of London.

Mechlin taken.

In the *Netherlands*, *Sir John Norris*, General of the *Engliſh* Forces, and *Oliver Temple*, with ſome Companies of *Netherlanders*, ſcaled the Walls of *Mechlin*, a rich City of *Brabant*, early one Morning, and, with great ſlaughter of the Townſmen and religious People, took it; with ſome Commendation indeed for their Valour, had not they ſtain'd it with the odious Blur of their Rapine and Sacrilege: For they not only plunder'd the Citizens Goods with all Inſolency imaginable, but exercis'd their Rage alſo againſt the very Churches, ſacred Things and Monuments, offering Violence to the Dead. For we ſaw (which I am aſham'd to ſpeak) ſeveral Tomb-ſtones ſent over from thence into *England*, and openly ſet to ſale, that there might not want Proofs of their Impiety.

Sacrilege of the Engliſh.

Earthquakes in England.

Let it not ſeem beſide the purpoſe to mention the Earthquakes which happen'd in theſe Days, ſeeing they are Things that happen very rarely in *England*; and thoſe that do, are rather to be call'd Tremblings of the Earth, than violent Shakings. The 6th Day of *April*, at ſix of the Clock in the Evening, the Air being clear and calm, *England* on this ſide *York*, and the *Netherlands* almoſt as high as *Cologn*, in a moment as it were fell a trembling in ſuch a manner, that in ſome places Stones fell down from Buildings, the Bells in Steeples ſtruck againſt the Clappers, and the very Sea, which then was very calm, was vehemently toſs'd and mov'd to and fro. The Night following the Ground in *Kent* trembled two or three times; and the like again on the 1ſt of *May*, in the dead-time of the Night. Whether this happen'd by means of Winds gotten into the hollow Places of the Earth, or of Waters flowing under the Earth, or from any other Cauſe, let the Natural Philoſophers determine: But immediately upon it there enſu'd ſome Trouble to the Papiſts in *England*; yet none but what was caus'd by themſelves, upon the following Occaſions.

The beginning of the Papiſts Troubles.

The original of the Engliſh Seminaries at Doway,

The *Engliſh* Prieſts which had fled into the *Netherlands* aſſembled themſelves at *Doway* in the Year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford-man*, the moſt Learned amongſt them, and fram'd themſelves a common Diſcipline after the manner of a College; to whom the Biſhop of *Rome* aſſign'd a yearly Penſion. When afterwards the Troubles in the *Netherlands* encreas'd, and the *Engliſh* Fugitives were baniſh'd thence by command of Don *Lewis de Requeſens*, another Seminary was erected at *Rheims* by the *Guiſes*, the Queen of *Scots* Kinſmen, and another at *Rome* by *Gregory* XIII. which, as Time conſum'd the Popiſh Prieſts in *England*, might ſtill ſupply new, to ſow the Seeds of the *Romiſh* Religion in *England*. Whereupon they were call'd *Seminaries*; and thoſe that were there bred up in them were commonly call'd *Seminary-Prieſts*.

at Rheims and Rome.

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In theſe Colleges, or Seminaries, (whilſt among other things Diſputations were held concerning the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Power) Zeal to the Pope their Founder, Hatred againſt the Queen, and Hope of reſtoring the *Romiſh* Religion by the Queen of *Scots*, carried ſome of them ſo far, that they really perſuaded themſelves, and ſo maintain'd, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath by divine Right full Power over the whole World, as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal Cauſes; and that he, according to that abſolute Power, may excommunicate Kings, and having ſo done, dethrone 'em, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. Hereupon was that Bull declaratory of *Pius* V. publiſh'd in the Year 1569; and upon that Bull brake forth the Rebellion in the North Parts of *England*, and this alſo in *Ireland*, whereof I ſpake a little before; and many withdrew themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip of God, which before they had frequented without any ſcruple. *Hanſe*, *Nelſon* and *Maine*, Prieſts, and *Sherwood*, peremptorily taught the Queen was a Schiſmatick and an Heretick, and therefore to be depoſed; for which they were put to death.

Treafo… the Te… Semina… Priefts.

Popiſh Prieſts executed.

Out of theſe Seminaries were ſent forth into divers parts of *England* and *Ireland* at firſt a few young Men, and afterwards more, according as they grew up, who were entred over-haſtily into Holy Orders, and inſtructed in the above-mention'd Principles. They pretended only to adminiſter the Sacraments of the *Romiſh* Religion, and to preach to Papiſts: But the Queen and her Council ſoon found that they were ſent underhand to ſeduce the Subjects from their Allegiance and Obedience due to their *Prince*, to oblige them by Reconciliation to perform the Pope's Commands, to ſtir up inteſtine Rebellions under the *Seal of Confeſſion*, and indeed to execute the Sentence of *Pius* V. againſt the Queen, to the end that way might be made for the Pope and the *Spaniard*, who had of late deſign'd the Conqueſt of *England*.

To what intent Seminary Prieſts were ſent into Engl.

To theſe Seminaries were ſent daily out of *England* by the Papiſts, in contempt and deſpite of the Laws, great numbers of Boys and young Men of all ſorts, and admitted into the ſame, making a Vow to return into *England*: Others alſo crept ſecretly from thence into the Land, and more were daily expected with the Jeſuits, who at this time firſt came into *England*. Hereupon there came forth a Proclamation in the Month of *June*, "That whoſoever had any "Children, Wards, Kinſmen, or other Rela-"tions in the Parts beyond the Seas, ſhould "after ten Days give in their Names to the Or-"dinary, and within four Months call them "home again; and when they were return'd, "ſhould forthwith give notice of the ſame to the "ſaid Ordinary. That they ſhould not directly "or indirectly ſupply ſuch as refus'd to return "with any Money. That no Man ſhould en-"tertain in his Houſe, or harbour any Prieſts "ſent forth out of the aforeſaid Seminaries, or "Jeſuits, or cheriſh and relieve them. And that "whoſoever did to the contrary, ſhould be ac-"counted a favourer of Rebels and ſeditious Per-"ſons, and be proceeded againſt according to "the Laws of the Land.

Jeſuits creep into England.

A proclamation againſt Seminary Prieſts and Jeſuits.

Before ſuch time as this was proclaim'd, the Papiſts pretended that they were ſenſible too late of the Inconveniences by the ſaid Bull, and that

they

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they were ill pleased that ever it came forth. A Defence of the same, written by *Nicholas Sanders*, they cunningly (as the Event shew'd) suppress'd; and prohibited the Question concerning the Power of the Bishop of *Rome* in excommunicating and deposing of Princes to be publickly disputed; which notwithstanding (such is the Nature of Man, to be still prone and forward to whatever is forbidden) brake forth every day hotter and hotter amongst them. *Robert Parsons* also, and *Edmund Campian*, *Englishmen*, and of the Society of *Jesus*, being now ready to come over to advance the *Romish* Affairs in *England*, obtain'd Power from *Gregory* the thirteenth Bishop of *Rome*, for moderating the said Bull, and that in these Words: *Let there be humbly prayed of our most holy Lord an Explanation of the Bull declaratory set forth* by Pius V. *against* Elizabeth *and her Adherents. Which Bull the Catholicks do desire may be understood in this manner: That it may always bind her and the Hereticks, but in no way the Catholicks, as matters now stand; but only hereafter, when publick execution of the said Bull may be had. These Graces aforesaid the chief Bishop hath granted to Father* Robert Parsons *and* Edmund Campian, *who are now to take their Journey into* England *the* 14*th Day of* April, 1580, *in the presence of Father* Oliver Manarco, *Assistant.*

Parsons & *Campian* the Jesuits come into *England*.

An Indulgence granted to Papists.

This *Parsons* was of *Somersetshire*, a violent fierce-natur'd Man, and of a rough Behaviour. *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a sweet Disposition, and a well-bred Man. Both of 'em were by Education *Oxford-men*, whom I my self knew, being of their Standing in the University. *Campian*, being of St. *John's* College, bare the Office of Proctor of the University in the Year 1568; and being made Deacon, made a shew of the Protestant Religion, till he withdrew himself out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Balliol* College, wherein he openly profess'd the Protestant Religion, until he was for his loose Carriage expell'd with Disgrace, and went over to the Papists. These two coming privately into *England*, travell'd up and down through the Country, and to Popish Gentlemens Houses, covertly and in the disguised Habits sometimes of Soldiers, sometimes of Gentlemen, sometimes of Ministers of the Word, and sometimes of Apparitors, diligently performing what they had in charge, both by Word and Writing. *Parsons*, who was constituted Superior, being a Man of a seditious and turbulent Spirit, and arm'd with a confident Boldness, tamper'd so far with the Papists about deposing the Queen, that some of 'em (I speak upon their own Credit) thought to have deliver'd him into the Magistrate's Hands. *Campian*, tho' more modest, yet by a written Paper challeng'd the Ministers of the *English* Church to a Disputation, and publish'd a neat well-penn'd Book in *Latin*, call'd, *Ten Reasons* in Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: And *Parsons* put out another virulent Book in *English* against *Chark*, who had soberly written against *Campian's* Challenge. But to *Campian's Reasons*, *Whitaker* gave a solid Answer. *Campian* himself was taken a Year after, and put to the Rack; and afterwards being brought forth to dispute, he scarcely answer'd the expectation raised of him.

Parsons & *Campian* describ'd.

Neither wanted there others also of the Popish Faction (for Religion was grown into Faction) who labour'd Tooth and Nail at *Rome*, and elsewhere in Princes Courts, to raise War against their own Country: *Yea*, they publish'd also in print, That the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* had conspir'd together to conquer *England*, and expose it for a Spoil and Prey: And this they did of purpose to give Courage to their own Party, and to terrifie others from their Allegiance to their Prince and Country. The Queen being now openly thus assailed, both by the Arms and cunning Practices of the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, set forth a Manifesto, wherein (after acknowledgment of the Goodness of God towards her) she declar'd, *That she had attempted nothing against any Prince, but for preservation of her own Kingdom; nor had she invaded the Provinces of any other, tho' she had sundry times been thereunto both provoked by Injuries, and invited by Opportunities. If any Prince go about to attempt ought against her, she doubteth not but to be able (by the blessing of God) to defend her People; and to that purpose, she had muster'd her Forces both by Sea and Land, and had 'em now in readiness against any hostile Invasion. Her faithful Subjects she exhorteth to continue immovable in their Allegiance and Duty towards God, and their Prince the Minister of God. The rest, who had shaken off their Love to their Country, and their Obedience to their Prince, she commandeth to carry themselves modestly and peaceably, and not provoke the severity of Justice against themselves; for she would no longer be so imprudent, as by sparing the bad to prove cruel to herself and her good Subjects.*

Fugitives excite Foreigners against their Country.

An Edict against them.

And not only these perfidious Subjects, but also Foreigners out of *Holland*, (a Country fruitful of Hereticks) began at this time to trouble the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth of *England*, who under a shew of singular Integrity and Sanctity, insinuated themselves into the Affections of the Ignorant common People, and then instill'd into their Minds several damnable Heresies manifestly repugnant to the Christian Faith, using uncouth and strange kind of Expressions, contrary to the Christian Profession, which Men might rather admire than understand. These nam'd themselves of the *Family of Love*, or *House of Charity*. They persuaded their Followers, "That those only were elected, and "should be saved, who were admitted into that "Family, and all the rest Reprobates, and to be "damn'd: And that it was lawful for them to "deny upon their Oath before a Magistrate "whatsoever they pleased, or before any other "who was not of their Family. Of this fanatical Vanity they dispersed Books amongst their Followers, translated out of the *Dutch* Tongue into *English*, which they entitl'd, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*; *Documental Sentences*; *The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*; *The publishing of Peace upon Earth*. The Author *H. N.* they could by no means be persuaded to reveal; yet was it found afterward to be *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*, who with a blasphemous Mouth gave out, *that he did partake of God, and God of his Humanity*. For the timely suppressing of these by Law, the Queen, considering that Religion ought to be the chiefest care of Princes, commanded by Proclamation that the Civil Magistrate should be assistant to the Ecclesiastical, and that the Books should be publickly burnt.

Sectaries flock hither out of *Holland*

Family of Love.

Their fanatical Writings.

Proclamation against 'em.

About this time return'd into *England*, *Francis Drake*, abounding with great Wealth, and greater Renown, having prosperously sailed round about the World; being, if not the first of all which could challenge this Glory, yet questionless, the first but *Megellan*, whom death cut off in the midst of his Voyage. This *Drake* (to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, and had *Francis Russel* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) for his Godfather, who according to the custom, gave him his Christian Name. Whilst he was yet a Child, his Father, embracing the Protestant Doctrine, was call'd in question by the Law of the *Six Articles*, made by *Henry* VIII. against the

Francis Drake.

His Parentage.

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the Protestants, fled his Country, and withdrew himself into *Kent*. After the death of K. *Henry*, he got a Place among the Seamen in the King's Navy, to read Prayers to 'em; and soon after he was ordain'd Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of *Upnore* upon the River *Medway*, (the Road where the Fleet usually anchoreth). But by reason of his Poverty, he put his Son to the Master of a Bark, his Neighbour, who held him hard to his Business in the Bark, with which he used to coast along the Shore, and sometimes to carry Merchandize into *Zeland* and *France*. The Youth being painful and diligent, so pleased the old Man by his Industry, that being a Batchellor, at his death he bequeath'd the Bark unto him by Will and Testament. Wherewith when he had got together a little Money, and heard that Sir *John Hawkins* was rigging certain Ships at *Plimouth*, and propos'd a Voyage to *America*, which they call'd the *New World*, he sold his Bark, and going thither out of *Kent* with some other stout Seamen, in the Year 1567, he employ'd both his Pains and Fortunes unsuccessfully in that Voyage under *Hawkins*. For the *English* (as I have formerly said) being vanquish'd in the Haven of *Saint John de Ulloa* by the *Spaniards*, he hardly escaped with the loss of what he had. Five Years after, to wit, in the Year 1572, when he had gotten pretty store of Money by playing the Seaman and the Pirate, he, to lick himself whole of the Damage he had receiv'd of the *Spaniards*, (which a Divine belonging to the Fleet had easily persuaded him to be lawful) set sail again with a Man of War which was called the *Dragon*, and two Pinnaces, for *America*, acquainting his Companions only with his Purpose.

His Education.

His first Voyage into *America*.

Exploits.

Nombre de Dios, a Town in the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, he took, and soon after lost it again. Afterwards being advertis'd by certain fugitive *Negroes*, (*Cimarons* they call 'em) that there was a great quantity of Gold and Silver to be brought on Mules from *Panama*, he robb'd 'em by the way, brought the Gold to his Ships, but the Silver, because he could not well carry it over the Mountains, he left behind, and some he hid under Ground. Then he fired a rich Store-house of Merchandise upon the River *Chirage*, called the *Cross*. And roving for a time up and down in the Parts adjoining, he descry'd from the Mountains the *South Sea*. Hereupon the Man being inflamed with ambition of Glory, and hopes of Wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that Sea, that falling down there upon his Knees, he implored the Divine Assistance, that he might at some time or other sail thither, and make a perfect Discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a Vow. From that time forward his Mind was pricked on continually Night and Day to perform his Vow.

Oxenham saileth into *America*.

He being now grown very Rich, and brooding in his Mind privately upon this Design, *John Oxenham*, who had serv'd under him in his former Voyages, as a Soldier, a Sailor and a Cook, having gotten amongst the Seamen the Name of a Captain for his Valour, and privately scrap'd together good store of Money, to anticipate *Drake* both in his robbing the *Muletteres*, and in navigating the *South Sea*, made a Voyage to the same Parts in the Year 1575, with one Ship and 70 Seamen: And consulting with the *Negroes*, when he understood that the *Muletteres* were now bringing their Treasure from *Panama* with a Convoy of Soldiers, he drew up his Ship to Land in a private woody corner, and cover'd it with green Boughs which he had cut down; his great Ordnance and Provision of Victuals he buried under Ground; and with all his Men, and six *Negroes* for Guides, went forward to a River which runneth into the *South Sea*. There he cut down Trees, and building a Galliot, crossed over to an Island in the *South Sea*, called, *Isla de Perlas*, situate not far from the Land. In which Isle having tarried ten Days, expecting the coming of Ships from *Peru*, he took one with sixty Pound weight of Gold, and another with an hundred Pound weight of Silver, and returned to the River with the Ships he had taken. The matter being now noised abroad by the *Spaniards* whom he had let go, *John Ortega* a *Spaniard*, with 100 Men, pursu'd after him. And where the River had three Mouths or Out-lets, he made a stop, doubting which of 'em to follow, till the Feathers of the Fowls which the *Englishmen* had eaten came swimming down the Stream, and shew'd 'em the way. The *Spaniards*, taking this way, found the Gold amongst the Thickets, and the *Englishmen* at variance among themselves about dividing their Prey: Who notwithstanding join'd together for their common Saftey, and made Head against the *Spaniards*, tho' far more in Number than they. But many of them were slain, and the rest taken, amongst whom *Oxenham* himself: Who being carried to *Lima*, and demanded whether he had the Queen's Authority for entering into the King of *Spain's* Dominions; when he could shew no such Authority, he was put to Death as a Pirate and common Enemy of *Mankind*, together with the Master of the Ship, and some others; and so miscarried in this great and memorable Adventure.

Drake's second Voyage.

Drake, not knowing what *Oxenham* had done, set sail from *Plimouth* the 13th Day of *December*, in the Year 1577, to navigate the *South Sea*, which still ran in his Mind, and to try his Fortune, with five Ships and 163 Seamen, of whom scarce any knew what he intended to do; which secret carriage in all Expeditions is the safest course. The 25th Day he came against *Cantin* a Cape of *Barbary*: And proceeding from thence, he refresh'd himself in the Isle of *Mayo*, being a pleasant Isle, and abounding with the sweetest Grapes. At St. *Jago* he took a *Portugal* Ship laden with Wine; and letting the Seamen go, carried the Vessel away, with *Nunnius de Silva* the Pilot, who might be of use to him for the Harbours and Watering-places on the Coast of *Brasil*, which he knew exactly well. From thence he sailed by the Isle of *Fuego*, which casteth forth sulphurous Flames; and *Brava*, near which the Mariners report the Sea to be very deep. And now drawing near the *Equator*, *Drake*, being very careful of his Mens Health, let every one of 'em Blood with his own Hands; and there meeting with a great Calm, with much Thunder and Lightning, in almost three Weeks time he got little or nothing forward, and for 55 Days saw no Land, till *Brasil* presented itself to his view.

On the 26th of *April*, entring into the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, he saw an infinite Number of Sea-Calves. From thence sailing into the Haven of St. *Julian*, he found a Gibbet, set up (as is thought) by *Magellan*, for the Punishment of certain Mutiners. In this very place, *John Doughty*, an industrious and stout Man, and the next unto *Drake*, was called to his Tryal for raising a Mutiny in the Fleet, found Guilty by twelve Men, after the *English* manner, and condemn'd to death, which he suffer'd undauntedly, being beheaded, having first receiv'd the Holy Communion with *Drake*. And indeed the most impartial Persons in the Fleet were of opinion, that he had acted seditiously; and that *Drake* cut him off as an Emulator of his Glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself ex-

He puts *Doughty* to death.

cell'd

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cell'd in Commendations for Sea-matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that *Drake* had in charge from *Leicester* to take off *Doughty* upon any Pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad, that the Earl of *Essex* was made away by the cunning Practices of *Leicester*.

He passes the Strait of Magellan.

On the 20th Day of *August*, he came with three Ships (for his two lesser he had before turn'd adrift, shipping the Men and Munition into the rest) to the Strait of *Magellan*, (as they call it) being a Sea thick set with Islands, and inclosed with high Cliffs or Mountains, the Air being extreme Cold with Snow and Frost. On the 6th of *September*, having pass'd the Strait, he enter'd into the open *South Sea*, (which they call the *Pacifick* or *Calm-Sea*) but found it rough and turbulent above measure; and a terrible Tempest carried the Fleet about 100 Leagues Westward, and separated them. Here he observ'd an Eclipse of the Moon on the 15th of *September*, at Six of the Clock in the Afternoon, (which I Note for the *Mathematicians* sakes). He observ'd also, contrary to what some had written, that that part of the Heaven next to the *Southern* Pole, was bedeck'd with but few Stars, and those of a smaller Magnitude; and that there were but only three of any remarkable Bigness to be seen in that Hemisphere which *England* hath not beheld. But two small Clouds he observ'd, of the same colour with *Via Lactea*, not far distant from the Pole, which our Men called *Magellan's Clouds*.

Observes an Eclipse of the Moon, and the Southern Stars, and Magellan's Clouds.

J. Winter the first that ever return'd thro' the Strait.

Of those Ships that were carried away with the Tempest, one (whereof *John Winter* was Captain) came back through the Strait, and return'd safe into *England*, and was the first that ever return'd through the said Strait. *Drake* himself, being now cast with one only Ship to the 55th Degree of *Southern* Latitude, having with much ado gotten up to the Latitude of the Strait, coasted along the Shore, and found those Coasts bending much more Eastward than they were before described in the Maps.

On the last of *September* he came to *Mouch*, an Island near the Shore; where one or two of his Seamen, whom he had sent out for fresh Water, were intercepted by the People of the Country. Setting Sail from hence, he lighted upon a *Barbarian* Fishing in a small Boat, who, supposing our Men to be *Spaniards*, gave 'em notice, that a great *Spanish* Ship laden rode at Anchor at *Villa Parizo*, and directed 'em thither. The *Spanish* Mariners seeing the *Englishmen* coming, and supposing 'em to be their own Countrymen, rung a Bell, drew Wine of *Chili*, and drank full Cups to 'em. But they clapping the Ship aboard, thrust the *Spaniards* presently under Hatches, and sacked the Town of St. *Jago* hard by, together with the Chapel; the Prey whereof fell to *Fletcher*, a Sea-Chaplain. The *Spaniards* being set on Land, (who were not above eight in Number, with two *Negroes*) he carried away with him the Master, being by Nation a *Grecian*, and the Ship, wherein was 400 Pound weight of *Baldivian* Gold, so called of the Place, which was exceeding fine and pure.

Drake meets with Purchace by Sea and Land.

He accidentally lights on rich Prizes.

Then went he on Land at *Taurapasa*, where he found a *Spaniard* sleeping securely upon the Shore, and by him thirty Bars or Wedges of Silver, to the value of 400000 Ducats; which he commanded to be carried away, not so much as once waking the Man. Afterwards entring into the Haven of *Arica*, he found there three Ships without Mariners, and in them, besides other Merchandizes, 57 Wedges of Silver, every one of which weighed 20 Pounds. From hence he sailed to *Lima*, where he found twelve Ships riding at Anchor, their *Munition* being all drawn on Land, and in them good store of Silks, and a Chest full of Money ready coin'd; but not so much as a Boy aboard. So great Security was there on that Coast, that they stood in no fear at all of Pirates, by reason of the great *Remoteness* of those Places, and the *Unknownness* of that Sea. And certainly never any Man after *Magellan*, before *Drake*, had navigated that Sea, except the *Spaniards*, who built there all the Ships which they had on that Coast. Having sent away these Ships to Sea, with all the sail he could make, he gave chace to *Cacafoga*, a very rich Ship, which he understood had set sail from thence towards *Panama*. By the way he met a small *Brigantine* unarm'd, out of which he took fourscore Pounds weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, some Emeralds of a Finger's length, and some *Munition*. On the first of *March* he overtook the *Cacafoga*; and having shot down her Fore-mast with the Shot of a Piece of *Ordnance*, he set upon her, and soon took her; and in her, besides Pearls and Precious Stones, fourscore Pounds weight of Gold, thirteen Chests full of Silver coin'd, and so great a quantity of other Silver, as would suffice to ballast a Ship. All which when he had taken into his own Ship, he let the *Cacafoga* go: The Master whereof is reported to have bidden him thus merrily farewel, saying, *We resign the Name of our Ship to yours: Yours now may be call'd the* Cacofoga, that is, *Shite-fire*; *and ours the* Cacoplata, that is, *Shite-plate*. After this he met with no rich Booty. His *China* Dishes, with an Eagle of Gold, and a fair *Negroess*, given him for a Present by a *Spaniard* whose Ship he had spared, and the sacking a small Town call'd *Aquapulco*, I purposely omit.

Takes the Cacafoga.

Provides to return home.

And now thinking himself abundantly enrich'd, and sufficiently satisfied for the private Injury done him by the *Spaniards* at the Haven of St. *John de Ullua*, he began to think of returning. To return by the Strait of *Magellan* seem'd very dangerous, both by reason of the frequent Tempests, and the uncertain Shelves and Shallows; as also for fear the *Spaniards* should there lay wait for him against his coming back. And indeed Don *Francisco de Toledo*, Viceroy of *Peru*, had sent thither *Peter Sarmiento* with two Ships to intercept him as he returned, and to fortifie such narrow Places of the Strait as he found. He held on this Course therefore Northward to the Latitude of 42 Degrees, to discover if there were any Strait on that side, by which he might return the next way home. But when he saw nothing but thick Clouds, sharp Cold, and naked Shores, cover'd only with Snow, he descended to 38 Degrees, and meeting with a Commodious Harbour, staid there a while. The People inhabiting there, were Naked, Pleasantly-dispos'd, Dancing daily in a Ring, offering Sacrifices, and, as it seemed by the Signs they made, willing to chuse *Drake*, by a long Oration, to be their King: Neither could he conjecture that the *Spaniards* had ever gone so far. This Country, being a fruitful Soil, and very full of Deer and Conies, it pleased him to name *New Albion*, setting up an Inscription upon a Post, which notified the Year of our Lord, the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*, and their arrival there; and putting under it some of Queen *Elizabeth's* Coin.

Discovers New-Albion.

Comes to the Moluccaes.

From this Coast he set sail and came in the Month of *November* to the Isles of the *Moluccaes*, being kindly entertain'd by the King of the Isle of *Ternate*. From thence sailing forward in that

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Sea, thick bespread with Isles and Rocks, on the 9th of *January* his Ship struck upon a Rock which was hid under Water, and there stuck for the space of 27 Hours, and was given for lost by all the Company, who now fell devoutly to their Prayers, as if they should assuredly be cast away with all the Wealth which they had gotten with so great Labour and Hazard. But when they had laid their Hands to work, and thrown eight great Guns and some Merchandize over into the Sea, there came a bearing Gale of Wind on the one side, as if it were sent from Heaven, and clear'd the Ship of the Rock. Afterwards he arriv'd at *Java Major*, which was then grievously afflicted with the *French* Disease, which they cure by sitting in the open Air against the warm Sum to dry up that malignant Humour: where having receiv'd great Civility at the Hands of that petty King, he held on his Course to the *Cape of Good Hope*; which the *English* Mariners, who had never seen it before, commended for the fairest Promontory they ever saw. On the West-side thereof he landed for fresh Water, but could find no Spring. And now he had been distressed for lack of fresh Water, had he not providentially kept Rain-water before-hand in Vessels. But this Want he supplied at length at *Riogrande*. From whence he return'd with a prosperous Gale into *England* the 3d of *November*, in the Year 1580, arriving at the Haven of *Plimouth*, from whence he first set forth, having sailed round about the World in the space of three Years, or thereabouts, to the great Admiration of all Men, and without any Crime laid to his charge by his Adversaries, but only that he had put *Doughty* to death; that he had left a *Portugueze*, whom he had taken upon the Coast of *Africa*, to the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* at *Aquapulco*, and had inhumanely set that *Negro*-Maid before-mention'd on shore in an Island, after she was gotten with Child in his Ship.

Is in danger.

Passeth the Cape of Good Hope.

Returns into England.

The Queen receiv'd him gratiously, and laid up the Treasure he brought by way of Sequestration, that it might be forth-coming if the *Spaniard* should demand it. His Ship she caused to be drawn up in a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his so lucky sailing round the World, (where the Carkass thereof is to be seen). *And having as it were consecrated it for a Memorial with great Ceremony, she was Banquetted in it, and confer'd on *Drake* the Honour of Knighthood. At this time a Bridge of Planks by which they came aboard the Ship, sunk under the crowd of People, and fell down with an hundred Men upon it, who notwithstanding had none of them any Harm. So as that Ship may seem to have been built under a lucky Planet.

The Q. receiveth him gratiously.

His Ship reserv'd as a Monument.

He is Knighted.

In praise of *Drake* these Verses, amongst others, were set up the same Day upon the Main-mast, written by the Scholars of *Winchester*-School.

Verses in his praise.

> Plus ultrà, *Herculeis inscribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
> *Et, Magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.*
>
> On *Herc'les* Pillars, *Drake*, thou may'st
> *Plus ultrà* write full well,
> And say, I will, in Greatness, that
> Great *Hercules* excel.
>
> Drace, *pererrati novit quem terminus Orbis,*
> *Quemque semel Mundi vidit uterque Polus,*
> *Si taceant homines, facient te Sidera notum:*
> *Sol nescit Comitis non memor esse sui.*
>
> Great *Drake*, whom well the World's End knows,
> Which thou didst compass round,
> And whom both Poles of Heaven once saw,
> Which North and South do bound;
> The Stars above will make thee known,
> If Men here silent were:
> The Sun himself cannot forget
> His Fellow-traveller.
>
> *Digna Ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclyta Stellis;*
> *Supremo Cœli Vertice digna Ratis.*
>
> Amongst the radient Stars to stand
> Thy Ship well worthy were;
> Well worthy on the highest top
> Of Heav'n a place to bear.

But these Things may seem too light, and to proceed from an idle Brain, and not beseeming the Gravity of an History.

Drake being now return'd, nothing troubled him more than that some of the chief Men at Court refus'd to accept the Gold which he offer'd them, as gotten by Piracy. Nevertheless the common sort of People admired and highly commended him, as judging it no less Honourable to have enlarged the Bounds of the *English* Name and Glory, than of their Empire.

Don *Bernardine de Mondoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, storming hereat, very earnestly demanded the Goods again of the Queen, complaining of the *English* for sailing in the *Indian* Ocean. To whom this Answer was given: *That the* Spaniards *by their hard Dealing with the* English, *whom they had prohibited Commerce, contrary to the Law of Nations, had drawn these Mischiefs upon themselves. That* Drake *should be forth-coming, to answer according to Law, if he were convicted by good Evidence and Testimony to have committed any thing against Law and Right. That those Goods were laid by purposely that Satisfaction might be made to the* Spaniard, *tho' the Queen had spent a greater sum of Money than* Drake *had brought in, against those Rebels whom the* Spaniard *had rais'd and encourag'd against her both in* Ireland *and* England. *Moreover, she understood not why her or any other Prince's Subjects should be debar'd from the* Indies, *which she could not perswade herself the* Spaniard *had any just Title to by the Bishop of* Rome's *Donation, (in whom she acknowledg'd no Prerogative, much less Authority, in such cases, so as to lay any Tie upon Princes which ow'd him no Obedience or Observance, or as it were to infeoffe the* Spaniard *in that new World, and invest him with the possession thereof) nor yet by any other Claim, than as they had touched here and there upon the Coasts, built Cottages, and given Names to a River or a Cape; which things cannot entitle them to a Propriety. So that this Donation of that which is another Man's, which is of no validity in Law, and this imaginary Propriety, cannot hinder other Princes from trading into those Countries, and, without breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting Colonies into those Parts thereof where the* Spaniards *inhabit not, (forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is little worth) neither from freely navigating that vast Ocean, seeing the use of the Sea and Air is common to all. Neither can a Title to the Ocean belong to any People or private Persons; forasmuch as neither Nature nor publick Use and Custom permitteth any possession thereof.*

The Spaniard demands restitution of the Goods.

The answ.

What Propriety the Spaniard hath in America.

Notwithstanding all this, a great sum of Money was afterwards paid to *Pedro Sebura* a *Spaniard*, (who pretended himself an Agent for retrieving the Gold and Silver, tho' he had no Letters of Credence or Commission so to do) which he never repaid to the right Owners, but employ'd it against the Queen, and converted it to the Pay of the *Spaniards* that serv'd in the *Netherlands*, as was at length, when 'twas too late, understood.

Some Money re-paid the Spaniard.

Whilst

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Attempt to discover a Northern passage to the *East-Indies.*

Whilst *Drake* was thus prosperously sailing round about the World, *Jackman* and *Pett*, two famous Pilots, being set out by the *Londoners* with two Ships, sought as unprosperously to discover a nearer way to the *East-Indies* by the *Cronian* or Frozen Sea. For having passed a few Leagues beyond the Isles call'd *Waigatz*, they met with such uncertain Tides, so many Shelves, and such Heaps of Ice piled together, that they could get no farther forward, and very much ado they had to return home.

The death of the E. of *Arundel*, who first brought the use of Coaches into *Engl.*

About the beginning of this Year, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel* render'd his Soul to God, in whom was extinct the Surname of this most noble Family, which had flourish'd with great Honour for 300 Years and more, from the time of *Richard Fitz-Allen*, who being descended from the *Albeneys*, ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the Reign of *Edward* I. receiv'd the Title of Earl without any Creation, in regard of his being possess'd of the Castle and Lordship of *Arundel*. This *Henry*, enjoying many Honours, was of the Privy-Council to all the Kings under whom he liv'd, and went through the highest Offices. Under *Henry* VIII. he was Governor of *Calais*, Marshal of the Army at the Seige of *Boulogne*, and Lord-Chamberlain. To King *Edward* VI. he was Lord-High-Marshal of *England* at his Coronation. To Queen *Mary* likewise at her Coronation he was Lord-High-Constable, and afterwards Steward of the Queen's Houshold, and President of the Queen's Council. And to Queen *Elizabeth* he was likewise Steward of her Houshold, with whom he sought to marry in his declining Years. He was in less favour after he had intermeddled in the Duke of *Norfolk's* Business, and when he afterwards openly oppos'd her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. For, being a plain-dealing Man, he professed flatly, that he liked not the *French*, saying many times, That he had been taught by his Father, who was born in *Sussex*, a County neighbouring upon *France*, not to trust the *French*. By his Wife *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorset*, he had three Children, and out-liv'd 'em all: *Henry*, a young Gentleman of great hopes, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumly*; and *Mary*, married to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom she bare *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, of whom in his proper place.

L. *Grey* suppresses the Rebels in *Ireland.*

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, marching against the *O-Conors*, who attempted to raise new Troubles in *Ophalie*, put *O-Moloy*, a seditious-minded Man, to death by Law, quieted that Country, as also the Country of the *Magohigans* and *O-Carol*, and crushed a dangerous Conspiracy in the very bud.

Crusheth a Conspiracy.

For divers of noble Families in *Leimster*, most of 'em descended of *English* Blood, partly out of Affection to the *Romish* Religion, and partly out of Hatred against the new-come *English*, (who many times, contrary to the intent of the Law, excluded 'em as mere *Irish* from Offices of Government and Magistracy) had conspir'd together to seize on the Lord-Deputy with his Houshold, to take the Castle of *Dublin* by surprize, (where all the Provision for War lay) and to put the *English* in *Ireland* every Man to the Sword: And so close they were in carrying on their Conspiracy, that they never confer'd or discours'd about it more than two and two together. But amongst so many who were privy to it, it came at last to light, and was by the Execution of a few timely extinguish'd: The most remarkable of whom was *J. Nogent*, Baron of the Exchequer, a Man of a singular good Life and Reputation, who was meerly circumvented (as the *Irish* report) by the Cunning of his Adversaries. He, relying upon the conscience of his own Innocency, when the Lord-Deputy faithfully promis'd him his Life, if he would confess himself guilty, chose rather, being guiltless, to undergo an infamous Death, than by betraying his own Innocency to lead an infamous Life.

Nogent executed.

Innocency a sure Comfort.

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Howsoever the Truth were in this matter, certainly the Lord *Grey* incur'd great Displeasure with the Queen for putting these Men to death; which Displeasure was rais'd against him by *Sussex* his Adversary, (for rare it is to see great Captains love one another) who suggested as if by his Cruelty of late towards the *Spaniards* which had yielded themselves, and now towards her own Subjects, he had both eclips'd his Prince's Glory, and encreased the number of her Enemies. Nevertheless the Lord-Deputy by the terror hereof drew *Turlogh-Leinigh* to terms of Peace, who had now begun to raise Disturbances in *Ulster*. By this means also the *O-Brines*, the *O-Moors* and *Cavenaghs*, Rebels in *Leimster*, in all Humility and Submission craved Peace, offering Hostages. These *Irish* matters, tho' in time somewhat distantly acted, I have thought good to mention together, that they might the better be remember'd.

Rebels suppress'd.

The *Scots* envy the Duke of *Lenox.*

In *Scotland*, some Ministers of God's Word and certain Noblemen, observing that the Duke of *Lenox*, formerly mention'd, was in great Favour with the King, they first rais'd an Emulation in *James Stuart* of the House of *Ochiltrey* against him, who was Captain of the Guard and Earl of *Arran*, (for this Title he had usurp'd upon I know not what Resignation of *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, to whom being Lunatick he was appointed Guardian). But the Queen soon made 'em Friends again. When this succeeded not, they both wrought him what Hatred they could at home, and heavily Accus'd him to the Queen of *England*, as sent under-hand by the *Guises* to subvert Religion, to procure the captive Queen's Liberty, and to dissolve the Amity betwixt the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. These Men were easily credited, and a serious Consultation was held in *England* about the matter; tho' the Duke clear'd himself by his Letters to the Queen, and openly profess'd himself of the Protestant Religion.

They accuse him in *Engl.*

Consultation against him.

For the Council of *England* fearing lest he should oppress those *Scots* that maintain'd close Friendship with the *English*, favour Excursions upon the Borders, and entice the King of *Scots* to a Marriage in *France* or elsewhere, unknown to the *English*. Upon the confidence of which Marriage the young King might put *England* to Trouble, and when he came to riper Years, assume to himself, the Title of the Kingdom of *England*, as his Mother had already done. Which if it should come to pass, greater Danger threatned from him than from his Mother; forasmuch as being born to an assured hope of both Kingdoms, he would procure himself many Favourers; and the *Scots*, being bred up in the Wars both at home and in the *Netherlands*, were now train'd up to the use of their Arms and Military Knowledge. Hereupon it was resolved, by all means to lessen *Lenox*'s Favour and Authority with the King, or to drive him out of *Scotland*, and that without all delay: Forasmuch as Rumours were spread abroad, that he, to suppress *Morton*, had sent for *Balfour* out of *France*, (who had gotten I know not what Writing under *Morton*'s Hand, whereby it was hop'd that *Morton* might be found guilty of the Murder of the King's Father) and also had obtain'd the Government of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, to no other intent but to let in foreign Forces into *Britain*, or else to convey the King of *Scots* into *France*. It was reported also, that he persuaded the King to resign the Kingdom to his Mother, as if she had been unjustly, and by a very bad and dangerous Precedent, depos'd by

Rumours scatter'd to his prejudice.

her

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her Subjects, upon promise by her given, that he should immediately receive it back again from her by a lawful Resignation; by which means he should both strongly confirm the Kingdom to himself, and should be acknowledg'd of all Men for lawful King, and all Factions be utterly extinguish'd.

Sir Robert Bowes sent to accuse him.

Hereupon Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treasurer of the Garrison of *Berwick*, was sent into *Scotland* to charge *Lenox* with these Matters before the King and Council, and to warn the King of the Mischiefs hanging over his Head. As soon as he came to Audience, he desir'd that *Lenox* might for the time withdraw from the place. This the Council flatly denied, for that it was a strange and unheard-of thing, that a Counseller of the King should be remov'd from the Council without cause shewn. They question'd also whether he had any such express charge from the Queen, and willed him to shew his Instructions for the more credit. He refus'd to shew them to any but the King, and one or two others. Whereupon he was soon after call'd home again without being heard, and took his leave of the King when he little expected it, complaining of the rejecting the wholesom Admonitions and Advices of a Queen who had so well deserv'd of him.

He returns home without a Hearing.

Scots excuse themselves. Their Ambassador not admitted.

Shortly after, *Alexander Humes* was sent from *Scotland* to excuse the business, and to learn what those Mischiefs were which hung over the King's Head. But he was not admitted to the Queen's Presence, but remitted to *Burghly* Lord-Treasurer, who in a grave and short Speech, suitable to his Age, told him, *That it was not the Queen's pleasure to admit him to her Presence; not that she slighted him, whom she had found to be very well affected to the true Religion, his Prince and Country, and to the Peace of both Kingdoms; but out of a just Resentment that her Majesty was so neglected, and the Credit of her Ambassador contemn'd and despis'd, who had kept himself within the prescribed Limits of his Embassage, and yet* (*which was a thing without example*) *was commanded to shew the Instructions of his Embassage. He laid all the blame upon the new and ill-advised Counsellors, excused the King by reason of his Age, which had not yet taught him Experience, and wish'd that he would hearken to the sound and wholsom Advice of the Queen, who bare a true motherly Affection towards him, and not neglect her for his* French *Cousin, a Subject of the* French *King's, and engaged in Marriage with a* French *Woman, a Man zealously addicted to the Popish Religion, and who haply aspired* (*the* Hamiltons *being now banish'd*) *to be declar'd Heir-apparent next after the King. Let the King remember* (saith he) *that there is no Passion more violent than Ambition; and let the* Sots *remember what Troubles the* French *had caused in* Scotland, *had not the Queen by her Wisdom and Power prevented 'em.*

Burghly gives the reason, & admonishes him.

Thus was *Humes* sent back into *Scotland*; and all this was done on purpose to strike a Terror into the King, and to make him believe that *Lenox* was engag'd in a dangerous Design against the King and Realm. Nevertheless, not long after, *Morton*, a Man most addicted to the *English*, was accus'd by *Arran* of Treason, and cast into Prison.

Morton imprison'd.

The End of the Second BOOK.

ELI-

ELIZABETH,

ANNO 1581.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

1581. *Ann.* 24.

The Twenty fourth Year of her Reign.

Randolph sent to intercede for Morton, and against Lenox.

HEreupon, Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, chief Post-Master, was sent in the beginning of *January*, into *Scotland*, with Instructions, that, for Preservation of Religion, and Amity with the *English*, he should leave no means untry'd to procure that no violent Course might be taken against *Morton*, that *Lenox* might be removed out of *Scotland*, and that the Noblemen of the *English* Party might be encouraged. *Randolph* shew'd himself a good Intercessor for *Morton*, alledging the Man's Deserts with the King, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Honour, (lest she, to whom the King and Realm was so much beholden, should suffer a Repulse in so just a matter) and the Malice of his Accusers. The King answer'd, *That he could not but according to his Kingly Office leave the Man to his Trial, as being charged with High-Treason. The Queen's approved Kindness he acknowledg'd, and would do nothing* (he said) *which might any way give her just offence.*

Complains to the Scots.

Randolph having afterwards Audience in an Assembly of the States, reckon'd up Queen *Elizabeth*'s Good Offices towards *Scotland*, and towards the King himself. Namely, 'That she 'had deliver'd their Kingdom from the *French*, 'with the Expence of the Blood of *Englishmen*: 'That she had defended their Religion and their 'King: That she never had so much as a 'Thought of conveying him out of the Land, '(as was falsly reported) or of seizing upon so 'much as an Acre of Land in *Scotland*; whereas 'notwithstanding she had not wanted Opportu-'nities to have conquer'd all *Scotland*, while the 'King lay crying in his Cradle, his Mother was 'a Prisoner in *England*, and the Nobility at Vari-'ance amongst themselves. But on the contra-'ry, she had used all Care to preserve the King 'and his Kingdom in Safety, he being nearly al-'ly'd to her in the strictest Bands of Blood, Neigh-'bourhood, and Religion; of whose Love, as 'also of the Love of all the Regents, she was 'most assured, till such time as that *Aubigny* Duke 'of *Lenox* came into *Scotland*. For from that 'time he had carry'd a kind of commanding hand 'over the King, averted his Mind from Amity 'with the *English* to the *French* (who yet had not 'to this day acknowledg'd him for King) re-'moved the King's faithfullest Subjects, prefer'd 'others less faithful, dealt with Foreigners by his 'Letters (which *Randolph* produced) for the In-'vasion of *England*, stirr'd up the King to hate 'the Ministers of God's Word, as turbulent and 'railing Fellows, and taken no care for due admi-'nistring of Justice betwixt the Borderers. Which 'things Queen *Elizabeth* could not but take very 'ill, when she saw a Prince of so great Vertue, 'and so strictly link'd to her in Friendship, ali-'enated and estranged from her by cunning Pra-'ctices. Yet was there nothing then done, either for *Morton*, or against *Lenox*, most Men suspecting that the Crimes alledg'd against him were false, and the Letters counterfeit.

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In vain.

Endeavours to set 'em together by the ears.

Randolph therefore betook himself to other Artifices. Amongst *Lenox*'s Adversaries and *Morton*'s Friends, he bewails the unhappy Condition of *Scotland*; lays before 'em the Dangers that threaten the King, the Commonwealth, and them; complains that the Queen of *England*'s Intercession was ungratefully slighted; and privily advises 'em to attempt by Arms, what they could not effect by other means, promising both Men and Money out of *England*. And by this means he had drawn to his Party *Argyle*, *Montross*, *Angus*, *Morton*'s Brother's Son, *Marre*, *Glencarne*, *Ruthuen*, *Lindsey*, and divers others. But they shortly after disagreeing among themselves, when they saw that the King wholly inclin'd to favour *Lenox*, and was not terrify'd with the *English* Forces upon the Borders, but had drawn up his own against them; most of them, reverencing the Royal Majesty, even in so young a Prince, attempted nothing against *Lenox*, and thought their Pity was all that *Morton* could claim. Yet *Angus* and *Marre* continued their secret Designs with *Randolph* for *Morton*, and against *Lenox*. Whereof when the King was advertis'd by *Wattingham*, *Angus* was commanded to withdraw himself beyond the River *Spey*, and *Marre* forthwith to surrender *Sterlin*-Castle into the King's Hands. *Randolph*, fearing the worst, retir'd secretly to *Berwick*, advis'd *Angus* and *Marre*, Matters being now grown desperate, to shift for themselves, either by procuring the King's Favour, or flying to the Protection of the Queen of *England*. And now were the *English* Forces call'd home from the Borders; and not long after was *Morton* found accessary to the Murder of the King's Father, and beheaded. For he confess'd, (as they report) that *Bothwell* and *Archibald Douglass*, acquainted him with the Plot for making away the King; and that he in so dangerous a time durst not reveal it. Neither could he deny, but that, after the Murder was committed, he esteem'd *Douglass*, who murder'd the King, amongst his intimate Friends; and that he had given his Faith under

In vain also.

Retires out of Scotland.

Morton beheaded.

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under his hand, to defend *Bothwell*, if any Man should accuse him of the Murder of the King. *Angus* and the rest who favour'd *Morton*, fled presently into *England*.

His friends fly into *England*.

In the *Low-Country*-Provinces the Confederate States sent Colonel *Norris* with the *English* and other Forces, against the Count of *Reneberg*, who victoriously carry'd all before him for the *Spaniard*, and closely block'd up *Steenwick*, a Town of *Friesland*. When *Norris* gallantly and successfully brought Provisions into the Town twice, put *Reneberg*'s Men to Flight, and rais'd the Siege.

Norris beats the *Spaniards* in *Friesland*.

But afterwards joining Battle with *Verdugo* a *Spaniard* at *Northorn*, when the Victory was now as good as in his Hands, the Enemy's Troops being defeated by Sir *Roger Williams*, the Chance of War suddenly turn'd, he himself was wounded, and many of his Men slain; and amongst them (not to name others) *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Bishop*, stout Captains.

Himself is worsted.

How Captain *Thomas*, a Captain of the *Epirots*, at this time challenged General *Norris* to a single Combat, and Sir *Roger Williams*, his Lieutenant, accepted the Challenge (because he, being General, might not accept it, by the Law of Arms) I know not whether it be worth the mentioning, considering that after they had try'd their Skill a little while, in the View of both Armies, and neither of them received a Wound, they drank a hearty Cup together, and so parted Friends.

A ridiculous Duel.

Yet this is not to be omitted, that the *English*, who of all the Northern Nations, had been till now the moderatest Drinkers, and most commended for their Sobriety, learn'd in these *Netherland*-Wars, first to drown themselves with immoderate Drinking, and by drinking others Healths to impair their own. And ever since, the Vice of Drunkenness has so diffus'd itself over the whole Nation, that in our days, first, it was fain to be restrain'd by severe Laws.

Drunkenness bro't from the *Low Countries* into *England*.

While the States and the *Spaniard* contended in the *Netherlands* for petty Towns, the *Spaniard* seiz'd into his Hands the rich Kingdom of *Portugal*.

Spaniard seizes *Portugal*.

For *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying the last Year an old Man, many Competitors laid Claim to the Crown, and amongst them *Philip* King of *Spain*, King *Henry*'s eldest Sister's Son, who was, if not in Right, yet in Might the strongest. And yet he wanted not some Shew of Right: for of all the Competitors, he was nearest of kin to the deceased King, and of the Male Sex, and therefore (as he and his Friends thought) to be preferr'd in the Succession to the Crown, before the Females who were both younger, and in Kindred more remote.

By what Title.

The *Savoyard* was excluded, because he was born of the younger Sister; and *Rainutio Farneze*, the Prince of *Parma*'s Son, who was born of the eldest Daughter of *Edward*, King *Henry*'s Brother, and *Catharina* Dutchess of *Braganza*, the other Daughter of the said *Edward*, because they grounded their Title only upon a *Representation*, as they call it; which being nothing but a Fiction, the *Spaniards* maintain'd, that it could not overthrow the true Right. As for Don *Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, the Son of *Lewis* another Brother of King *Henry*, he was utterly rejected as illegitimate. However, the *Spaniard* offer'd these things several times to be discuss'd, both by Divines and Lawyers. And when they all with one Consent affirm'd his Title to be good, he sent the Duke of *Alva*, invaded the Kingdom, put Don *Antonio* to Flight, who was elected by the People; and in seventy days subdued all *Portugal*.

The Competitors.

But the Title which *Katharine de Medicis* Queen of *France* laid to *Portugal*, which was derived from *Alphonsus* III. by the Earls of *Bononia*, above 320 Years before, was in a manner exploded both by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, as an antiquated Title, not only now worn out, but injurious to as many Kings of *Portugal*, as had since reign'd; as if they had unjustly possess'd the Crown.

French Queen's Title exploded.

Whereat being moved with Anger, and looking with a jealous Eye upon the growing Power of the *Spaniard*, which was far and wide extended hereby, and enrich'd with the Addition of *Portugal*, *East-India*, and many Isles, and mis-doubting the Condition of herself and her Posterity, she advised both other Princes and Queen *Elizabeth*, to curb his Ambition betimes, and restrain his too extensive Power within some reasonable Limits. And indeed Queen *Elizabeth* being carefully provident for herself and her Subjects, willingly hearkned to her, foreseeing how dangerous the over-swelling Power of her neighbouring Princes might be. But for Don *Antonio*, who was driven out of *Portugal* into *France*, and from thence sent over with Recommendations into *England*, she bountifully reliev'd him: which she thought she might do without Offence, in regard she acknowledg'd him her Kinsman, as descended of the Blood-Royal of *England*, and of the House of *Lancaster*; neither was there ever such a Proviso put into any League betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *English*, that the *Portuguese* should not be receiv'd into *England*.

She sends *Antonio* into *England*.

And withal, the said Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a stricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urged more earnestly than ever before, the Marriage with her Son the Duke of *Anjou*. For the effecting whereof, there were sent into *England*, on a very honourable Embassy, *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dauphiny*, *Arthur Cosse* Earl of *Segondin*, Marshal of *France*, *Lewis* of *Lusignan* of *St. Gelase*, Seigneur of *Lansac*, *Tanerge Venator* of *Corconge*, *Bertrand Salignac a Mota-Fenellon*, *Michael a Chasteau-neuf* Seigneur *Mauvausier*, *Bernard Brisonius a Granela*, President of the Parliament of *Paris*, (a Man of most excellent Learning) *Claudius Pinarte* first Baron of *Valois*, *Pierre Clause* Seigneur of *Curats* and *Marchomont*, and *Jaques Vray* Secretary of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Treasury.

Sends Commissioners to treat about the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*.

These Honourable Persons were as honourably entertain'd, being nobly banquetted in a large Edifice built at *Westminster*, in all Haste, for this very purpose, richly and royally furnish'd; and after entertain'd with Tiltings, perform'd at a vast Expence by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challenged all Comers: besides many other Courtly Sports and Pastimes, which are not so proper for an Historian to relate.

The Commissioners appointed to confer with them about the Marriage, were *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral of *England*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary. Betwixt these Commissioners Articles of Marriage were agreed upon to the following purpose.

Commissioners for Q. Eliz.

'The Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England* shall, within Six Weeks after the ratifying of these Articles, contract Marriage *de præsenti* in *England*. The Duke and his Retinue, provided they be not Native Subjects of *England*, may freely exercise their Religion, in some certain place to be appointed within his Court, without Lett or Hindrance. He shall alter nothing in the Religion now receiv'd in *England*. After the Marriage consummated, he shall enjoy the Title and Honour of King, but shall leave the Management of Affairs wholly and solely to the Queen. Whereas he has demanded, that presently after the Marriage he may be crown'd King, and enjoy that Honour, as

Articles of Marriage.

'well

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'well while the Marriage lasts, as when it shall 'be dissolv'd, during his Government of the 'Kingdom in the Minority of their Children; 'the Queen promises to communicate his De-'mand to the Estates of the Realm in the first 'Parliament, which she will call within Fifteen 'Days after the Ratification, and to promote it 'as far as shall lie in her Power. Letters Patents, '*&c.* shall run in both their Names, as in the 'Time of *Philip* and *Mary*. The Queen shall 'assign the Duke a Yearly Pension, by Authority 'of Parliament; but how large it shall be, shall 'be left to her Pleasure; and she shall procure 'the Parliament to assign him a considerable Sum 'of Money Yearly, if he survive the Queen. 'He shall make the Queen a Dowry to the Year-'ly Value of 40000 Crowns *de Soleil*, out of his 'Dukedom of *Berry*, and shall presently put her 'in Possession thereof. What shall be concluded 'concerning their Children, in the Parliament 'of *England*, shall be ratify'd and confirm'd in the 'Parliaments of *France*, to this Effect: The 'Males or Females shall succeed their Mother in 'the Inheritance of *England*. If there be Two 'Males, the eldest shall succeed in the Kingdom 'of *France*, and the second in his Mother's Right 'to *England*. If there be but one Male, and he 'come to enjoy both Crowns, he shall reside in '*England* Eight Months in every Two Years. 'And if the Duke never come to the Title of 'King of *France*, their Children shall succeed in 'his *Appennage*. If he out-live the Queen, he 'shall have the Guardianship of the Children; 'provided the Males be not above Eighteen Years 'of Age, and the Females Fifteen. If the Duke 'die before, their Guardianship shall be left to 'the Authority and Pleasure of the Parliament. 'The Duke shall prefer no Foreigner to any 'Office in *England*. He shall alter nothing in the 'Law, but shall maintain all the Customs of the 'Land. He shall not convey the Queen nor her 'Children out of the Realm of *England*, but by 'her own Consent, and the Consent of the Peers 'of the Realm. If the Queen die without Chil-'dren, the Duke shall claim no Propriety in the 'Kingdom of *England*. He shall not transport the 'Crown-Jewels out of the Realm. He shall leave 'all the Places in the Kingdom in the Hands of 'native *Englishmen*; neither shall he remove from 'thence any Warlike Stores. He shall not en-'gage *England* in any foreign War. He shall 'maintain the Peace betwixt *England* and other 'Kingdoms. The Queen alone shall bear the 'Superiority, and no Title shall accrue to the 'Duke as *Tenant by the Custom of* England. The 'Duke intends not by this Marriage to prejudice 'his Title in the Succession to the Crown of '*France*. This present Contract shall be read, 'proclaim'd, and recorded in all the Courts of '*France* and *England*, Six Months after the Day 'of Marriage; and the Authority of the most 'Christian King shall be had for the Ratificati-'on of these Articles. There shall be a particu-'lar Treaty concerning a Confederacy and League 'betwixt *England* and *France*. All these Things 'shall be ratified within two Months on the *French* 'King's part, upon his Faith and Oath, for him 'and his Heirs, *&c.* and as soon as may be, he 'shall deliver Writings of Ratification, by which 'Assurance shall be given, that the Things here 'concluded shall be observ'd *bona fide*.

A Reservation added.

A Reservation also was added apart by it self, sign'd with the Hands of all the Commissioners, in these Words; 'But Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound 'to consummate the Marriage, till she and the 'Duke shall throughly satisfy one another in cer-'tain Points, and shall thereof certify the *French* 'King in writing within Six Weeks.

French King earnestly presses the Marriage.

Before such time as those Six Weeks were expi-red, *John Somers*, Clerk of the Council, was sent into *France* about this Matter. The King refuses to hear him, and presses that the Marriage already contracted, may be solemnized out of hand, for that now there remained nothing else to be done. *Somers* shews to the contrary by the Writings, that there was first a League Defensive and Offensive to be enter'd into. The *French* King denies it. *Walsingham* is dispatch'd to make up these Differences, who jointly with *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, Ambassador in *France*, and *Somers*, was to inform him of these Things following, and some others of like na-ture.

Queen Elizabeth defers it for these Reasons.

'That altho' the vulgar sort did rashly censure 'the delaying of the Marriage, yet did Queen '*Elizabeth* at first incline to Marriage upon no 'other account, than to satisfy the Desires of her 'People, who importunately persuaded her to 'marry, that there might be an establish'd and 'certain Succession by her Children. And the 'Duke of *Anjou*, who sought to her for Mar-'riage, she deservedly preferr'd before all others 'in her Love, both for his own Vertue, and his 'Noble and Royal Descent; which Love she still 'professes to be very great towards him. Never-'theless, she as yet forbears to give her Assent to 'the contracting of the Marriage, till she may 'perceive whether it be a Thing pleasing to her 'People, lest she might seem after to repent too 'late. That at present many Impediments and 'Obstructions were in the way: namely, The 'Civil War in *France*, and the Duke of *Anjou's* 'forlorn Condition, who had undeservedly lost 'the King's Favour. In *England*, the Minds of 'the best Men were averse from the Marriage, 'which had been a means of delaying it so long; 'yet notwithstanding the Queen's Affection was 'still constant towards him. That the *French* 'King press'd the Consummation of the Mar-'riage unseasonably at the present, whilst the 'Duke of *Anjou* was engaged in a War against 'the *Spaniard*, which he could not give over, 'without a Slur to his Honour, and great Dis-'advantage to both the Kingdoms of *England* and '*France*, and the utter Undoing of the *Nether-lands*, whilst the *Spaniard's* Power daily increas'd 'more than was convenient. Moreover, where-'as the People of *England* desired nothing more 'than that by this Marriage the Realm might be 'preserv'd in Peace and Tranquility, it would 'be by this means precipitated from a most serene 'and happy Peace, into a most dangerous War, 'considering that the Queen must of necessity 'be engaged in her Husband's Quarrel. Where-'fore she would have no more treating of the 'Marriage till the Duke of *Anjou* were disen-'gaged from the War he had undertaken, and 'the League of mutual Defence and Offence 'were concluded between *England* and *France*. Which in reality Queen *Elizabeth* desired above all things. The *French* King promis'd with all his Heart to enter into a League of Defence; but as for a League Offensive, he flatly refused to hear any more thereof before the Marriage were solemnized.

Duke of Anjou comes again into England.

Not long after the Duke of *Anjou* came him-self into *England* (who was now chosen Gover-nor of the *Netherlands* by the States) after he had by the Help of Queen *Elizabeth's* Money happily rais'd the Siege of *Cambray*. For she had private-ly supply'd him with a great Sum of Money by *Henry Seymour*, *Palavicini*, and *Bexio* a *Frenchman*. He had a strong Hope, that if he did not com-plete the Marriage while he stay'd here, yet at least he should gain thus much, that, being sup-ported with Queen *Elizabeth's* Favour, he should be the more welcome to the *Netherlanders*, who honour'd

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honour'd her as their tutelar Saint. He was receiv'd with as great Respect as he could hope for, and no Demonstration could there be given of Honour and Affection which she did not shew him to the full. Insomuch, that in the Month of *November*, as soon as she had with great Pomp celebrated her Coronation-Day, the Force of modest Love, in the midst of amorous Discourse, carried her so far, that she drew off a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s, upon certain Conditions betwixt them two. The Standers-by took it, that the Marriage was now contracted by Promise; amongst whom *Aldegund* Governor of the City of *Antwerp*, dispatched Letters presently away into the *Netherlands* to signifie as much; and *Antwerp* testified her publick Joy thereat by Bonfires and Peals of Ordnance. At home the Courtiers Minds were diversly affected; some leap'd for Joy, some were seiz'd with Admiration, and others were dejected with Sorrow. *Leicester*, who had lately plotted and contrived to cross the Marriage; *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Walsingham*, storm'd at it, as if the Queen, the Realm and Religion were now quite undone. The Queen's Gentlewomen, with whom she used to be familiar, lamented and bewailed, and did so terrifie and vex her Mind, that she spent the Night in Doubts and Cares without Sleep amongst her weeping and lamenting Servants. The next Day she sent for the Duke of *Anjou*; and they two, all By-standers being remov'd, had a long Discourse together. He at length withdrew himself to his Chamber; and throwing the Ring from him, a while after took it again, taxing the Lightness of Women, and the Inconstancy of Islanders, with two or three biting and smart Scoffs.

He is highly entertained.

Queen gives him a Ring.

The Courtiers Minds diversly affected.

Queen wavers.

She weighs the Inconveniences of neglecting the Marriage.

The Queen pondering in her troubled Mind what *Burghly* and *Sussex* had told her; 'That unless she marry'd the Duke of *Anjou*, no League offensive could be hoped for from the *French* King: That she of herself alone was too weak to withstand the Greatness and Power of the *Spaniard*, who if he should proffer his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *Scots*, would easily draw to the *Scottish* King's Party all the Papists in *England*, all the Fugitives, all the Rebels, all that were weary of the present Government, and all of desperate Fortunes, of whom there were every where great Numbers. That the hopes of all good Men, who expected Issue from the Queen by this Marriage, would be frustrate; so that now, neglecting her, they would cast their Eyes upon some of the Competitors. Besides, she herself could not but incur very great Displeasure with the *French* King and the Duke of *Anjou*, who after having spent so long time in so many Consultations, sent such honourable Embassies, and disbursed so much Money, would take it very hardly to be thus deluded, however they might dissemblingly conceal their Displeasure a while for their own Advantage, thereby to procure either Money at present for the Duke of *Anjou* towards the *Low-Country* Wars, or a yearly Pension for the time to come. Neither did less Scruple stick in her Mind, if the Duke of *Anjou*, being thus neglected, should take a Wife out of *Spain*; (which some whisper'd into her Ears) for then she foresaw that Danger would threaten her both from *France* and *Spain* too.

Why she prefer'd a single before a married Life.

In the midst of these perplexing Cogitations concerning Marriage, into which the consideration of the Times did necessarily ever and anon cast her, some were of opinion, that she was fully resolv'd in her Mind, that she should better provide both for the Commonwealth and her own Glory by an unmarried Life than by Marriage; as foreseeing that if she married a Subject, she should disparage herself by the inequality of the Match, and give occasion to domestick Heart-burnings, private Grudges and Commotions; if a Stranger, she then should subject both herself and her People to a foreign Yoke, and endanger Religion: Having not forgotten how unhappy the Marriage of her Sister Queen *Mary* with King *Philip* a Foreigner had been; also how unfortunate that Marriage of her Great Grandfather *Edward* IV. had prov'd, who was the first of all the Kings of *England* since the *Norman* Conquest, that ever took one of his Subjects to Wife. Her Glory also, which whilst she continu'd unmarried she retained entire to herself and uneclips'd, she feared would by Marriage be transfer'd to her Husband. And besides, the Perils by Conception and Child-bearing objected by the Physicians and her Gentlewomen, for some private Reasons, did many times run in her Mind, and very much deter her from thoughts of marrying.

A Book set forth against this Marriage.

She was also much incensed at a Book which was written and publish'd against the Marriage in a smart satyrical Stile, (out of a fear lest Religion should be changed) entitl'd, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be swallow'd by the* French *Marriage*. In which Book those of the Council who favour'd the Marriage, are taxed as ungrateful to their Prince and Country; the Queen herself (in the midst of several flattering Expressions) is glanced at as unlike herself; the Duke of *Anjou* slander'd with unworthy Reproaches; the *French* Nation odiously defamed; and the Marriage itself, in regard of the difference of Religion, (as of the Daughter of God with a Son of Antichrist) with virulent Words condemn'd, as profane, dangerous to the Church, and destructive to the Commonwealth; and this proved out of the holy Scriptures, miserably wrested. Neither would the Queen be persuaded that the Author of the Book had any other intent but to procure the Hatred of her Subjects against her, (who had always no less regard of the Love of her People, than she had of her own Authority, and (as Princes use to do) made it her chief Care to preserve her Reputation) and privately to open a Gap for some prodigious Innovation; considering that the Writer had not so much as mention'd the Security of the Queen and Realm, or prevention of Dangers to either, and that the States of the Realm had before with all Earnestness besought her to marry, as the most assured Remedy against the threatning Mischiefs. These things she declar'd by publick Proclamation; wherein, having condemn'd the Author of the Book as a Publisher of Sedition, she highly commended the Duke of *Anjou*'s good Affection towards her and the Protestant Religion, and express'd her Resentment that so great an Injury should be offered to so Noble a Prince, and one that had so well deserv'd, who had desir'd nothing to be alter'd either in the Commonwealth or Religion: And withal, she commended *Simier*, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Agent, for his Wisdom and Discretion, whom some had loaden with Calumnies and Slanders. She also advertis'd the People, that the said Book was nothing else but a Fiction of some Traytors, to raise Envy abroad, and Sedition at home; and commanded it to be burnt before the Magistrate's Face.

Queen's opinion of it.

A Proclamation against it.

From this time forward she began to be a little more incensed against the *Puritans*, or Innovators, from whom she easily believ'd these kind of things proceeded. And indeed, within a few Days after, *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inn*, a furious hot-headed Professor of Religion, (whose Sister *Thomas Cartwright*, a Ringleader amongst the

Puritans,

1581. *Puritans*, had married) the Author of this Book, *William Page* who disperſed the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were apprehended. Againſt whom Sentence was given, that their right Hands ſhould be cut off, according to an Act of *Philip* and *Mary*, *againſt the Authors and Publiſhers of ſeditious Writings*. Tho' ſome Lawyers mutter'd that the Sentence was erroneous and void, by reaſon of the falſe noting of the Time wherein the Law was made; and that that Act was only temporary, and died with Queen *Mary*. Of this number was *Dalton*, who often bawl'd it out openly, and was committed to the *Tower*; and *Monſon*, a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, was ſo ſharply reprehended, that he reſign'd his Place: Forasmuch as *Wray*, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of *England*, made it appear, that there was no Miſtake in noting the Time; and proved by the Words of the Act, that the Act was made againſt thoſe who ſhould abuſe the King by ſeditious Writings, and that the King of *England* never dieth; yea, that that Act was renewed *anno primo Elizabethæ*, to be in force during the Life of her and the Heirs of her Body. Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* had their right Hands cut off with a Cleaver, driven through the Wriſt by the force of a Mallet, upon a Scaffold in the Market-place at *Weſtminſter*. The Printer was pardon'd. I remember (being there preſent) that *Stubbs*, after his right Hand was cut off, put off his Hat with his left, and ſaid with a loud Voice, *God ſave the Queen*; the Multitude ſtanding about was deeply ſilent; either out of an horror of this new and unwonted kind of Puniſhment; or elſe out of commiſeration towards the Man, as being of an honeſt and unblamable Repute; or elſe out of hatred of the Marriage, which moſt Men preſag'd would be the overthrow of Religion.

Anno 24.

Author, Diſperſer, and Printer of the Book taken.

Their right Hands cut off.

The Printer pardon'd.

Theſe things were done preſently after the Duke of *Anjou*'s coming into *England*. During his ſtay here, the Queen, to take away the fear which had poſſeſs'd many Mens Minds, that Religion would be alter'd, and Popery tolerated, being overcome by importunate Entreaties, permitted that *Edm. Campian* aforeſaid, of the Society of *Jeſus*, *Ralph Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alex Briant*, Prieſts, ſhould be arraign'd. Who being indicted upon the Act for Treaſon made in the 25th of *Edward* III. and charg'd to have compaſſed and imagined the deſtruction of the Queen and Realm, to have adher'd to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Queen's Enemy; to have come into *England* to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, and to have raiſed Forces to that end, were condemn'd to die, and, perſiſting obſtinately to defend the Pope's Authority againſt the Queen, were executed. For *Campian*, after he was condemn'd, being ask'd, firſt, Whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a right and lawful Queen? refus'd to anſwer: Then, Whether he would take part with the Queen or the Pope, if he ſhould ſend Forces againſt the Queen? He openly profeſſed and teſtified under his Hand, that he would ſtand for the Pope. Afterwards ſome others alſo were executed for the ſame Reaſons; whereas in full ten Years time after the Rebellion, there had been no more than five Papiſts put to death. But theſe things I leave to the Writer of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: Yet let me, by his leave, give a brief touch here of ſome few things which are linked with matters that concern the Commonwealth. Such now were the Times, that the Queen (who never was of opinion that Mens Conſciences were to be forced) complain'd many times that ſhe was driven of neceſſity to take theſe Courſes, unleſs ſhe would ſuffer the Ruin of herſelf and her Subjects, upon ſome Mens pretence of Conſcience and the Catholick Religion. Yet for the greater part of theſe ſilly Prieſts, ſhe did not at all believe them guilty of plotting the Deſtruction of their Country; but the Superiours were they ſhe held to be the Inſtruments of this Villany; for theſe inferiour Emiſſaries committed the full and free diſpoſure of themſelves to their Superiours. For when thoſe that were now and afterwards taken, were ask'd, 'Whether by Authority of the Bull of *Pius* V. Biſhop of *Rome*, the Subjects were ſo abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance towards the Queen, that they might take up Arms againſt their Prince: Whether they thought her to be a lawful Queen: Whether they would ſubſcribe to *Sander*'s and *Briſtow*'s Opinion, concerning the Authority of that Bull: Whether if the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould wage War againſt the Queen, they would join with her or him? They anſwer'd ſome of 'em ſo ambiguouſly, ſome ſo reſolutely, and ſome by prevarication and ſilence ſhifting off the Queſtions in ſuch a manner, that divers ingenuous Catholicks began to ſuſpect they were engag'd in traiterous Deſigns; and *J. Biſhop*, a Man otherwiſe devoted to the Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote againſt 'em, and ſolidly prov'd, That that Conſtitution obtruded under the Name of the *Lateran* Council, upon which the whole Authority of abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, and depoſing Princes, is founded, is no other than a Decree of Pope *Innocent* III. and was never admitted in *England*; yea, that the ſaid Council was no Council at all, nor was any thing at all there decreed by the Fathers.

Campian the Jeſuit and ſome Prieſts executed.

Puniſhment of the Catholicks neceſſary.

1581. *Anno 24.*

Suſpicion encreaſed againſt them, by their Tergiverſation,

Suſpicions alſo were daily encreas'd by the great numbers of Prieſts creeping more and more into *England*, who privately try'd the Minds of Men, ſpread abroad, that Princes excommunicate were to be depoſed, and whiſper'd in corners, that ſuch Princes as profeſs'd not the *Romiſh* Religion, had forfeited their Regal Title and Authority: That thoſe who had taken holy Orders, were, by a certain Eccleſiaſtical Privilege, exempted from all Juriſdiction of Princes, and not bound by their Laws, nor ought they to reverence or regard their Majeſty: That the Biſhop of *Rome* hath ſupreme Authority and abſolute Power over the whole World, yea even in Temporal Matters: That the Magiſtrates of *England* were no lawful Magiſtrates, and therefore not to be accounted ſuch; yea, That whatſoever was done by the Queen's Authority ſince the time that the Bull declaratory of *Pius* V. was publiſh'd againſt her, was by the Laws of God and Man altogether void, and to be eſteem'd of no validity. And ſome of 'em were not aſham'd to own, that they were return'd into *England* with no other intent, than by reconciling Men at Confeſſion, to abſolve every one particularly from all his Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience to the Queen, juſt as the ſaid Bull did abſolve them all at once and in general. And this ſeem'd the eaſier to be effected, becauſe they promis'd withal Abſolution from all mortal Sin; and the ſafer, becauſe it was perform'd more cloſely, and under the *Seal of Confeſſion*.

And by their ſowing dangerous Opinions.

The Five and Twentieth Year of her Reign. 1582.

Theſe things and the like extorted from the States of the Realm, which were aſſembled in the Month of *January* at *Weſtminſter*, new and more ſevere Laws againſt the Papiſts, wherein they are declar'd guilty of High-Treaſon, 'whoever ſhall diſſuade the Subjects from their Obedience to their Prince, and from the Religion eſtabliſh'd in *England*, or ſhall reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*; as alſo, thoſe who ſhall be ſo diſſuaded or reconciled. Thoſe alſo who ſhall ſay Maſs are fin'd in 200 Marks, 'and

New Laws againſt the Papiſts.

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'and Imprisonment for a Year, or longer, till 'they have paid the Money: they who shall 'wittingly and willingly be present at Mass, are 'fined in 100 Marks and Imprisonment likewise 'for a Year: and they who refuse to frequent 'Divine Service in their Parish-Churches, are 'fined in 20 Pounds a Month. This the Papists exclaim'd was unjustly interpreted of Lunar Months, who had hitherto redeem'd their Absence upon Sundays and Holidays for a Shilling to the Use of the Poor. But these things let the Ecclesiastical Historians handle more at large.

Anjou returns into the Low-Countries.

The Duke of *Anjou*, having stay'd in *England* full three Months, began his Journey toward the *Netherlands* in the Month of *February*. The Queen herself, to do him Honour, accompany'd him as far as *Canterbury*, and commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, and *Sheffield*, Barons, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and some other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*; where he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburgh*, *Lorrain*, &c. For the States of the Confederate *Netherlands* had before declared the *Spaniard* to have forfeited his Sovereignty, by violating their Laws; broken his Seals in pieces, thrown down his Arms in all places, and absolv'd the People from their Oath of Allegiance; so that they were at liberty to choose themselves another Prince. The Duke granted the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion to all that would swear Allegiance to him, and abjure the *Spaniard*. Then he earnestly apply'd himself to the War, lost *Oudenard*, and took *Alost*. Six hundred *English*, under the Leading of *Thomas Norris*, *Barney*, *Cornish*, and *Gibson*, revolted from him to the *Spaniards*, laying the Cause thereof upon the imperious Severity of *Norris*. These Men being exposed to all dangerous Brunts, and slightly and contemptuously used, suffered condign Punishment for their Treachery, and too late repented of it, after they had undergone infinite Miseries. However *Norris*, with 300 Horse and the Remainder of his Companies, gain'd singular Commendations amongst all Men, for his Valour and Military Skill. For he couragiously receiv'd the Prince of *Parma*, who furiously charg'd him with great Forces, and made a discreet and orderly Retreat to the Walls of *Ghent*, while *Anjou* and the Prince of *Orange* from the Walls admired his martial Valour. But why do I dwell upon these things?

Is made D. of *Brabant*, &c.

Some *English* revolt from him.

Norris behaves himself gallantly.

Anjou leaves the *Netherlands* with dishonour.

The Duke of *Anjou*, having now spent in the *Netherlands* a great Mass of Money, that he receiv'd out of *England*, and that without Success, and found that they bestow'd upon him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilst the Government and Management of Affairs remain'd wholly in the States Hands, attempted rashly and unadvisedly to force *Antwerp* and other Cities, but all in vain, and not without great Loss of his own Men; and shortly after left the *Netherlands* with Dishonour, as having achiev'd nothing memorable.

A Comet, & violent Tempest.

Let it suffice just to mention, in a Word only, a Comet or Blazing-star, seen in the Month of *May*, in the 12*th* degree of *Gemini*, near the Star call'd the *little Goat*, with a radiant Tail streaming above and beyond the right Shoulder of *Erichthonius*: as also an hideous Tempest in *Norfolk*, with much Lightning, Thunder, violent Force of Winds, and a great Storm of Hail, the Stones whereof were three Inches in Thickness, and fashion'd like the Rowels of Spurs.

King of *Denmark* made Kt. of the Garter.

Queen *Elizabeth*, to strengthen herself abroad against the *Spaniard*, whom she knew to be exasperated by that Supply of Money sent to the Duke of *Anjou*, chose *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, whom she had a long time respected as her loving Friend, into the Society of the Order of St *George*; and sent *Peregrine Bertie*, (whom she, as being very sparing in conferring of Honours, with much ado had admitted to the Title of Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, before such time as he had given Proof of his Vertue, albeit his Mother were the only Daughter of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and Heir to the Lord *Willoughby*) to invest him with the Ensigns of that Order. The King of *Denmark* gladly suffer'd the Chain or Collar of Roses to be put about his Neck, and the Garter to be ty'd about his Leg: the rest of the Ensigns he receiv'd to lay up and keep, but refus'd to put them on, because they were outlandish; and to take the Oath he absolutely deny'd, because he had done the same before, when he was admitted by the *French* King into the Order of St. *Michael*. Whilst *Willoughby* remain'd in *Denmark*, he represented to the King the Grievances of the *English* Merchants; who complain'd heavily, that the Customs were too much rais'd, whereas in times past they paid in passing the *Danish* Strait or the *Sound*, for every Ship but a Rose-Noble, that is, the fourth part of an Ounce of Gold, and as much for their Lading or Merchandize, with some small Allowance towards Fires by Night to direct their Course safely, and Barrels or Buoys to shew the Shelves and Rocks. He treated with him also in behalf of the Merchants, to release the Payment of *Last gelt*, whereby was exacted the thirtieth part of all their Merchandize, by way of Loan, during the Heat of the War betwixt the Kings of *Denmark* and *Swedeland*, with Promise of Repayment when the War ended. But these things, as being matters of great weight, were put off to another time. For scarce do Princes ever abate of the Customs which they have once imposed, judging that such Royalties (as they call 'em) belong as Rights and Privileges to every Kingdom, and are not subject to any foreign Abatement.

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The Complaints of the English Merchants presented to him.

He neglects 'em.

Treaty with the Q. of *Scots* deferr'd.

Queen *Elizabeth* also, for her better Security at home, purpos'd to compound matters with the Queen of *Scots*, by Sir *Walter Mildmay*. But finding that the Duke of *Guise* plotted secretly with certain *English* Fugitives, for her Delivery, and levy'd Forces, under pretence that they should serve under the Duke of *Anjou* in the *Low-Countries*, but indeed to be transported over into *England*, from *Auc* or *Ewe*, an obscure Port-Town in *Normandy*, belonging to the Duke of *Guise*; (whereof the *French* King gave her the first Notice, and out of his Love to Queen *Elizabeth* prevented it) the matter was put off to another time, and she was neglected.

Gowry and others raise troubles in *Scotland*.

But yet to prevent the Duke of *Guise*'s Attempts in *Scotland*, who was thought to use *Lenox*'s Assistance to avert the King of *Scots*'s Affection from the *English*, *William Ruthuen*, whom the King had very lately created Earl of *Gowry*, rais'd some Troubles. This *William*, (not to degenerate from his Father, who bore a deadly Hatred against the King's Mother) with other Conspirators, employ'd all their Wits to remove *Lenox* and *Arran* from the King, pretending to provide for the Security of Religion, the King's Safety, and the Amity with *England*. And thus they went to work. *Lenox*, who was now made Chamberlain of *Scotland*, was persuaded to exercise with Rigour the old worn out Jurisdiction of Chamberlain; and this to no other intent, but that he might thereby (unawares and never dreaming of any such thing) incur the Hatred of the People; which Hatred the Clergy should more inflame by declaiming against him publickly out of the Pulpit, as a Papist, a *Guisian*, and a rigorous Executor of his Authority, and should openly prophesie his Destruction. When *Lenox* therefore was gone from *Perth* (where the King then lay) to *Edin-*

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Edinborough, to exerciſe the aforeſaid Juriſdiction, and *Arran* was out of the Way, *Goury*, *Marre*, *Lindſey*, and others, taking the Opportunity, invited the King to *Ruthven*-Caſtle, and there detain'd him againſt his Will, and terrify'd him ſo that he durſt not ſtir abroad. All his faithfulleſt Servants they remov'd from him, *Arran* they carry'd to Priſon, conſtrain'd the King to call home the Earl of *Angus* from Baniſhment, (at the Interceſſion of the Queen of *England*, who was acquainted with their Plot) and to ſend *Lenox* back again into *France*: who, being a Man of a very mild Spirit, did for the publick Quiet ſake ſurrender up *Dunbritton*, which he might eaſily have defended, and refuſed not to return into *France*; and this he did at the King's ſeeming Perſuaſion, which they had forced him to uſe with him.

They ſurprize the King.

Remove *Lenox* out of *Scotland*.

And not content with all this, they compell'd the King againſt his Will, to approve of this their ſeizing of him, in his Letters to the Queen of *England*, and to declare an Aſſembly of the States ſummon'd by them to be juſt and legal. Yet could they not draw *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact of theirs, either by their Declaration, or by Meſſengers ſent to perſuade him; who now with Sorrow repented that he had formerly maintain'd the Cauſe of factious People againſt their Princes, and ſoon after died. A Man born, as he himſelf has written in a Poem, *nec cœlo, nec ſolo, nec ſæculo erudito*, that is, neither in a Climate, nor Countrey, nor Age of Learning; yet happily arriving himſelf at the Top and Perfection of Poetical Skill, ſo as he may deſervedly be reckon'd Prince of the Poets of this Age.

Force the King to countenance their doings.

Buchanan diſapproves them.

When the *French* King had certain Intelligence hereof, he diſpatch'd away *Mota-Fenellon* through *England*, and *Maninguille* by Sea, into *Scotland*, with one and the ſame Inſtructions, to wit, *That they ſhould take ſome courſe or other for procuring the King's Liberty: That they ſhould confirm and encourage the* French *Faction, draw the King's Mind to embrace Amity with the* French, *and congratulate him upon this account, that the Queen his Mother, out of her motherly Piety, granted him the Royal Title, and very willingly admitted him into the Participation of the Kingdom, to wit, that he ſhould be own'd for true and lawful King, by the Princes of Chriſtendom, and all the People in* Scotland, *and that all Factions ſhould be for the future taken away.* The Queen of *Scots* in the mean time having her Mind full of Cares and Doubts, being overcome with Miſeries, and languiſhing with the Calamity of a long Impriſonment, without all Hope of Liberty, deplored her hard Deſtiny, with the ſad Condition of her Son, in a long Letter written in *French*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, which her motherly Love and the Anguiſh of her Mind wrung from her, to this purpoſe, as I have abreviated the ſame out of the very Original.

French King ſends Agents to procure the King's Liberty.

Queen of *Scots* Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*.

'Whereas I have been certainly advertiſed that my Son is ſurprized by Rebels, (as I my ſelf alſo was ſome Years ſince) out of a juſt Fear leſt he ſhould undergo the ſame common Condition of Infelicity with myſelf, I cannot but make my woful Complaints, and imprint the ſame (if it may be) in your Conſcience, that ſo my Innocence may appear to Poſterity, and their Ignominy, by whoſe unjuſt Dealings I am moſt undeſervedly brought into theſe Miſeries. But ſeeing their cunning Practices and Devices (tho' never ſo wicked) have hitherto been of more Credit with you than my moſt juſt Complaints, and your Might may ſeem to overcome Right, and Force to oppreſs and bare down Truth among Men; I will appeal to the ever living God, in whom only I acknowledge a Power and Dominion over us that are Princes of equal Juriſdiction, Degree and Authority. And upon him will I call, (with whom there will be no place for Craft nor Fraud) that in the laſt day he will reward us according to our Deſerts one towards another, howſoever my Adverſaries know in the mean time how to cloak their treacherous Dealings before Men, (and haply before you). In his Name therefore, and as it were before his Tribunal-Seat, I call to your Remembrance, by what cunning Artifices ſome who were employ'd in your Name drew the *Scots*, my Subjects, into Rebellion againſt me, whilſt I liv'd in *Scotland*, and gave Riſe to all thoſe Miſchiefs which have happen'd there ever ſince. Which (to omit other Proofs) is certainly known by evident Teſtimonies to be produced, and by Confeſſion out of *Morton's* own Mouth, who was on that account advanced to * Honour. Againſt whom if I had proceeded according to Law and Juſtice, and you had not aided my Rebels, they could not have ſtood out long againſt me and my Friends.

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* Made Regent upon Q. Elizabeth's Recommendation.

'Whilſt I was kept in Priſon at *Lough-Levin*, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was a means to perſuade me in your Name to ſet my Hand to a Writing, and reſign the Kingdom; which Writing he affirm'd would be invalid, and ſo the whole World has taken it to be, till you aſſiſted the Authors of the ſaid Inſtrument readily with your Favour and Countenance, as alſo with an arm'd Power. And tell me *bonâ fide*, would you acknowledge ſuch an Authority and Power of your Subjects over you? Yet thereby was my Regal Authority taken from me, and that by your Advice and Aſſiſtance; and my Kingdom tranſlated to my Son, who was then in reſpect of his Age uncapable thereof. And when I myſelf was not long ſince determined to confirm the Kingdom to him lawfully, he was forcibly ſeiz'd on by certain Traitors, who without queſtion purpoſed to deprive him (as they had done me) of the Kingdom, if not of his Life alſo.

'After I had made an Eſcape out of *Louth-Levin*, and was now ready to give the Rebels Battle, I craved your Aid, ſending back that Diamond which I had formerly receiv'd from you in pledge of your Love, with large Promiſes of Aſſiſtance againſt my Rebels time after time renew'd; giving me alſo then your faithful Word, that if I would betake myſelf to you, you would come to the Borders, and aſſiſt me in your own Perſon. I, relying upon this your Promiſe ſo often repeated, (tho' thoſe you imploy'd had many times deceiv'd me with fair Words) reſolved to fly to you in my Adverſity, as to a ſacred Anchor. And certainly ſo I had, had I found as eaſie Acceſs to you, as my Rebels againſt me have always had. But before I could come to you, I was ſeiz'd upon, clapt into Cuſtody, ſhut up in ſtrong Holds, and have ever ſince endur'd Afflictions more bitter than Death itſelf.

'I know you will hit me in the Teeth with what paſs'd betwixt me and the Duke of *Norfolk*; yet I deny that that was any way prejudicial to you or your Kingdom. For it was approv'd of by the chief Counſellors of the Realm of *England*, and confirm'd by their Subſcriptions, which may be produced, who alſo gave an aſſured Promiſe of your Conſent. And how (I pray you) could Men of that Quality promiſe your Conſent to that which would deprive you of Life, Honour, and your Diadem? yet would you have theſe things believ'd by all Men.

'But when ſome of my ſaid Rebels repented when it was too late, and perceiv'd more palpably, by the Conference between our Commiſſioners

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'missioners at *York*, how injuriously I was dealt 'withal, they were presently besieged by your 'Forces in the Castle of *Edinborough*, and * two 'of the chief of 'em were miserably bereav'd of 'their Lives; one by Poison, the other by the 'Gallows. And this, after I had, at your Re-'quest, caus'd them more than once to lay down 'their Arms, in hopes of Peace, which God 'knows whether my Adversaries ever intended.

'From that time forward I determined with 'myself to try whether I could by my Patience 'mitigate others Rigor, by bearing quietly all 'things which should be inflicted on a Captive-'Queen: yet have I now for this whole Year 'been quite debarr'd from all intercourse with 'my Son, either by Letters or Messengers; that 'so, if it were possible, the Son might be rent 'and divided from his Mother, by a sad and wo-'ful Alienation of Affections.

'Conditions of Peace and Concord to be made 'betwixt us I have often propounded. At *Cha-'tesworth*, eleven Years since, with your Com-'missioners, and with yourself by the Ambassa-'dors of the most Christian King and my own, 'and the last Winter with *Beale*, have I dealt 'therein sincerely. But these Conditions have 'been always rejected, Delays sought and inter-'posed, my Actions and Endeavours miscon-'strued, and the sincere Affections of my Mind 'still condemn'd. And of my long Patience I 'have reap'd no other Fruit, than that by a cer-'tain Prescription it grew to a Custom, that I 'was every day more roughly handled than o-'ther. These things verily I am no longer able 'to endure: and howsoever it fall out, if I die, 'I will make known the Authors of my Death; 'and if I live, I shall, I hope, cause all wicked 'Contrivances and Calumnies against me to 'cease, that I may pass the rest of my Life in 'greater Quiet and Tranquility.

'Wherefore, to take away all Misunderstand-'ings betwixt us, let the Testimonies of the '*Spaniards* that were lately taken Prisoners in '*Ireland*, be produc'd against me; let the Exa-'mination of the Jesuits be brought forth; let 'every Man have liberty to accuse me publickly; 'so as I in like manner may have liberty allow'd 'me to defend myself, and not be condemn'd un-'heard. The basest Malefactors and Prisoners 'are allowed their Defence, and their Accusers 'brought before them Face to Face. And why 'am not I so dealt withal, who am an anointed 'Queen, in Blood most nearly ally'd to you, and 'next to you the lawful Heir to the Crown? And 'this last is what above all vexes and troubles my 'Adversaries, who labour to set us two at Vari-'ance. Alas! there is no Reason this should 'trouble them. I call God and my own Honour 'to witness, that I have for this long time thought 'of no other Kingdom but that of Heaven. Yet 'are you bound in Conscience, and obliged both 'in regard of your Duty and Justice, not to pre-'judice my Son's undoubted Title after my death, 'nor to further the secret Contrivances of those, 'who, both in *England* and *Scotland*, labour tooth 'and nail the Destruction of me and my Son; 'as is more than too apparent, by the Carriage 'of your Messengers in *Scotland*, who have be-'haved themselves seditiously enough, (unknown 'to you, no doubt, tho' *Huntington* has busily be-'stirr'd himself therein).

'Is this Reason, that I, who am a Mother, 'should be prohibited, not only to advise my op-'press'd Son, but so much as to understand in 'what Condition he is? Had those Messengers 'been sent for my Son's Good, haply, if they 'had taken my Advice along with them, they 'might have been more welcome to him for my 'sake; certainly you had obliged me the more 'closely to you. Neither was there any Reason 'why you should so carefully conceal their Send-'ing, or quite take from me at that time all Use 'of my Liberty. But, to speak freely, I beseech 'you to employ no more such Ministers in *Scot-'tish* Matters. For tho' † *Cary* (I think) would 'undertake nothing unbeseeming himself and his 'Honour; yet can I promise myself no Good of '*Huntington*, by reason of his bad Behaviour to-'wards me.

1582. *Ann.* 2[5] † Lord Hunsdon.

'Therefore I do earnestly intreat you, by the 'near Kindred that is betwixt us, to have a seri-'ous Care in my Son's Safety, to intermeddle no 'more in *Scottish* matters, without acquainting me 'or the *French* King; and to esteem those for no 'better than Traitors, who detain my Son in Cu-'stody, and constrain him, against his Will, to 'do what they list. In brief, I beseech you by 'the Cross and Passion of Christ our Redeemer, 'that I may now, after so many Years Restraint, 'be restored to my Liberty upon reasonable Con-'ditions, and may, for the small Remainder of 'my Life, refresh my decay'd Body, somewhere 'out of *England*, after so long Grief and Lan-'guishing in Prison. So shall you oblige me and 'mine, and especially my Son, to you for ever. 'And this I will never cease to beg of you with 'all Earnestness, till you grant it me: and that 'which moves me so earnestly to crave it, is the 'afflicted State of my Body and Health. Take 'Order therefore, that I may hereafter be more 'courteously used; otherwise, in plain terms, 'I shall not be able to endure it: and put me not 'off to any other Doom or Sentence than your 'own. Whatsoever hereafter shall befal me, 'Good or Ill, I shall take it to come from your-'self alone. Vouchsafe me this Favour, that I 'may understand your Mind from yourself, ei-'ther by a short Letter, or by the *French* Ambas-'sador. I cannot rest satisfy'd with those things 'which the Earl of *Shrewsbury* tells me, consider-'ing that they are alter'd every day. When I 'wrote of late to your Council, you wish'd me 'to acquaint yourself only with my Business. '(But there was no reason for you to grant them 'so large an Authority over me, to trouble and 'afflict me). Yet I cannot but fear that some 'of them who are my Adversaries have procur'd 'this, lest the rest, when they should have heard 'my just Complaints, should oppose them, in 'regard as well of your Honour, as of their own 'Duty towards you. Now it remains that I 'make this special Request to you, that my Mind 'being taken up with the Thoughts of another 'Life, I may have some Reverend Catholick 'Priest allow'd me, who may direct me in my 'Religion, for my Soul's Health. This last Of-'fice is not to be deny'd to the poorest Wretches 'of the meanest Condition. To foreign Princes 'Ambassadors you allow the Exercise of their 'Religion, and I freely granted it to my Subjects 'of a different Religion. If this be deny'd me, '(I hope) I shall be excused before God, but 'my Adversaries (I fear) will not escape unpu-'nish'd. Certainly it will be a Precedent for o-'ther Princes of Christendom to use the like Se-'verity towards their Subjects of a different Re-'ligion, if this Rigor be shew'd to me, who am 'an absolute Princess, and your nearest Kinswo-'man. For so I am, and so I shall be as long as 'I live, whether my Adversaries will or no, and 'tho' they be never so ill pleas'd and satisfy'd at 'it. To have my Houshold increas'd I desire not, 'but I am necessitated to desire you that I may 'have two Waiting-Women allow'd me, whom I 'shall have need of in this my weak Condition: 'and let not my Enemies satisfy their Malice

'and

1582. *Ann.* 25.

'and Cruelty, in hindring me of so small a Courtesie. Whereas I am privately accused by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that, contrary to what I promised to *Beale*, I have dealt with my Son, about conveying my Title in *Scotland* to him, without your Privity; I beseech you, believe not *Beale's* Suggestions: I promis'd nothing but on certain Conditions, to which I am not at all ty'd, unless those on your part be perform'd by you. Since that time I have receiv'd no Answer, and a deep Silence has ensu'd touching those Matters; but the Practices and Contrivances in *Scotland*, to the Destruction of me and my Son, have been continued. This so long a Silence I could not construe any thing else but a flat Denial, which I signify'd to you and your Council by Letters. What the *French* King and his Mother imparted to me, I have truly and ingenuously acquainted you withal, and ask'd your Counsel in it; but I have not heard so much as a Word from you. To submit my self to your Advice touching my Affairs and my Country, before I knew what manner of Advice it would be, I never intended; for this might seem to be a piece of extreme Folly. How my Adversaries in *Scotland* triumph over me and my Captive Son, is not unknown to you. For my part, I have attempted nothing there which may prejudice you: what I have done has been for procuring a solid Peace in that Kingdom; whereof, sure, I should have as great a Care as your Council; for I am far more interess'd therein than they. I desired with all my heart to gratify my Son, by confirming to him the Title of King, and to bury all Discords in Oblivion. Is this to snatch away the Diadem from my Son? But my Adversaries, and the Adversaries of my Family, would not have it confirm'd to him. This they envy him, whilst they carry a Witness against themselves in their own Breast, and by reason of their guilty Conscience, mistrust their own Condition.

'Let not these, and others my Adversaries, so far blind your Eyes, as that while you live and see it, they bring your nearest Kindred to their Graves, and undermine both Crowns: for to that purpose certainly do they carry on their wicked Practices against me, against my Son, and perhaps against your self too. Can it be any Advantage or Credit to you, that by their means I and my Son, and you and I our selves, are so long deprived of one another? Recal your self to your innate Mildness and Lenity, resume your natural Disposition, and, as you are a Princess, soften your Spirit, and dispose it to lay aside all Displeasure towards me a Princess so nearly related to you in Blood, and so loving to you; that these Matters being compounded betwixt us, I may the more quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not ascend up to God: To whose Majesty I offer up my daily Prayers, beseeching him, that these my just Complaints and woful Lamentations may now at length find Regard with you. At *Sheffeild*, *Nov.* 8. 1582.

Subscribed,

Vôtre tres desolée plus proche Parente,
& affectionée Sœur,

MARIE R.

That is,

'Your most disconsolate nearest Kinswoman,
'and affectionate Sister,

MARY Queen.

The Six and twentieth Year of her Reign. 1583. *Ann.* 26.

With this Letter Queen *Elizabeth* was variously affected, and (having first permitted *Mota-Fenellon* the *French* Ambassador, to go with *Davison* her own Ambassador into *Scotland*, watching the Time on purpose that he might at unawares meet *Lenox*, as he return'd out of *Scotland*; and having her self after graciously receiv'd the said *Lenox*, and gently blamed him for the Errors he had committed in *Scotish* Matters) sent *Robert Beale*, Clerk of the Council, a morose, ill-temper'd Man, to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her roundly about these Letters of Complaint, and, together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat with her about her Liberty, in regard she had very lately by other Letters earnestly requested, that, upon Security given to Queen *Elizabeth*, she might at length enjoy the same, and be associated with her Son, in the Government of *Scotland*.

Lenox returns to *France* by *England*.

Concerning these things a serious Consultation was holden in the Council-Chamber of *England*; and most of the Council were satisfy'd that she might be set at Liberty upon these Conditions: 'If she and her Son would promise to attempt nothing which might be prejudicial to Queen *Elizabeth*, or the Realm of *England*. If she would acknowledge that whatever was done by her Husband *Francis* II. King of *France*, against Queen *Elizabeth*, was done against her Will, and would utterly disclaim the same as unjust; confirm the Treaty of *Edinborough*, and condemn all unfair Attempts ever since, by ingenuously renouncing them. If she would be bound to contrive or act nothing, directly or indirectly, against the Government of the Kingdom of *England*, in either Ecclesiastical or Civil Matters, but oppose all such as should any ways attempt the same, as publick Enemies. If she would forbear to claim any Right to the Kingdom of *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth's* Life; and afterwards be content to refer the Title of Succession to the Judgment of the Parliament of *England*. If (to the end there might be no place left for Prevarication, and that she might not hereafter alledge, that she condescended to these Conditions, being a Prisoner, and constrain'd thereto, she would not only swear to these Conditions her self, but would also procure the Estates of *Scotland* to confirm them by publick Authority, and the King to ratify them by Oath and Writing, and Hostages to be given for the Performance of them. As for her being join'd with her Son in the Government, it was not thought meet that the Queen of *England* should be concern'd with it: but this they referr'd to the King of *Scots* himself, and the Estates of *Scotland*. And if they were so associated together, they should be dealt withal jointly about the League; if not, severally.

Consultation about setting the Queen of *Scots* at liberty.

Upon what Conditions.

These things were deliberated and consulted of, but without Success; for the *Scots* of the *English* Faction utterly rejected the Conditions, crying out, that some *Scots*, which were mortal Enemies to the *English* Nation, were, by the Advice of the Queen of *Scots*, call'd home out of *France*; and that *Holt* an *Englishman*, of the Society of *Jesus*, was sent privately into *Scotland*, to contrive a way for invading *England*.

Scots of the *English* Faction oppose it.

There was now much striving in *Scotland* betwixt *Mota-Fenellon* and *Maninguille* the *French* Ambassadors, and *Bowes* and *Davison* Ambassadors of *England*, which of them should by deeper Insinuation allure the King's Mind to the Love of their Nation, and who should draw most Men to their Party. Whilst they diligently countermined

English & *French* court the King of *Scots*.

one

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one the other in their Plots and Designs, the King carried himself evenly and indifferently betwixt them both, and intermeddled not in those factious Stirs, which he labour'd rather to compose, well knowing how to temper and mix what was profitable, with what was just and honest, and in the mean time not to be wanting to Religion or the Commonwealth. But the Clergy in *Scotland* were so inflam'd with a kind of Zeal against the *French*, that the same Day that *Mota-Fenellon* was feasted by the Citizens of *Edinborough*, they appointed a Fast, and all the Day long railed upon the *French* King, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Ambassadors, out of their Pulpits; and had almost proceeded to excommunicate all the Guests that dined there. As these Ministers did thus openly, so also some Noblemen of the *English* Faction ceased not more closely to prosecute and disturb the *French* Ambassadors, till first *Mota-Fenellon*, and afterwards *Maninguille*, left the Court and departed, having, notwithstanding, first cunningly sown the Seeds of Dissention betwixt those who had got the King in their Power.

Zeal of the *Scottish* Preachers against the *French*.

English prevail.

The King applies himself to Queen *Elizabeth*.

As soon as they were gone, the King proffer'd all Kindness and Respect to the Queen of *England* by Colonel *William Stuart* and *John Colvill*, and ask'd her Counsel and Advice for composing the present Commotions, and his contracting of Marriage. And now they which had possess'd themselves of the King, took Heart and Courage when the *French* Ambassadors were remov'd out of *Scotland*, and more a while after, when they heard of *Lenox*'s Death. For he, having found but cold Comfort from the *French* King, who was embroil'd in Civil Wars, and now secretly applying himself to work into the Favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, died at *Paris*, and at the point of Death openly profess'd (as he had done before) the Protestant Religion, confuting thereby the Malice of those who had falsly defamed him to be a Papist.

Lenox's Death.

The King frees himself out of Custody.

While the Surprizers of the King were triumphing for the Duke's Death, as thinking themselves now sure and certain to keep the King in their Power, the King, when they little thought of it, tho' he were scarce Eighteen Years of Age, disdaining (seeing he was an absolute King) to be under the Tutelage of three Earls, as he had before wisely yielded to the Time, so now having got a fit Opportunity, he wrought his own Liberty, and withdrew himself with a few trusty Friends into the Castle of St. *Andrews*; taking Occasion from a Rumour spread abroad that the Noblemen, bearing a deadly Feud and Hatred one against the other, were drawing together Bands of armed Men to attend them at the Convention which they had summon'd; and therefore he had Cause to fear lest his Person should be expos'd to Danger amongst their tumultuous Scuffles. And to this purpose he wrote Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, wherein also he promis'd, that he would constantly maintain Amity with her, and follow her Counsel in settling of his Affairs. But this Accident (he said) happen'd so unexpectedly, that he could by no means ask her Counsel in it. Afterwards, with good Words and a gracious Countenance, he advised some of those Men by whom he was seiz'd upon, to depart the Court for prevention of Disturbances, and promis'd 'em Pardon if they would ask it. But of them all *Goury* only ask'd it, and submitted himself, using this Distinction, that he had offended, not in *Matter*, but in *Form*. Then called he home *Arran* to the Court, whom he used in his most secret Counsels; and in the next Place he seriously set himself to procure a good Agreement betwixt his Nobility, and to clear his Realm and Court from Civil Discords.

He deals gently with those that seiz'd him.

Recals his Friends to Court.

Whilst he busied himself about these Matters, Sir *Francis Walsingham* arrived, sent from the Queen of *England* out of her great Care lest he should by corrupt Counsels, now in his flexible Years, be alienated from the Amity of the *English*, to the Damage of both Kingdoms. *Walsingham* found the King attended with the Flower of his Nobility, and another manner of Face and Appearance of Things in *Scotland*, than he expected. At his Audience, he advised him at large the same Things which the Queen had before by her Letters put him in mind of out of *Isocrates* (namely, *That it was the Part of a Ruler to be so true and just in his Dealings, that more Credit might be given to his Word than to others Oaths*) *And that he would have a great Care of bad Counsellors, and be constant to himself.* The King answer'd wisely and freely: 'That if he had written otherwise than he thought, he had done it unwillingly, against his Mind, and by Constraint of those that compell'd him to it. That he, being a free Prince, was not to be reduc'd to such Straights, that others must impose Counsellors upon him whom he liked not. That he had done nothing but what stood with his Honour, and was for his Security. That he had long since vowed the First-fruits of his Friendship to his dearest Sister the Queen of *England*, and now he offer'd them gladly and deservedly; and more full Demonstrations of his Friendship he should be able to give, when all his Nobility should be obedient to him, than when he himself was forced to obey one or two of them, and rul'd, as it were, but at their Will and Pleasure.

Afterwards *Walsingham* wished him not to impute to Queen *Elizabeth* those things which had lately fallen out in *Scotland*: then he shew'd him how advantageous to him and to both Kingdoms Amity with *England* had been heretofore, and might be hereafter, if it were not neglected; and which he said would be firmly establish'd if the Differences betwixt the Nobility of *Scotland* were by Authority of Parliament buried in Oblivion, if those Noblemen that were remov'd from Court might be receiv'd again into Favour, Religion maintain'd inviolate, and a firm League betwixt both Kingdoms established. The King modestly answer'd, *That he would maintain Amity with* England: *That he would be wanting in no good Offices towards the Queen, and constantly defend the receiv'd Religion.* And altho' he suspected *Walsingham* to be ill affected both towards him and his Mother, yet he graciously dismissed him; and being prudently mindful and careful of his Affairs beyond what his Age could promise, with great Commendation for his Clemency, he offer'd a general Pardon to all that had surpriz'd and seiz'd upon him, if they would ask it within a Time prescrib'd. But so far were they from asking it, that they secretly plotted to intercept and surprize him anew. Whereupon they were commanded to depart the Realm within a Time prefix'd; of whom *Marre*, *Glames*, the Commendators of *Driborough*, *Pasley*, and some others, betook themselves to *Ireland*; *Boyd*, *Zester-Wemes*, *Lochelvine*, to the *Low-Countries*; and *Dunfermelin* into *France*. The Earl of *Angus* was confin'd within certain Bounds in *Angus*. Only *Goury*, hatching new Mischief, stay'd beyond the prefixed Time, to his own Ruin, as we shall shew anon.

The King offers Pardon to those who seiz'd him if they'd ask it.

Those that refused commanded to depart the Realm.

Thus they who expell'd *Lenox* against his Will, were themselves, before the Year came about, expell'd against their Wills out of *Scotland*. The King, as he loved *Lenox* whilst he lived, so being

dead

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Reſtores *Lenox's* Reputation, and calls home his Sons into *Scotl.*

dead he had him in grateful Remembrance, and reſtor'd his good Name and Repute, which had by his Enemies been blemiſh'd and ſtain'd, ſuppreſſing certain infamous Libels againſt him. His Children he ſent for out of *France*; his Son *Lewis* he made Succeſſor in his Father's Honour, and his Daughters he matched ſome time after to the Earls of *Huntley* and *Marre*. And to ſhew himſelf a King, and give early Proof how he could exerciſe his Kingly Authority, whereas the ſaid Conſpirators had in a Convention, call'd by their own Authority, decreed their ſeizing of the King's Perſon to have been juſt, and had entred the ſame in the publick Records; he, on the contrary, in a full Aſſembly of the States, declar'd the ſame to have been traiterous: Tho' the Clergy, as if they were ſupreme Judges in the Kingdom, in an Aſſembly convocated by their own Authority, pronounced it to be moſt juſt, and thought them to deſerve Excommunication who approv'd not of it.

Clergy oppoſe the King.

Q. Eliz. obtains a Peace of the *Muſcovite* for *Sweden*.

It is not here to be forgot, how in theſe Days War growing hot betwixt the *Muſcovite* and the *Swede* in the Northern Climate, *John* King of *Sweden*, unable to reſiſt the Power of ſo great an Emperor, ſent *Eric* of *Wiſimbrug*, his Kinſman, *Andreas Riche* one of his Council, and *Raſchy* his Secretary, on a noble Embaſſy to Queen *Elizabeth*, and by his Letters entreated her to mediate a Peace by her Ambaſſador: Which ſhe did without delay, and perſuaded the *Muſcovite* to a Peace upon reaſonable Conditions. For he dealt now afreſh with the Queen about the League before-mention'd, and about his Refuge in *England*, if any Diſaſter ſhould befal him; and made ſuit alſo for a Wife out of *England*. Touching theſe matters, Sir *Hierom Bowes* Kt. was ſent Ambaſſador thither, but could hardly ſatisfy him, for that the *Muſcovite* with much importunity requir'd an abſolute League written in his own Words; and would by no means hear that it was not the part of a Chriſtian, nor allowable by the Law of Nations, to exerciſe Hoſtility without firſt denouncing War, or to come to Blows before ſuch time as he that offer'd the Wrong were requir'd to give Satiſfaction, and to abſtain from doing farther Injury. The Queen deſign'd him for a Wife the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Earl of *Huntingdon*. But when ſhe certainly underſtood that he might, by the Laws of his Country, put away his Wives at his pleaſure; ſhe excus'd it again by the Lady's Indiſpoſition of Health, and the tender Affection of her Mother, who could not endure the abſence of her Daughter in a Country ſo far diſtant, and that ſhe had no power to give the Daughters of her Subjects in Marriage without the Conſent of their Parents. Nevertheleſs the Ambaſſador prevail'd with him to confirm the Merchants Privileges; but his death enſuing the Year following, the Trade of the *Engliſh* in *Ruſſia* withal decay'd by little and little, and the Ambaſſador was ſent back, who returning not without danger of his Life, was receiv'd by the Queen with Favour and Commendations. He was the firſt (if an Hiſtorian may have leave to mention ſo trivial a matter) who brought into *England* the Beaſt call'd a *Machlis*, never before ſeen here: It is like an Elk, in Latin *Alce*, having no Joints in the Legs, and yet wonderful ſwift. He brought alſo certain Fallow-Deer of admirable Swiftneſs, which being yoked together, would draw a Man ſitting in a Sled with incredible ſpeed.

Muſcovite deſires a Wife out of *Engl.* and an abſolute League.

Bowes ſent Ambaſſador to him.

The death of the *Muſcovite*.

Machlis a Beaſt.

Teodore Joannides, the Son of *John Baſilides*, (to continue our relation of the Affairs of *Muſcovy*) ſucceeded in that vaſt Empire; a Prince of a duller Spirit, but yet one that would hearken to them that gave him good Counſel. This *Teodore* granted to all Merchants of what Nation ſoever free acceſs into *Ruſſia*: And being oftentimes ſolicited by the Queen to confirm the Privileges granted by his Father to the *Muſcovia*-Company of *Engliſh* Merchants, to wit, that only *Engliſhmen* of that Company ſhould come into or trade in the North Parts of *Ruſſia*, and that Cuſtom-free, in regard they were the firſt that diſcover'd the Paſſage thither by Sea. He thereupon deſir'd her to give liberty to all the *Engliſh* to trade into *Ruſſia*; for to permit ſome, and deny others, was Injuſtice. Princes, he ſaid, muſt carry an indifferent hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade (which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all) into a Monopoly, to the private Gain of a few. As for his Cuſtoms, he promis'd to exact leſs by the one half of that Company than of the reſt, becauſe they firſt diſcovered the Paſſage thither by Sea. In other matters he confirmed their former Privileges, and added ſome few more out of his reſpect to the Queen, and not for any deſert, as he ſaid, of the Company, many of whom he found had dealt falſly with his People. And other Anſwer than this could *Giles Fletcher*, Doctor of Law, who was afterwards ſent Ambaſſador on the ſame account, get none. This *Fletcher* ſet forth a Book of the *Ruſſian* Polity or Tyranny, wherein are many things worthy of obſervation. Which Book notwithſtanding was quickly ſuppreſs'd, leſt it might give offence to a Prince in amity with *England*.

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Theodore the *Muſcovite* miſlikes the *Engliſhmens* Monopoly in *Ruſſia*.

He confirms ſome Privileges and grants others new.

Fletcher's Hiſtory of *Ruſſia*.

A. Alaſco a *Polonian* comes into *Engl.*

Out of *Polonia*, a Country bordering upon *Ruſſia*, came this Summer into *England* to ſee the Queen, *Albert Alaſco*, Palatine of *Siradia*, a learned Man, well ſhap'd, with a long Beard, and very comely and decent Apparel: Who being graciouſly welcomed by her, and entertain'd by the Nobility with great Reſpect and Feaſting, as alſo by the Univerſity at *Oxford* with learned Divertiſements and ſeveral Comedies, after 4 Months ſtay here withdrew himſelf privately, being run far in Debt.

An Earthquake.

In the County of *Dorſet* there happen'd this Year no leſs ſtrange a ſight than did in *Herefordſhire* in the Year 1571. For a piece of Ground of three Acres in *Blackmore* remov'd out of its place, with Trees and Hedges, and paſſed over other Land, leaving a great Pit, and ſtopping up an High-way which led to *Cerne*. Whether this happen'd thro' ſome ſuch boiſterous Wind under Ground, wherewith *Seneca* writeth that the Heads of the Gods were turn'd backward in *Jupiter's* great Couch; or by reaſon of much Moiſture, the Springs there bubbling up in great abundance, conſidering that the Ground lay upon a ſhelving Hill; let others examine.

The death of the E. of *Suſſex*.

This was the laſt Year of *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earl of *Suſſex* of that Family; a Man of ſingular Fidelity to his Country, and of a very noble Extraction, his Mother being the Duke of *Norfolk's* Daughter, and his Grandmother Daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, Conſtable of *England*. Who having paſſed thro' the higheſt Honours, (having been ſent Ambaſſador into *Germany* by Queen *Mary* to the Emperor *Char.* V. about the Marriage to be contracted with Prince *Philip*; and afterwards into *Spain* to the ſaid Prince *Philip* about ratifying the Covenants thereof, and to the Emperor *Maximilian* about Queen *Elizabeth's* Marriage with *Charles* of *Auſtria*; having been Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Lord-Preſident of the North-parts of *England* beyond the River of *Trent*, renown'd for his Victories againſt the *Hebridians*, and the *Scots* who infeſted the Borders) at length, worn out with a tedious Sickneſs, died at *London* without Iſſue, (tho' he had

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had two Wives, *Elizabeth Wriotheſley* and *Frances Sidney*) and left his Brother *Henry* his Heir and Succeſſor.

The death of the Earl of *Southampton.*

This Year alſo died *Henry Wriotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, a Man as much devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion and the Queen of *Scots* as any, for which he incur'd his Prince's Diſpleaſure, and endur'd Impriſonment in the *Tower*. He was Son to *Thomas Wriotheſley*, (whom for his ſingular Vertue King *Henry* VIII. advanc'd to the Dignity of Baron *Wriotheſly* of *Tichfield*, to the Order of the Garter, and to the high Honour of Chancellor of *England*, and made him one of the Overſeers of his Laſt Will and Teſtament; afterwards by *Edward* VI. raiſed to the Honour of Earl of *Southampton*). This *Henry* left by his Wife, the Daughter of *Anthony* Viſcount *Montacute*, *Henry* his only Son and Succeſſor, and a Daughter married to *Thomas* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*.

Sir *Hum. Gilbert* drown'd.

Near the ſame time was ſwallow'd by the Ocean Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* Kt. a quick and lively-ſpirited Man, famous for his knowledge in matters relating both to War and Peace, in his return from the North-part of *America*, which we call *Newfoundland*, whether he had ſet ſail a little before with five Ships, having ſold his Patrimony in hopes to plant a Colony there. But after he had by an Herald or Cryer proclaim'd that Country to belong to the *Engliſh* Juriſdiction, (for *Sebaſtian Cabot* was the firſt that diſcover'd it, in the Year 1497, being employ'd therein by *Henry* VII.) and had aſſign'd Lands to every particular Man of his Company; he ſuffer'd ſo much by Shipwrecks and want of neceſſary Proviſion, that he was conſtrain'd to give over his Enterprize, learning too late himſelf, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countries upon private Mens Purſes, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had perſuaded themſelves, to their own Coſt and Detriment.

His deſign of *Newfoundland* fruſtrate.

Colonies are hardly planted in far Countries by private Men.

Death of *Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

About that time died alſo *Edmund Grindall* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, being Blind, and above ſixty Years of Age; a religious and grave Man, who returning from his Baniſhment under Queen *Mary*, was made firſt Biſhop of *London*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and laſtly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and flouriſhed in great Grace with the Queen, till by the cunning Artifices of his Adverſaries, he quite loſt her Favour, under pretence that he had countenanced the Conventicles of ſome turbulent and hot-ſpirited Miniſters, and their Prophecies, (as they call'd them) but in truth, becauſe he had condemn'd the unlawful Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Phyſician with another Man's Wife, while *Leiceſter* in vain oppoſed his Proceedings therein. That little Wealth which he had gather'd he beſtowed upon the founding of a School at St. *Bee's* in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and towards the advancement of Learning in both the Univerſities. And to his care (if I may mention ſo ſmall a matter) are the *Engliſhmen* beholden for *Tamariſk*, which, having found it by experience to be exceeding good to eaſe the hard Diſtemper of the Spleen, he firſt of all brought into *England*.

Tamariſk firſt bro't into *Engl.*

Whitgift Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

In his room ſucceeded *John Whitgift*, being tranſlated to *Canterbury* from the See of *Worceſter*; an excellent and very learned Man, who gain'd ſingular Commendation both by his Juſtice in the Vice-preſidentſhip of *Wales*, and by maintaining the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*: Which Commendation he farther merited by his Fortitude, Prudence and Patience. Him the Queen (who, as Civil matters, ſo alſo in Laws Eccleſiaſtical, was of opinion, that no looſe Remiſſneſs was to be uſed) gave in Charge, that he ſhould take ſpecial care to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and the Uniformity in the Service of God eſtabliſh'd by Authority of Parliament, which thro' the Connivance of the Prelates, the Obſtinacy of the *Puritans*, and the Power of ſome Noblemen, was neglected; while ſome of the Clergy cloſely impugned the Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical matters, ſeparated the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments from the preaching of the Word, uſed new Rites and Ceremonies at their pleaſure in private Houſes, utterly condemn'd the Liturgy and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments eſtabliſh'd, as contrary in ſome things to the holy Scriptures, as alſo the Order of Biſhops, and therefore refus'd to come to Church, and made a down-wright Schiſm; while the Papiſts ſtood *laughing* at it, and drew many daily over to their Party, as if there were no Unity in the Church of *England*. To take away theſe Inconveniences, and reſtore Unity, he propounded theſe Articles to be ſubſcrib'd to by the Miniſters.

Queen's care for the Church Diſcipline.

Uniformi-ty in W[orſhip]

Schiſm of the Pu[ri]tans.

Whitgift labours for Unity in the Chur.

Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Clergy.

Firſt, *That the Queen had the chief and ſupreme Power over all Perſons born within her Dominions, of what Conditions ſoever they were; and that no foreign Prince or Prelate had, or ought to have, any Power, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, within her Realms or Dominions.*

Secondly, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and another Book of Ordaining Biſhops and Prieſts, contained nothing in them contrary to God's Word, but might lawfully be uſed; and that they ſhould uſe that, and no other Form, either of Prayer, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

Thirdly, *That they approved the Articles of the Synod at* London, *publiſh'd by the Queen's Authority in the Year* 1562, *and believed the ſame to be conſonant to God's Word.*

On this occaſion incredible it is what Controverſies and Diſputations aroſe, what Hatred, and reproachful Speeches he endur'd at the Hands of factious Miniſters, and what Troubles, yea and Injuries alſo, from ſome Noblemen, who by promoting unfit and undeſerving Men, cauſed diſtraction in the Church, or elſe gaped after the Revenues and Livings of the Church. Nevertheleſs, thro' Conſtancy, Fortitude and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties at laſt, and reſtor'd Peace to the Church: So that not without good reaſon he may ſeem to have choſen that Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*; that is, *He overcometh who ſuffereth with Patience.*

Browniſts Schiſmaticks.

And not only did theſe Men trouble the Church at home, but alſo ſome others who ſprung from theſe, did the like abroad; namely, *Robert Brown* a *Cambridge-man*, a young Student in Divinity, of whom the new Sectaries were call'd *Browniſts*; and *Richard Harriſon*, a petty Schoolmaſter. For theſe two, preſuming by their own private Spirit to judge of matters of Religion, did by Books ſet forth at this time in *Zealand*, and diſperſed all over *England*, condemn the Church of *England* as no Church, and entangled many in the Snares of their new Schiſm; notwithſtanding that their Books were ſuppreſs'd by the Queen's command, and ſolidly confuted by learned Men, and that two or three of the Sectaries were executed at *St. Edmundsbury*.

Their Writings.

On the other ſide, the Writings of certain Papiſts againſt the Queen and other excommunicated Princes, drew ſome Men, who had the Pope's Power in great eſteem, from their Obedience; and amongſt others, they ſo diſtracted

one

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one *Somervill*, a Gentleman, that in all haste he took a Journey privately to the Queen's Court, and Breathing nothing but Blood against the Protestants, furiously set upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he confess'd that he would have kill'd the Queen with his own Hands. Whereupon he, and upon his Impeachment *Edward Ardern*, his Wife's Father, a Man of a very ancient Family in the County of *Warwick*, *Ardern*'s Wife, their Daughter *Somervill*, and Hall a Priest, as Accessaries, were arraign'd and condemn'd. Three Days after, *Somervill* was found strangled in Prison. *Ardern* was condemn'd, and the next Day after hang'd and quarter'd. The Women and the Priest were spar'd. This woful End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the cunning of the Priest, and cast by his Evidence, was generally imputed to *Leicester*'s Malice. Certain it is that he had incur'd *Leicester*'s heavy Displeasure; and not without cause, for he had rashly opposed him in all he could, reproaching him as an Adulterer; and defaming him as a new Upstart.*

Somervil's attempt against the Q.

Strangles himself. Ardern hang'd.

Thus went Affairs at home: But abroad the *English* which lay in Garrison at *Alost*, a Town in *Flanders*, being neglected, and having neither Pay nor Victuals, were the last Month of this Year driven to those Extremities, that *Pigott* who had the Command of them, and the rest of the Captains, breaking their Oath of Fidelity, betray'd the Town for a sum of Money to the *Spaniards*; and fearing the Disgrace thereof among their own Countrymen, join'd themselves with the Prince of *Parma*: from whom notwithstanding, when they found he kept not his Word with them, they slunk away by degrees. But the Authors of this Treachery came every one of them to unfortunate Ends. *Pigott* went into *Spain* in hope of Reward; but being slighted and laugh'd at, he return'd again into the *Low-Countries*, where he was taken by his own Country-men, and sent into *England*, and there died miserably in Prison. *Dalton*, of a Traytor becoming a Pirate, was hang'd in *England*, and *Vincent* in *Brabant*. *Tailour* was stabb'd by the Earl of *Westmoreland*; and *Walsh*, after he had been tossed with a thousand Miseries, was slain in *France*. Thus God's Vengeance followeth Traytors at the heels; as *Ireland* this Year saw by more apparent Examples.

English betray Alost to the Spaniard.

Unhappy end of Traytors.

For that infamous Rebel and Traytor to his Country, *Girald Fitz-Girald*, or *Geraldides*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of his Family, when his Men were spent with Famine and Sword, (and had barbarously vowed to forswear God before they would forsake him) and when he had scap'd the Hands of the victorious *English* for almost two Years, by lurking here and there in Corners, was now by a common Soldier found out in a little Cottage, tho' unknown to him, till having his Arm almost cut off, he discovered himself, and was slain by being run through the Body in many places. His Head was sent over into *England*, and set upon a Pole upon *London-Bridge*.

The E. of Desmond slain.

Such was the End of this powerful Man in *Ireland*, who derived his Pedigree from *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* of *Windsor*, an *Englishman*, and of great Renown amongst the first Conquerors of *Ireland* in the Year 1170. He had very fair Lands and Possessions, yea whole Provinces, with *Kerry* a County-Palatine, many Castles, a number of Vassals and Dependents, and of his own Kindred and Surname he had about 500 Gentlemen at his Devotion. Of all which, as well as of his Life also, he was bereft within three Years, very few of his Family being left, after he had once forfeited his Allegiance to his Prince, through the Persuasion of certain Priests. The principal of whom was *Nicholas Sanders*, an *Englishman*, who very near the same time was miserably famish'd to death, when forsaken of all, and troubled in mind for the bad success of the Rebellion, he wander'd up and down amongst Woods, Forests and Mountains, and found no Comfort or Relief. In his Pouch were found several Speeches and Letters made and written to confirm the Rebels, stuffed with large Promises from the Pope and the *Spaniard*. Thus the Divine Justice (if a Man may judge) stopt that Mouth with Hunger which had been always open to encourage Rebellions, and to belch forth malicious Lyes and Slanders. For (to omit other things) he was the first Man that broached that abominable Lye concerning the Birth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mother, which no Man in those Days (tho' the Hatred and Malice of the Papists was then fresh against her, and might remember it) ever knew, *England* in full forty Years after never heard of, the computation of Time doth egregiously convince of Falshood and Vanity; and he, forgetting himself, (which a Lyer should not do) doth himself plainly confute. Yet are there some ill-disposed People who blush not at this Day to besmear their Writings with this so impudent a Lye.

His Descent, vast Estate and Relations.

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Sanders famish'd to death.

James Fitz Eustace; that is, the Son of *Eustace*, Viscount *Baltinglass*, a Man of great Interest amongst the Lords of *Ireland*, being terrified with the unhappy Fate of these Men, fled into *Spain*, where he miserably pined away with Sorrow. He had a little before, out of Zeal to the *Romish* Religion, taken up Arms with the Rebels against his Prince, and writing a short obscure Letter to the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbour, (who deriveth his Descent from St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*'s Sister) amongst other things he with this piece of Wit exhorted him to do the like for the *Romish* Religion, *Had not blessed* Thomas *of* Canterbury *died for the Church of* Rome, *thou hadst never been Earl of Ormond*. For, to expiate the Murder of the said *Thomas*, King *Henry* II. had in former time given to his Ancestors large Possession in *Ormond*.

Baltinglass flies out of Ireland.

Sir *John Perott* Kt. who had born the Office of President of *Munster* with Commendation, being this Year made Viceroy or Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, as soon as he had received the Sword, summon'd the States of the Realm to a Parliament, wherein several Laws were enacted, and *Desmond*, who was lately slain, was condemn'd of High-Treason, and all his Lands and those of the other Rebels in *Munster* confiscated. Which when the Queen was resolv'd to lease out at a very easie rate, thereby to invite Husbandmen thither, that so those fruitful Fields might not lie untill'd, (for the Rebellion had brought a miserable Devastation) some of those who were employ'd to enquire after the Estates of the Rebels, and others who took their Lands, began to turn the faithful and loyal Subjects out of their Possessions with violence and force, so that the Queen was fain to restrain them by Proclamation, lest the injurious Avarice of some private Persons should kindle a new Fire of Rebellion. Wherein the Lord Deputy did good Service, tho' he were now and then blamed by the *English*, as too favourable to the *Irish*, and too rigid to the *English*. But he, by administring Justice indifferently, and shewing equal Favour to the *Irish* and the *English*, restor'd the Country by little and little to a happy Peace and Tranquility, and by fair and peaceable means reduc'd the fiercest and rudest of the Inhabitants under the power of the Laws. The *Hebridian Scots*, who had made an

Perott Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

Husbandmen sent into Munster.

Perott's good Service.

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Irruption into *Ireland* out of the Isles, he sufficiently plagued. *Donell Gormi*, that is, *the Blue*, and his Brother *Agne Mac-Conell*, who had seiz'd upon the small Country of *Glinnes*, and *Surley Boy*, that is, *the Tawney*, their Uncle, who had invaded *Rout*, a neighbouring Tract, near the Isle of *Ricnea*, now *Rachlin*, he drove to those Straits, having by the Valour of Captain *Meriman* slain many of their Family, that they swore Allegiance to the Queen, and receiv'd from her, upon their Intreaty and Petition, certain Lands in that Corner of the Country; upon Condition, that they should serve the Kings of *England* only, in their Wars, and none else without their Leave; that they should find so many Horse and Foot in all Expeditions, and pay such a Number of Beeves and Hawks every Year. And thus went things in *Ireland*.

1584.

The Seven and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

New Stirs in *Scotland*.

In the beginning of the Spring, certain *Scots* came privately home out of *Ireland*, according as they had before laid their Design with *Goury*, who was now upon new Projects with some others, for seizing upon the King's Person again. These Men gave out openly, that they aim'd at no other thing than the Glory of God, the Purity of Religion, the Security of the King and Kingdom, and the maintaining of Amity with the *English*, against those who by their cunning Artifices and Devices drew the King, whilst he was yet in his tender Years, to the Ruin of all. The King hearing hereof, forthwith commanded Colonel *Stuart*, with all possible speed, to seize *Goury*, the Contriver of the Conspiracy, who had already withdrawn himself to the Haven of *Dundee*, pretending as if he would depart the Realm. *Goury*, being guilty in his own Conscience, contemn'd the King's Authority, made an obstinate Resistance, and fought desperately to defend the House he was in; but within an Hour or two, he was taken and carry'd to Prison.

Goury taken.

Conspirators take *Sterlin*, and quit it again.

The Conspirators in the mean time took *Sterlin*, taking the Town by Surprize, and the Castle after, by Composition; but presently quitted them again, as well because the King had drawn forth his Army into the Field, and was ready in Person to advance against them, as because the Forces which were met, were far less than *Goury* had promis'd, and they had in vain expected Assistance out of *England*. And whilst every Man for Fear now shifted for himself, *Marre*, *Glames*, and *Angus*, (who had join'd with them) with some others, fled, and coasted the Country into *England*, beseeching the Queen to relieve them in their forlorn Condition, and to make Intercession for them to the King, in regard they had lost their Estates and the King's Favour for no other Reason, than because they stood for his Good, and the Good of *England*. The King on the contrary accused them to the Queen of high Misdemeanours, and required to have them deliver'd into his Hands, according to the League. But there were in the Court those that persuaded the Queen, that they were Men dutiful and obedient to their King, and highly careful of his Safety, in regard they attempted nothing against him, while they had him in their Hands. And as for that Article for delivering up of Rebels, usually express'd in Leagues, it was long since grown out of use among Princes. These Men also went about to persuade the King of *Scots* to deal favourably with them, being so many in Number, and so considerable for Quality; lest they should by Despair be driven to worse Undertakings; alledging that Terror and Violence are but weak and unsuccessful Supports of Power,

They are dispers'd.

Q. *Eliz.* relieves some of them.

King demands 'em by the League.

But in vain.

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producing several sad Examples out of the *Scottish* History; and commending his Mother, and her Husband King *Francis*, that when the Civil-War began in *France*, they wink'd at the Miscarriages and Offences of the great ones.

Walsingham favours them. *Hunsdon* opposes him.

When *Walsingham*, who extremely favour'd the Fugitives, sent his Letters, commanded that, for their Security, they should be received into *Lindisfarne*, or the *Holy Isle*; *Hunsdon*, who was of all Men the greatest Friend to the King of *Scots*, opposed it, judging that that Isle, being a place so strongly fortify'd, was not to be put in the Possession of those *Scots*, who might possibly prove Enemies, nor the Secretary to be satisfy'd herein, unless the Queen expresly commanded it by her own Letters; for that the Jurisdiction of the place did of right belong to him, as Warden of the *East-March*.

Secretary's Authority question'd and debated.

Hereupon grew a Dispute, whether the Secretary might not by his own Authority, without the Prince's special Warrant, and without acquainting the Governors of Places, direct and execute the Prince's Business upon all occasions. What was determin'd herein I find not: but certain it is, they were not admitted into the Isle. Yet was it thought good to shew them Favour, that they might be made use of against the contrary Faction in *Scotland*: for now the Clergy spread abroad Rumours in all places, that the King was ready to fall off from the Reform'd Religion; and this upon no other propable Argument, (tho' they pretended many) but because his filial Love and Observance inclin'd him wholly towards his Mother, and because he receiv'd those into his closer Friendship, whom he knew to be most devoted to her.

Goury arraign'd.

In the mean time, *Goury* was try'd by his Peers at *Sterlin*. The principal Articles he was charg'd withal, were these: 'That whereas the King 'had rais'd him to his high Honours, Wealth, 'and Offices, and had reputed him as his Kinsman, he had notwithstanding enter'd into a 'new Conspiracy against his Person, whom he 'had before kept Prisoner in his House. That 'he had held Conspiracies by Night with *Angus*'s 'Servants, for the possessing himself of *Perth* and '*Sterlin*; had by Force and Arms resisted the 'King's Authority at *Dundee*; had conceal'd a 'Conspiracy on foot, for the Destruction of the 'King and his Mother; and lastly, had consulted with one *Maclen* a Witch. He, protesting his Innocence, and his sincere Affection towards the King, acknowledg'd his Favours, sharply tax'd the Earl of *Arran* as his Adversary, and a bloody-minded Man, complain'd that he was apprehended, through his subtil Contrivance, just as he was ready to depart the Land, and fraudulently persuaded by the Hopes of Life and Pardon offered him, to confess the things objected against him, which therefore in Equity ought not now to be laid to his Charge, seeing they had been deceitfully extorted from him. The Reason why he made Resistance (he said) was, because he thought the Warrant for his Apprehension written with *Arran*'s Hand, to be of less force than the Letters of Protection which he had under the King's Broad Seal. And whereas he did for a short time conceal the Conspiracy against the King and his Mother, he was not so much to be blamed for that, as to be commended for revealing the same afterwards. Lastly, protesting that he hated and detested, form his Heart, all Magicians and Witches; he said openly, that if there were any such, he thought them to be for the most Part in Princes Courts. But his Peers, after they had duly sworn that they had been no Instigators of the King's Advocate to accuse him, pronounced him guilty of High-Treason; and the

His Defence.

same

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ſame Evening he was beheaded. His Head was preſently ſew'd to his Body by his Friends, which was afterwards bury'd.

He is beheaded.

While the *Scots* with ſuch ill Succeſs enterprized theſe things againſt their King, for Queen *Elizabeth's* ſake, (as they pretended) at the ſame time ſome *Engliſhmen* attempted no leſs matters, and with no better Succeſs, againſt their own Queen, for the Queen of *Scots* ſake. Of whom the principal Man was *Francis Throckmorton*, eldeſt Son of *John Throckmorton*, a Juſtice of Peace in *Cheſhire* (who not long before had, by *Leiceſter's* Policy, been turn'd out of the Commiſſion, and fined, for having (if I be not miſtaken in the Lawyers Terms) ſupply'd or fill'd up ſome Words in a Fine or Judicial Inſtrument, tranſcribed out of an old worm-eaten original Copy, and had not produced it with all the Defects that were in it at firſt). This *Francis* came into Suſpicion, by means of a Letter to the Queen of *Scots*, which was intercepted. No ſooner was he committed to Cuſtody, and had confeſs'd ſome things, but *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, privately fled the Land, and withdrew themſelves into *France*; where, with others devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion, they heavily bewail'd and complain'd amongſt themſelves, *That the Queen was, without any Fault or Deſert of theirs, alienated from them by the ſubtil Artifices of* Leiceſter *and* Walſingham: *That they were unworthily diſgraced, and ignominiouſly uſed: That ſtrange kind of Tricks and Cheats were invented, and ſecret Snares ſo cloſely laid, that they muſt whether they would or no, and before they were aware, be involv'd in the Guilt of High-Treaſon; and that there was at home no hope at all of any Safety.* And indeed there were at this time ſome ſubtil ways taken, to try how Men ſtood affected. Counterfeit Letters were privately ſent in the Name of the Queen of *Scots* and the Fugitives, and left in Papiſts Houſes: Spies were ſent abroad up and down the Country to take notice of People's Diſcourſe, and lay hold of their Words: Reporters of vain and idle Stories were countenanced and credited. Hereupon many were brought into Suſpicion, and amongſt the reſt *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*: his Son, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, was confined to his own Houſe; his Wife committed to Sir *Thomas Sherly's* Cuſtody. *William Howard*, the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard*, their Uncle, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, were ſeveral times examin'd about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and from *Charles Paget*; and about one *Mope*, then unknown; and their Prudence and Innocence could hardly protect them. Neither yet are ſuch ways for Diſcovery and ſo eaſie giving Credit to be eſteem'd altogether vain, where there is a Fear for the Prince's Safety. Certain it is, that this time an horrid piece of Popiſh Malice againſt the Queen diſcover'd itſelf: for they ſet forth Books, wherein they exhorted the Queen's Gentlewomen to act the like againſt the Queen, as *Judith* had done, with Applauſe and Commendations, againſt *Holofernes*. The Author was never diſcovered, but the Suſpicion lighted upon *Gregory Martin* an *Oxford*-Man, one very learned in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. *Carter* a Bookſeller was executed, who procur'd them to be printed.

Throckmorton's Treaſon.

L. Paget flies into France.

Complaint of the Catholicks.

Counterfeit Letters, Spies ſuborn'd, &c.

Many ſuſpected.

Papiſts ill Practices againſt the Q.

* And whereas the Papiſts uſually traduced the Queen as rigid and cruel, ſhe (who was always very careful to leave a good Name and Memorial behind her) was highly offended with the Inquiſitors that were to examine and diſcover Papiſts, as inhumanely cruel towards them, and injurious to her Honour. Inſomuch as they thought it neceſſary to excuſe themſelves by a publick Writing; wherein they proteſted, *That the Prieſts were more favourably dealt withal than they deſerv'd: That they were never once queſtioned for their Religion, but only for dangerous Contrivances againſt their Prince and Country; and that upon vehement Suſpicion, and probable Arguments and Evidence: That* Campian *was never rack'd ſo, but that he was preſently able to walk, and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion: but* Briant *obſtinately refuſing to ſpeak or write who it was that penn'd thoſe obſcure Papers found about him, was indeed deny'd Food, till ſuch time as he ask'd it in Writing.* But theſe things did not ſatisfy the Queen, who commanded the Inquiſitors to forbear Tortures, and the Judges to refrain from putting to death. And not long after ſhe commanded 70 Prieſts, ſome of which were condemn'd, and others in danger of the Law, to be tranſported out of *England*: amongſt whom thoſe of chiefeſt Note were, *Gaſpar Heywood*, Son to that famous Epigrammatiſt, who was the firſt of all the Jeſuits that came into *England*; *James Boſgrave*, of the Society of *Jeſus* alſo; *John Heart*, the moſt learned of them all; and *Edward Riſhton*, that impious ungrateful Man to his Prince, to whom tho' he ow'd his Life, yet he ſoon after ſet forth a Book, wherein he vomited out the Poiſon of his Malice againſt her.

Her Merciſulneſs to them.

Prieſts order'd to be tranſported.

The Lord *Paget* and *Arundel* being come into *France*, Sir *Edward Stafford*, the Queen's Ambaſſador there, diligently obſerv'd them; yet could by no means diſcover what they were contriving. He dealt nevertheleſs with the *French* King, that they, *Morgan*, and other *Engliſhmen*, who were plotting againſt their Prince and Country, might be removed out of *France*. But he receiv'd no other Anſwer than this: 'That if they attempted any thing in *France*, the King would puniſh them according to Law; but if they had attempted any thing in *England*, the King could not take Cognizance thereof, nor proceed againſt them by Law. That all Kingdoms were free for Fugitives; and that it concern'd every King to maintain the Privileges of his own Kingdom: yea that Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf had not long ſince receiv'd and harbour'd in her Kingdom, *Montgomery*, the Prince of *Conde*, and others of the *French* Nation; and that *Segure*, the King of *Navarre's* Ambaſſador, lay in *England* at this very time, hatching new Troubles againſt the *French* King.

French K. required to remove the Engl. fugitives. He denies it.

In the mean time, Don *Bernardine de Mendoza*, the *Spaniard's* Ambaſſador in *England*, ſecretly croſs'd the Sea into *France*, in a great Rage and Fury, as if he had been thruſt out of *England*, contrary to the Privilege of an Ambaſſador: whereas indeed, being a Man of a violent and turbulent Spirit, and abuſing the ſacred Privilege of his Embaſſage, by foſtering and encouraging of Treaſon, he was commanded to depart the Land only, altho' by the antient Rigour and Severity in ſuch caſes, he was to be proſecuted (as many thought) with Fire and Sword. For he had his Hand in theſe wicked Deſigns with *Throckmorton* and others, for bringing in of Foreigners into *England*, and depoſing the Queen. And being gently reprimanded for the ſame, he was ſo far from clearing himſelf of the things objected againſt him, by any modeſt Anſwer, that he charg'd the Queen and Council, by way of Recrimination, with detaining the *Genoeſes* Money, with aſſiſting the States of the *Low-Countries*, the Duke of *Anjou*, and Don *Antonio*, and with the Depredations of *Drake*. But yet, leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould think that *Mendoza's* Miſdemeanors were not hereby puniſh'd, but the Privileges of his Ambaſſador violated, *William Waad*, Clerk of the Council, was ſent into *Spain*, to inform the *Spaniard*, plainly, how ill he had perform'd the Duty of an Ambaſſador; and withal

Spaniſh Ambaſſador commanded out of England.

Waad ſent into Spain but not admitted to Audience.

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al to let him know, (lest the Queen by thus commanding him away, might seem to renounce the ancient Amity that had been betwixt both Kingdoms) that all Offices of Kindness should by her be still shew'd, if he would send any other Person who should seem desirous to preserve Friendship, provided the like Kindness might be shew'd to her Ambassador in *Spain*. But the *Spaniard* not vouchsafing to give *Waad* Audience, but referring him to his Council; he, taking it in Disdain, boldly declared, That it was a thing usual and customary, even in the Heat of War, for Ambassadors to be admitted into the Presence even of a Prince an Enemy; and that the Emperor *Charles* V. the *Spaniard's* Father, admitted an Herald to his Presence, who declared War against him from the *French* King: and therefore he flatly refus'd to impart the Contents of his Embassy to his Council. And when *Idiacio*, the *Spaniard's* Secretary, could not, by all the Wit he had, learn from him what his Errand was, at length he understood the whole matter from *Mendoza*, who lay lurking in *France*. Then, laying aside his publick Quality, he in familiar Discourse told *Waad*, 'That he was sorry there were 'some that cunningly went about to break off 'the Amity that was betwixt both Princes, and 'to beget Misunderstandings. That Injury had 'been done to the Catholick King himself, rather than to his Ambassadors, to *Dispesy* heretofore, and now to *Mendoza*: neither was there 'any Reason why he should accuse *Mendoza* farther to the King, who had already sufficiently 'smarted for his Fault, (if he were in any) 'by his disgraceful Expulsion from *England*; or 'that he should complain he was not admitted 'to Audience. For the Catholick King had but 'required like for like, considering that *Mendoza* 'was dismissed by the Queen, without a Hearing; and as she had remitted *Mendoza* to her 'Council, so did the King in like manner refer 'him to Cardinal *Granvel*. And though *Waad* answer'd, that there was a great Difference betwixt him, who had never done any thing against the Catholick King, and *Mendoza*, who notoriously offended the Queen, insolently refusing for a long time to come at her, and having done things unbeseeming an Ambassador; yet could he not be admitted, but return'd home unheard. The greatest part of the Crimes which he would have charged upon *Mendoza*, were taken out of *Throckmorton's* Confession.

For when *Throckmorton* was to be apprehended, he had secretly sent away a Cabinet of private Papers to *Mendoza*. The rest of his Coffers being searched, there were found two Catalogues, in one whereof were written the Names of the Ports in *England*, that were convenient to land Forces at; in the other, the Names of those Gentlemen all over *England*, that embraced the *Romish* Religion. As soon as he saw these two Catalogues produced, he cry'd out that they were counterfeit, never seen by him before, and foisted in purposely for his Ruin: and this he said while he was upon the Rack. But being brought again to the Rack, he refused not to answer to his Knowledge what Questions were demanded of him. And being then ask'd touching those Catalogues, and to what intent they were written, he devised this Story. 'That going some few 'Years before to the *Spaw*, he had consulted 'with *Jenny* and Sir *Francis Inglefield*, how *England* might be best attempted by Foreigners, 'and the Form of Government altered: and to 'that end he had taken those Notes of the Havens, and the Gentlemens Names. That *Morgan* had given him to understand, by Letters 'out of *France*, that the Catholick Princes were 'now resolv'd, that *England* should be invaded, 'and the Queen of *Scots* set at liberty, under the 'Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, who now wanted 'nothing but Money, and an auxiliary Army to be 'ready in *England*. That to procure these things, '*Charles Paget* was sent privily into *Sussex*, under 'the counterfeit Name of *Mope*, where the Duke 'of *Guise* purposed to land. That he had imparted the Matter to *Mendoza*, and shew'd him 'the Names of the Havens, and of the Gentlemen, who had already been made acquainted 'with them by the Conspirators. He deny'd not 'but he had promis'd his Assistance; and withal 'had told *Mendoza* what Gentlemen he might 'safely treat withal about these things, as being 'a publick Person, which he, being a private 'Man, could not do without Danger: All that 'he concluded with him of a way, how certain 'principal Men of the Catholicks might, as soon 'as the Foreign Forces should arrive, raise Men, 'in the Queen's Name, to join with the Foreigners. These things he voluntarily then confess'd.

Throckmorton's confession.

Nevertheless, being charged with these matters, at the Bar in *Guildhall*, *London*, he stiffly deny'd every particular, and affirm'd that they were vain Fictions of his own, purposely utter'd that he might not be put again to the Rack; and openly accused the Queen of Cruelty, and his Examiners of false dealing: imagining he should escape, by reason of the distance of time, between the Crime committed and his bringing to Trial. For in the Thirteenth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, several Crimes were reckon'd up as High-Treason, for which yet no Man was to be call'd in question, unless the Delinquent were charged therewith, within six Months after the Fact committed, and the thing were prov'd by the Witness and Oath of two Men, or by the Party's voluntary Confession, without Constraint or Violence. But this time was long since expired, and therefore (he said) he was not to be call'd in question. But the Judges shew'd, that the matters objected against him were not of that sort there mention'd, but that he was indicted upon an ancient Statute of High-Treason, made in the Reign of *Edw.* III. which admitted of no Circumscription of Time or Proof. And according to this Law was Sentence of Death pronounced against him. Being afterwards persuaded, he cast himself upon the Queen's Mercy, and in Writing confess'd again at large all those things in a manner which he had done before: which yet (such was his Inconstancy) he again began to deny at the Gallows, but in vain.

He goes back from it.

Being condemn'd, he makes a full Confession. And denies it again at his Death.

William Waad, being return'd out of *Spain*, was sent about this time to the Queen of *Scots*, about a Treaty to be holden betwixt her and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which was propounded two Years before, and interrupted, as I have said formerly. To whom she protested, with many Asseverations, how sincerely she had dealt concerning this Treaty, and withal vow'd herself and her whole Ability to the Queen, and promis'd to depend wholly upon her, if she would vouchsafe to shew her so much Love and Honour. Moreover she religiously promis'd, if this Treaty did proceed, to mediate, yea to engage, that her Son should receive *Angus* and the rest of the *Scottish* Noblemen into Favour; as also that the Bishops of *Ross* and *Glascow*, her Agents in *France*, should attempt nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen or the Realm of *England*; and that they should from thenceforth have nothing to do with the *English* Rebels and Fugitives.

A new Treaty with the Q. of *Scots*.

Her Promises.

These things Queen *Elizabeth* was glad to hear: and whereas at very near the same time *Angus*, *Marre*, *J. Hamilton*, and *Glames* were fled into *England*,

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Propositions made to her.

England, she laying hold on the Opportunity, sent *Beals* to the Queen of *Scots*, in concert with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to let her know, that if she continued in the same Mind which she had express'd to *Waad*, *Mildmay* should come shortly to her, and treat with her about her setting at liberty: and farther, to persuade her in the mean time to mediate with her Son for the Restoring of the *Scottish* Fugitives, and inform her that they had design'd nothing against the King, but only against certain violent Counsellors, who had seduced him by their evil Advice: and, lastly, that he might learn from her, as near as might be, the Attempts and Designs of the Duke of *Guise*. She very prudently answer'd, 'That 'she much desired the Treaty might proceed, and 'this she earnestly crav'd of Queen *Elizabeth*, as 'of her elder Sister, to whom she render'd all 'Respect and Honour. That she had propounded nothing to *Waad* but what was limited with 'Conditions; and that he could say no other, 'whom she took to be an upright, honest Man. 'That to the Restoring of the Fugitive *Scots*, her 'helping Hand would be very necessary, and 'thereof they should not fail, if she could certainly find that any Advantage would come 'thereby to her and her Son; provided they 'would humbly submit themselves to the King, 'and become obedient to him: otherwise she 'would not appear for them, but assist her Son 'to bring them to their Duty. Further, she deny'd not but 'that, when she found herself grow 'sickly, she committed herself and her Son to 'the Protection of the Duke of *Guise*, her dearest Kinsman; That she understood nothing of 'his Attempts; neither, if she did, would she 'discover it, unless she had good Assurance given 'her of her Deliverance: for it were no point 'of Wisdom, to forsake certain Friends upon uncertain Hopes. She pray'd that she might be 'no more hardly dealt withal, (being a free Princess) than Queen *Mary* dealt in times past with 'Queen *Elizabeth*, being then her Subject and 'Prisoner; or than the *French* King dealt of late 'with the King of *Navarre*, his Subject also, 'and up in Arms against him. She pray'd also, 'that the Treaty might be compleated before any 'Commissioner were appointed in *Scotland* touching that matter. And whereas the most 'Christian King had acknowledg'd her Ordinary Ambassador, and *Seton*, who was sent from 'her Son into *France*, as Ambassadors from Princes of the same Authority, and Associate in the 'Government, she offer'd the Queen the Honour 'to publish this Association of her and her Son 'in *Scotland*, and besought her that she would 'no ways prejudice the same. These things had a Hearing, but were soon laid aside, and the whole Business defeated, by means of certain Fears cast in the way by those who knew how to increase Suspicions between Women that were already displeased with one another; but principally by the Discovery of certain Papers which *Chreitton* a *Scottishman*, of the Society of *Jesus*, passing into *Scotland*, and being taken by some *Netherland* Pirates, had torn in pieces: the torn Pieces whereof being thrown over-board, were, by the Wind, blown back again, and fell by Chance into the Ship, not without a Miracle, (as *Chreitton* himself said). These being put together by *Waad*, with much Pains and singular Dexterity, discover'd new Designs of the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and the *Guises*, for invading *England*.

Her Answer.

She desires to share the Kingdom with her Son.

Fears and Jealousies break off the Treay.

Hereupon, as also upon occasion of Rumours from all parts, that great Dangers were at hand and threatned, to prevent the wicked Designs and treacherous Practices of Seditious People, and to provide for the Queen's Safety, upon which the Welfare both of the Realm and Religion depended, many Men of all Degrees and Conditions throughout *England*, by *Leicester's* means, and out of their own publick Care and Love, whilst they stood not in Fear of her, but were full of Fear for her, bound themselves into an Association, by mutual Vows, Subscriptions, and Seals, to prosecute to the death, as far as lay in their power, all those that should attempt any thing against the Queen.

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An Association enter'd into in England.

The Queen of *Scots*, who easily perceiv'd that her Destruction was aim'd at by this Association, being weary of her long Misery, and fearing harder Measure, propounded these things following to the Queen and Council, by *Nave* her Secretary. *That if her Liberty might be granted her, and she might be assured of Queen* Elizabeth's *sincere Affection and Love towards her, she would enter into a closer Amity with the Queen, affectionately love and observe her above all other Princes in Christendom, forget all by-past Displeasures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightful Queen of* England, *forbear to pretend or lay Claim to the Crown of* England *during her Life, attempt nothing against her directly or indirectly, flatly renounce the Title and Arms of* England, *which she had usurped by the Command of King* Francis *her Husband, as likewise the Pope's Bull for her Deposing; yea and enter also into the aforesaid Association for the Queen's Security, and into a League defensive, (so far as might stand with the ancient League betwixt* France *and* Scotland) *provided that nothing should be done during the Queen's Life, or after her Death, which might prejudice her, her Son and their Heirs, in the Succession, before such time as they were heard by the Parliament of* England. *That for Confirmation hereof, she herself would stay a while in* England, *as an Hostage: and if she were permitted to depart out of* England, *she would deliver other Hostages. Moreover, that she would alter nothing in* Scotland, *provided she and her Family might be allow'd the Exercise of their Religion. That she would also bury in Oblivion all Injuries done to her in* Scotland, *(howbeit upon the Condition, that whatsoever had been enacted to her Disgrace and Disparagement, might be repeal'd). That she would recommend such Counsellors to the King, as were well-affected to Peace with* England; *and reconcile unto him, as far as lay in her Power, such of his Nobility as were fled, if they would submissively acknowledge their Fault, and that Queen* Elizabeth *would pass her Word and Promise to aid the King against them, if at any time they should fly off from their Duty and Obedience. That she would do nothing about her Son's Marriage without acquainting the Queen: and as she would do nothing without the Advice of her Son, so she desir'd that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that so it might be the more strongly and solidly confirm'd. She doubts not but the King of* France *would be her Surety in the Business, and pass his Word, together with the Princes of the House of* Lorrain, *for Performance of Covenants.* She pray'd that a speedy Answer might be return'd hereto, lest any Inconveniences should fall out in the mean time. And lastly, she besought that she might be kept in freer Custody, that thereby the Queen's Love towards her might be more plainly discern'd.

Hereupon Propositions are made by the Q. of Scots.

These things, as savouring of much Respect and Honour, Queen *Elizabeth* seem'd to take great Pleasure and Contentment in; and it was believ'd she was then really purposed to set her at Liberty, tho' there wanted not some in *England*, who, by laying new Fears before her, deterred her from it. But the Business, which was as good as concluded, was quite hindred and dash'd by the *Scots* of the contrary Faction, who cry'd out, 'That there was no Hope of Queen '*Elizabeth's* Safety, if she were set at Liberty;

Q. Eliz. inclin'd to set her at liberty.

Scots of the *Engl.* Faction oppose it.

'That

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'That both Kingdoms were undone, if she were 'admitted to be Partner with her Son in the 'Kingdom; that the true Religion in *Britain* 'was ruin'd, if the Exercise of the *Romish* Reli- 'gion were allow'd her, tho' it were but within 'the Court-Walls.

The Insolency of the *Scottish* Ministers.

And not content with this, some Ministers in *Scotland* bitterly inveigh'd against the Queen, and loaded her with unworthy Calumnies, both from the Pulpit, and in their ordinary Meetings; and withal notoriously bespatter'd the King and his Council; for which being commanded to appear before them, they refused with a disdainful Contempt, as if the Pulpits were exempted from the Authority of Kings, and Churchmen were not subject to the Command of the Prince, but to the Presbytery; flatly contrary to the Laws made this Year in an Assembly of the States, whereby the King's Authority over all his Subjects, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, was establish'd for ever. By which Laws the King and his Council were made competent Judges in all Causes; and those who declined their Judgment, were to be reputed guilty of High-Treason: The Assemblies of the Presbyteries, (as also the Conventions of Laymen) as well general as particular, were prohibited, which had assumed and arrogated to themselves a boundless Authority, both to assemble at their pleasure without the King's Consent, and to prescribe Laws to the King himself and the whole Realm: The popular Equality also of Ministers was taken away, and Bishops restor'd to their Dignity and Jurisdiction, whose Order the Presbyters had condemn'd as Antichristian: also scandalous and defamatory Writings against the King, the King's Mother, and his Council, and particularly *George Buchanan's* History, and a Dialogue of the Right and Privilege of the *Scottish* Kingdom, were prohibited and suppressed, as containing in them many scandalous Passages not fit to be read.

against the Laws. Ecclesiastical Laws in *Scotland*.

Buchanan's Writings disallow'd.

Scottish Ministers fly into *England*.

These things some of the Ministers took so heinously, that they voluntarily departed the Land, and filled all *England* with their Clamors and Complaints, as if the true Religion of Christ were now quite driven out of *Scotland*. But Queen *Elizabeth* hearken'd not to them, but neglected them as Innovators, and Men given to change, neither suffer'd she them to preach in *England*; yet now and then she used their help, lest Religion in *Scotland* should receive any Prejudice. And when *Arran*, who was in high Trust and Favour with the King, officiously offer'd his Service with all Respect to maintain Amity with the *English*, she thought it a fit time to make use thereof, that neither the *Scottish* Fugitives might be proscribed in the Parliament of *Scotland* now at hand, nor the King's Mind alienated from the Friendship of the *English*. Whereupon a Conference was appointed between *Arran*, and *Hunsdon* Governor of *Berwick*, upon the Borders of both Kingdoms. But before this Conference came to be held, the Fugitives and all those that were present at the Attempt upon *Sterlin* (the meeting of the Parliament being hasten'd) were proscrib'd: And at the Conference, which follow'd presently upon it, *Arran* charg'd them with great and weighty Crimes; and amongst other things, That they had very lately plotted the Destruction of the King. But he promis'd most religiously, that he would be wanting in nothing whereby he might give the Queen Satisfaction; and that he would not do any thing which might prejudice her, as long as he was in Grace and Credit with the King. Notwithstanding within a Month the *Scottish* Borderers, through the secret Wiles of the *Spaniard*, (who labour'd all he could to divert Queen *Elizabeth* from the *Low-Country* War) invaded *Riddesdale*, using all manner of Hostility; and not long after the *English* Borderers sharply revenged the Wrong they had receiv'd by Fire and Sword all over *Liddesdale*.

A Conference on the Borders.

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P. Grey Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*. The Heads of it.

Now came Ambassador from *Scotland*, *Patrick Grey*, Heir of that Family, a quaint young Gentleman, and one that thought himself able for the waightiest Business, if not more. The chief Heads of this Ambassy were, about restraining of Incursions on both sides; about restoring of Goods taken by Piracy; and about either sending back the *Scottish* Fugitives, according to the League, or removing them farther from the Borders of *Scotland*, they with others in *Scotland* being plotting new Treasons against the King. For the more easie obtaining of these things, and to win the Queen's Affection more fully to the King, he made her believe he would reveal some secret Conspiracies against her. To the first and second Points he receiv'd the Answer he desir'd. As for sending back the *Scots*, the Queen answer'd, *That she was verily persuaded that those Gentlemen had not so much as imagined the least Mischief in their Hearts. That those things which fell out of late in* Scotland, *proceeded not from any ill-will of theirs towards the King, but from mutual Differences arising amongst the Nobility always in the Minority of their Kings, which it concerned their King to make up with all speed, and to bind his Subjects to him in one common Band of Obedience, and suppress all Factions amongst them.* Nevertheless, in some part to satisfie the Kings just Request, and that she might come to know what were those secret Practices which he spake of, she commanded that the *Scottish* Fugitives should remove farther from the Borders. What Discovery soever he made, the Queen made shew as if she understood it all before; and many Men accus'd *Grey*, as if, corrupted with Money, he had blabbed forth somewhat to the prejudice of the King and his Mother, and had hinder'd the accepting of those so reasonable Conditions which were propounded by *Nawe* from the King's Mother.

Her Answer.

Grey's double-dealing.

Queen of *Scots* Patience abus'd.

Whereupon she, whose Patience had now for a long time been abused, began to fall into great Sorrow and Indignation, and, out of a desire of her Liberty, to open both her Heart and her Ears as well to the treacherous Counsels of her Adversaries, as to the dangerous Advices of her Friends. And the rather, because, as she had persuaded herself that the late Association was made for her Ruin and Undoing, so now she had heard that she was (through the crafty Contrivances of some) to be removed from the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* (who was a downright honest Man, and favour'd not their Attempts) and committed to new Keepers. Which that it might be done the more handsomly, and the Fidelity of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which had been throughly tried and approved, might not seem to be suspected, (for it was not thought good openly to blemish so great a Man's Reputation, which notwithstanding they had stained secretly by Calumnies grounded upon the false Accusations of his ill-condition'd Wife) Suspicions were laid hold on, as if there were a Plot already laid to set her at Liberty; and those raised upon occasion of certain Emblems sent unto her. The Emblems were these: *Argus* with many Eyes lull'd asleep by *Mercury* sweetly piping, with this short Sentence, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit*; that is, *So many Eyes hath Eloquence fast clos'd*: *Mercury* cutting off *Argus's* Head, who was *Io's* Keeper: A Scien grafted into a Stock, and bound about with Bands, yet budding forth fresh, and thus written about, *Per Vincula cresco*; that

Suspicions laid hold on against her.

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that is to say, *By Bands I grow*: A Palm-Tree pressed down, but rising up again, with this Sentence, *Ponderibus innata Virtus resistit*; that is, *'Gainst Weights doth inbred Virtue strive.* This Anagram also, *Veritas armata*; that is, *Truth armed*, according to her Name, *Maria Stuarta*, the Letters being transposed, was taken in an ill sense. There were also Letters produc'd, as if they had been intercepted; wherein the Friends of the captive Queen complain'd, that all hope of delivering her was quite cut off, if she were once committed to the *Puritans* Keeping. Under pretence hereof she was removed from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had many times earnestly desired the same, and committed to the Custody of Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that purposely (as some thought) that, being thereby driven to Despair, she might be apt to take rash Counsels and Resolutions, and be the more subject to be ensnared. For the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had kept her for fifteen Years with such Wariness and Circumspection, that he had prevented all possible ways of attempting any thing either for or against her. But now not only she with importunity solicited the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* by Sir *Francis Inglefield*, to hasten what they had in hand with all speed, whatever should become of her; but also *Leicester* (who, as People thought, contrived and studied how to prevent her lawful Succession) privately sent certain cut-throat Murderers (as some report) to take away her Life. But *Drury*, being a sincere honest Man, and detesting from his Heart so foul a Deed, denied them access to her. Nevertheless, there were some employ'd underhand to her, and several Letters secretly sent her, as well counterfeit as true ones, whereby her weak Sex might be thrust forward to her own Destruction, as we shall shew afterwards.

She is committed to new Keepers.

She more eagerly seeks her Liberty.

Wait laid for her Life.

She is put forwards to her own Ruin.

To alienate Queen *Elizabeth* wholly from her, it was whisper'd in her Ears, that *Allen* for the *Romish* Churchmen of *England*, *Inglefield* for the Laiety, and the Bishop of *Ross* for the Queen of *Scots*, had with unanimous consent resolv'd, with the assent also of the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* should be depriv'd 'of her Crown, the King of *Scots* disinherited of 'the Kingdom of *England*, as being both of 'em 'notorious Hereticks; and the Queen of *Scots* 'married to some *English* Catholick Nobleman: 'That this Nobleman should be elected King of '*England* by the *English* Catholicks, and the Ele'ction confirm'd by the Bishop of *Rome*: That 'his Children by the Queen of *Scots* should be 'proclaim'd lawful Successors to the Crown. And all this was taken upon the credit of *Hart* a Priest. But who this *Englishman* should be, *Walsingham* enquired with all imaginable diligence, but could never find out. But the Suspicion lighted upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, who was a Man of noble Blood, a Batchellor, a furious Catholick, and therefore in very great Credit and Repute among the Papists.

Consultation said to be among the *Catholicks*.

Within the compass of this Year *Charles Nevil*, that traiterous Rebel against his Prince and Country, the last Earl of *Westmorland* of this House, ended his Life obscurely in a miserable Exile. From this Family, fruitful in Nobility, there sprung (besides six Earls of *Westmorland*) two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquis *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, a Baron *Ferrers* of *Osley*, Barons *Latimers*, Barons *Abergavenny*, one Queen, five Dutchesses; to omit Countesses and Baronesses, an Archbishop of *York*, and a great number of inferior Gentlemen.

Death of the Earl of *Westmorland*.

In *England* died this Year *Edmund Plowden*, than whom no Man is more worthy to be remember'd; who as he was singularly well learned in the common Laws of *England*, whereof he deserved well by his Writings; so for Integrity of Life he was second to no Man of his Profession.

Death of *Plowden*.

And in *France* died *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of Sickness which he contracted through Grief and Trouble of Mind. And in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherously shot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

Death of the D. of *Anjou*. Prince of *Orange* slain.

For the sad loss of these two, Queen *Elizabeth* was very much troubled, and sent *B.* into *France*, to let the King understand how heavily she took the Duke of *Anjou*'s Death, whom she had alway found to be a most faithful and dear Friend to her; and withal to put him in mind what a sad Condition the *Netherlanders* now were in, the Prince of *Orange* being slain, and how formidable the growing Power of the *Spaniard* was; for all the Princes in *Italy* were at his beck, the Bishop of *Rome* was wholly addicted and engaged to him, the Cardinals were as it were his Vassals, all the ablest Persons for matters both of War and Peace were his Pensioners; in *Germany* the House of *Austria*, an House extending and branching far and wide, and other Houses allied to the same by Marriages, did as it were attend upon him and his Service; his Wealth also and Strength were so much encreased, both by Sea and Land, since the late addition of *Portugal* and *East-India*, that he was far more Powerful and Formidable than ever his Father *Charles* V. was; and if he should once reduce the *Netherlanders* under his Power, there was nothing to hinder but that the rest of the Princes of *Christendom* must of necessity stoop to his Greatness, unless it were timely prevented.

Strength of the *Spaniard*.

The Eight and Twentieth Year of her Reign. 1585.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might bind the *French* King to her in the firmer Tie of Amity, having the last Year chosen him into the Order of the Garter, now sent *Henry* Earl of *Derby* with the Robes and Ensigns of that Order into *France*, solemnly to invest him therewith. The King receiv'd them with great Respect and Esteem, being invested at Even-song, (the *English* refusing to be present at Mass) and religiously promis'd to observe the Laws of the said Order, which were not repugnant to the Laws of the Holy Ghost and St. *Michael*, to which he was before formally sworn.

French K. chosen into the Order to the Garter.

At this time a Parliament was holden, and *William Parry*, by Nation a *Welshman*, born of obscure Parentage, and of mean Estate, by Title a Doctor of the Law, (though but indifferently learned) a Man neat, spruce, and very proud; when a Bill was prefer'd in the Lower-House against the Jesuits, was the only Man that stood up to speak for them, pleading that the said Law was *cruel, bloody, desperate, and of pernicious Consequence to the* English *Nation*. Being desired to shew his Reasons, he obstinately refused, unless it were before the Queen's Council; whereupon he was committed to Custody: But his Reasons being after heard, and submission made, he was admitted again into the House. Shortly after, the same *Parry* was accused by *Edmund Nevil* (who claim'd the Inheritance of the *Nevils* Earls of *Westmorland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer* as next Heir-Male) to have been engaged in a secret Design for taking away the Queen's Life.

A Parliament. *Parry* standeth for the Jesuits.

He is accused of Treason.

1585. *Ann.* 28. This *Parry*, (to search the matter a little higher) returning out of *Italy* above two Years since, had, to win Favour and Credit with the Queen, privately reveal'd what *Morgan* and other Fugitives had wickedly plotted and agreed on, for the taking away of her Life; pretending that he had gone along with them for no other intent, but only for the Queen's Safety. Hereupon she did not lightly give Credit to *Nevil's* Information; yet commanded she *Walsingham* to ask *Parry*, Whether he had dealt about this matter with *any malecontented and suspected Person*, to feel his Inclination in the Business. He flatly deny'd that he had; and being otherwise a Man quick-sighted enough, yet saw he not the Evasion which the Queen's Lenity had laid before him. For if he had but given the least inkling that he had dealt with *Nevil* to feel him, whom he had already told the Queen to be a *suspected and malecontented Man*, he had without doubt avoided the Danger. But a wicked Deed once resolv'd upon does many times infatuate the sharpest Wits. Then whereas *Nevil* had no Witness to make good his Accusation, *Parry* was brought to confront him; when after some tart biting Words against one another, *Parry* began to relent a little, and, being sent to the Tower of *London*, voluntarily confess'd these things, which I shall briefly relate.

He sees not a fair Evasion when offer'd.

His Confession. 'In the Year (says he) 1570. I was sworn 'one of the Queen's Servants, and continued 'entirely devoted to her Majesty, till the Year '1580. at what time I came into Danger of losing my Life with great Disgrace. (For he had broken into *Hugh Hare's* Chamber, in whose Debt he was, and had wounded him; for which he was by the Law condemn'd, but had his Life saved by the Queen's gracious Pardon). 'From 'that time I continued troubled in my Mind, 'and, having procured a Licence, withdrew 'myself into *France*; not with any intention to 'return hither again, for I had devoted myself 'to the Catholick Religion. At *Paris* I was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, at *Venice* I 'had Conference with *Benedict Palmio* a Jesuite, 'concerning the distress'd Catholicks in *England*; 'and I gave him some Hint that I had found out 'a way to relieve them, if the Pope or any learned Divines would justify it to be lawful. *Palmio* extoll'd this as a pious Design, and me he 'recommended to the Pope's Nuncio at *Venice*, 'whose Name was *Campeius*, and *Campeius* recommended me to the Pope. I besought by 'Letters that I might come to *Rome* with a safe 'Conduct. Letters of safe Conduct were sent 'me from the Cardinal of *Como*, but not large enough: afterwards others were sent me more 'large and full: but then I was return'd to *Paris*. 'There I lighted upon *Morgan*, who told me, 'that it was expected by divers, that I should 'do some notable Service for God and the Catholick Church. I answer'd, that I was ready 'to kill the greatest Subject of *England*. But '(said he) why not the Queen herself? And 'this (said I) might easily be done, if it might 'appear to be lawful. For *Wattes* a Priest (with 'whom I had Conference about it, concealing 'Persons Names) affirm'd flatly, it was not lawful. (And *Chreichton* also, the *Scottish* Jesuite, avouch'd the same; teaching, *That Evil was not to be done that Good might come of it: That God was better pleas'd with Adverbs than with Nouns; and more approv'd what was* done well *and* lawfully, *than what was otherwise* Good: *and, That many Souls were not to be redeem'd with the Destruction of any one, without the express Command of God*). 'Notwithstanding I, having engaged myself both 'by Letters and Promises, while I was in *Italy*, 'thought it an heinous Sin to give over my 'Enterprise, in case the Pope should approve it 'by his Letters, and grant me a plenary Pardon, 'which I begg'd of him by Letters I sent to him 'by *Ragazonio* his Nuncio in *France*, who highly 'commended my Design, and sent my Letters 'to *Rome*. Being return'd into *England*, I procured Access to the Queen, to whom, in private, I discover'd the whole Conspiracy, howbeit cloak'd with the best Art I could. She 'heard me without being daunted: I departed 'not without being terrify'd; and cannot now 'forget what she then said, *That no Catholicks should be called in question meerly for Religion or the Pope's Supremacy, so that they shew'd themselves good Subjects*. In the mean time, whilst I was a 'daily Suitor in the Court for the Mastership of 'Saint *Katharine's*, I receiv'd Letters from the 'Cardinal of *Como*, wherein my Enterprize was 'commended, and myself absolv'd in the Pope's 'Name. These Letters I imparted to the Queen. 'What Effect they wrought with her I know 'not; to me certainly they added Courage, and 'took away all Scruple. Yet was I not minded 'to offer her any Violence, if she could by any 'means be persuaded to deal more favourably 'with the Catholicks. And therefore, lest I 'should commit the Murder, I laid away my 'Dagger still as often as I had Access to her. 'When I seriously consider'd her, and her truly 'Royal Vertues, I was distracted with doubtful 'Thoughts; for my Vows were recorded in Heaven, my Letters and Promises amongst Men. 'These things I often ponder'd with an unquiet 'Mind: I was never much beholden to her for 'any thing: my Life indeed she once pardon'd 'me; but to have taken it away upon that Occasion had been cruel and tyrannical. Hereupon 'I departed from the Court much unsatisfy'd 'with my Condition. I lighted upon Dr. *Allen's* 'Book against the Justice of *Britain*, where he 'taught that Princes excommunicate for Heresie 'were to be deprived of Kingdom and Life, 'which Book did strongly encourage me to prosecure my Attempt. This Book I read to *Nevil* '(whom I sometimes invited to my Table) six 'whole Months before he accused me. Afterwards he came to me and said, *Let us venture upon somewhat, since we can get nothing from the Queen*: and he propounded several things about 'the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*. But I have '(said I) greater Business in my Mind, and of 'more Advantage for the Catholick Church. 'The next day, he came and swore upon the 'Bible, that he would conceal and constantly 'pursue any thing that should be for the Good 'of the Catholick Religion: and I swore the 'like. We then resolv'd with ten Horsemen to 'set upon the Queen, as she rode abroad to take 'the Air, and to kill her. All which *Nevil* conceal'd till now. But having heard that the Earl 'of *Westmorland* was dead, whose Estate he had 'already swallow'd in Hopes, he presently broke 'his Oath, and accus'd me of these things. All this he confess'd before the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, all three of the Privy-Council. He acknowledg'd also his Fault, and begg'd Pardon for the same by his Letters to the Queen, to *Burleigh* Lord-Treasurer, and to *Leicester*.

He consulted with a Jesuite about killing the Q.

and with the Pope's Nuncio;

and with *Morgan*;

and with Priests,

and with the Pope himself.

He opens the matter to the Queen.

Wavers in mind.

Allen's Book encourages him.

Nevil offers his help.

And discovers all.

Some few days after he was arraign'd at the King's-Bench-Bar in *Westminster*-Hall: where the Articles of his Indictment being read, he confess'd himself guilty. And when his Confession was recorded, and Judgment demanded against him, *Hatton* thought it necessary, for the Peoples Satisfaction there present, that his Crime should be clearly and fully represented, out of his own Con-

Parry arraign'd.

1585. *Ann.* 28. Confession, which *Parry* acknowledg'd to be voluntary, and pray'd the Judges that he might read it himself. But the Clerk of the Crown read both it, and also the Cardinal of *Como's* Letters, and *Parry*'s own to the Queen, to *Burleigh*, and to *Leicester*; which he confess'd to be the very Letters themselves. Yet did he deny that ever he was resolv'd to kill the Queen. Being now commanded to speak, if he had any thing to say, why Judgment should not be given against him, he gave a confused Answer, as if he were troubled in Conscience for the foul Fact he had undertaken, *I see I must die, because I have not been constant to myself.* Being will'd to declare more plainly what he meant, *My Blood* (said he) *be amongst you.* Sentence of Death being pronounced, he in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgment-Seat of God. The fifth day after, he was laid upon an Hurdle, and drawn through the midst of the City to *Westminster*. At the Gallows, when he had made his Boasts how faithful a Preserver and Keeper of the Queen he had been, he said, he was never fully resolv'd in his Mind to take away the Queen's Life. Thus this vain-glorious Man, not so much as in the least commending himself to God, suffer'd the Death of a Traytor, by the Law, in the Court-yard of the great Palace at *Westminster*, where was then a full Assembly of the States of the Realm, met in Parliament.

He is executed.

In this Parliament some there were, who, out of a Desire either of Innovation or Reformation, struck deeply at the Ecclesiastical Order (though the Queen had forbid it) by bringing in of Bills for restraining the Episcopal Jurisdiction in granting of Faculties, in conferring of Holy Orders, in Ecclesiastical Censures, and in the Oath *ex Officio*; and proposing a new Oath to be taken by the Bishops, in the Chancery and the King's-Bench, *viz.* That they should act nothing contrary to the Common-Law of *England*: also requiring Residence from the Clergy, that every Minister should be resident at his own Cure; and exclaiming as if the Church of *England* were destitute of able and learned Pastors, which without doubt had more learned Pastors at this present, than any other Age, or any other Reform'd Church, could shew. But the Queen, who had high Esteem of moderate Church-men, and misliked Innovators, as always changing for the worse, *utterly rejected these Attempts, as tending to overthrow her Prerogative, and the supreme Authority granted to her in Ecclesiastical Matters. But the *Association* which I mentioned before, was now confirm'd by the general Consent and Approbation of all. And it was enacted, 'That Twenty four or more of the Privy-Council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the Queen's Commission, should make Inquisition after all such as should invade the Kingdom, raise Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the Queen's Person, for, or by whomsoever employ'd, that might lay Claim to the Crown of *England*. And that he for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly uncapable of the Crown of *England*, deprived wholly of all Right and Title to it, and prosecuted to Death by all faithful Subjects, if he should be judg'd by those four and twenty Men, to be guilty of such Invasion, Rebellion, or treasonable Attempt, and by publick Proclamation so declared.'

Bills preferr'd against Bishops, and Non-Residents.

Rejected by the Q.

* *See the Appendix.*

Association settled.

Laws also were made for Preservation of the Queen's Person against all *Jesuits* and Popish Priests, who should ground any villainous Plots and Designs upon the Bull of *Pius Quintus*; to wit, 'That they should depart the Realm within Forty Days. That those who should afterward return into the Kingdom, should be guilty of High-Treason. That he who should wittingly and willingly harbour, relieve, and maintain them, should be guilty of *Felony* (So they call all Capital Crimes under the Degree of Treason). That those who were brought up in Seminaries, if they return'd not within Six Months after Notice given, and submitted not themselves to the Queen, before a Bishop or two Justices, should be guilty of High-Treason. And if any so submitting themselves, should within ten Years approach the Queen's Court, or come within ten Miles thereof, their Submission should be void. That those who should by any means whatsoever, send or convey over any Money to Students in such Seminaries, should incur the Penalty of a *Præmunire* (that is, perpetual Exile, and Loss of all their Goods).' 'That if any of the Peers of the Realm, that is, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, or Barons of Parliament, should offend against these Laws, he should be brought to his Tryal by his Peers. That if any should know of any such Jesuits, or other Priests abovesaid, lurking within the Realm, and should not discover them within Twelve Days, he should be fined and imprison'd at the Queen's Pleasure. That if any Man should be suspected to be a Jesuit or Priest, as aforesaid, and not submit himself to Examination, he should, for his Contempt, be imprison'd till he did submit himself. That he who should send his Children, or any others, to Seminaries and Colleges of the Popish Profession, should be fined in an hundred Pounds of *English* Money. And that those who were so sent thither, should not succeed as Heirs, nor enjoy any Estates, which should any way fall to them: The like for all such as should not return home from the said Seminaries within a Year, unless they did conform themselves to the Church of *England*. That if the Wardens or Officers of the Ports should permit any others besides Seamen and Merchants, to cross the Seas, without Licence of the Queen, or Six Privy-Counsellors, they should be put out of their Places, and the Masters of such Ships as carry'd 'em, should forfeit their Ships and Goods, and suffer Imprisonment for a whole Year.'

Laws against Jesuits and Priests.

Felony.

Præmunire.

With the Severity of these Laws (which notwithstanding seem'd necessary for the present Time) the Papists in *England* were very much terrify'd; and amongst them *Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s eldest Son, insomuch as he purpos'd to fly the Land, lest he should offend against them. This *Philip* had thro' the Queen's Grace and Favour, been restored in Blood three Years before, and having soon after lost her Favour, through the secret Accusations of some great Persons, had privily reconciled himself to the Popish Religion, living likewise a very austere Life. Hereupon he was call'd once or twice before the Council, and clear'd himself of the Matters objected against him; nevertheless he was confined to his own House. After about Six Months, he had his Liberty again, and came to the Parliament: yet he withdrew himself the first Day from the Assembly, while the Sermon was preaching. The Parliament rising, he, being now resolv'd to be gone, wrote a Letter to the Queen (which, notwithstanding, he appointed to be deliver'd her after his Departure) wherein he made a long and sad Complaint 'of the Malice of his potent Adversaries, whereunto he was necessitated to give place, whilst they triumph'd over his Innocence. He recounted the fatal Ends of his Ancestors, namely, his Great Grand-father, who was condemn'd without being heard; his Grand-father,

Arundel intends to fly.

Writes to the Q.

1585. *Ann.* 28.

'father, who was beheaded for light and trivial 'Matters; and his Father, who (*as he ſaid*) was 'circumvented by his Adverſaries, and never 'bare any hoſtile Mind againſt his Prince and 'Country. *And added*, That he for his part, leſt 'he ſhould be the Heir of his Forefathers Infeli-'city, and that he might the better attend the 'Service of God, and provide for his Soul's good, 'hath quitted his Country, but not his Allegi-'ance to his Prince. Before ſuch time as this Letter was deliver'd, he was gone into *Suſſex*; and being now ready to embark himſelf in an obſcure Creek, he was apprehended through the Treachery of his own Servants, and the Diſcovery of the Maſter of the Veſſel, and thrown into the *Tower* of *London*.

The E. of *Arundel* apprehended, and ſent to the *Tower*.

The E. of *Northumberland* found dead.

In the ſame *Tower* was *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* at this time kept Priſoner, a Man of a lively and active Spirit and Courage, (Brother to *Thomas* who was beheaded at *York*) which *Henry* was ſuſpected to have plotted ſecretly with *Throckmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guiſes*, for invading of *England*, and ſetting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, whom he always highly favoured. In the Month of *June* he was found dead in his Bed, ſhot with three Bullets near his left Pap, his Chamber-door being barr'd on the inſide. The Coroner's Inqueſt from the Neighbourhood impannell'd and ſworn, according to cuſtom, and having view'd the Body, conſidered the Place, found the Piſtol with Gunpowder in the Chamber, and examining his Man that brought the Piſtol, and him that had ſold it, gave their Verdict, that he had kill'd himſelf. The third Day after there was a full Meeting of the Peers of the Realm in the Star-Chamber, where Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord-Chancellor of *England* briefly declar'd, that the Earl had been engaged in traiterous Deſigns againſt his Prince and Country, which when he found once to be diſcovered, he had laid violent Hands upon himſelf, being terrified with the guilty Conſcience of his Offence.

Cauſes of his Impriſonment.

But to ſatisfie the Multitude, who are always prone to believe the worſt in ſuch caſes, he commanded the Attorney-General and the Queen's Council, to ſhew plainly the Reaſons why the Earl had been kept in Priſon, and the manner of his Death. Hereupon *Popham*, the Queen's Attorney-General, beginning at the Rebellion in the North, ſixteen Years before, ſhew'd out of the publick Records, 'That he had been called 'to his Trial about that Rebellion, and the De-'ſign for the delivering the Queen of *Scots*: and 'that he had acknowledged his Fault, ſubmitted 'himſelf to the Queen's Mercy, and was fined '5000 Marks. But that the Queen (out of her 'Clemency) had not exacted one Farthing 'thereof; and after the Execution of his Bro-'ther for the ſame Crime, had confirm'd him in 'the Honour of Earl of *Northumberland*. That 'he, notwithſtanding all this, had engag'd him-'ſelf in new Deſigns for delivering the Queen 'of *Scots*, the conquering of *England*, and the 'deſtruction of Religion and the Queen. That '*Mendoza* the *Spaniard* had given notice to *Throck-'morton*, that *Charles Paget*, under the counter-'feit name of *Mope*, had ſecretly confer'd with 'him in *Suſſex* about theſe Matters; and that 'the Lord *Paget* had ſignified the ſame things in 'a manner to *Throckmorton*. That the ſame alſo 'did appear by the Papers of *Creichton* a *Scottiſh* 'Jeſuit; and that *Charles Paget* had told the 'ſame things to *William Shelley*, at his return out 'of *France*.

Then *Egerton*, the Solicitor-General, argu'd notably from Circumſtances, and the Earl's extraordinary care to conceal the Buſineſs, that he was guilty thereof: *Viz.* 'That the Earl, when 'no Man in *England* could accuſe him of theſe 'things but only the Lord *Paget*, (with whom '*Throckmorton* was very familiar) within few 'Days after *Throckmorton* was taken, provided a 'Ship by *Shelley*'s means for *Paget*, wherein he 'went over into *France*. That when *Throckmor-'ton* had begun to confeſs ſome things, the Earl 'remov'd from *London* to *Petworth*, and, ſending 'for *Shelley*, told him, that he was fallen into 'danger of his Life and Eſtate, and pray'd him 'to conceal all, and to ſend ſuch out of the 'way as were privy to the Lord *Paget*'s depar-'ture, and the coming of *Charles Paget*. Which 'was preſently done; and he himſelf ſent his 'Man aſide whom he had employ'd to *Charles* '*Paget*. The Solicitor added, 'That while he 'was in Priſon, he had, by corruption of his Keep-'ers, often dealt with *Shelley* to underſtand what 'he had confeſs'd. That *Shelley* did let 'him know by a Woman, which was ſecretly 'employ'd as a Meſſenger between them, that he 'could conceal things no longer; that their 'Conditions were not alike, for himſelf was to 'undergo the Rack, ſo was not the Earl in re-'ſpect of his Place and Quality; and had ſent 'him in Writing what Paſſages he had confeſs'd; 'the Earl fetch'd a Sigh, and forthwith ſaid, '(as *Pantin* who waited on him in his Chamber 'confeſs'd) *That he was now undone by* Shelley's '*Confeſſion*.

Manner of his death.

After all this the manner of his Death was related, from the Evidence of the Inqueſt, the Teſtimony of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, ſome of the Warders, and *Pantin* his Servant: And thereupon it was concluded, that he had with his own Hands murder'd himſelf, out of a Fear leſt his Family ſhould be attainted and utterly ruin'd. Certainly many good Men were much affected that ſo great a Perſon died ſo miſerable and lamentable a Death; as well becauſe Men naturally favour Nobility, as that he had acquir'd ſingular Commendation for his Valour. What Suſpicions the Fugitives mutter'd concerning one *Bailiff*, that was one of *Hatton*'s Servants, and a little before appointed to be the Earl's Keeper, I omit, as being a thing altogether unknown unto me, and I think it not meet to inſert any thing upon mere Hearſays and Reports.

Confederacy endeavour'd by the Q. with the Princes of *Germany*.

Whence the Seeds of theſe Miſchiefs came which were ſown in *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* was not ignorant, who had underſtood that the *Guiſes* had now openly entred into a dangerous *Conſpiracy* againſt the Proteſtant Religion, the *French* King, and herſelf. She on the other ſide, to procure a League amongſt the Proteſtants for defence of their Religion, ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, the Elector-Palatine, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the *Landtgrave* of *Heſſe*; and amongſt other things gave him Inſtructions to put the King of *Denmark* in mind by the by, that it principally concern'd him to prevent the Attempts of the *Guiſes*, conſidering that they ſtuck not to challenge the Kingdom of *Denmark* for their Couſin the Duke of *Lorrain*, as Grandſon to *Chriſtiern* II. King of *Denmark*, by his Daughter. Neither did the *Lorrainer* himſelf diſſemble or diſown the ſame, when not long ſince he was a Suitor to Queen *Elizabeth* for Marriage.

Likewiſe with the King of *Scots*.

But into *Scotland* (leſt any Danger ſhould break in upon *England* from thence as it were by the back Door) ſhe ſent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King know how acceptable his Kindneſs towards her was, which he had declared of late by *Pa-*

trick

1585. Ann. 28.

trick *Gray* and the *Justice-Clerk*; and moreover to draw him to a League of mutual Offence and Defence, by shewing him the Dangers which now threatned the Proteſtant Religion; and to offer unto him, as if he were her Son, as large a yearly Penſion as her Father had allow'd her; (for the Revenues of the *Scottiſh* Crown were much leſſen'd through the Negligence of the Regents) and to recommend unto him a Marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter; as alſo earneſtly to intercede in the Queen's Name for the *Scots* that ſtood exil'd in *England*, who ſhe promis'd ſhould be preſently ſent back, if ſhe found them guilty of the leaſt Crime againſt the King.

The King inclinable

Wotton found the King's Mind inclinable enough to ſuch a League, (notwithſtanding that *Arran* and ſome of the *French* Faction labour'd to hinder it) and the States of *Scotland*, that ſo Religion might be ſecured, gave their Aſſent under their Hands to a Treaty concerning ſuch a League; provided the Queen would paſs her Royal Word, that ſhe would not prejudice the King's Title to the Succeſſion in *England* as long as he continued firm in Amity with her. But this Buſineſs was delay'd and hinder'd by the Murder of Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, which Earl died himſelf alſo the next Day after.

Ruſſel's death hinders it.

How *Ruſſel* was murder'd.

For when Sir *John Foſter* and *Thomas Carre* of *Fernihurſt*, Wardens of the *Middle Marches* betwixt the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, had appointed a Meeting on the 27th of *June*, about certain Goods unjuſtly taken away, and Security was given on both ſides by Oath, according to cuſtom, and Proclamation made that no Man ſhould *harm other by Word, Deed, or Look*, (as the Borderers ſpeak) the *Scots* came to the place of Meeting armed, in Battel-array, with Enſigns diſplay'd, and Drums beating, contrary to cuſtom, and beyond expectation, being in Number about Three thouſand; whereas the *Engliſh* were not above Three hundred. Scarce were the Wardens ſat to hear the Complaints, when on a ſudden, upon an *Engliſhman*'s being taken pilfering, there aroſe a Tumult, and the *Scots* diſcharging a volley of Shot, ſlew *Ruſſel* with ſome others, put the *Engliſh* to flight, and eagerly purſuing them the ſpace of four Miles into *England*, carried off ſome Priſoners. Who was the Author of this Slaughter was not certainly known. The *Engliſh* laid the Fault upon *Arran*, now Chancellor of *Scotland*, and upon *Fernihurſt*. The Queen preſs'd both by her Letters and Commiſſioners to have the Murderers deliver'd into her Hands; inaſmuch as *Henry* IV. King of *England*, had formerly deliver'd up into the Hands of *James* IV. King of *Scots*, *William Heron* and ſeven *Engliſhmen*, for killing *Robert Carre* of *Chesford* upon a Day of Meeting; and *Morton* the late Regent ſent *Carmichel* a *Scot* into *England* for killing *George Heron*. The King proteſted his own Innocency in the matter, and promis'd to ſend not only *Fernihurſt* immediately into *England*, but the Chancellor too, if they could be convicted by clear and lawful Proofs to have premeditately infringed the Security, or procured the Murder. *Fenwick* an *Engliſhman* accuſed *Fernihurſt* of the Fact to his Face: He avoided it by a flat denial, because the other could produce no *Scottiſhman* for a Witneſs. For in theſe Trials on the Borders, according to a certain Privilege and Cuſtom agreed upon amongſt the Borderers, none but a *Scot* is to be admitted for a Witneſs againſt a *Scot*, and none but an *Engliſhman* againſt an *Engliſhman*; inſomuch that if all the *Engliſhmen* which were upon the Place had ſeen the Murder committed before their Eyes, yet their Teſtimony had been of no value, unleſs ſome *Scottiſhman* alſo did witneſs the ſame. Nevertheleſs *Arran* was confined to his Houſe, and *Fernihurſt* was committed to Cuſtody at *Dundee*, where afterwards he died: A ſtout and able Warrior, ready for any great Attempts and Undertakings, and of an immoveable Fidelity to the Queen of *Scots* and the King her Son; having been once or twice turned out of all his Lands and Fortunes, and baniſh'd the ſight of his Country and Children, which yet he endured patiently, and, after ſo many Croſſes falling upon him together, perſiſted unſhaken, and always like himſelf.

Who were ſuſpected for it.

Manner of Proofs on the Borders.

Fernihurſt his death

Whilſt the enquiry after this Murder was protracted from Day to Day, and it was calmly debated, whether the yearly Money offered to the King under the Name of *Aurei*, was to be paid according to the *Engliſh* or *French* Account of Money, the Queen (who took with great Indignation *Ruſſel*'s Death and the breach of the Security, being perſuaded by the *Scots* who were *Arran*'s Adverſaties, that he favour'd and cheriſh'd the Jeſuits, and labour'd Tooth and Nail, both in *France* and *Scotland*, that the League might not be made with the *Engliſh*) ſuffer'd by way of Connivance, the *Scottiſh* Fugitives, *viz.* *Angus*, and thoſe who by their common Condition of Baniſhment were reconcil'd and made Friends with him, namely *John* and *Claudius Hamilton*, and *Marre*, *Glames*, and the reſt that were Exiles in *England*, to return into *Scotland*, ſupplying 'em with Money to ſuppreſs *Arran*.

Q. incenſed at the Murder.

Scottiſh Fugitives ſent home and aſſiſted by the Queen.

The Earl *Bothwell*, the Lord *Humes*, *Humes* of *Coldingknoll*, and others in *Scotland*, had promis'd them their Aſſiſtance beforehand; but eſpecially *Maxwell*, lately made Earl of *Morton*, who was in hopes to eſcape Puniſhment for a Rebellion which he had raiſed in *Anandale*, if *Arran* were once ſuppreſs'd. Yea, and in the King's Court alſo *Patrick Gray*, a ſharp and bitter Adverſary of *Arran*'s, *Belenden* the Juſtice Clerk, and *Maitland* Lord-Secretary, were drawn by *Wotton*'s Policy to ſide againſt *Arran*.

Divers join with them.

The Exiles aforeſaid upon their entring *Scotland*, ſet forth a large Proclamation, wherein they command all Men in the King's Name to lend their helping Hand for defence of the truth of the Goſpel, for reſcuing of the King from corrupt Counſellors, and for maintaining Amity with the *Engliſh*. *Fawkirk* was the place appointed for Rendezvous, where they muſter'd Eight thouſand Men.

They put forth a Proclamation.

Their Strength.

Arran (who by the King's command had kept himſelf confin'd at *Keneil* upon ſuſpicion of his murdering *Ruſſel*) hearing hereof, poſted to the King, and accus'd *Gray* as the Author of this Attempt, who fairly clear'd himſelf before the King. While *Arran* made all poſſible Preparation for defence of the Town, the Enemies were at hand ready to ſcale the Walls. He, knowing that his Head only was aim'd at, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of his own People, (for he began now to be hated by many) withdrew himſelf ſecretly with but one Man over the Bridge. The reſt ſoon after abandon'd the Town, and retir'd into the Caſtle to the King. The Fugitives preſently ſeize upon the Market-place, and make ready to attack the Caſtle. The King ſent *Gray* to demand the reaſon of their coming. They anſwer, *To ſubmit themſelves, and moſt Humbly to kiſs the King's Hand.* He offers 'em reſtitution of all their Lands and Goods, if they would depart quietly. They ſend back word, that they little value their Goods and Lands in compariſon of the King's Favour, and beſeech him that they may be admitted to his Preſence. The King conſents upon theſe Conditions: *That they ſhould attempt nothing againſt his Perſon, or the*

Arran flies.

They take *Sterlin*.

K. treats with 'em.

Life

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Life of such as he should name; nor seek to alter any thing in the Government. They vow to spend their Lives for the King's Safety; and for Alteration of Government, they protest they never once thought of it. But they pray him, that their Adversaries and the Places of Strength in the Kingdom, may be put into their Hands for their Security. A whole Day was spent in Consultation about this Matter: Yet Necessity compelling, considering there was so great a Multitude in the Castle, and Victuals were scarce, they were at length admitted to the King's Presence. Forthwith the Earls of *Montross*, *Crawford*, and *Rothes*, Colonel *Stuart*, *Downes*, *Arran*'s Brother, and others, are deliver'd into their Hands; *Arran*, who was fled into the *Hebrides*, is recall'd home; and themselves are pardon'd as good Subjects, and such as had deserv'd well of the King: *Hamilton* of *Arbroth* is made Governor of *Dunbriton*, *Coldingknoll* of *Edinburough Castle*, *Angus* of the Castle of *Tantallon*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glames* is made Captain of the King's Guard.

They are reconcil'd to the K.

Having now by their faithful Obedience cleared themselves to the King of all those things that were scandalously and suspiciously objected against them by their Adversaries, all the Proscriptions of all Persons whosoever, and for what Causes soever, from the King's Inauguration to that very Day, were, in an Assembly of the States, decreed to be for ever forgotten (except those for the Murder of the King's Father, and those that were issued against the Archbishop of *Glascow*, the Bishop of *Ross*, and the Bishop of *Dunblane*) and with general Consent of all, the King had free Leave and Authority given him to enter into a League with the Queen of *England*, and to appoint Commissioners for that purpose. Only *Maxwell* abused this extraordinary Grace and Clemency of the King, who, having by the Benefit of this general Pardon, escap'd Punishment for a bloody Murder and Depredation committed against the *Johnstons*, was so bold and audacious, that, in Contempt of the Authority of the Laws, he commanded the Sacrifice of the Mass to be celebrated at *Dunfreez*, which had not been permitted in *Scotland* for these Nineteen Years past. For which he afterwards suffer'd Imprisonment the Space of Three Months.

A general Pardon.

Maxwell causes Mass to be celebrated.

Neither was the neighbour Country of *Ireland* free in this turbulent Time from the Storms of Rebellion. For when the rest of the Provinces of this Isle enjoy'd a firm and perfect Peace, there brake forth a grand Rebellion in *Connaught*, the Western part of *Ireland*, occasion'd by the restless and unquiet Disposition of that Nation, and their Hatred against Sir *Richard Bingham* their Governor, who was (as they complain'd) over-sharp and rigid in his Government. He, when he saw the great Lords of *Ireland* exercise such heavy Tyranny over the silly People, that they durst acknowledge no other Prince but them, left nothing unessay'd that he might restrain this tyrannical Lordliness, and confirm the Queen's Authority amongst 'em, tho' he were every foot accus'd to the Queen and the Lord-Deputy, and render'd odious for his Cruelty and Severity. *Thomas Roe-Burk*, of the noble *English* Family of *Burgh*, was the first that oppos'd him; and being summon'd to the Assizes in the County of *Mayo*, he refus'd to appear. The Governor dissembled the Matter a while; but afterwards he commanded him and one or two turbulent Men more of that Family, to be seiz'd on, lest they should break forth into Rebellion. *Thomas* died in fight before he would be taken; *Meilery* and *Theobald a Burgh* were taken and hanged. And the Rebellion had been now suppress'd in its very first breaking forth, had not some *Englishmen* who were dissatisfy'd with the Governor, given secret Notice to the rest of that Family to beware of the Governor, and by no means to come near him. They, upon this Encouragement, persuaded the *Joyes* and *Clandonnels*, who were Men powerful in Followers and Adherents in that Tract, that the Governor would deal no better with them, but by little and little weaken and take away their Power also. And they so handled the Matter by their Friends, that the Lord-Deputy commanded the Governor to deal no more so roughly with that noble (though degenerate) Family, without his Knowledge and Approbation.

Rebellion of the Bourks in Ireland.

Some of 'em executed.

Mean while, during the Governor's Absence in *Twomond* (where he slew *Mahon O-Brean*, who was up in Commotion, and took his Castle) the Sons of *Edmund a Burgh* of *Castle Barry*, and *Richard* the Son of *Richard* (who for his wicked Deeds was sirnamed by the *Irish*, the *Devil's Hook*) gathering together a multitude of lewd Fellows, seiz'd upon two Castles in *Lough-Mask*, and fortify'd 'em: Out of which the Governor soon drove them into the Woods and Mountains, and commanded *Richard a Burgh*, Brother to *Thomas*, who came in and humbly submitted himself, to be hang'd up as a Spy and treacherous Person. And when he had so closely pursued the rest, who wander'd and straggled up and down the Woods, that scarce any of 'em appear'd, the Lord-Deputy commanded him to pursue 'em no longer, but take Hostages of 'em, and receive 'em into his Protection. Within a short time after, while the Governor lay at *Dublin*, and Levies of Men were making all over *Ireland* for the *Low-Country* War, they took up the Banner of Rebellion again, and many that refus'd to serve in the *Low-Country* Wars, as namely, the *Clangibbons*, *Clandonnels*, and *Joyces*, join'd themselves with 'em in great Numbers. And being now increased both in Number and Strength, they openly gave out, That (according to their ancient Custom) they would have their *Mac-William*, that is, a principal Lord of that House *de Burgh*, chosen by a popular Election, to govern the Country; or else they would send for some other Head and Ruler out of *Spain*: That they would not admit a Sheriff amongst 'em, nor appear at the Sessions or Assizes. Neither would they return to their Duty, though the Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Birmingham* Baron of *Athenry*, and *Dillon*, being sent from the Governor, propounded reasonable Conditions to 'em; but began on a sudden to harass the Country Villages in the open Champain Country, burning and plundering all before 'em, and razing the Forts and Strong-holds. To the *Hebridian Scots* they sent *John Itcleave* and *Walter Kittagh a Burgh*, to persuade and invite 'em to enter into *Connaught* with their auxiliary Forces, whilst there were now but few Garrison-Soldiers left in the Country, promising them large Possessions, if they would drive out the *English*, and assist the Rebels.

Break out again.

Pursu'd by the Governor.

Taken into Protection.

They rebel the 3d time.

Mac-William.

Call the Hebridian Scots into Ireland.

The Lord-Deputy hearing hereof, at length commanded the Governor to march against the Rebels, who, gathering his Forces together, sent the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, the principal Man of the House of *a Burgh*, and *Birmingham*, to treat with 'em about Peace: Which when they flatly refus'd to hear of, he put the Hostages to death, and without delay (as knowing that nothing was more prejudicial to the *English*, than a lingering War, and nothing more advantageous to the *Irish*) he and the Earl of *Clan-Richard* with the Horse protected the Champain Country from the Depredations of the Rebels; and *John Bingham* the Governor's Brother entring the Woods with the Foot, hunted them so closely at the Heels from place

Governor marches against 'em.

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place to place, driving away about 5000 Head of Cattel, (the greatest part whereof was shared amongst the Soldiers Man by Man, according to the manner of the Country) that after forty Days or thereabouts, being grievously famish'd and spent for want of Food, they crept out of their lurking Holes, scarce knowing one another by their Faces, and humbly submitted themselves, giving fresh Hostages. *They submit.* Only the Sons of *Edmund a Burgh* of *Castle Barry* (whom they had determin'd to make their *Mac-William*) persisted in their Rebellion till their Father was taken and put to death, (having been found guilty by the Law for exciting his Children to Rebellion) and his Lands confiscated. *Hebridian Scots invade Connaught.* And now the Governor had certain Intelligence that 2000 *Hebridian Scots*, under the Command of *Kittagh* and *Ieleave a Burgh*, were just ready to break into *Connaught*. These *Scots*, with an Army of Men hastily gather'd and pick'd up, and those Garrison-Soldiers he had, he diligently chaced and hunted Night and Day through By-ways and difficult Passages with indefatigable Labour, while they one while lurked in woody Forests near *Lough Earne*, and another while spent their time in marching forward and backward, winding this way and that way, and he at their Backs, in the Front, and on both Sides, constantly watch'd their Motions, waiting a fit Opportunity to engage 'em. At the last he dissembl'd a Retreat, as if he were too weak for them; when they presently marching on more confidently towards *Ardanar* upon the River *Moin*, proclaimed themselves Lords of the Country. He being by his Scouts soon advertis'd of their March, found 'em near *Ardanar*, where they put themselves in Battel-array, advanced their Banners, and sounded their Bagpipes. He held them in play a while with light Skirmishes, still retreating till he had drawn 'em from the Bogs into the firm Land, and that all his Forces with great secrecy were come together. *Are overthrown.* Then he charg'd 'em stoutly, and having slain many, made 'em give Ground. Shortly after his small Shot charg'd 'em in the Front, and he himself with his Horsemen set upon 'em so courageously in the Flank, that he routed their main Battel, and forc'd 'em to take the River, where they were all slain and drowned but fourscore, who swam over into *Tiraul*, and some who went the Day before another way to fetch in Booty, but were afterwards almost all slain by *John Bingham* and the Inhabitants of the County of *Sligo*. There were slain about 3000 Men, and amongst 'em their principal Leaders, *Donel Gormay* and *Alexander Carrogh*, the Sons of *James Mac-Conell*, who had for a long time infested these Parts, as also those of the House of *Burgh*, which had drawn 'em to this unhappy Expedition. Of the *English* few were slain, but many wounded. This was doubtless a notable Victory, and of great Consequence both at present and to future Times, *Mac-William's Title extinct.* the Title of *Mac-William* in *Connaught* being hereby quite extinct, and the Insolency of the Island-*Scots* in *Ireland* suppress'd, which in former Times was so intolerable, that to harbour 'em in *Ireland* was accounted no less than High-Treason; and *Perott*, to restrain their Depredations, had formerly impos'd upon the great Lords of *Ulster* a certain number of Soldiers to be train'd up and exercis'd for War.

Netherlanders consult about a Protector. Mean while the States in the *Netherlands*, being in great Distress, consulted amongst themselves whether they should fly to the *French* King or the Queen of *England* for Succour and Protection; for they were both of them at Enmity with the *Spaniard*, but jealous of each other. Neither could the *French* endure to think that the *English*, nor the *English* that the *French*, their ancient Enemies, should be strengthned and made more powerful by the addition of the *Netherlands*. * *Pruney*, the *French* Ambassador to the States, to divert 'em from applying to the *English*, alledg'd, 'That the *English* were so remote and separated from them by means of the Ocean betwixt them, that they could not assist them upon every Occasion: That their way of Government was harsh, and not to be endur'd, for which cause they were in former Times ejected out of *France*, and were now in danger of losing *Ireland*: That the Succession there was doubtful, and whether *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, or *James* her Son succeeded, the one, as well as the other, to establish and secure their own Affairs, would restore the *Netherlands* back to the *Spaniards*. But as for the *French*, their near Neighbourhood was convenient, their Government mild and gentle, and the Succession certain in the King of *Navarre*, a Prince of the same Profession with themselves.

**Seigneur J. Espruneaux's Reasons for the French.*

For the English. They who favour'd the *English* argu'd the contrary: 'That the *English* were not at such a distance, but that they might conveniently enough relieve them, and no Man hinder them. What the Government of the *French* was in Times past in the *Netherlands*, may appear by Histories; and what it hath been of late, let *Dixmuyd*, *Dunkirk* and *Dendermond* speak, which were treacherously surpriz'd, as likewise *Bruges*, *Alost*, *Newport* and *Antwerp*, which were furiously and treacherously assaulted by them: And what their Fidelity had been, which hath been so often oblig'd by Edicts, but still violated and broken, let their barbarous Massacres, committed in their Cities, witness. That the Succession in *England* was sure and certain in King *James*, a Prince very well affected to the true Religion. Besides, the *English* were of the same Religion, and exact Observers of the ancient League with *Burgundy*; that their Traffick had brought infinite Wealth into the *Netherlands*, that their Havens were very convenient for the *Netherlanders*. Nevertheless the States by an Honourable Embassy crav'd Aid and Protection of the *French* King, by whom they were receiv'd with a kind of timorous Silence; *French reject 'em.* and, as well out of Jealousy towards the *English*, as Hatred against the *Spaniard*, a long time put off with Delays; so that at length they return'd home without speeding; and the States having some hope upon account of the former Kindness *Incline to the Engl.* of the Queen of *England* towards them, resolv'd to fly to her Protection.

English deliberate on it. Hereupon a Consultation was held in *England*, whether they were to be received into Protection. Some were of opinion, that they were forthwith to be receiv'd and assisted, lest the *Spaniard*, having subdu'd them, should from thence endanger *England*. There were also some who thought they were to be esteem'd as Rebels, and unworthy of Help, as having shaken off their Allegiance to their Prince. 'That the *Spaniard* had broken none of the Articles of his *Joyful Entrance*, which was the Pretence they had used for their Rebellion, and casting off their Prince. But if he had broken them, yet was he not liable therefore to lose his Principality. And tho' some think that Obedience is to be denied him for a time, till he have reform'd what hath been done amiss; yet others think that by the Law of God, to which the Law of Man must give place, Princes are to be obey'd merely for Conscience sake, as Powers ordained by God. That God hath given them the Authority of Commanding, and left to Subjects the Commendation of Obeying. That good Princes are to be wish'd for; but whosoever

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'ever they are, they are to be born withal. 'That those Provinces were devolv'd to the *Spaniard*, not by popular Election, but by Right 'of Inheritance from his Ancestors, and the Do-'nation of Emperors. Moreover, that the *Ne-'therlanders* themselves had receiv'd all the Privi-'leges which they enjoy from Princes; and had 'forfeited the same again by their Treason, in 'formerly taken up Arms against their present 'Prince. That they who now intended to crave 'Protection were not the States of the *Nether-'lands*, but most of them of the vulgar sort of 'Men, under the Pretence and Name of the 'States. These therefore held it the wisest course, 'for the Queen to intermeddle no farther 'in the *Netherlandish* Affairs, but to strengthen 'and fortify her own Kingdom, to engage all 'her good Subjects daily more strictly to her by 'her Bounty and Clemency, to restrain the bad, 'gather Money, furnish her Navy with all sort 'of Provision, provide the Borders toward *Scot-'land* with strong Garrisons, and maintain the 'ancient military Discipline of *England*, (as if 'the same were of late corrupted and adultera-'ted by the *Low-Country*-War). So would *Eng-'land* become impregnable, and she on every 'side be secure at home, and a Terror to her 'Enemies. That this was the best way for those 'who had too powerful Neighbours to avoid and 'prevent War. For no Man would willingly 'provoke those whom he saw to be provided of 'Money and Strength, back'd with the Love of 'their Subjects, and ready and prepar'd to take 'Revenge. Great Indiscretion therefore it were, 'to spend Money and Soldiers, which are, as it 'were, the vital Spirits of War, in a foreign 'Quarrel, in behalf of other Princes, or indigent 'States, (and those Subjects to another) who 'will always be expecting fresh Relief; or else 'out of Necessity or Ingratitude, will at length 'provide for their own State and Security, and 'neglect their first Helpers. Whereof the *English* 'had heretofore had Experience in *France*, to 'their Cost, in the Quarrel of the *Burgundian*, 'and not long since also in the Defence of the 'Protestants there. But they who were of this Opinion incurr'd great Displeasure and Ill-will among the Military sort of Men, as Persons inclining to the *Spaniard*'s Party, degenerate and faint-hearted Cowards.

Netherlanders offer themselves to the Q.

The States Deputies, as soon as they had Access to the Queen, earnestly besought her, that she would accept of the Government of the Confederate Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and receive the People thereof, who were most unjustly and unworthily oppress'd, into her Protection and perpetual Vassalage. The Queen heard 'em graciously, but refus'd both their Government and Protection. Nevertheless, for the raising of the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was then closely press'd by the Prince of *Parma*, she agreed to send 'em forthwith 4000 Men, for which *Sluis* with the Ordnance and Ammunition in it should be deliver'd into her Hands as Caution. But whilst this was doing, *Antwerp* was yielded up on Composition, the River of *Scheld* having been secured by such strong Works, that no Relief could be brought into the City.

She promises 'em some Assistance.

Antwerp lost.

The Q. deliberates seriously of the matter.

After the Queen had seriously and carefully for some time consider'd of things, and had throughly weigh'd the barbarous Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards her Neighbours the *Netherlanders*, and their Hatred against *England*, and the Religion which she embrac'd; (for the *Spaniard* was certainly persuaded, that the *Netherlands* could never be reduced to his Obedience, unless *England* were first conquer'd;) lest the War should be brought home to her own Doors (*Scotland* yet wavering) and the *Spaniard*'s Power should too far extend and encrease in Countries so near adjoining to her, and for Situation so convenient both for translating the War into *England*, and for the Trade of Merchants, as well by Sea, as up and down the River *Rhine*; as also for prohibiting the carrying of all Provision for Shipping to the Enemy; which Countries were likewise provided of a strong Fleet, and stout and able Seamen, insomuch that if they were joined with the *English* Fleet, she might easily become Mistress of the Sea, and withal so rich and strong, that they had for a long time curb'd their insulting Enemies, without foreign Assistance; as also, lest they should put themselves under the Protection of the *French*: she resolv'd, that it was both Christian Piety to relieve the afflicted *Netherlanders*, Embracers of the same Religion which she profess'd; and good Wisdom also to provide for the Safety of the People committed to her Charge, by preventing the pernicious Designs of her Enemies; and that not out of any Desire of Glory, but out of meer Necessity, for the Preservation of her own and her People's Security. Hereupon she openly undertook the Protection of the *Netherlanders*, whilst all the Princes of Christendom admired at such manly Fortitude in a Woman, which durst, as it were, declare War against so puissant a Monarch: insomuch as the King of *Sweden* said, *That Queen* Elizabeth *had now taken the Diadem from her Head, and adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

She takes them into her Protection.

Betwixt her and the Confederate States these Conditions were agreed upon. 'The Queen 'shall send the Confederate Provinces an auxili-'ary Force of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horse, under 'a Governor-General, an honourable Person, 'and shall find 'em Pay during the War, which 'the States shall repay when a Peace shall be 'concluded; namely, in the first Year of the 'Peace, the Expences disburs'd in the *first Year* 'of the War, and the rest in the four Years next 'following. In the mean time, *Flushing* and the 'Castle of *Rammekins* in *Walcheren*, and the Isle 'of *Briel*, with the City and two Forts, shall be 'deliver'd into the Queen's Hands for Caution. 'The Governors of these Places shall exercise no 'Authority over the Inhabitants, but only over 'the Garrison, who shall pay Excise and Impo-'sitions as well as the Inhabitants. The said 'Places, after the Money is repay'd, shall be re-'stor'd again to the States, and not deliver'd to 'the *Spaniard*, or to any other Enemy whatso-'ever. The Governor-General, and two *Eng-'lishmen* whom the Queen shall name, shall be 'admitted into the Council of the States. The 'States shall make no League with any, without 'the Advice and Consent of the Queen; nei-'ther shall the Queen, without the Advice of 'the States. Ships for the common Defence 'shall be rigg'd and set forth, in equal Number, 'by both Parties, and at the common Charges, 'to be commanded by the Admiral of *England*. 'The Havens and Ports shall be open and free 'to both sides. With other Articles which are 'to be had in print.

Upon what Conditions.

In Memory hereof the *Zealanders*, transported with Joy, coin'd Money with the Arms of *Zealand* on one side, namely, a Lion rising out of the Waves, and this Inscription, *Luctor & emergo*, that is, I struggle and get above Water; and on the other side, with the Arms of the several Cities of *Zealand*, and this Motto, *Authore Deo, Favente Regina*, that is, God being the Author, a Queen our Favourer. The Queen also hereupon set forth a Book, * wherein she shew'd, that Leagues and Associations had been made in former times between the Kings of *England* and the Princes

Reasons of her so doing.

* See the Appendix.

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Princes of the *Netherlands*, and the Cities thereof apart, for yielding one another mutual Protection and Assistance. Then she related the barbarous Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the miserable *Netherlanders*, and their wicked Contrivances against her, who had study'd so much to make Peace betwixt them, and had been the principal Means to hinder those People from an absolute and total Revolt. Neither had she any other Intention now in sending Forces to their Aid, but only that the *Netherlanders* might peaceably enjoy their ancient Freedom, she and her Subjects their Security, and both Nations a free Trade and Commerce.

She sends out a fleet to divert the Spaniards.

And withal, that she might not stay to expect the War at her own Doors, but give the *Spaniard* somewhat to do Abroad, she sent Sir *Francis Drake* as Admiral, and *Christopher Carlisle* as General of the Land Forces, to the *West Indies*, with a Fleet of 21 Ships, whereon were embark'd 2300 Volunteers, besides Seamen; who unexpectedly surpriz'd the Town of St. *Jago*, in the Isle of St. *Jago*, near *Cape Verd*, the Town giving Name to the Island, and being situate in a low Valley: Here with Peals of Ordnance they celebrated the Day of the Queen's Inauguration, to wit, the Seventeenth Day of *November*. Having sack'd the Town, they found not the least Gold in it, but of Meal, Wine and Oil great Quantities. The 14th Day after they departed from that Coast, and many of them who had lain Abroad in the open Air, were taken with a violent Disease call'd a Calenture, and died thereof; which Disease is ordinary in that unwholsom Air to Strangers that come thither, and lie Abroad in the Evening. On the first of *January* they arriv'd at *Hispaniola*, and about ten Miles from the City of *Santo Domingo* the Soldiers were landed in a safe Place, which was discover'd to them by a *Spaniard* whom they had taken; and there setting themselves in Battle Array they march'd towards the City; and having beaten back 150 *Spanish* Horse which made head against them, and put certain Musqueteers to flight which lay in Ambush, they enter'd pell-mell with them into the City at two Gates which look Westward, and at the same time the Townsmen in great Fear ran all out of the City at the North Gate. The *English* march'd up in a Body to the Market-place near the great Church; and not being enough to defend so large a City, they fortify'd that part of it with Bulwarks, and afterwards possest themselves of other convenient Posts in it; and being now absolute Masters of the City, they stay'd there a full Month. And because the Townsmen offer'd but a small Sum of Money to redeem the Town, they began first to burn the Suburbs, and then to fire and demolish the fairest Buildings within the City it self, till such time as the Citizens redeem'd their Houses with 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up amongst them. The Booty was not great, except Canon, Meal and Sugar. For only Brass Money, Glasses, and *China* Dishes from the *East Indies*, were in use and fashion there. In the Town Hall were to be seen, among other Things, the King of *Spain*'s Arms, and under them a Globe of the World, out of which issu'd a Horse with his fore Feet springing forward, with this Inscription, *Non sufficit Orbis*, that is, The World suffices not. Which was laugh'd at, and look'd upon as an Argument of the boundless Avarice and Ambition of the *Spaniards*, as if nothing could suffice them.

Engl. take S. Jago.

They die of the Calenture.

Take S. Domingo.

From hence they sail'd to the Continent of *America*, and landed five Miles from *Carthagena*; and while *Drake* with his Pinnaces and Boats well mann'd, in vain attempted the Haven of the City, which was defended by a Fort, and chain'd up, *Carlisle*, putting his Men in Battle Array, led 'em in the dead of the Night all along the Shoar. A Troop of Horse shew'd themselves only, and presently retreated, whom *Carlisle* pursu'd till he came to a narrow Neck of Land, between the inner Road of the Haven and the Ocean, fenc'd from side to side with a Stone Wall, thro' which there was but one Passage, and that scarce broad enough for a Cart to pass, and defended with Barricadoes and five Pieces of large Cannon, which were several Times discharg'd against the very Front of the Army, but in vain. *Carlisle* knowing well how to avoid that Danger, by the Help of the dark Night, and taking Advantage of the ebbing Water, led his Men somewhat lower, over the Sand, to the very entrance of the Passage, which the *English* manfully brake through, notwithstanding that two Gallies constantly play'd upon the Flank of them with eleven great Guns, and three hundred Musqueteers from the said inner Road. Then they soon master'd the Palisadoes, which the Enemy were so careful as to set up at the Entrance of every Street, putting the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, who shot poison'd and envenom'd Arrows at them, to flight, and so became Masters of the Town; where they stay'd six Weeks, compounding at last to spare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were presently paid, and shared equally amongst the Seamen and Soldiers which had most need. Besides this they got but small Booty. For the Citizens having Notice beforehand from *Hispaniola*, had convey'd away all their richest Treasure, before their coming, to Places more remote. The Calenture still raging amongst them, and daily lessening their Numbers, their Design for the taking of *Nombre de Dios* was laid aside, and they set sail homewards, by that Cape of the Isle of *Cuba*, which has its Name from Saint *Antonio*, where they took in fresh Rain Water out of the Ponds and Pits which they found.

And Carthagena.

Then coasting along the Shoar of *Florida* they seiz'd upon two Towns, S. *Anthony*'s and S. *Helen*'s, both of them quitted and forsaken by the *Spanish* Garrisons, and burnt them. Afterwards holding on their Course along a desolate Coast, they lighted upon certain *Englishmen*, who had planted themselves in *Virginia*, so nam'd in Honour of Q. *Elizabeth* a Virgin, whom Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was in great Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, had of late sent thither for a Colony; a Man never sufficiently to be commended for the great Pains he took to discover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *English* Navigation. To *Ralph Lane*, their Captain, *Drake* offer'd all Kindness and Assistance, and a Ship or two with Provision of Victuals, also some Men, if he thought good to stay there, and prosecute his Enterprize; if not, he proffer'd to bring him back into *England*. But whilst they were shifting the Victuals into those Ships, a violent Storm carry'd them away, and so dispers'd the whole Fleet, that they met not again till they came into *England*. Hereupon *Lane*, and those who were planted there, being in great Penury and Want, and out of all Hope of Provisions out of *England*, their Number also being much diminish'd, with one Voice besought *Drake* that he would carry them back again into their own Country, which he readily and willingly did.

They burn S. Anthony's and S. Helen's.

Go to Virginia.

And bring the Colony from thence.

And these Men, who were thus brought back, were the first that I know of, that brought into *England* that *Indian* Plant which they call *Tabacca* and *Nicotia*, or *Tobacco*, which they used against Crudities, being taught it by the *Indians*. Certainly from that time forward, it began to grow into great Request, and to be sold at an high

Tobacco first brought into England.

1585. *Ann.* 28. Rate, whilst in a short time many Men every-where, some for Wantonness, some for Health sake, with insatiable Desire and Greediness, suck'd in the stinking Smoke thereof through an earthen Pipe, which presently they blew out again at their Nostrils; insomuch that Tobacco Shops are now as ordinary in most Towns as Tap-Houses and Taverns. So that the *Englishmens* Bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this Plant, seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the Nature of *Barbarians*, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured with the same Things which the *Barbarians* use. In this Voyage 700 Men were lost, and all of them almost of the Calenture. The Booty was valu'd at 60000 Pounds of *English* Money; 240 Brass and Iron Cannon were gotten from the Enemy and brought home.

Booty.

A new Passage sought to the *East-Indies*. Whilst these Things were doing in *America* under the Torrid Zone, *John Davis* with two Ships, set forth at the Charge of *William Sanderson* (one that hath well deserv'd of Geographical Learning by setting forth Globes) and other *Londoners*, search'd for a Passage under the Frozen Zone, by the upper Part of *America*, to the *East Indies*. He held his Course Northward, and at 500 Leag. from the Southern Cape of *Ireland*, call'd *Missenhead*, got sight first of the Coast of *Greenland*, and its high Mountains cover'd with Snow; the Island being compass'd about as it were with an Icy Bulwark for the breadth of two Leagues from the Land, so that there was no access to it. Following therefore the Tract hereof, which winded first towards the West, and then towards the North, to the 64th Degree of Latitude; and having passed the Ice, he fell upon certain flourishing Green Islands, and found there People of an indifferent Stature, with small Eyes, no Beards, and of a civiler Disposition than most of the Northern People were. From hence he failed Northwestward, in a Sea without Ice, and at the 66th Degree of Latitude, discover'd a Land which by little and little extended it self to the West, with a Strait all the way of an equal Breadth; into which he entred, and sail'd about forty Leagues: But towards the end of *August* he set sail homeward, full of hope to perfect the Discovery. The next Year after he entred again into the same Strait, sail'd eighty Leagues in it, and found that Sea every way full of scattering Islands, and in his return discover'd it to be very full of Fish. Hereupon this Voyage was undertaken the third Time with two Ships to fish, and another to discover the Passage; wherewith having passed the 83d Degree in the same Strait, which he observ'd to be 40 Leagues wide, he return'd home.

A Proclamation concerning *Woad*. In the mean time a Proclamation was set forth to restrain the Covetousness of some private Men in *England*, who converted Arable Lands, and the richest Pasture Grounds to the sowing of the Herb *Isatis*, commonly called *Woad*, for the use of Dyers, to the great Prejudice of Clothiers, and the Countrymen which fed on white Meats made of Milk. Whereupon they were forbidden to sow that Herb within eight Miles of any of the Queen's Houses, and within 4 Miles of Cities, Market-Towns, and all other Towns where Clothing was used.

Barbary Company of Merchants. And for the more advantagious and gainful vending of *English* Cloaths, Licence was granted to *Ambrose* Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother the Earl of *Leicester*, *Thomas Starkey*, *Gerard Gore*, and divers other Merchants of *London*, for the Term of two Years, to trade with the *Moors* in the Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, to make good and repair the Losses they had before sustain'd in *Africa*; and all others were prohibited to trade upon those Coasts. These Merchants *Muley Hamet* the Xeriff took into his Protection. 1585. *Ann.* 28.

In the beginning of this Year died *Edward Clinton*, Lord Admiral of *England*, who was created Earl of *Lincoln* by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Year 1572. and lyes buried at *Windsor*, being falsly surnamed *Fiennes* in the Inscription of his Tomb. (Which I note, not to tax others, but lest I be taxed my self.) *Henry* his Son succeeded him in the Earldom; in his Command at Sea, *Charles* Lord *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. And in the Place of Lord Chamberlain succeeded the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, substituted in that Government some few Years since in the room of *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*. Which *Francis* (who was the second Earl of *Bedford* of this Family, and a true Lover of Religion and Vertue) having surviv'd three of his Sons, *Edward*, *John* and *Francis*, so that there remain'd but only one Son, *William* Lord *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*, and three Daughters, married to the three Earls of *Warwick*, *Bath* and *Cumberland*, died of a Gangrene the next Day after his Son *Francis* was slain (as I said before) upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and lyes entomb'd with his Father at *Cheiney* in the County of *Buckingham*. After him succeeded *Edward*, his Grandson by his third Son *Francis*, being under Age. And of the E. of *Bedford*.

Amongst these, tho' he were of less Note, we must not pass *Richard Caldwell* over in silence, who died this Year, being of *Brazen-Nose-College* in *Oxford*, and a Doctor of Physick. This Man merited well of the Commonwealth, by giving a Surgery-Lecture to the College of Physicians in *London*, (which College was first founded by *Thomas Linacre*) and endowing it with a handsome Allowance; the Lord *Lumley* being admitted into a share of the Honour. He was buried in St. *Bennet's* Church not far from the Place, and his Tomb adorn'd with the Sculpture of several Implements used by Surgeons. And Dr. *Caldwell*.

At the latter end of this Year, the Earl of *Leicester*, tickl'd with an ambitious desire of Command and Glory, and being easily perswaded by those who sought their own Security, and Power at Court, more than his Honour, crossed the Seas into *Holland*, with the Title of *General of the Queen of England's Auxiliary Forces*, and with some kind of Command over the Admiral of *England*, and the Queen's whole Fleet. He set out with great Preparation and a splendid Retinue, being accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Basset*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and other Knights, and a select Troop of 500 Gentlemen. At his departure, the Queen gave him in charge amongst other Things, That he should not so much as think of any thing which would not stand with her Honour, and the Quality of the Place he bare; and that he should diligently inform himself what Garisons the States maintain'd, and by what Means they did it; what way they went in raising and falling the Rates of Money (for herein they surpass and are skill'd above all other Men) that so the Soldiers might not receive their Pay at one rate, and spend it at another. She charg'd him to cut off, and hinder all Supplies of Provision from the Enemy; to restrain and curb the Pirates of *Dunkirk*; and most passionately and heartily she recommended to his Care the Noblemen of those Parts, more especially the Prince of *Orange* his Children.

The E. of *Leicester* sent into *Holland*.

His Instructions.

The Nine and Twentieth Year of her Reign. 1586.

The Earl of *Leicester* arriving at *Flushing*, was entertain'd by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*, Go-

vernor

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vernor of the Place, and afterwards by the Cities of *Zeland* and *Holland*, with all manner of Honour, hearty Acclamations, triumphal Arches, Feastings, and the like publick Acknowledgments of their Deliverance. Being come to the *Hague* in *Holland*, in the Month of *January*, the chief Government and absolute Authority over the Confederate Provinces was given him by a Grant in Writing from the *States General* (as they call them) with the Title of Governor and Captain General of *Holland*, *Zeland*, the *United and Confederate Provinces*. And now being attended with a noble Guard, saluted of all Men by the Title of *Your Excellency*, and sooth'd up with Flatteries, as seated in the highest and most illustrious Degree of Honour, he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect King. But the Queen taking it very ill that the States had confer'd so large Honour on him, and that he had accepted it, check'd his Ambition, and on a sudden reprov'd his swelling Pride by this one short Letter.

Absolute Authority granted him.

Queen takes it ill.

She expostulates with him.

'How contemptuously you have carried your self towards us, you shall understand by this Messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought, that one whom we had rais'd out of the Dust, and prosecuted with such singular Favour above all others, would with so great Contempt have slighted and broken our Commands in a Matter of so great Consequence, and so highly concerning us and our Honour: Whereof tho' you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought by your Allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of repairing thereof, that we can bury so great an Injury in silence and oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all Excuse set apart, you do forthwith, upon your Allegiance which you owe unto us, do whatsoever our Vice-Chamberlain *Heneage* shall make known to you in our Name, upon pain of farther Peril.

And with the States.

In another Letter to the States-General she thus expostulates with 'em: 'That they had to her Disgrace, and without her Knowledge, confer'd the absolute Government of the Confederate Provinces upon *Leicester*, her Subject; when as she had absolutely refus'd it her self, and by a publick Manifesto had declar'd to the whole World, that she intended only to relieve and succour her Neighbours in their Distress, and no ways to take upon her the Sovereignty over them. *She admonishes them therefore* to turn *Leicester* out of that absolute Authority, whose Commission she had limited; not that she thought their Cause unworthy to be favoured and assisted, but to provide for and secure her own Honour, which she esteem'd more dear to her than Life it self.

They excuse it.

The States wrote back to her: 'That they were very sorry they had incur'd her Displeasure by granting absolute Authority to *Leicester* without her knowledge. They intreat her to be pacified, considering the necessity thereof; forasmuch as such an Authority was necessary to be granted to one or other, to avoid Troubles and Dissensions. Neither indeed was the Authority so great as the Word *Absolute* might seem to import, considering that the Principality it self, and the supreme Rule and Dignity of Dominion, remain'd wholly in the Peoples Hands. And to revoke the Authority already granted, were nothing else but to plunge the State of the *Netherlands* into extreme Dangers.

Queen pacifi'd.

By these Letters of the States, and the sorrowful Lines of *Leicester*, who knew well enough how with Tears, and a pretended Trouble for what had pass'd, to reconcile the Favour of his mild Princess to himself, her Displeasure by little and little vanish'd away, and was forgotten.

Leicester in the mean time receives all the Contributions of the Provinces, maketh Military Laws, and while he goeth about to impose new Payments upon all Traffick and Merchandize, procures himself great Hatred among the People. At this time the Prince of *Parma*, Governor of the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniard*, besieged *Grave* (a Town of *Brabant* upon the River *Maes*) for several Months by *Charles* Count *Mansfield*, who had rais'd Works round about it. To relieve this Town the Earl of *Leicester* sent Count *Hohenlo* or *Hollack*, a *German*, and Sir *John Norris* General of the *English* Foot: but as soon as they had begun to build a Fort as near the Town as they could, that from thence they might victual and relieve the Town, the *Spaniards* fell upon them, and beat them from their Work; but the *English* Companies coming presently in, they were themselves beaten back with great slaughter of their Men, seven of their Officers were slain; and of the *English*, *Norris* lightly hurt. Count *Hollack* shortly after cutting through the Bank, and letting out the Waters, reliev'd the Town with Victuals and a fresh Supply of Men by Boats. As soon as the Prince of *Parma* himself was come, and had thunder'd a while into the Town with his great Ordnance, *Van Hemart*, Governor of the Town, a young Man, raw and unskill'd in military Matters, not so much as expecting an Assault, compounded for his own and the Townsmen's Lives, and surrender'd the Place; whilst in the mean time *Leicester* drove the *Spaniards* out of the *Betuwe* (which is properly called *Batavia*) an Island made by two Rivers, the *Rhyne* and the *Wael*, and near the *Tol-huys* erected a strong Sconce. For the delivering up of *Grave*, *Hemart* afterward suffer'd Death, for an Example and Terror to others.

Grave besieged by the Spaniard.

Leicester sends to relieve it.

Supplies put in it.

Surrender'd.

Leicester drives the Spaniards out of Betuwe.

The Prince of *Parma* marched next into *Gelderland*, and encamped before *Venlo*; where *Skenk* a *Frieslander*, and Sir *Roger Williams* a *Welshman*, two venturous Men, undertook a desperate Exploit, to break through the Enemy's Camp at Midnight, and enter into the City: And indeed, after the slaughter of some of their Enemies, they made their way as far as the Prince of *Parma's* own Tent. But being there repell'd, they retreated without effecting their Design, yet not without Commendations amongst martial Men for their bold Attempt: And *Venlo* was shortly after surrender'd.

A bold Adventure.

Venlo lost.

In the mean while the Lord *Willoughby*, Governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, intercepted the Enemy's Provision of Corn; whilst in other Parts Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Grave Maurice* the Prince of *Orange* his Son, surpriz'd *Axele*, a Town of *Flanders*. Encourag'd with this Success, *Sidney* made an Attempt by Night upon *Gravelin*, being fed with hopes, and drilled on by some of the Garrison, but found himself deluded; and having lost some few of his Men, slain by *La Motte* Governor of the Town, who had contriv'd the Plot, he escap'd himself in safety with the rest. Sir *William Pelham*, General of the *English* Horse, the whilst ranged all over *Brabant*. From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* took his March to *Berck*, garrison'd by 1200 *English*, under the Command of Colonel *Morgan*, and laid siege to it. To raise this Siege *Leicester* made haste thither: But when he saw himself to be too weak in Men, ill provided of Victuals, no Place of Retreat near, and the Enemy's Camp very strongly intrench'd and fortifi'd, to draw the Enemy from the siege of it, he besieged *Doesburg*; and after he had with his Ord-

Axele taken.

Gravelin attempted in vain.

Parma besieges Berck.

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nance made a Breach in the Walls, and was ready to give an Assault, they came to a Parley, and the City was yielded into his Hands, before the Prince of *Parma* could be drawn from *Berck* to relieve it.

Leicester takes *Doesburg*.

But the Prince of *Parma* fearing the Loss of *Zutphen*, a Town hard by, commanded a Supply of Victuals to be convey'd thither. A second Convoy being dispatch'd thither in foggy Weather, the *English* in the Fog lighted upon the *Spaniards* that had convoy'd it. Whereupon there happen'd a Skirmish. The *English* being charg'd with two or three Volleys of Shot one after another, from a strong Place of Advantage, yet stood their Ground, overthrew a Troop of Horse under the Leading of *George Cressiac* an *Albanois*, and took him Prisoner after he had been unhors'd by the Lord *Willoughby*, *Hannibal Gonzaga*, with many others, being slain. Of the *English* few were missing: But *Sidney*, one of more Value than many others, having his Horse kill'd under him, was shot into the Thigh as he was mounting again, and died the 25th Day after, leaving behind him a great Miss of him amongst good Men. He died in the very Flower of his Age, having out-liv'd his Father scarce four Months: for whom *Leicester*, his Uncle, at his Return into *England*, made a splendid Funeral after the military Fashion, at Saint *Paul*'s Church at *London*. *James* King of *Scots* honour'd him with an Epitaph; both the Universities consecrated their Tears; and *New College* in *Oxford* set forth a most elegant Description of his noble Acts. These things, and far more than these, his great Virtue, excellent Wit, most exquisite Learning, and sweet Conditions, deservedly merited.

A Fight with the *Spaniards*.

Sir *Philip Sidney* slain.

Zutphen attempted by *Leicester*.

Leicester, though full of Sorrow and Heaviness hereat, vigorously assaulted the Sconces near *Zutphen*: and the better to force the Town, he took the Iland in the River, and in it the principal Fort. Then setting upon the lesser Fort, he took it through the Valour of *Edward Stanley*, who, catching hold of a *Spaniard's* Pike wherewith he charg'd him, held it so fast, that by the same he was drawn up into the Sconce: Whereat the *Spaniards* were terrify'd, and in great Haste and Fear quitted it. *Leicester* knighted *Stanley* for his Valour, gave him forty Pounds of *English* Money in hand, and a yearly Pension of one hundred Marks during his Life. The Night following, the *Spaniards* abandon'd the great Sconce, with all the Munition, and retir'd into *Zutphen*. *Leicester* thought it not good formally to besiege the same, which (it being now the depth of Winter) he thought sufficiently block'd up by the Garrisons in the Towns round about it. For at *Dewenter*, within six *English* Miles Northward, lay Sir *William Stanley* with 1200 Foot, *English* and *Irish*; in the Sconces of *Zutphen* next *Dewenter*, lay *Rowland York*, with 800 Foot and 100 Horse; at *Doesburg*, within six Miles Southward, lay Sir *John Burrough* with 800 Foot and 200 Horse; and to the Eastward were Garrisons put into *Lochem*, *Sherenburg*, and *Dotecum*.

Valour of *Edward Stanley* of the *Stanleys* of *Elford*.

Zutphen left blocked up.

Leicester, after he had quarter'd the rest of his Men in the Towns, and the Prince of *Parma* was departed farther off, return'd to the *Hague*, where he was receiv'd by the States, with these expostulatory Complaints: *That the Money was ill manag'd; That he listen'd to corrupt and destructive Counsels; That the* English *Companies were not full; That foreign Soldiers had been levy'd, without Consent of the States; That military Discipline was neglected, Wagons and Pioneers were taken up by Force, the Privileges of the Provinces disregarded and slighted, and new kinds of Contributions invented.* These things they pray him that he will prudently remedy in time. He, being now minded to go over into *England*, puts them in Hopes of Redress, and gives them fair Words. But when the Day came that he was to depart, he entrusted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State; and the same day privately made another Act of *Restriction*, reserving to himself all the Authority over the Governors of Provinces, Cities and Forts; he also took from the Council of State and the Presidents of Provinces their wonted Jurisdictions; and so fail'd over into *England* the 3d Day of *December*. Thus went the *English* Affairs in the *Netherlands* all this Year.

The States Complaints against *Leicester*.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who had now been Prisoner in the Tower a full Year, was accus'd in the *Star-Chamber*, *That he had relieved several Priests, contrary to the Laws; That he held Correspondence, by Letters, with* Allen, *and* Parsons *the Jesuite, the Queen's Enemies; That he had publickly in Writing questioned the Justice of the Kingdom; and, That he had Intentions of departing the Realm without Licence.* The Earl protesting his Obedience to the Queen, and his Love to his Country, modestly excus'd himself, by his Affection to the Catholick Religion, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and, confessing his Fault, submitted himself to the Censure of the Bench; who fined him in ten thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure. But of these things I am to speak more fully in the Year 1589.

The E. of *Arundel* fined.

At this time came over into *England*, from *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, *Henry Ramely*, Chancellor for *German* Affairs, in a military Equipage, and attended with a Guard of Musqueteers; who made a large Declaration of the King's good Affection towards the Queen and the Peace of Christendom. For the procuring whereof with the *Spaniard*, he promis'd his best Assistance, *lest* (as he said) *the Enemy of Mankind should any longer water the Seed of War, which he had sown in the* Netherlands, *with the Blood of Men.* The Queen heard him very graciously, had often Conference with him, entertaining the Man with singular Courtesie, and highly commended the King of *Denmark's* pious Affection. But she made him Answer by the Lord *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer, *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral, *Henry* Lord *Hunsdon* Lord Chamberlain, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary, 'That she desired nothing more than 'to embrace a Peace with her Neighbour Prin-'ces, provided there was no Fraud in it: But 'well understanding the Attempts of the *Spani-'ard* against her, she could not but provide for 'her own Safety, the Defence of the true Reli-'gion of Christ, and the preserving of the Privi-'leges of her Confederate Neighbours inviolate.' Much after the same rate also was Answer given to *Bodellan*, whom the Prince of *Parma* had privily sent into *England*, to try if he could procure a Peace.

King of *Denmark* mediates a Peace in the *Low Countries*.

Queen's Answer.

In the mean time she largely supply'd the King of *Navarre* with Money, by Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, through whose Sides the *Guisians* struck at the Reform'd Religion in *France*. But there was nothing she was more careful and intent about, than to establish a firm and lasting Amity betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and to join them in a *League of mutual Defence and Offence*, thereby to cut off all Hopes, not only from her foreign Enemies, but also from the Queen of *Scots* her self, of any Assistance out of *Scotland*. For she suspected that the said Queen, being vex'd in her Mind, did harbour dangerous Projects and Designs in her Breast, since the time that those Conditions which she had offer'd were rejected, the *Association* enter'd into, and she her self committed (as I said before) to the Custody of Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*. And certain it is, as evidently

She supplies the King of *Navarre* with Money.

She seeks to hold Peace with the King of *Scots*.

To what intent.

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dently appears by the Adversaries own Writings, that the *Jesuites* on the one side, and the fugitive Noblemen on the other side, with different Affections and Purposes, suggested to her very dangerous Advice and Counsel. For the Jesuites, when they saw no hope remaining of restoring the *Romish* Religion, either by her or her Son, betook themselves to new Stratagems, and began to forge a new and pretended Title to the Succession of the Kingdom of *England* for the *Spaniard* (whose Grandeur alone they labour'd to [illegible]). To this end they sent into *England*, (as *Pasquier* says) one *Samier*, (if the Name be not counterfeit) a Man of their Society, to draw Noblemen and Gentlemen to the *Spaniard's* Party, and thrust her forward to her own Danger, by telling her, *That if she were troublesome, neither she nor her Son should reign*; and by exciting the *Guises*, her Kinsmen, to new Attempts against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, that being engaged therein, they might not be at leisure to help her.

Fugitives and Jesuits differ in their Advice to the Q. of Scots.

But to conclude the League which was begun by *Wotton* (but interrupted by *Russel's* Death, and now endeavour'd to be hinder'd by *Desneval*, Ambassador from *France*, and *Coresllic*, a Man of a turbulent and unquiet Spirit, who had of late been disgracefully turn'd out of *England*) Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was sent into *Scotland*, whose Dexterity in *Scottish* Matters was look'd upon as prudent and fortunate, tho' to the King he were not very acceptable, in regard of those Tumults which he had of late been the Author of in *Scotland*. *Randolph* propounded to the King the same Conditions of a League, which *Wotton* had propounded before. The King would have to be added to them, and set down in the Draught of the League, the Articles touching the annual Pension assign'd him, and about the not prejudicing him in his Title to the Crown of *England*. The Ambassador, according to his Instructions, promis'd that those two Points should be provided for in a particular Article by themselves, provided he would continue constant in maintaining Amity with *England*. The King also (out of his great Love to his Subjects) propounded farther, That the *Scots* might enjoy the same Privileges and Immunities in *England* which the *English* themselves did. But when the Ambassador had shew'd him, that that could not be granted but by Act of Parliament, and that the Estates of *England* would not easily yield to it; he deliberately and particularly gave his Assent to the Articles propounded, and commanded the same to be imparted to the Nobility of his Realm, that they might be confirm'd by their Subscriptions also, altho' the *French* Ambassador endeavour'd to make him believe at first, that the Queen sought this League, not out of any Love or Respect to the King, but out of a just Fear, lest e'er long her Enemies which conspired against her should be too hard for her; and afterwards went about to terrify him with Threats, that the old Amity with the *French*, which had been so highly beneficial to the *Scots*, would be by this means dissolv'd; and lastly, besought him, that nothing might be done herein, without the Advice of the *French* King.

French oppose the League with the King of *Scots*.

He would add to the former Conditions.

But he could work nothing upon the King, who knew these to be nought but vain Scare-crows, either to hinder or delay the matter. For he knew, that by the late Confederacy with the *Netherlanders*, the *English* were very much streng-then'd. He gave therefore this serious Answer, 'That he had put his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and not in the Amity and Friendship of those who were Enemies to God's Glory: and that it was as lawful for him to make 'a League with the Queen, without acquainting 'the *French* King, as for the *French* King to have 'made a League with the Queen, of late, without acquainting him.' And though the Queen, being somewhat sparing, sent him less Money than he expected, lest she might be thought to buy the League, and gave him no express Assurance concerning the Succession: Yet he, out of his Zeal to Religion, and his singular Affection and Inclination towards both her and the publick Peace, commanded both the League to be concluded, and (to satisfy her) the *Carrs* also, who were suspected of *Russel's* Death, to be sent into *England*. But they fled away and escaped, the Day before they were to be sent.

Is not terrify'd by the *French*.

Shortly after, in the beginning of *June*, there met at *Berwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, and Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, Commissioners sent by the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *James Humes* of *Coldingknoll*, Commissioners appointed by the King of *Scots*: Who concluded a *League of stricter Amity* (as they term'd it, the Word *offensive* not so well pleasing the *Scots*) which follows in these Words.

A League of stricter Amity concluded.

'Whereas the Reign and Government of these Princes has fallen into such uncertain and dangerous times, wherein the Neighbour-Princes, who will needs be call'd *Catholicks*, acknowledging the Pope's Authority, do enter into mutual Leagues and Confederacies, for the rooting up and extirpating the true, pure and evangelical Religion, not only out of their own Territories and Dominions, but also out of the Kingdoms of other Princes, and thereunto do bind themselves by faithful Vows and Promises: Lest those who profess the evangelical Religion should seem to be less careful for the Defence and Protection thereof, than they who profess the *Romish* Religion are seriously labouring the Subversion of the same; the said Princes, for the greater Security of their own Persons, upon whose Safety depends the Safety of all their People, and for the Preservation of the true, antient and Christian Religion, which they now profess, have thought meet that a stricter Alliance and mutual Confederacy be sincerely enter'd into, than ever hitherto has been between their Majesties Progenitors.

Articles thereof.

'First therefore, To the end that this so necessary and pious a Purpose and Intention of both Princes, in this troublesome State of Affairs, may be brought to its wish'd Effect, for the publick Good, and the Propagation of the evangelical Truth, it is covenanted, agreed and concluded, That the said Princes shall, by this social and sacred League, provide for and endeavour the Defence and Preservation of the true, pure and evangelical Religion, which they now profess, against all others whosoever, who shall enterprize, attempt or do any thing against either of them, in order to subverting the said Religion; and that they shall use their utmost Endeavour and Diligence, that the rest of the Princes who embrace the same true Religion, may be brought to associate with them in this so holy a Purpose and Confederacy, and with joint Forces maintain the true Worship of God in their Countries and Dominions, and defend and govern their People under the said antient and apostolical Religion.

'*Item*, It is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That this social League for maintaining and upholding the Christian and Catholick Religion, which at this time is embraced by both Princes, and by God's Blessing receiv'd and countenanced through their Kingdoms and Dominions, shall be a League both of Defence

'and

1586. *Ann.* 29. and Offence againſt all Men whatever, who ſhall hinder, or any ways go about to hinder the free Exerciſe thereof in their Kingdoms and Dominions; all Treaties, Alliances and Confederacies whatſoever formerly entred into betwixt either of them and the Diſturbers or Adverſaries of the ſaid Religion, be they who they will, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

'And if at any time it ſhall happen that any Prince or State whatſoever, of what Condition ſoever they be, ſhall invade or infeſt the Kingdoms, Dominions or Territories of either of the ſaid Princes, or any Part thereof, or ſhall any way hurt or injure their Majeſties Perſons or their Subjects, or attempt the ſaid things, or any of them, it is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That neither of theſe Princes, being certified from the Prince invaded, or ſuffering ſuch Injury or Hurt, ſhall at any time, openly or ſecretly, directly or indirectly, give or afford any Aid, Counſel or Favour to the ſaid Invaders or Infeſtors, any Tie of Conſanguinity or Affinity, Alliance of Amities or Confederacies formerly entred into, or hereafter to be entred into, notwithſtanding: And this in what kind of Invaſion ſoever it be, and by whomſoever it ſhall be made or attempted.

'It is agreed, accorded and concluded, That the afore ſaid Princes ſhall aſſiſt one another in manner as follows: That is to ſay, The King of *Scots*, in caſe the Realm of *England* be invaded or infeſted by a foreign Power, in thoſe Parts thereof that are remote from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhall, after demand made by the Queen of *England*, without delay, ſend 2000 Horſe and 5000 Foot, or any leſs number of Men, at the choice and demand of the ſaid Queen; and ſhall cauſe the ſame to march, at the Queen's Charges, from the Borders of *Scotland* lying next unto *England* into any other Part of *England* whatſoever.

'*Item*, It is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That if the Kingdom of *England* be invaded by any Man whatſoever in the Northern Parts, within 60 Miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, then the moſt illuſtrious King of *Scots*, being requeſted and called upon by the moſt Serene Queen of *England*, ſhall cauſe to be gather'd, and ſhall without delay effectually gather, all the Power and Strength he can make, and ſhall join the ſame with the *Engliſh* Forces, and in hoſtile manner purſue and proſecute the Invaders of the Realm of *England*, and all their Abettors and Favourers whoſoever, for the ſpace of thirty Days together; and thoſe Days being expired, if occaſion or neceſſity require, of more, even for as long time as the Subjects of *Scotland* have anciently been accuſtom'd, and at this Day in right are bound, to give their Service and Help for the Defence of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

'*Item*, That when the King of *Scots* ſhall be certified by the Queen of *England* of any Invaſion, or other Diſturbance whatſoever in her Kingdom of *Ireland*, he ſhall not only forbid the Inhabitants of the County of *Argyle*, and the Iſles and Places to the ſame adjoining, and of all other Parts of the Kingdom of *Scotland* whatſoever, to enter into the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and effectually hinder 'em from entring; but alſo, whenſoever it ſhall hereafter happen that the Inhabitants of any Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall enter, contrary to the meaning and intent of this Treaty, with any extraordinary or unuſual number of Men, in an hoſtile manner, into any Part of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the ſaid King, being certified by the Queen of ſuch their Entrance, ſhall by publick Proclamation declare ſuch Infeſters and 1586. Diſturbers who ſhall in an hoſtile manner har- *Ann.* 29. raſs that Kingdom, to be Rebels, Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and Traitors, and ſhall accordingly proſecute 'em as ſuch.

'*Item*, That neither Prince ſhall for the time to come, Aid, Favour, Succour or Relieve any Traytor, Rebel, or him that ſhall openly revolt from his Prince, or ſuffer them any way to be aided, ſuccoured and relieved by others, or permit them openly or ſecretly to make their Abode in his or her Dominions; but ſhall each of them, from the time of notice or firſt demand made by the Prince from whom they have revolted, without delay or procraſtination, deliver up, or cauſe to be deliver'd, the ſaid Traytors or Rebels, according to the Agreements expreſs'd in former Treaties betwixt us and our Predeceſſors, or at leaſt wiſe compel 'em to retire from the Frontiers and Borders of their Dominions: And moreover, as long as the ſaid Rebels or Traitors ſhall make their Abode in their ſaid Dominions, ſhall make juſt and due Satisfaction for all Injuries and Miſchiefs which may be done by the ſaid Rebels.

'*Item*, That for compounding and adjuſting of all and every the Injuries and Controverſies which have happen'd and ariſen on the Borders, upon account of the Borders, or amongſt the Borderers, from the time that the moſt Illuſtrious King of *Scots* firſt took the Government of the Realm into his own Hands, and for the ſpace of four Years going next before the ſaid term, the two Princes reſpectively ſhall within ſix Months after the concluding of this League, ſend able and fit Commiſſioners, well-affected to the Peace, furniſh'd and empower'd with Inſtructions meet and ſufficient for that purpoſe, to ſome convenient place on the Confines of both Kingdoms, who ſhall compound and determine all Cauſes and Controverſies by an honourable and friendly Treaty and Agreement.

'*Item*, That neither of the ſaid Princes ſhall contract Amity, or enter into any League or Confederacy with any other Prince, State or Society of Men, to the prejudice of this preſent League and Union, without the expreſs conſent of the other Confederate Prince, by Letters of the ſaid Prince, ſubſcribed with his own Hand, or ſealed with his Privy Seal, firſt had and obtain'd.

'*Item*, That both Princes, when either of them ſhall be duly requir'd by the Ambaſſadors or Commiſſioners of the other Prince ſo to do, ſhall both by their Oath, and under their Great Seal, approve, confirm and ratifie this ſacred League and Alliance; and moreover for the better ſtrengthning thereof, ſhall, within a certain time to be appointed by the mutual Conſent of both Princes, deliver, or cauſe to be deliver'd, their Royal Inſtrument or Letters-Patents to the ſame purpoſe.

'*Item*, That all former Treaties of Amities, Contracts and Agreements, made betwixt the Predeceſſors of the aforeſaid Princes and their Kingdoms and Dominions, tho' they may ſeem to be antiquated and out of date, ſhall ſtill continue in their ſtrength, force and vigour. As likewiſe, that this preſent Treaty of mutual Confederacy and ſtricter Amity and Alliance, ſhall in no ſort derogate from former Treaties and Confederacies entred into by the ſaid Princes with other their Confederates, or in any reſpect weaken or leſſen the force and authority thereof (the defence of the purer Religion, which the ſaid Princes do now maintain

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'and embrace in their Kingdoms, only excepted) 'in which Sense and Latitude we understand and 'intend that this present League of Defence and 'Offence shall remain in its full Strength, firm 'and inviolate.

'*Item,* That the King of *Scots* shall, when he 'arrives at the full Age of 25 Years, as soon as 'conveniently may be, approve and confirm the 'present Treaty, and cause it to be approv'd 'and confirm'd by a publick Assembly of the 'States of his Realm. And the same also shall 'the Queen do and perform, and cause to be 'done and perform'd in Parliament, by the No-'bility and other States of her Kingdoms of *Eng-'land* and *Ireland.*

Conspiracy against Q. Eliz.

The same Month that this League was ratified, a dangerous Conspiracy was discover'd against Q. *Elizabeth*; the Original and Progress whereof I will lay down as briefly as I can out of the voluntary Confessions of the Conspirators themselves. In the *English* Seminary at *Rheims*, some there were who most religiously admiring and reverencing the Omnipotency of the Pope, believ'd that the Bull of *Pius V.* against Queen *Elizabeth* was dictated by the Holy Ghost. These Men perswaded themselves, and others that eagerly desired and itched after the Glory of Martyrdom; that it was a meritorious Act to kill such Princes as were excommunicated; and farther, that they were Martyrs who lost their Lives on that Account. These things *Gifford,* a Doctor of Divinity, *Gilbert Gifford,* and *Hodgeson,* Priests, impress'd so deeply upon one *John Savage* (a Bastard by report) a Man ready for any Undertaking, that he willingly and readily vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth.* At the same time they wrote a Book (and that only on purpose to lull the Queen and Council fairly asleep in Security, while they privately made way for their wicked Designs) wherein they admonish'd the Papists in *England* not to attempt any thing against their Princess, but to fight against their Adversaries only with the Weapons of Christians, *viz.* with Tears, spiritual Arguments, daily Prayers, Watchings and Fastings: And withal they spread a false Rumor abroad by their Tale-bearers, that *George Gifford,* one of the Band of the Queen's Gentlemen-Pensioners, had sworn the Queen's Death, and in that respect had drawn a considerable Sum of Money from the Duke of *Guise.*

Savage undertakes to kill the Queen.

The Plot cunningly conceal'd

Ballard goes from England to France.

About *Easter, John Ballard,* a Priest of the Seminary of *Rheims,* who had been visiting many of the Papists in *England* and *Scotland,* and feeling their Pulses, return'd into *France* in company with one *Maud, Walsingham's* Spy (a notable crafty Dissembler, who had egregiously deceiv'd the unwary Priest) and tamper'd with Don *Bernardino de Mendoza,* the *Spaniard's* Ordinary Ambassador then in *France*; and with *Charles Paget,* a Man throughly devoted to the Queen of *Scots,* about invading *England*; judging it to be now a very fit time, whilst the Soldiery of *England* were absent in the *Netherlands*; neither could they ever hope for a fairer Opportunity, forasmuch as the Pope, the *Spaniard,* the Duke of *Guise,* and the Prince of *Parma,* were all resolv'd to set upon *England,* thereby to divert the War from the *Netherlands.* And tho' *Paget* demonstrated clearly, that it was in vain to invade *England* as long as Queen *Elizabeth* liv'd; yet was *Ballard* sent back again into *England,* having first been engag'd by Oath to procure Assistance with all speed to join with the Invaders, and to effect the Queen of *Scots* Liberty.

A Design to invade England.

Ballard sent back to Engl.

At *Whitsuntide* arriv'd in *England* this silken Priest in Soldier's Habit, call'd commonly by the borrow'd Name of Capt. *Foscu.* At *London* he brake the Business to *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derbyshire,* a young Gentleman of good Birth, and Rich, a Man of a ready Wit, and Learning above most of his Years, who being devoted to the *Romish* Religion, had a little before gone over into *France,* unknown, without Licence, and grew familiarly acquainted with *Thomas Morgan,* one that retain'd to the Queen of *Scots,* and with the Bishop of *Glascow* her Ambassador. These two, by their continual extolling the heroical Vertues of so great a Queen unto him, had put him into an assured hope of acquiring great Honours by her Service; which the ambitious young Gentleman soon laid hold on. They recommended him also, without his knowledge, by Letters, to the Queen of *Scots.* For when he was return'd into *England,* he wrote several kind and respectful Letters to him. And from that time *Morgan* made use of his help in conveying Letters to her, till such time as she was committed to Sir *Amias Powlet's* keeping; for then the young Gentleman, perceiving the danger, gave over. To this *Babington* (I say) *Ballard* brake the Business aforesaid. He was flatly of Opinion, That the Invasion of *England* would signifie nothing so long as Queen *Elizabeth* lived. But when *Ballard* had told him that she would not live long, for *Savage* was now come into *England,* who had vowed to kill her; *Babington* was not satisfied that so weighty a Business should be entrusted to *Savage* alone, lest he should fail of the Enterprize; but rather to six stout Gentlemen, of which number he would have *Savage* to be one, that so he might not break his Vow. *Babington* therefore contriveth a new Project for Invading the Realm by Foreigners, concerning the Havens where they should land, the Aid that should join them, the Delivering of the Queen of *Scots,* and the tragical Execution of the Queen, as he term'd it.

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He meets with Babington.

Acquaints him with the design. He approves it, but not the way of carrying it on.

Whilst his Mind was wholly intent upon this Business, he receiv'd Letters by an unknown Boy in a Cypher familiar betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and him, wherein she gently blamed him for his long Silence, and desir'd him to send her with all speed a Pacquet of Letters come from *Morgan,* and deliver'd by the *French* Ambassador's Secretary. Which he did, and withal by the same Messenger sent a Letter of his own unto her, wherein, 'He excus'd his Silence, in regard 'he wanted Opportunities of sending any thing 'to her ever since she was committed to the Cu-'stody of Sir *Amias Powlet,* a Puritan, a meer '*Leicestrian* (as he call'd him) and a most bitter 'Enemy of the Catholick Faith. He relateth 'what Conference he had had with *Ballard*; in-'formeth her that six Gentlemen were made 'choice of to commit the tragical Execution; 'and that he himself with an hundred more 'would at the same time set her at Liberty. He 'pray'd her that the heroical Actors in this Busi-'ness (for so he term'd them) might have Re-'wards assign'd, or else their Posterity, if they 'happen'd to perish in the Attempt.' To this Letter answer was made the 27th of *July.* '*Ba-'bington's* most entire Affection to the Catholick 'Religion, and to her, is recommended and ap-'plauded: But he is advis'd to go circumspectly 'and wisely to work, *viz.* That the Association 'amongst them should be entred into upon pre-'tence that they stood in fear of the *Puritans.* 'That there should be no Rising before such 'time as they were assur'd of foreign Assist-'ance. That some Disturbance should be rai-'sed in *Ireland* while the Stroke was giving on 'this side. That *Arundel* and his Brothers, and 'the Earl of *Northumberland,* should be wrought 'over to her Party; and, that *Westmorland, Pa-*

Q. of Scots writes to Babington.

His Answer.

The Reply.

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'*get*, and others, ſhould be privately called 'home.' The Way alſo for her Delivery was thus laid, *viz.* 'Either by overthrowing a Cart 'in the Gate, or ſetting Fire on the Stables, or 'by intercepting her as ſhe rode Abroad for her 'Recreation in the Fields betwixt *Chartley* and '*Stafford*. Laſtly, *Babington* is commanded to 'paſs his Word to the ſix Gentlemen and the 'reſt, concerning their Reward for their Ser- 'vice.

Partners in the Conſpiracy.

He had now aſſociated to himſelf ſeveral Gentlemen who were very zealous for the *Romiſh* Religion; amongſt whom, thoſe of moſt eminent Note were *Edward Windſore*, Brother to the Lord *Windſore*, a young Man of a ſoftly Diſpoſition; *Thomas Saluſbury*, of a good Family in *Denbighſhire*; *Charles Tilney*, a Gentleman of an ancient Houſe, the only Hopes of the Family, and one of the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners to the Queen, whom *Ballard* had lately reconcil'd to the *Romiſh* Church, both of them young Gentlemen of comely Perſonage; *Chidiock Tichburn* of *Southampton*; *Edward Abington*, whoſe Father had been Under-Treaſurer, or (as they commonly call him) Cofferer of the Queen's Houſhold; *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*; *John Travers* and *John Charnock* of *Lancaſhire*; *John Jones*, whoſe Father was Yeoman, or Keeper of the Wardrobe to Queen *Mary*; *Savage*, whom I have ſpoken of already; *Barnwel*, of a noble Family in *Ireland*; and *Henry Dun*, Clerk in the Office of Firſt Fruits and Tenths. One *Polly* alſo inſinuated himſelf into their Company, a Man who perfectly underſtood the Affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, a cunning Counterfeit and Diſſembler, who is thought to have revealed all their Conſultations from Day to Day to *Walſingham*, and to have egged on the young Gentlemen in this deſperate Undertaking, who were prone enough of themſelves to what was bad; tho' *Nawe*, the Queen of *Scots* Secretary, had given them ſecret Warning to beware of him.

Every Man's part aſſign'd him.

To theſe Men *Babington* breaketh the Deſign, but not all Parts of it to every one of them. To *Ballard*, *Tichburn* and *Dun*, he ſheweth his own Letters and the *Scottiſh* Queen's. *Tilney* and *Tichburn* he perſwaded to be Executors of the Murder. They at firſt refuſe to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Princeſs. *Ballard* and *Babington* labour to prove to 'em that it is lawful to kill Princes excommunicated; and if ever Equity and Juſtice be to be violated, it is to be done for the Promotion of the Catholick Religion. Being hereupon with much ado perſwaded, they gave a kind of Conſent. *Abington*, *Barnwel*, *Charnock* and *Savage*, took the Oath readily and cheerfully to commit the Murder. *Saluſbury* could by no means be perſuaded to have his Hand in killing the Queen, but voluntarily promis'd his Help for ſetting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty. Over and above thoſe before-named, *Babington* pitcheth upon one *Tichenor* to make up the Crew, of whoſe Fidelity and Boldneſs he was well ſatisfied; but he was at preſent abſent a great way off. *Babington* chargeth them not to acquaint any Man with the Buſineſs, but upon an Oath of Secrecy firſt taken. The Conſpirators met ever and anon to confer about theſe Matters, either in St. *Giles's* Fields, or St. *Paul's* Church, or in Taverns, where they every Day banqueted and feaſted, being puffed up with Hope of great Honours; now and then commending the Valour of thoſe *Scottiſh* Gentlemen who had not long before ſurpriz'd the King at *Sterlin*; and of *Gerard* the *Burgundian*, who murder'd the Prince of *Orange*. And to ſuch a height of fooliſh Vanity they proceeded, that they would needs have thoſe Men that were appointed to be the Aſſaſſines pictur'd to the Life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them, with this Verſe,

Conferences amongſt them.

Their fooliſh Vanity.

Hi mihi ſunt Comites, quos ipſa Pericula ducunt.

'Theſe Men are my Companions, whom very 'Dangers draw.

But foraſmuch as this Verſe pleas'd them not, as being too open and plain, they put inſtead of it,

Quorſum hæc aliò properantibus?

That is,

'To what End are theſe Things to Men that haſten to another purpoſe?

Theſe Pictures (they ſay) were begun, and privately ſhewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by their Favour, ſave only *Barnwel*, who had often come to her about Buſineſs of the Earl of *Kildare's*, in whoſe Service he was employ'd; but being by other Tokens put in mind of him, ſhe remember'd the Man very well. Sure it is, that when upon a Time ſhe walked Abroad and ſaw *Barnwel*, ſhe beheld him undauntedly, and turning her ſelf to *Hatton*, Captain of the Guard, and others, ſhe ſaid, *Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?* For ſo *Barnwel* himſelf related to the reſt of the Conſpirators, and ſhew'd them how eaſily ſhe might have been made away at that Time, if the Conſpirators had been there in readineſs. *Savage* alſo affirm'd the ſame.

Babington careful for Foreign Aſſiſtance.

He intends to ſend Ballard to France about it.

He inſinuates into Walſingham.

Nothing now more perplex'd *Babington*, than leſt the Promiſe made of Foreign Aid ſhould not be perform'd. Therefore to make ſure thereof, he reſolv'd himſelf to go over to *France*; and to that purpoſe to ſend *Ballard* privately before, for whom, by his Money, under a counterfeit Name, he had procur'd a Licence to travel. And that there might not be the leaſt ſuſpicion of himſelf, he inſinuated into *Walſingham* by means of *Polly*, whom I ſpake of before, and earneſtly beſought him to procure him a Licence from the Queen to travel into *France*, promiſing to do her extraordinary good Service, in pumping out and diſcovering the ſecret Deſigns of the Fugitives in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*. *Walſingham* commended the young Gentleman's Purpoſe, and promis'd him not only a Licence to travel, but alſo many and great Matters if he perform'd what he undertook. Yet did he linger and delay him, ſifting out in the mean time, by his own and other Mens Cunning and Diligence, the whole Plot, when they thought that the very Sun was a ſtranger to it: But this he did principally thro' the Diſcovery of *Gilbert Gifford* a Prieſt.

Walſingham cunningly deceives the Deceiver.

Gifford reveals the Conſpiracy.

This *Gifford* was born of a good Family at *Chillington* in the County of *Stafford*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was Priſoner; and was ſent about this time into *England* by the Fugitives, under the counterfeit Name of *Luſon*, to put *Savage* in mind of his Vow, and privately to lurk here as a Meſſenger to convey Letters betwixt them and the Queen of *Scots*: For ſo dangerous was that Service, that they could draw neither the Counteſs of *Arundel*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor the Lord *Henry Howard*, nor yet *George Shirley*, to undertake it.

He is intruſted to convey Letters betwixt the Fugitives and the Q. of Scots.

The Fugitives, to make trial whether *Gifford* would be faithful in the ſafe conveying of their Letters, ſent at firſt ſeveral blank Papers, made up like Letters; which when they found, by the Anſwers they receiv'd, to have been deliver'd, they then grew more confident of him, and ſent frequently other Letters written in Cyphers concerning

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cerning their Buſineſs. But *Gifford*, whether prickt in Conſcience, or formerly corrupted with Money, or terrified with Fear, had before this come to *Walſingham* privately, inform'd what he was, and to what purpoſe ſent into *England*, offering him his beſt Service in love to his Prince and Country, and promis'd to impart unto him all the Letters he ſhould receive either from the Fugitives, or from the Queen of *Scots*. *Walſingham*, laying hold on the Opportunity offered, entertain'd the Man kindly, ſent him into *Staffordſhire*, and wrote to *Powlet*, that he ſhould connive at the corrupting of one of his Men by *Gifford*. *Powlet*, unwilling that any of his own Servants ſhould (as he ſaid) become a Traitor by ſuch diſſembling, denied it; yet permitted him to corrupt a Brewer or ſome ſuch Man who dwelt hard by. *Gifford* with a few pieces of Gold ſoon corrupted the Brewer, who privately put in the Letters, and receiv'd Anſwers of them, through an hole in the Wall, which was ſtopp'd with a looſe ſtone; which Letters forthwith came to *Walſingham*'s Hands by Meſſengers ready on purpoſe to carry them. *Walſingham* open'd them, wrote them out, found out the Cyphers by the ſingular Art and Skill of *Thomas Philips*, and by the direction of *Arthur Gregory* ſealed them up again ſo cunningly, that no Man could ever judge they had been open'd, and ſo ſent them to thoſe to whom they were directed by the Superſcriptions. Thus were intercepted thoſe foremention'd Letters of the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington*, and his in anſwer to her, and another of hers to him, wherein was cunningly added (after opening) a Poſtſcript in the ſame Characters, deſiring him to ſet down the Names of the ſix Gentlemen, (and it's likely other things too) alſo the Letters which were written the ſame Day and Date to *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and Sir *Francis Inglefield*; all which were firſt copied out, and then ſent over Sea.

He ſends all the Letters he receives to Walſingham.

They are tranſcribed and ſent as directed.

Queen *Elizabeth*, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood by theſe Letters that ſo dreadful a Storm hung over her Head, on the one ſide from her own Subjects at home, and the other ſide from Strangers abroad, gave Command for the timely ſuppreſſing of the Conſpiracy, that *Ballard* ſhould forthwith be apprehended. Him therefore they ſeiz'd on before he was aware in *Babington*'s Houſe, at the very Moment when he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey for *France*. Hereupon *Babington* grew very much troubled and penſive, toſſed with a thouſand Uncertainties of an unreſolv'd Mind: And while his Thoughts ran now this way now that way, at length he betook himſelf to *Tichburn*, and adviſ'd with him, what was beſt to be done. *Tichburn*'s Council was, That the Conſpirators ſhould forthwith diſperſe themſelves and fly. But *Babington* thought it the beſt courſe to ſend *Savage* and *Charnock* preſently to execute the Murder. But firſt, that they might get the better acceſs, he thought good to provide *Savage* of more handſom and courtly Apparel, and hereof he diſcourſed with them the ſame Day in St. *Paul*'s Church. But preſently his Mind alter'd, and, concealing the inward Anguiſh of his troubl'd Breaſt, he preſs'd *Walſingham* (then abſent at Court) by Letters and earneſt Intreaties, that he might now at length have his Licence granted to travel into *France*; and withal ſolicited him for the delivery of *Ballard*, who would be of ſpecial Uſe and Service to him in the Buſineſs he had undertaken. *Walſingham* feedeth him with fair Promiſes from Day to Day. That *Ballard* was apprehended, he layeth the blame upon *Young*, that ſubtle Diſcoverer of Papiſts, and upon the Purſuivants; and, as it were out of Love and Friendſhip, warneth *Babington* to beware of that kind of Men: And now he eaſily perſuades the young Gentleman to lodge in his Houſe at *London* till the Queen had ſign'd his Licence, and till himſelf could return to *London*, that they might have the more ſecret and ſecure Conference about Matters of ſuch Moment and Conſequence, and that there might no Suſpicion ariſe of him amongſt the Fugitives when he ſhould come into *France*, upon account of his frequent repair to his Houſe. In the mean time *Scudamore*, *Walſingham*'s Man, was commanded to have a diligent and watchful Eye upon him, and to keep him company in all places, under pretence of ſecuring him from Purſuivants.

Ballard apprehended.

Babington perplext.

He ſolicits for Ballard's delivery.

Walſingham's Policy.

Watchful Eye upon Babington.

Thus far had *Walſingham* ſpun this Thread alone, without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's Council; and longer he would have drawn it, but the Queen would not ſuffer it, *Leſt* (as ſhe ſaid herſelf) *by not heeding and preventing the Danger while ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt God, than to truſt in God*. A Note was therefore ſent from the Court from *Walſingham* to his Man, that he ſhould more ſtrictly obſerve *Babington*. This Note being unſealed, was delivered ſo to him, that *Babington*, ſitting at the Board next him, read it along with him. Hereupon his Conſcience accuſing him, and ſuſpecting that all was come to light, the next Night, when he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walſingham*'s Men had ſupped plentifully in a Tavern, he roſe from the Board as if he intended to pay the Reckoning, and, leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, made all the haſte he could in the dark to *Weſtminſter*, where *Gage* changed Cloaths with him, who preſently ſtripped himſelf again in *Charnock*'s Chamber, and put on *Charnock*'s Cloaths; and immediately they withdrew into St. *John*'s Wood near the City, whither alſo *Barnwell* and *Dun* made their retreat. In the mean time they were publickly proclaim'd Traitors all over *England*. They were now fain to lurk in Woods and blind Corners; and having in vain tried to borrow Money of the *French* Ambaſſador, and Horſes of *Tichburn*, cut off *Babington*'s Hair, diſguiſed and ſullied the natural Beauty of his Face with the Rind of green Walnuts; and being hardly put to it by Hunger, they went to an Houſe of the *Bellamies* near *Harrow on the Hill*, which *Bellamies* were furiouſly bigotted to the *Romiſh* Religion. There were they hid in Barns, there were they fed, and cloathed in rude Country Habit. But the 10th Day after they were diſcover'd and brought to *London*, the City teſtifying their publick Joy by ringing of Bells, making Bonfires, and ſinging of Pſalms; inſomuch as the Citizens were highly commended and thanked by the Queen for theſe Teſtimonies of their good Affection.

He ſlinks away.

He and others lurk in Woods.

They are taken.

The reſt of the Conſpirators were taken ſoon after, moſt of 'em in places near the City; *Saliſbury* in *Cheſter*, having his Horſe run through by thoſe that purſu'd him, and with him *Trevers*, after they had ſwam over the River *Wever*. *Jones* was taken in *Wales*, who, being privy to the deſign'd Invaſion, had conceal'd them in his Houſe after he knew them to be proclaim'd Traitors; and had horſed *Saliſbury* in his Flight, and changed Cloaks with his Man, which was a Prieſt. Only *Windſore* was not to be found. Many Days were ſpent in examining of them, who cut one anothers Throats by their Confeſſions, and diſcover'd the whole truth of the buſineſs.

The reſt taken.

They diſcover all, and impeach one another.

All this while was the Queen of *Scots* and her Servants kept by *Powlet*, with ſo ſtrict a Watch, and ſo cloſely obſerv'd, that ſhe was utterly ig-

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norant of all these Occurrences, tho' they were commonly known and talk'd of all over *England*. But as soon as these Conspirators were apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorges* was sent to give her a brief Account thereof: which news he surprized her with, and that of set purpose, just as she had taken Horse to ride a hunting. Neither was she permitted to return to the place of her Custody, but was led about (under a Shew of doing her Honour) from one Gentleman's House to another's, dwelling thereabouts. In the mean time, Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aston*, Sir *Richard Bagot*, and Mr. *William Waad* (who was lately sent into those parts, and wholly ignorant of the matter) by Authority granted them under the Queen's Warrant and Letters, committed *Nawe* and *Curle*, her two Secretaries, to several Keepers, that they might have no Conference either with one another, or with the Queen. And then breaking open the Doors of her private Closet, they sent all her Cabinets wherein her Papers were kept, seal'd up with their own Seals, to the Court. Then *Powlet* (as he was commanded) seiz'd upon all her Money, lest she should corrupt any body with Bribes, and pass'd his Word for the true restoring the same. Her Cabinets being search'd before Queen *Elizabeth*, there were found many Letters from Persons beyond Sea, as also Copies of Letters written to several, Breviaries, and about sixty Indexes or Tables of private Cyphers and Characters; Letters also from some *English* Noblemen to her, full of Expressions of Love and Respect. Which notwithstanding Queen *Elizabeth* dissembled and conceal'd in Silence, according to that Motto which she used, *Video & taceo*, that is, I see, but say nothing. But they having got some sort of Knowledge thereof, began from that time to shew themselves deadly Adversaries to the Queen of *Scots*, lest they might seem to have favour'd her before.

Queen of *Scots* led about the Country.

Nawe & *Curle*, her Secretaries, secured.

Her Cabinets of Papers sent to the Queen.

Now *Gifford*, having acted his Part thus far in this Scene, was sent away back into *France*, as if he had been banish'd hence; but first he left behind him with the *French* Ambassador in *England*, an intended Paper, with Direction that he should deliver the Letters he receiv'd from the Queen of *Scots*, or from the Fugitives, to no other Person but him that should shew the Counterpart thereof; which Counterpart was privily sent by him to *Walsingham*. This *Gifford*, being return'd into *France*, was after some Months cast into Prison for incontinent and dishonest living; and being withal suspected there of these things, he died miserably, freely confessing most of the Passages already mention'd, which were also found penn'd down in some Papers he had by him in his Coffers.

Gifford sent back to *France*.

Where he dies miserably.

On the 13th of *September*, seven of the Conspirators were arraign'd, confessed themselves guilty, and were condemn'd of High-Treason. The next day but one after, seven others were in like manner arraign'd, pleaded *Not guilty*, and submitted themselves to be tried by *God and the Country*, as the manner is; who were all found guilty out of their own Confessions, and condemn'd. *Pollie* only of the Number, though he were privy to all the Business, yet because he affirm'd that he had reveal'd several things to *Walsingham*, was not arraign'd. On the 20th of the same Month, (a Gallows and a Scaffold being set up for that purpose in St. *Giles's* Fields, where they were wont to meet) the first seven were hang'd, cut down, their Privities cut off, their Bowels taken out before their Faces, while they were alive, and their Bodies quarter'd, not without more than usual Cruelty.

The Conspirators arraign'd, and executed.

Ballard, the Arch-plotter and Contriver of this Treason, crav'd Pardon of God, and of the Queen, if so be he had sinn'd against her. *Babington* (who beheld *Ballard's* Execution, without being in the least daunted, while the rest turned away their Faces, and fell to Prayers upon their Knees) ingeniously acknowledg'd his Offence. Being taken down from the Gallows, and now ready to be cut up, he cry'd aloud several times in *Latin*, *Parce mihi, Domine Jesu*; that is, Spare, or, Forgive me, O Lord *Jesus*. *Savage* broke the Rope and fell down from the Gallows, and was presently seiz'd on by the Executioner, [illegible] cut off, and his Bowels taken out. *Barnwell* extenuated his Crime, upon the account of Religion and Conscience. *Tichburn* humbly acknowledg'd his Fault, and moved the Multitude to Pity and Commiseration of his Case. As in like manner did *Tilney*, a Man of a modest Disposition and comely Personage. *Abington*, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, sought to terrify them with Menaces and Threats of Blood, which should, he said, be spilt e'er long in *England*.

Behaviour at their Death.

The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and suffered the same kind of Death; but somewhat more favourably, by the Queen's express Command, who detested the former Cruelty: for they all hung till they were quite dead, before they were cut down and bowell'd.

Salisbury was the first, who died very penitent, admonishing the Catholicks not to attempt to restore Religion by Force and Arms. In like manner did *Dun*, who next followed him. *Jones* protested that he dissuaded *Salisbury* from the Attempt, and utterly condemn'd *Babington's* proud and rash Headiness, and the Design for Invasion. *Charnock* and *Travers*, having their Minds wholly fix'd on Prayer, recommended themselves to God and the Saints. *Gage* extoll'd the Queen's great Grace and Bounty to his Father, and detested his own perfidious Ingratitude towards his Princess, to whom he was so deeply engaged. *Hierom Bellamy*, who had conceal'd *Babington*, after he was openly proclaim'd Traitor, (whose Brother was guilty of the same Crime, and strangled himself in Prison) with Confusion and deep Silence brought up the Rear.

These being thus executed, *Nawe* a *Frenchman*, and *Curle* a *Scot*, who were the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, being examin'd about the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Ciphers, found in the Queen's private Closet, voluntarily acknowledg'd, and subscrib'd to it, that the Letters were of their Hand-writing, as they were dictated from the Queen's own Mouth in *French* to *Nawe*, and translated into *English* by *Curle*, and so written in Ciphers. Neither did they deny but she had receiv'd Letters from *Babington*, and that by her Command they had written back to him to the same purpose as I have before related. Whether these Secretaries were bribed to confess this, I cannot say: Yet this appears out of some Letters, that when *Curle* about this time claim'd Promise of *Walsingham*, *Walsingham* taxed him as unmindful of the extraordinary Favour he had done him, and told him he had confess'd nothing but what he could not deny, because *Nawe* his Fellow justify'd it to his Face.

Queen of *Scots* Secretaries examin'd.

Sincerity of their confession suspected.

Shortly after was Sir *Edward Wotton* sent into *France*, to inform the King of the whole Management of the Conspiracy, and to shew him the Copies of the Letters of the Queen of *Scots* and others, attested by the Depositions of certain Noblemen of *England*, to justify the Truth thereof; that so the *French* King might see into what great Danger the Queen of *England* had been brought, by the Practices of *Morgan*, *Charles Paget*, and others in *France*.

French K. inform'd of all by Q. *Eliz.*

And-

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Different Opinions what to do with the Queen of *Scots*.

And now, what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*, the Council were of ſeveral Minds and Opinions. Some thought that no new rigorous Courſe was to be taken with her, but only that ſhe was to be committed to cloſer Cuſtody, both becauſe ſhe was not the Author of the Miſchief, but only acceſſary to it; as alſo becauſe ſhe was ſickly, and not like to live long. Others were of Opinion, that for the Security and Preſervation of Religion, ſhe was forthwith to be put to death, and that by Law. *Leiceſter* thought rather by Poiſon, and ſent a Divine privately to *Walſingham*, to ſatisfy him that it was lawful. But *Walſingham* proteſted he was ſo far from conſenting that any Violence ſhould be done to her, that he had of late croſs'd *Morton*'s Counſel, who adviſ'd that ſhe ſhould be ſent back into *Scotland*, and put to death in the very Frontiers and Borders of both Kingdoms.

And by what Law ſhe ſhould be try'd.

Then they differed in their Opinion, by what Law ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt, whether by the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. (whereby *he is made guilty of Treaſon, who ſhall compaſs or imagine the Deſtruction of the King or Queen, raiſe War in his or her Kingdom, or adhere to his or her Enemies*) or by the late Act of 27 Queen *Elizabeth*, whereof I have made mention before.

Reſolv'd to try her by the late Act of Treaſon.

At length it was carry'd by thoſe who thought ſhe was rather to be try'd by this laſt Act, as being made for this very purpoſe and occaſion, and therefore to be put in execution. To the end therefore that Proceſs might be made, and Sentence pronounced, according to this Act, made the laſt Year, againſt all ſuch as ſhould raiſe Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any Violence towards the Queen,

Commiſſioners appointed to try her.

ſeveral of the Privy-Council and other Noblemen of *England*, were made Commiſſioners, by the Queen's Patent, for her Trial. Whoſe Names (becauſe it may concern Poſterity to know the Rank and Titles of the Noblemen of *England*) I have thought good to ſet down out of the very Original, which runs thus in the ordinary Form of the Court.

Commiſſion, and Commiſſioners Names.

'*Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, '*France* and *Ireland*, Queen, Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To the moſt Reverend Father in 'Chriſt, *John*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Pri'mate and Metropolitan of all *England*, and one 'of our Privy-Council; and to our truſty and 'well-beloved Sir *Thomas Bromley* Knight, Chan'cellor of *England*, and one of our Privy-Coun'cil; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved '*William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord-Treaſurer of *Eng*'*land*, another of our Privy-Council; and alſo 'to our moſt dear Couſin *William* Lord Marquiſs 'of *Wincheſter*, one of the Lords of the Parlia'ment: To our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* Earl 'of *Oxford*, great Chamberlain of *England*, an'other of the Lords of Parliament; and alſo to 'our moſt dear Couſin *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, 'Earl-Marſhal of *England*, another of our Pri'vy-Council; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Hen*'*ry* Earl of *Kent*, another of the Lords of the 'Parliament; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin '*Henry* E. of *Derby*, another of our Privy-Coun'cil; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* Earl 'of *Rutland*, another of the Lords of the Parlia'ment; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Ambroſe* 'Earl of *Warwick*, Maſter of our Ordnance, 'another of our Privy-Council; and to our 'moſt dear Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, ano'ther of the Lords of the Parliament; and alſo 'to our moſt dear Couſin *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, 'Maſter of our Horſe, another of our Privy-'Council; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Henry* 'Earl of *Lincoln*, another of the Lords of the 'Parliament; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin '*Anthony* Viſcount *Montague*, another of the 'Lords of the Parliament: And to our truſty 'and well-beloved *Charles* Lord *Howard*, our high 'Admiral of *England*, another of our Privy-'Council; and to our truſty and well beloved '*Henry* Lord *Hunſdon*, our Lord Chamberlain, 'another of our Privy-Council; and alſo to our 'truſty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Abergaven*'*ny*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; 'and to our truſty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord '*Zouch*, another of the Lords of the Parliament, 'and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Edward* 'Lord *Morley*, another of the Lords of the Par'liament; and to our truſty and well-belov'd '*William* Lord *Cobham*, Lord-Warden of our 'Cinque-ports, another of our Privy-Council; 'and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Edward* 'Lord *Stafford*, another of the Lords of the Par'liament; and alſo to our truſty and well-be'loved *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, another of 'the Lords of the Parliament; and alſo to our 'truſty and well-beloved *John* Lord *Lumley*, an'other of the Lords of the Parliament; and al'ſo to our truſty and well-beloved *John* Lord '*Stourton*, another of the Lords of the Parlia'ment; and to our truſty and well-beloved *Wil*'*liam* Lord *Sandes*, another of the Lords of the 'Parliament; and alſo to our truſty and well-'beloved *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, another of the 'Lords of the Parliament; to our truſty and 'well-beloved *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, another of 'the Lords of the Parliament; and to our truſty 'and well-beloved *John* Lord *Saint-John* of *Blet*'*neſho*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; 'and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Thomas* 'Lord *Buckhurſt*, another of our Privy-Council; 'and to our truſty and well beloved *Henry* Lord '*Compton*, another of the Lords of the Parlia'ment; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved '*Henry* Lord *Cheyney*, another of the Lords of the 'Parliament: To our truſty and beloved Sir '*Francis Knolles* Knight, Treaſurer of our Houſ'hold, another of our Privy-Council; and al'ſo to our truſty and beloved Sir *James Croftes* 'Knight, Comptroller of our ſaid Houſhold, an'other of our Privy-Council; and to our truſty 'and beloved Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Knight, our 'Vice-Chamberlain, another of our Privy-Coun'cil; and alſo to our truſty and beloved Sir '*Francis Walſingham* Knight, one of our princi'pal Secretaries, another of our Privy-Council; 'and alſo to our truſty and beloved *William Da*'*viſon* Eſquire, another of our principal Secre'taries, and of our Privy-Council; and alſo to 'our truſty and beloved Sir *Ralph Sadleir* Knight, 'Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, another 'of our Privy-Council; and alſo to our truſty 'and beloved Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight, Chan'cellor of our Exchequer, another of our Pri'vy-Council; and to our truſty and beloved Sir '*Amias Paulet* Knight, Captain of our Iſle of '*Jerſey*, another of our Privy-Council; and to 'our truſty and beloved *John Wolley* Eſquire, our 'Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, another of our 'Privy-Council: And alſo to our truſty and be'loved Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Knight, Chief Juſti'cer aſſign'd for the Pleas to be holden before 'us; and to our truſty and beloved Sir *Edmund* '*Anderſon* Knight, our chief Juſticer of the 'Bench; Sir *Roger Manwood* Knight, our Chief 'Baron of our Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Gawdy* 'Knight, one of our Juſticers aſſigned for the 'Pleas to be holden before us; and *William Pe*'*riam*, one of our Juſticers of the Bench, Gree'ting, &c. Then (not to write it all down *verbatim*) after the Recital of the Act made the laſt Year, thus it follows: 'Whereas ſince the end 'of the Seſſion of Parliament, *viz.* ſince the 'firſt day of *June*, in the Twenty ſeventh Year

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of our Reign, divers things have been compaſs'd and imagin'd, tending to the Hurt of our Royal Perſon, as well by *Mary* Daughter and Heir of *James* V. King of *Scots*, and commonly call'd Queen of *Scots*, and Dowager of *France*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of *England*, as by divers other Perſons, with the Privity of the ſaid *Mary*, as we are given to underſtand; And whereas we do intend and reſolve, that the aforeſaid Act ſhall be in all and every part thereof duly and effectually put in execution, according to the Tenor of the ſame, and that all Offences aboveſaid, in the Act aboveſaid mention'd, as afore is ſaid, and the Circumſtances of the ſame, ſhall be examined, and Sentence or Judgment thereupon given, according to the Tenor and Effect of the ſaid Act: To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full and abſolute Power, Licence and Authority, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Act, to examine all and ſingular matters compaſs'd and imagin'd, tending to the Hurt of our Royal Perſon, as well by the aforeſaid *Mary*, as by any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, with the Privity of the ſaid *Mary*, and all Circumſtances of the ſame, and other Offences whatſoever aboveſaid, in the Act aboveſaid (as afore is ſaid) mention'd, and all Circumſtances of the ſame, and of every of them; And thereupon, according to the Tenor of the Act aforeſaid, to give Sentence or Judgment, as upon good Proof the Matter ſhall appear to you. And therefore we command you, that you do at ſuch certain days and places, which you or the greater part of you ſhall for that purpoſe ſet and agree upon, diligently proceed upon the Premiſſes, in form aforeſaid, *&c.*'

They meet at *Fothering-hay* Caſtle.

The greateſt part of theſe Commiſſioners met on the 11th of *October*, at *Fotheringhay*-Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, ſeated upon the Bank of the River *Nen*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then in Cuſtody. The Next day the Commiſſioners ſent to her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* Publick-Notary, who deliver'd into her Hands Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters: which when ſhe had read, with a Countenance becoming her Royal Dignity, and with a quiet and ſedate Mind, ſhe thus delivered herſelf: 'It grieves me much that the Queen, my moſt dear Siſter, is mis-inform'd of me; and that I, after ſo many Years cloſe Confinement in Priſon, and my being grown lame in my Limbs, have lain wholly neglected, tho' I have offered ſo many reaſonable Conditions for my Liberty. Tho' I have given her full and faithful Notice of ſeveral Dangers that threaten'd, yet has no Credit been given to me, but I have been ſtill contemn'd and ſlighted, tho' I be ſo nearly ally'd to her in Blood. When the Aſſociation was entered into, and the Act of Parliament made thereupon, I foreſaw that whatſoever Danger ſhould happen, either form foreign Princes abroad, or from ill-diſpoſed People at home, or for Religions ſake, I muſt bear all the Blame, having ſo many mortal Enemies in the Court. Certainly I might take it very ill, and that not without juſt Reaſon, that a League has been lately made with my Son, without my Knowledge or Privity: But ſuch matters I omit. As for this Letter, it ſeems ſtrange to me, that the Queen ſhould command me as a Subject, to ſubmit myſelf to a Trial. I am an abſolute Queen, and will do nothing which may be prejudicial either to Royal Majeſty, or to other Princes of my Place and Rank, or my Son. My Mind is not yet ſo far dejected, neither will I faint or ſink under this my Calamity. I refer myſelf to what I have formerly proteſted before *Bromley*, now Chancellor, and the Lord *La-ware*. The Laws and Statutes of *England* are to me altogether unknown; I am deſtitute of Counſellors; and who ſhall be my Peers I cannot tell. My Papers and Notes are taken from me, and no Man dares appear to be my Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing againſt the Queen, I have ſtirr'd up no Man againſt her, and am not to be charged but upon my own Words or Writings, which I am ſure cannot be produced againſt me. Yet can I not deny, but I have recommended myſelf and my Condition to Foreign Princes.

Queen of Scots anſwers extempore to the Queen's Letters.

The next day *Powlet* and *Barker* return'd to her from the Commiſſioners, to let her know, that this Anſwer of hers was put in Writing, and to ask her, Whether ſhe would own it, and ſtand to it? When ſhe had heard it diſtinctly read, ſhe acknowledged to be rightly and truly taken, and ſaid ſhe would ſtand to it. 'But this (ſaid ſhe) I have quite forgotten, which I would now have to be added. Whereas the Queen writes that I am ſubject to the Laws of *England*, and to be tried and judged by them, becauſe I have lived under the Protection of them; I anſwer, that I came into *England* to crave her Aid and Aſſiſtance, and have been ever ſince detain'd in Priſon, ſo that I could not enjoy the Protection or Benefit of the Laws of *England*; nay, I could never yet underſtand from any Man what manner of Laws thoſe were.

She adds to her Anſwer.

In the Afternoon came to her ſome that were choſen and deputed from amongſt the reſt of the Commiſſioners, together with Men learned in the Civil and Canon-Law. The Lord-Chancellor and the Lord-Treaſurer juſtify'd their Authority, by their Patent and Commiſſion, and ſhew'd that neither her Impriſonment nor her Prerogative of Royal Majeſty could exempt her from anſwering in this Kingdom, with fair Words adviſing her to hear what ſhould be objected againſt her: otherwiſe they threatned, that by Authority of the Law they both could and would proceed againſt her, tho' ſhe was abſent. She anſwered, 'That ſhe was no Subject, and rather would ſhe die a thouſand Deaths than acknowledge herſelf a Subject, conſidering that by ſuch an Acknowledgment ſhe ſhould both wrong the Sublimity of Regal Majeſty, and withal confeſs herſelf to be bound by all the Laws of *England*, even in matters of Religion. Nevertheleſs ſhe was ready to anſwer all things in a free and full Parliament: as for this Meeting and Aſſembly, it was (for ought ſhe knew) deviſed againſt her (being already condemn'd and forejudged to die) purpoſely to give ſome Shew and Colour of a juſt and legal Proceeding. She warn'd them therefore to look to their Conſciences, and to remember that the Theater of the whole World is much wider than the Kingdom of *England*. Then ſhe began to complain of the Injuries done her. But the Lord-Treaſurer, interrupting her, began to reckon up Queen *Elizabeth*'s Kindneſſes towards her: namely, That ſhe had puniſh'd divers who had oppoſed and denied her Title to the Crown of *England*; and had been a means to keep her from being condemn'd by the Eſtates of the Realm, for endeavouring Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for the Rebellion in the North, and ſeveral other matters. All which when ſhe ſeem'd to make little Eſteem and Account of, they return'd back to the reſt of their Fellow-Commiſſioners.

Commiſſioners adviſe her to appear to her Trial.

She refuſes.

Within few Hours after they ſent her by *Powlet* and the Solicitor the Contents of their Commiſſion, and the Names of the Commiſſioners, that

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Excepts against the new Law.

that she might see they were to proceed according to Equity and Reason, and not upon any cunning Niceties of Law, or take any extraordinary Course. She took no Exception against the Commissioners, but objected strongly against the late-made Law, upon which the Authority of their Commission solely depended; as, that it was unjust, devised of purpose against her, that it was without Example, and such whereunto she would never subject herself. She asked by what Law they intended to proceed? If by the Civil or Canon-Law, then (said she) you must send for Interpreters of it from *Pavia* or *Poitiers*, or some other foreign University, for in *England* are none to be found fit for it. She added also, That it was manifest by the plain Words of the Queen's Letters, that she was already fore-judged to be guilty of the Crime, before she was heard; and therefore there was no reason why she should appear before them. She farther required to be satisfy'd touching some Scruples she had concerning several things in those Letters, which she had for her *own* Satisfaction confusedly and in haste taken Notice of, but would not deliver them in writing: For it stood not (she said) with her Royal Dignity to play the Scrivener.

She scruples some things in the Q's Letters.

Touching this Matter, the formerly-deputed Commissioners were sent unto her again; whom she told, that she did not well understand what those Words meant, *Seeing she is under the Queen's Protection.* The Lord-Chancellor answer'd, *That it was plain to every one that understood any thing; yet was it not for Subjects to interpret what the Queen's meaning was, neither were they Commissioners for that end and purpose.* Then she required to have her Protestation, which she had formerly made, shew'd and allow'd. It was answer'd, *That it had never been, nor now could be allow'd, because it was prejudicial to the Crown of* England. She ask'd by what Authority they would proceed? It was answered, *By Authority of their Commission, and by the Common Law of* England. *But* (said she) *ye make Laws at your pleasure, whereunto I have no reason to submit myself, considering that the* English *in times past refus'd to submit themselves to the Salick Law of* France. *And if they would proceed by the Common Law of* England, *they should produce Presidents and like Cases, forasmuch as that Law consisteth much of Cases and Custom. And if by the Canon Law, none else ought to interpret the same but the makers thereof.* It was answered, *That they would proceed neither by the Civil nor Canon Law, but by the Common Law of* England: *That it might nevertheless be proved both by the Civil and Canon Law, that she ought to appear before them, if she would not refuse to hear it.* And indeed she refused not to hear it, provided (as she said) it were by way of Interlocution and Discourse, not Judicially.

She requires to have her Protestation admitted.

She asks by what Authority and Law they'd proceed.

Justifies herself.

After that she fell into other Discourses: 'That she never had any Thoughts tending to the Destruction of the Queen: That she had been provok'd and incensed with several Injuries and Indignities: That she should be a Stone of Offence to others, if she were so unworthily handl'd: That by *Name* she had offer'd her best Assistance for revoking the Pope's Bull: That she would have justified her Innocency by Letters, but she was not allow'd to do it: And finally, That all the Offices of Kindness and Good-will which she had tender'd these twenty Years, had been rejected and slighted. While she thus wandred from the Business by these Digressions, they recall'd her back, and prayed her to speak plainly, whether she would answer before the Commissioners, or not? She reply'd, 'That the Authority of their Commission was founded upon a late Law made to intrap her: That she could by no means away with the Queen's Laws, which she had good reason to suspect: That she had still a good Heart, full of Courage, and would not derogate from her Progenitors the Kings of *Scotland*, by owning herself a Subject to the Crown of *England*; for this were nothing else but openly to confess them to have been Rebels and Traitors. Yet she refus'd not to answer, provided she were not reduced to the Rank of a Subject. But she had rather utterly perish than to answer as a criminal Person.

Refuses to appear.

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Hatton persuades her to it.

To this *Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, answer'd: 'You are accus'd (but not condemn'd) to have conspired the Destruction of our Lady and Queen anointed. You say you are a Queen: Be it so: However in such a Crime as this, the Royal Dignity itself is not exempted from answering, neither by the Civil or Canon Law, nor by the Law of Nations, nor of Nature. For if such kind of Offences might be committed without punishment, all Justice would stagger, yea fall to the Ground. If you be Innocent, you wrong your Reputation in avoiding Trial. You protest yourself to be Innocent, but Queen *Elizabeth* thinketh otherwise, and that not without good Ground, and is heartily sorry for the same. To examine therefore your Innocency, she hath appointed Commissioners, honourable Persons, prudent and upright Men, who are ready to hear you according to Equity and Favour, and will rejoice with all their Hearts if you shall clear yourself of what you are charged with. Believe me, the Queen herself will be transported with Joy, who affirm'd unto me at my coming from her, that never any thing befel her that troubl'd her more, than that you should be charg'd with such Misdemeanors. Wherefore laying aside the fruitless claim of Privilege from your Royal Dignity, which now can be of no use unto you, appear to your Trial, and shew your Innocency; lest by avoiding Trial you draw upon yourself a Suspicion, and stain your Reputation with an eternal Blot and Aspersion.

She stands out.

'I refuse not (*said she*) to answer in a full Parliament before the States of the Realm lawfully assembl'd, provided I may be declar'd the next in Succession; yea before the Queen and her Council, so that my Protestation may be admitted, and I may be acknowledged the next of Kin to the Queen. To the Judgment of mine Adversaries, with whom I know all Defence of mine Innocency will signifie nothing, I will by no means submit myself. The Lord-Chancellor ask'd her, Whether she would answer, if her Protestation were admitted? *I will never* (said she) *submit myself to the late Law mention'd in the Commission.* Hereupon the Lord-Treasurer concluded, 'We notwithstanding will proceed in the Cause to Morrow, tho' you be absent and continue refractory. *Examine your Consciences,* (said she) *be tender of your Honour; God reward you and yours according to your Judgment upon me.*

She is content to appear.

On the Morrow, which was the 14th of that Month, she sent for certain of the Commissioners, and pray'd 'em that her Protestation might be admitted and allowed. The Lord-Treasurer ask'd her, Whether she would appear to her Trial, if her Protestation were only receiv'd and entred in Writing, without Allowance? She yielded at last, but with much ado, and an ill will, lest she should seem (as she said) to derogate from her Predecessors or Successors; but was very desirous to clear herself of the Crimes objected against her, being persuaded by *Hatton*'s

Reasons,

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Reasons, which she had seriously weighed and considered.

The form of Session in the Court.

Soon after those Commissioners that were there assembled themselves in the Presence-Chamber. At the upper end of the Chamber was placed a Chair of State for the Queen of *England* under a Canopy of State. Over against it, below and at some distance, near the Transome or Beam that ran cross the Room, stood a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*. By the Walls on both sides were placed Benches, upon which sat, on the one side the Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Lord-Treasurer of *England*, the Lords of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and the Lord Viscount *Montacute*: On the other side, the Barons *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Stourton*, *Sandes*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *Saint-John* of *Bletnesshoe*, *Compton* and *Cheiney*. Nigh unto these sat the Knights that were of the Privy-Council; Sir *James a Croftes*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Powlet*. Right before the Earls sat the two Chief-Justices, and the Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; and on the other side two Barons, the other Justices, *Dale* and *Ford* Doctors of the Civil Law: And at a little Table in the midst sat *Popham* the Queen's Attorney, *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitor, *Gawdy* the Queen's Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries.

The Lord-Chancellor's speech to her.

When she was come in, and had placed herself on her Seat, after Silence commanded, *Bromley* Lord-Chancellor, turning towards her, spake briefly to this effect: *The most Serene Queen* Elizabeth *being informed (not without great Grief and Trouble to her Mind) that you have conspir'd the Destruction of her Person and the Realm of* England, *and the Subversion of Religion, hath according to her Place and Duty, lest she might seem to neglect God, Herself and her People, and out of no Malice of Heart at all, appointed these Commissioners to hear the Matters which shall be objected against you, and how you can clear yourself of them, and make your Innocency appear to the World.*

Her Protestation.

She then rose up, and said, 'That she came 'into *England* to crave the Aid which had been 'promis'd her, and yet had she been ever since 'detained in Prison. She protested, that she 'was no Subject of the Queen's, but had been, 'and was, a free and absolute Queen, not to be 'constrain'd to appear before Commissioners, or 'any other Judge whatsoever, for any Cause 'whatsoever, but before God alone, the highest 'Judge; lest she should derogate from her own 'Royal Majesty, the King of *Scots* her Son, her 'Successors, and other absolute Princes. Yet 'that she now appear'd personally, to refute and 'wipe off the Crimes objected against her. And hereof she prayed her own Attendants to bear witness.

The answ.

The Lord-Chancellor, not acknowledging that any Aid had been promis'd her, answer'd, *That this Protestation was in vain, for whosoever (of what Place, Quality and Degree soever he be) should offend against the Laws of* England *in* England, *he was subject to the said Laws, and was to be examined and tried by the late Act. The said Protestation therefore, being made in derogation of the Laws and Queen of* England, *was not to be admitted.* The Commissioners nevertheless commanded, that as well her Protestation, as the Lord-Chancellor's Answer, should be recorded.

Her Protestation recorded.

She excepts against the Act.

After the Commission was openly read, which was grounded upon the Act so often already mention'd, she boldly and resolutely offered her Protestation against the said Act, as made directly and purposely against herself; and herein she appeal'd to their own Consciences.

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The Issue.

When answer was made by the Lord-Treasurer, 'That every Person in the Kingdom was bound 'by the Laws, tho' never so lately made, and that 'she ought not to speak against the Laws; and 'that the Commissioners were resolved to proceed according to that Law, what Protestations 'or Appeals soever she interposed: She said at length, *That she was ready to hear and answer touching any Fact whatsoever committed against the Queen of* England.

She submits to her Trial.

Process.

Gawdy now opening the Statute from Point to Point, affirming that she had offended against the same; and hereupon he made an historical Discourse of *Babington's* Conspiracy, and concluded, *That she knew of it, approved it, assented to it, promised her Assistance, and shew'd the way and means for effecting it.*

She denies what's objected.

She answered with a stout Courage, 'That she 'knew not *Babington*: That she never received 'any Letters from him, nor wrote any to him: 'That she never plotted the Destruction of the 'Queen; and that to prove any such thing, 'her Subscription under her own Hand ought to be 'produced: That for her part she never so much 'as heard a word thereof: That she knew not '*Ballard*, nor ever reliev'd him: But understanding by some that the Catholicks in *England* 'took many things very hardly, she had advertis'd the Queen by Letters of it, and besought 'her to take Pity on them: That divers who 'were utterly unknown to her, had offered her 'their Help and Assistance, yet had she excited 'or encourag'd no Man to any unlawful Attempt; and being shut up in Prison, she 'could neither know nor hinder what they went 'about.

Hereupon it was urged out of *Babington's* Confession, That there had been Intercourse of Letters betwixt her and *Babington*. She confess'd that there had pass'd Letters betwixt her and many Men, yet could it not be thence gather'd that she was privy to all their wicked Designs. She required that her Superscription under her own Hand might be produc'd; and ask'd what hurt it were for her to demand the Letters again which had been kept from her almost a whole Year. Then were read the Copies of *Babington's* Letters to her, wherein the whole Conspiracy was contain'd.

As for these Letters (said she) *it may be that* Babington *wrote them, but let it be prov'd that I received them. If* Babington *or any other affirm it, I say plainly, they lye. Other Mens Faults are not to be thrown upon me. A Packet of Letters which had been kept from me almost a whole Year, came to my Hands about that time, but by whom it was sent I know not.*

To prove that she had receiv'd *Babington's* Letters, there were read out of *Babington's* Confession the chief Heads of certain Letters which he had voluntarily confess'd that she had wrote back to him. Wherein when mention was made of the Earl of *Arundel* and his Brothers, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Tears burst forth, and she said, *Alas! what hath that noble House of the* Howards *endur'd for my sake?* And presently, having wiped away the Tears, she answer'd, *That* Babington *might confess what he list, but 'twas a flat Lye that she had contrived any such means to escape: That her Adversaries might easily get Ciphers which she had made use of to others, and with the same write many things forgedly and falsly: That it was not likely she should make use of* Arundel's *Help, whom she knew to be shut up in Prison; or* Northumberland's, *who was so very young, and to her altogether unknown.*

There were read also several things pick'd out of *Savage's* and *Ballard's* Confessions, who had confess'd

1586. Ann. 29. confessed that *Babington* communicated to them several Letters which he had receiv'd from the Queen of *Scots*.

She affirm'd, 'That *Babington* receiv'd none 'from her; nay, that she was very angry and 'offended with some who had secretly given 'her Advice concerning the invading of *England*, 'and had charged them to beware what they 'did.

Next was produced a Letter wherein *Babington's* Plot was commended and approved. Hereof she desir'd a Copy, and affirm'd, 'That it 'came not from her, but haply might be written by her Alphabet of Ciphers in *France*. That 'she had used her best Endeavours for the recovery of her Liberty, as very Nature itself allows and dictates, and had solicited her Friends 'to get her Deliverance; yet to some, whom 'she listed not to name, when they offer'd her 'their Help for her Delivery, she gave not the 'least Answer. Nevertheless she had a great desire to divert the storm of Persecution from the 'Catholicks, and for this she had been an earnest 'Suitor to the Queen. For her part, she would 'not purchase the Kingdom with the Death of 'the meanest ordinary Man, much less of the 'Queen. That there were many which attempted dangerous Designs without her knowledge; 'and by a Letter which she had very lately receiv'd, she was asked pardon by some if they 'should enterprize any thing without her privity. That it was an easie matter to counterfeit the Ciphers and Characters of others; as a 'young Man did very lately in *France*, who 'gave himself out to be her Son's base Brother.

She taxes Walsingham. 'That she was also afraid this was done by *Walsingham*, to bring her to her End, who (as she 'heard) had practis'd both against her Life and 'her Son's. She protested that she never so much 'as thought of the Destruction of the Queen: 'That she would gladly and freely rather lose 'her own Life, than that the Catholicks should

Pities the Catholicks. 'be so afflicted and persecuted in Hatred of her, 'and undergo so heavy Punishments for her 'sake. And here the Tears gushed forth abundantly:

But (said the Lord-Treasurer) *no Man that hath shewed himself a good Subject, was ever put to death for his Religion: Some indeed have been for Treason, while they maintained and avouched the Pope's Bull and Authority against the Queen. Yet I* (said she) *have heard otherwise, and have read it also in Books set forth in print. The Authors* (replied he) *of such Books as those write also that the Queen hath forfeited her Royal Dignity.*

Walsingham defends himself. *Walsingham*, who found himself just before so openly taxed by her, took this Opportunity, and rising up, protested that his Heart was free from all Malice. *I call God* (said he) *to witness, that as a private Person I have done nothing unbeseeming an honest Man; neither in my publick Condition and Quality have I done any thing unworthy of my Place. I confess that, out of my great Care for the Safety of the Queen and Realm, I have curiously endeavour'd to search and sift out all Plots and Designs against the same. If* Ballard *had offer'd me his Assistance, I should not have refus'd it, yea I would have rewarded him for his Pains and Service. If I have tamper'd any thing with him, why did he not discover it to save his Life?*

With this Answer (she said) she was satisfied. She prayed him 'not to be angry that she had spoken 'so freely what she had heard reported, and that 'he would give no more credit to those that 'slander'd her, than she did to such as accus'd 'him. Spies (*she said*) were Men of doubtful 'and little Credit, who make shew of one thing, 'and speak another; and desired him, That he 'would not in the least believe that ever she had 'consented to the Queen's Destruction. And 1586. Ann. 29. now again she burst forth into Tears; 'I would 'never (*said she*) make Shipwreck of my Soul, 'by conspiring the Destruction of my dearest 'Sister. It was answered by the Lawyers, that this should soon be proved by Witnesses. Thus far in the Forenoon.

A Letter of Charles Paget produced. In the Afternoon, to prove this, was openly produced the Copy of a Letter which *Charles Paget* had written, and *Curle* one of her own Secretaries testify'd she had received, concerning a Conference betwixt *Mendoza* and *Ballard* about the Design for invading of *England*, and setting her at Liberty. *Her answ.* *This* (she said) *was nothing to the purpose, and prov'd not that she had consented to the Destruction of the Queen.*

Babington's Confession & Letters to her. The Lawyers proceeded to prove farther, That she was both privy to the Conspiracy, and also actually conspir'd the Destruction of the Queen; and that by *Babington's* Confession, and by Letters that had past betwixt her and him, wherein he had call'd her *his most Dread and Soveraign Lady and Queen*. And by the way they took notice of a Plot that was laid for conveying the Kingdom of *England* to the *Spaniard*. She confess'd that a Priest came to her and said, *Her answ.* *That if she would not concern herself in the Business, she and her Son both should be excluded from the Inheritance.* But the Priest's Name she would not tell. She added, *That the* Spaniard *did lay Claim to the Kingdom of* England, *and would give place to no Title but hers.*

Her Secretaries Testimonies. Then they press'd her with the Testimonies of her Secretaries, *Nawe* and *Curle*, out of *Babington's* Confession, and the Letters and Answers betwixt her and *Babington*; the entire credit of which Proofs rested upon their sole Testimony, yet were they never brought face to face. *She extenuates their credit.* '*Curle* 'she acknowledged to be an honest Man, but 'not a competent Witness against her. As for '*Nawe*, he had been for some time a Secretary '(*she said*) to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and recommended to her by the *French* King, and might 'easily be drawn, either by Reward, or Hope, 'or Fear, to give a false Testimony, for he had 'several times taken rash Oaths; and *Curle* was 'so pliable to him, that at his beck he would 'write whatsoever he bad him. It might be '(*she said*) that these two might insert some 'things into her Letters which she never dictated to them: It might be also that such Letters came to their Hands, which notwithstanding she might never see. And then she brake forth into such Expressions as these: 'As well 'the Majesty as the Safety of all Princes must 'fall to the Ground, if they depend upon the 'Writings and Testimonies of Secretaries. I dictated nothing to them but what Nature prompted me to, that I might at last recover my 'Liberty. And I am not to be convicted but by 'mine own Words or Hand-writing. If they 'have written any thing prejudicial to the Queen 'my Sister, they have written it altogether 'without my knowledge, and let them bear the 'punishment of their inconsiderate Boldness. 'Sure I am, if they were here present, they 'would clear me of all blame in this case. And, 'if my Notes were in my Hands, I could answer 'particularly to these things.

Charged about conveying the Kingdom to the Spaniard. Whilst she was thus speaking, the Lord-Treasurer charged her, that she had Intentions to send her Son into *Spain*, and to convey her Title and Claim in the Kingdom of *England* to the *Spaniard*. To this she answer'd, *Her answ.* *That she had no Kingdom to dispose of or convey; yet was it lawful for her to give those things which were hers at her pleasure, and not to be accountable to any for what she did.*

When

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Ciphers ſhe ſent beyond ſea. Her anſw.

When her Alphabets of Ciphers, which were ſent over to *Babington*, the Lord *Lodowick* and *Fernihurſt*, were objected to her out of *Curle's* Teſtimony; 'She denied not but ſhe had written out many, and amongſt others that for the 'Lord *Lodowick*, when ſhe had recommended 'him and another to the Dignity of Cardinal, 'and that (*ſhe truſted*) without offence; ſince it 'was as lawful for her to hold Correſpondence 'by Letters, and to negotiate her Concernments 'with Men of her Religion, as for the Queen 'to do it with the Profeſſors of another Religion.

Then they again urged her cloſer with the Teſtimonies of *Nawe* and *Curle*, which agreed together. And ſhe return'd her former Anſwers, or elſe contradicted their Teſtimonies by a flat Denial; proteſting again that ſhe neither knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*.

Owns her allowing a Penſion to *Morgan*

The Lord-Treaſurer here ſaying, that ſhe knew *Morgan* well enough, who had ſent *Parry* over privately to murder the Queen, and that ſhe had aſſign'd him a yearly Penſion; ſhe replied, *That ſhe knew not whether* Morgan *had ſo done, but ſhe knew that* Morgan *had loſt all for her ſake, and therefore it concern'd her in Honour to relieve him; and ſhe was not bound to revenge an Injury done to the Queen by a Friend that had deſerved ſo well at her hands: However ſhe had endeavour'd to deter him from any ſuch wicked Attempts. On the other ſide* (ſaid ſhe) *I am ſure Penſions have been allow'd in* England *to* Patrick Gray *and other* Scots, *Enemies both to myſelf and to my Son.* The Lord-Treaſurer anſwer'd: 'When the Reveunes of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were by the Negligence of the Regents 'much diminiſh'd and impair'd, the Queen conferr'd ſomewhat out of her noble Bounty upon 'your Son the King, her near Kinſman.

And retorts Penſions given to the *Scots*.

Anſwers about Letters ſent to Paget, &c.

Afterwards were produced the principal Heads of ſeveral Letters ſent to *Ingleſield*, to the Lord *Paget*, and to *Bernardine de Mendoza*, about foreign Aſſiſtance. But when ſhe had anſwer'd, *That theſe things tended not to the Deſtruction of the Queen; and if Foreigners endeavour'd to ſet her at Liberty, it was not to be laid to her charge; and that ſhe had ſeveral times plainly let the Queen know that ſhe would ſeek to procure her own Releaſement*; the matter was put off till the next day following.

She proteſts again with a complaint

The next Day ſhe inſiſted upon her former Proteſtation, and required to have it recorded, and a Copy thereof deliver'd to her; lamenting, 'That thoſe ſo reaſonable Conditions which ſhe 'had many times propounded to the Queen were 'ſtill rejected, even then when ſhe promis'd to 'deliver her Son and the Duke of *Guiſe's* Son for 'Hoſtages, that the Queen or Kingdom of *England* ſhould receive no Prejudice nor Detriment by her; by which ſhe then ſaw herſelf 'quite out of all hope of obtaining her Liberty. 'But now ſhe was moſt unworthily dealt withal, 'whilſt her Honour and Reputation was called in 'queſtion before ordinary Lawyers, who by wreſted Concluſions drew every Circumſtance into a Conſequence; whereas Princes anointed 'and conſecrated are not ſubject to the ſame 'Laws that private Men are. Moreover, whereas the Power granted to the Commiſſioners 'was to examine *Matters tending to the Hurt of the Queen's Perſon*; the Cauſe was now ſo handled, and Letters ſo wreſted, that the Religion 'which ſhe profeſſed, the Immunity and Majeſty 'of foreign Princes, and the private Intercourſe 'betwixt Princes, were called in queſtion, and 'ſhe herſelf made to ſtoop and deſcend beneath 'her Royal Dignity, and to appear as a Criminal before a Tribunal-ſeat; and all this to no 'other purpoſe, but that ſhe might be quite excluded from the Queen's Favour, and her own 'right to the Succeſſion; whereas ſhe only made 'a voluntary Appearance, to clear herſelf of the 'Matters objected againſt her, leſt ſhe might 'ſeem to neglect the Juſtification of her own 'Honour and Innocency. She called alſo to 'their mind, how Queen *Elizabeth* herſelf was 'formerly brought into queſtion about *Wiat's* 'Conſpiracy, whereof notwithſtanding ſhe was 'perfectly Innocent; *religiouſly affirming*, That 'tho' ſhe wiſh'd with all her Heart the Safety 'of the Catholicks might be provided for, yet 'ſhe deſir'd not that it ſhould be brought to paſs 'by the Death and Blood, tho' but of one Man. 'For her part, ſhe had rather act the Part of '*Heſter* than of *Judith*; make Interceſſion to 'God for the People, than deprive the meaneſt 'of the People of his Life. She expoſtulated, 'That her Enemies had divulg'd abroad that 'ſhe was Irreligious. But time was (*ſaid ſhe*) 'when I would have been inſtructed in the Proteſtant Religion, but ſome would not ſuffer 'me to be ſo, as if they cared not what became 'of my Soul. *And now concluding*; When ye 'have done all you can (*ſaid ſhe*) againſt me, and 'have excluded me from my Right, ye may 'chance fail of your Hope and Expectation.

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Appeals and proteſts again

And withal making her Appeal to God, and to the Princes, who were her Kinſmen, and again renewing her Proteſtation, ſhe pray'd that there might be another meeting about this Matter, and that an Advocate might be allow'd her to plead her Cauſe, and that, ſeeing ſhe was a Princeſs, ſhe might be believ'd upon the Word of a Princeſs. 'For it were extreme Folly (*ſhe ſaid*) to 'ſtand to their Judgment whom ſhe ſaw ſo evidently and notoriouſly to be arm'd with prejudice againſt her.

Burghley's anſwer.

To this the Lord-Treaſurer anſwer'd: 'Whereas I bare a double Perſon and Quality, one of 'a Commiſſioner, the other of a Counſellor, 'hear me firſt a few Words as I am a Commiſſioner. Your Proteſtation is recorded, and a 'Copy thereof ſhall be deliver'd you. Our Authority is granted us under the Queen's Hand 'and the Great Seal of *England*, from which 'there lies no Appeal. Neither do we come 'with Prejudice, but to judge according to the 'exact Rule of Juſtice. The Queen's learned 'Council do aim at nothing elſe but that the 'Truth may come to light, how far you have offended againſt the Queen's Perſon. Full Power 'is given us to hear and examine the Matter, 'altho' you were abſent; yet were we deſirous 'you ſhould be preſent, leſt we might ſeem to 'have derogated from your Honour. We purpoſed not to charge you with any thing elſe 'but what you were privy to, or have yourſelf 'attempted, againſt the Queen's Perſon. The 'Letters which have been read, were read to 'no other purpoſe, but to make out your Offence againſt the Queen's Perſon, and the 'Things relating to it, which are ſo interlaced 'with other Matters, that they cannot be ſever'd. The whole and entire Letters therefore, 'and not parcels picked out here and there, have 'been openly read, becauſe the Circumſtances do 'make appear what Things you dealt with *Babington* about.

She interrupts him.

Here ſhe interrupted him, and ſaid, 'The 'Circumſtances might be proved, but never the 'Fact. That her Integrity depended not upon 'the Credit and Memory of her Secretaries, 'tho' ſhe knew 'em to be honeſt and ſincere 'Men. Yet if they had confeſs'd any thing out 'of fear of Torments, or hope of Reward and 'Impunity, it was not to be admitted, and that 'for juſt Reaſons, which ſhe would ſhew elſewhere. Mens Minds (*ſhe ſaid*) are variouſly

'moved

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'mov'd and led with Affections: and those Men 'would never have confess'd such things against 'her, but for their own Advantage or Hopes. 'Letters may be directed to others than those to 'whom they are written, and many things have 'been often inserted which she never dictated. 'If her Papers had not been taken away, and 'she had her Secretary with her, she could the 'easilier confute the things objected against 'her.

He proceeds. *But nothing* (said the Lord-Treasurer) *shall be objected but since the* 19th *day of* June: *neither would your Papers do you any good, seeing your Secretaries, and* Babington *himself, without putting to the Rack, have affirm'd that you sent these Letters to* Babington: *which though you deny, yet whether more Credit be to be given to an Affirmation than to a Negation, let the Commissioners judge. But to return to the Matter: this which follows I speak to you as a Counsellor. Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your Liberty. That they have failed of Success, it is long of you, or of the* Scots, *and not of the Queen. For the Lords of* Scotland *flatly refused to deliver the King in Hostage. And when the last Treaty was holden concerning your Liberty,* Parry *was sent privately by* Morgan, *a Dependent of yours, to murder the Queen.*

Ah! (said she) *you are my Adversary. Yea,* (said he) *I am Adversary to all Queen* Elizabeth's *Adversaries. But enough of these things: let us now proceed to Proofs.* Which when she refus'd to hear; *Yet we* (said he) *will hear them. And I also* (said she) *will hear them in another place, and defend myself.*

Her letters again produced. Now were her Letters to *Charles Paget* read again, wherein she shew'd him that there was no other way for the *Spaniard* to reduce the *Netherlanders* to Obedience, but by setting up such a Prince in *England*, as might be useful and serviceable to him: also her Letters to the Lord *Paget*, to hasten his auxiliary Forces for the Invasion of *England*; and Cardinal *Allen's* Letter, wherein he call'd her his *most dread Sovereign Lady*, and told her that the Business was recommended to the Prince of *Parma's* Care.

She interposes. As these Letters were reading, she interposed the following Expressions. 'That *Babington* and 'her Secretaries had accused her, to excuse them'selves. That she never heard of the Six Mur'derers; and that all the rest was nothing to the 'purpose. As for *Allen*, she held him for a reve'rend Prelate; and she acknowledged no other 'Head of the Church but the Bishop of *Rome*. 'In what Rank and Quality she was had and re'puted by him and foreign Princes, she well knew; 'neither could she hinder it, if in their Letters 'they call'd her Queen of *England*. As for her

Impairs the Credit of her Secretaries. Secretaries, seeing they had done contrary to 'their Duty and Allegiance sworn to her, they 'deserv'd no Credit. They who have once for'sworn themselves, tho' they swear the next time 'with never so serious Oaths and Protestations, 'are not to be credited. Neither did these Men 'think themselves bound by any Oath whatso'ever in Court of Conscience, inasmuch as they 'had sworn Fidelity and Secrecy to her before, 'and were no Subjects of *England*. That *Nawe* 'had many times written otherwise than she had 'dictated to him, and *Curle* wrote whatsoever '*Nawe* bade him. But, for her part, she was 'willing to bear the Blame of their Miscarriage, 'in all things but what might lay a Blot and 'Stain upon her Honour. And haply also they 'confess'd these things to save themselves, sup'posing that they could do her no Hurt by con'fessing, who they thought would be more fa'vourably dealt withal, as being a Queen. As 'for *Ballard*, she never heard of any such Man, 'but of one *Hallard*, who had offered her his Ser'vice; which notwithstanding she refused, be'cause she had heard that he had also engaged his 'Service to *Walsingham*.

Afterwards, when some short Passages out of her Letters to *Mendoza* (which *Curle* had confest himself to have written in Ciphers) were read, and from thence she was charged as if she had purpos'd to convey her Right in the Kingdom to the *Spaniard*, and that *Allen* and *Parsons* lay now at *Rome*, for that purpose; she, still complaining that her Secretaries had broken their Allegiance whereto they were bound by Oath, answer'd as follows: 'I being a close Prisoner, oppress'd and 'languishing with Cares and pensive Thoughts, 'and without all Hope of Liberty, no Probabi'lity appearing of effecting those things which 'many People expected by my means, who de'clined daily through Age and Indisposition of 'Body; it seem'd good to some, that the Suc'cession to the Crown of *England* should be esta'blished on the *Spaniard*, or else some *English* Ca'tholick. And a Book was sent me to justify 'the *Spaniard's* Title; which not being approved 'of by me, I incurr'd Displeasure with some 'Men. But now, all my Hopes in *England* be'ing desperate, I am fully resolved not to reject 'foreign Help.

Is accused again of conveying the Kingdom to the Spaniard.

Her Answer.

The Solicitor put the Commissioners in mind what would become of them, their Honours, Estates and Posterities, if the Kingdom were so convey'd. But the Lord-Treasurer shew'd, that the Kingdom of *England* could not at all be convey'd, but was to descend by Right of Succession, according to the Laws; and ask'd her, if she had any more to say.

She required to be heard in a full Parliament, or that she might in Person speak with the Queen (who would, she hoped, have regard of a Queen) and the Council. And now rising up with great Presence of Countenance, she had some Conference with the Lord-Treasurer, *Hatton*, *Walsingham*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, apart by themselves.

The Court adjourn'd. These things being done, the Court adjourn'd till the 25th of *October*, to the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster*. Thus far touching this Matter, out of the Commentaries and Memorials of *Edward Barker*, principal Register to the Queen's Majesty, *Thomas Wheeler* Publick-Notary, Register of the Audience of *Canterbury*, and other Persons of Credit, which were there present.

Meet in the Star-Chamber. On the said 25th day of *October*, all the Commissioners met, except the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were both of them sick at that time. And after *Nawe* and *Curle* had upon Oath, *viva voce*, voluntarily, without Hope or Reward, avow'd, affirmed and justified all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced, to be true and real, Sentence was pronounced against the Queen of *Scots*, and confirmed by the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners, and recorded in these Words. 'By their unanimous 'Assents and Consents, they do pronounce and de'liver this their Sentence and Judgment, at the 'Day and Place last above-recited, and say, That 'since the Conclusion of the aforesaid Session of 'Parliament, in the Commission aforesaid specifi'ed, namely, since the aforesaid first day of *June*, 'in the 27th Year aforesaid, and before the Date 'of the said Commission, divers Matters have 'been compass'd and imagin'd within this Realm 'of *England*, by *Anthony Babington* and others, 'with the Privity of the said *Mary*, pretending 'a Title to the Crown of this Realm of *England*, 'tending to the Hurt, Death and Destruction of 'the Royal Person of our said Lady the Queen. 'And also, that since the aforesaid first day of '*June*, in the 27th Year aforesaid, and before 'the Date of the Commission aforesaid, the a-

Sentence pronounced against her.

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'foresaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown 'of this Realm of *England*, has compass'd and 'imagin'd, within this Realm of *England*, divers 'Matters tending to the Hurt, Death and De-'struction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign 'Lady the Queen, coutrary to the Form of 'the Statute in the Commission aforesaid speci-'fy'd.

Credit of the Secretaries suspected.

This Sentence (*which depended wholly upon the* Credit of the Secretaries, and they not brought Face to Face, according to the first Act of the 13th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*) begot much Talk and various Discourse amongst People, while some thought them Persons to be believ'd, and some unworthy of any Credit. I have seen

Nawe's Apology.

Nawe's Apology to King *James*, written in the Year 1605, wherein, with a solemn Protestation, he excuses himself, that he was neither the Author, nor Persuader, nor the first Revealer of the Design that was undertaken; neither fail'd he of his Duty thro' Negligence or Want of Discretion: yea, that he did that Day stoutly oppose the principal Articles of Accusation against his Lady and Mistress. Which notwithstanding appears not by the Records. The same Day a Declara-

Her Son declared not to be prejudic'd.

tion was publish'd by the Commissioners and the Judges of the Land, *That the said Sentence did nothing derogate from* James *King of* Scots *in his Title and Honour; but that he was in the same Place, Degree and Right, as if the said Sentence had never been pronounc'd.*

A Parliament held.

Some few Days after, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, begun by a deputative Commission granted by the Queen to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*, and that not without former Precedents. In

Traitors proscrib'd.

which Parliament the Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throckmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidiock Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the rest of the Conspirators was confirm'd, and their Goods and Possessions confiscated *.

* *See the Appendix.*

Parliament petition for a Publication of the Sentence.

The Estates also of the Realm, having by their Votes approv'd and confirm'd the Sentence given against the Queen of *Scots*, did with unanimous Assent, present their Petition to the Queen, by the Hands of the Lord Chancellor, wherein they instantly besought her, That, for the Preservation of Christ's true Religion, the Quiet and Security of the Realm, the Preservation of the Queen's Person, and the Safety of themselves and their Posterity, the Sentence given against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, according to the Law, might be publish'd. Their Reasons were drawn from the Dangers that threatned Religion, the Queen's Person, and the Realm, by means of her, who having been bred up in the Popish Religion, and sworn a Confederate in the *Holy League*, for the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, had now for a long time arrogated to herself the Kingdom, while the Queen liv'd, whom, as being excommunicate, she held it lawful to do Mischief to, as far as lay in her Power, and to take away her Life a thing meritorious; one who had overthrown and ruin'd several flourishing Families in the Kingdom, and cherish'd all the treasonable Designs and Rebellions in *England*. To spare her therefore were nothing else but to spill the People, who would take all Impunity in this Case very much to Heart, and would not think themselves discharged of their Oath of *Association*, unless she were punish'd according to her Deserts. Lastly, they call'd to her Remembrance, how fearful the Examples of God's Vengeance were upon King *Saul* for sparing *Agag*, and upon King *Ahab* for sparing the Life of *Benhadad*. These Things the Estates of the Parliament urged to her.

1586. Queen's Answer.

The Queen, with great Majesty both of Countenance and Speech, answer'd to this purpose: 'So many and so great are the unmeasurable 'Graces and Benefits bestow'd upon me by the 'Almighty, that I must not only most humbly 'acknowledge 'em as Benefits, but admire 'em as 'Miracles, being in no sort able to express 'em. 'And tho' none alive can more justly acknowledge 'himself bound to God than I, whose Life he has 'miraculously preserv'd from so many Dangers: 'yet am I not more deeply bound to give him 'Thanks for any one thing, than for this which 'I will now tell you, and which I account as a 'Miracle; namely, That as I came to the Crown 'with the hearty Good-will of all my Subjects, 'so now, after twenty eight Years Reign, I per-'ceive in 'em the same, if not greater Affection 'towards me; which should I once lose, I might 'perhaps find my self to breathe, but never could 'I think that I were alive. And now tho' my 'Life has been dangerously shot at, yet I protest 'there is nothing has more griev'd me, than that 'one who differs not from me in Sex, one of 'like Quality and Degree, of the same Race and 'Stock, and so nearly related to me in Blood, 'should fall into so great a Misdemeanor. And 'so far have I been from bearing her any ill-will, 'that upon the Discovery of some treasonable 'Practices against me, I wrote privately to her, 'that if she would confess and acknowledge them 'by a Letter betwixt her and me, they should be 'wrapp'd up in Silence. Neither did I write 'this with a purpose to intrap her; for I knew 'already as much as she could confess. And 'even yet, tho' the matter be come thus far, if she 'would truly repent, and no Man would under-'take her Cause against me, and if my Life alone 'depended hereupon, and not the Safety and 'Welfare of all my People, I would (I protest 'unfeignedly) willingly and readily pardon her. 'Nay, if *England* might by my Death obtain a 'more flourishing Condition, and a better Prince, 'I would most gladly lay down my Life. For, 'for your sakes it is, and for my People's, that I 'desire to live. As for me, I see no such great 'Reason (according as I have led my Life) why 'I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. 'I have had good Experience of this World; I 'have known what it is to be a Subject, and I now 'know what it is to be a Sovereign. Good Neigh-'bours I have had, and I have met with bad; and 'in Trust I have found Treason. I have bestow'd 'Benefits upon Ill-deservers; and where I have 'done well, I have been ill-requited and spoken 'of. While I call to mind these things past, be-'hold things present, and look forward toward 'things to come, I count them happiest, that go 'hence soonest. Nevertheless against such Evils 'and Mischiefs as these, I am arm'd with a better 'Courage than is common in my Sex; so as what-'soever befalls me, Death shall never find me 'unprepar'd.

'And as touching these treasonable Attempts, 'I will not so far wrong my self, or the Laws of 'my Kingdom, as not to think but that she, ha-'ving been the Contriver of the said Treasons, 'was bound and liable to the ancient and former 'Laws, tho' the late Act had never been made; 'which notwithstanding was in no sort made to 'prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to fa-'vour her have imagined. So far was it from 'being made to intrap her, that it was rather in-'tended to forewarn and deter her from attempt-'ing any thing against it. But seeing it had 'now the Force of a Law, I thought good to 'proceed against her according to the same. But 'you Lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice 'Points of the Law, and proceeding according

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1586. Ann. 29. ‘to Forms, rather than expounding and interpreting the Laws themselves, that if your way were observed, she must have been indicted in *Staffordshire*, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been try'd by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper way, forsooth, of trying a Princess. To avoid therefore such Absurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of so weighty a Cause to a select Number of the noblest Personages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm: and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World: the least Spot is soon spy'd in our Garments, the smallest Blemish presently observed in us at a great Distance. It behoves us therefore to be careful that our Proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that By this last Act of Parliament, you have reduc'd me to such Straits and Perplexities, that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who is a Princess so nearly ally'd to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mention'd; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret, (tho' it be not usual with me to blab forth in other cases what I know). It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in my Person, which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off.

‘The Association you entered into for my Safety I have not forgotten, a thing I never so much as thought of, till a great Number of Hands and Seals to it were shew'd me. This has laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me, to bear you a singular Good-will and Love, who have no greater Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch as the matter now in hand is very rarely exampled, and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not look for any present Resolution from me: for my manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be resolved. In the mean time, I beseech Almighty God, so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may see clearly what may be best for the Good of his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed Danger, we will signify our Resolution to you with all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be perform'd to the full.

She prays them to find out some other Expedient. On the 12th day after, when she had throughly weighed the Matter in her Mind, being distracted with doubtful Cares and Thoughts, and as it were in some Conflict with herself, what to do in so important a Business, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Upper House, and *Puckering* to the rest in the Lower House, advising them to enter anew into the serious Consideration of so weighty an Affair, and to find out a more pleasing Expedient, whereby both the Queen of *Scots* Life might be spared, and her own Security provided for.

After long and serious Deliberation, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of the Prince concerned all the Subjects, they unanimously concurr'd again in their former Opinion; and that for these Reasons. *The Queen's Safety* (they said) *could no way be secured, as long as the Queen of* Scots *liv'd, unless she should either seriously repent and acknowledge her Offence; or were kept with a closer Guard, and sufficient Security given by Bond and Oath, for her good Demeanor; or deliver'd Hostages; or else departed the Realm. As for her Repentance, they were out of all Hopes of it, considering that she had so ill requited the Queen who had saved her Life, and would not yet acknowledge her Fault. As for a surer Guard, stricter Custody, Bonds, Oath, and Hostages, they esteemed them all as nothing worth, because if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these would presently vanish. And if she should depart the Realm, they fear'd lest she should presently take up Arms and invade the same.* 1586. Ann. 29. Their Answer.

These Reasons the Lord-Chancellor, and *Puckering* Speaker of the Lower House, explained and opened more at large, pressing hard that the Sentence might be put in Execution: *because, it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to any one of her Subjects that should demand it; so much more to the whole Body of her People of* England, *unanimously and with one Voice humbly and instantly suing for the same.* The Queen answer'd as follows.

‘Very unpleasing is that Way, where the Setting out, Progress and Journeys End yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have this day been in greater Conflict with myself, than ever I was in all my Life, whether I should speak, or hold my peace. If I should speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble: if I should be silent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: and if I should complain, it might seem a strange and unusual thing. Yet I confess, that my hearty Desire was, that some other means might have been devised, to provide for your Security and my own Safety, than this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, tho' not of you, yet to you, since I perceive by your Petition, that my Safety depends wholly upon the Ruin of another. If there be any that think I have spun out the time on purpose to get commendation, by a seeming Shew of Clemency, they do me Wrong undeservedly, as he knows who is the Searcher of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners durst pronounce no other Sentence for fear they should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their Care for my Preservation, they do but burden and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For either those whom I put in Trust have fail'd of their Duties: or else they acquainted the Commissioners in my Name that my Will and Pleasure was, that every one should act freely according to his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to be made publick, that they should communicate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination towards her, that I desired some other way might be found out, to prevent this Mischief. But since it is now resolved, that my Security is desperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my time pardon'd so many Rebels, wink'd at so many Treasons, or neglected 'em by Silence, should now seem to shew myself cruel towards so great a Princess. Her Reply

‘I have, since I came to the Government of this Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pamphlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant. Well fare the Writers Hearts; I believe their Meaning was to tell me News. And News indeed it was to me, to be branded with the Note of Tyranny. I would it were as great News to hear of their Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it which they will not venture to write

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‘But ſince ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt me, give me leave, I pray you, to ſay ſomewhat in my own Defence, that ye may ſee what manner of Woman I am, for whoſe Safety and Preſervation ye have taken ſuch extraordinary Care. Wherein as I do with a moſt thankful Heart diſcern and read your great Vigilance; ſo am I ſure I ſhall never requite it, had I as many Lives as all you together.

‘When firſt I took the Scepter into my Hand, I was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore I began my Reign with ſecuring his Service, and the Religion I had been both born in, bred in, and, I truſt, ſhall die in. And tho' I was not ignorant how many Dangers I ſhould meet withal at home, for my altering Religion, and how many great Princes abroad of a contrary Profeſſion would in that Reſpect bear an hoſtile Mind towards me: yet was I no whit diſmayed thereat, *knowing* that God, whom alone I ey'd and reſpected, would defend both me and my Cauſe. Hence it is that ſo many Treacheries and Conſpiracies have been attempted againſt me, that I might well admire to find myſelf alive at this preſent day, were it not that God's holy Hand has ſtill protected me beyond all Expectation. Next, to the end I might make the better Progreſs in the Art of Ruling well, I had long and ſerious Cogitations with myſelf what things were moſt worthy and becoming Kings to do: and I found it abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould be completely furniſh'd with thoſe prime capital Vertues, Juſtice, Temperance, Prudence and Magnanimity. Of the two latter I will not boaſt myſelf; my Sex does not permit it, they are proper to Men. But for the two former and leſs rough, I dare ſay, (and that without Oſtentation) I never made a Difference of Perſons, but high and low had equally Right done them: I never preferr'd any for Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I never was forward to believe Stories at the firſt telling; nor was I ſo raſh as to ſuffer my Judgment to be foreſtalled with Prejudice, before I had heard the Cauſe. I will not ſay but many Reports might haply be brought me, too much in favour of the one ſide or the other: For a good and a wary Prince may ſometimes be bought and ſold, whilſt we cannot hear all ourſelves. Yet this I dare ſay boldly, My Judgment (as far as I could underſtand the Caſe) ever went with the Truth. And as *Alcibiades* adviſed his Friend, not to give any Anſwer till he had run over the Letters of the whole Alphabet; ſo have I never uſed raſh and ſudden Reſolutions in any thing.

‘And therefore as touching your Counſels and Conſultations, I acknowledge 'em to have been with ſuch Care and Providence, and ſo advantageous for the Preſervation of my Life, and to proceed from Hearts ſo ſincere and devoted to me, that I ſhall endeavour what lies in my Power, to give you Cauſe to think your Pains not ill-beſtowed, and ſtrive to ſhew myſelf worthy of ſuch Subjects.

‘And now for your Petition, I deſire you for the preſent to content yourſelves with an Anſwer without Anſwer. Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I miſtake your Reaſons: but I muſt deſire you to excuſe thoſe thoughtful Doubts and Cares, which as yet perplex my Mind; and to reſt ſatisfy'd with the Profeſſion of my thankful Eſteem of your Affections, and the Anſwer I have given, if you take it for any Anſwer at all. If I ſhould ſay I will not do what you requeſt, I might ſay prehaps more than I intend: and if I ſhould ſay I will do it, I might plunge myſelf into as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to preſerve me from: which I am confident your Wiſdoms and Diſcretions would not that I ſhould, if ye conſider the Circumſtances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Men.

After this the Parliament was prorogued.

About this time were the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beale* ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her know that Sentence was pronounced againſt her; and that the ſame was approved and confirm'd by Authority of Parliament, as juſt and lawful, and the Execution thereof inſtantly deſired by the Parliament, out of a due Regard of Juſtice, Security and Neceſſity: and therefore to perſuade her to acknowledge her Offences againſt God and the Queen, and to expiate them before her Death by Repentance; letting her underſtand, that as long as ſhe lived, the Religion receiv'd in *England* could *not* be ſecure. *Hereat* ſhe ſeemed to triumph with a more than wonted Alacrity, giving God Thanks, and rejoicing in her Heart, that ſhe was taken to be an Inſtrument for the re-eſtabliſhing of Religion in this Iſland. And earneſtly ſhe beſought, that ſhe might have a Catholick Prieſt allow'd her to direct her Conſcience, and adminiſter the Sacraments unto her. A Biſhop and a Dean, who they commended to her for this purpoſe, ſhe utterly rejected, and ſharply taxed the *Engliſh* Nation, ſaying, *That the* Engliſh *had many times put their own Kings to death; no marvel therefore if they now alſo ſhew their Cruelty upon me, who am iſſued from the Blood of their Kings.*

Notice of the Sentence given to the Queen of *Scots*.

She hears it with Joy.

The Publication of the Sentence was ſtay'd for ſome time by the Interceſſion of *L'Aubeſpine* the *French* Ambaſſador: but in the Month of *December*, through the earneſt Inſtance of ſome Courtiers, it was publickly proclaim'd all over the City of *London*, the Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, and principal Officers and Citizens being preſent, and afterward throughout the *whole* Realm. In this Proclamation the Queen ſeriouſly proteſted, that this Publication was extorted from her, to the exceeding Grief of her Mind, by a kind of Neceſſity, and at the earneſt Prayers and Intreaties of both Houſes of Parliament: tho' there were ſome that thought this to proceed from the Art and Guiſe of Women, who, though they deſire a thing never ſo much, yet will always ſeem rather to be conſtrain'd and forced to it.

Sentence proclaimed.

The Publication of this Sentence of Death being made known to the Queen of *Scots*, ſo far was ſhe from being diſmay'd thereat, that with a ſettl'd and *ſtedfaſt* Countenance, lifting up her Eyes and Hands towards Heaven, ſhe gave Thanks to God for it. And tho' ſhe were by

She takes it with a compoſed Spirit.

Pawlet

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Powlet her Keeper diveſted of all the Badges of Dignity and Royalty, and made no more account of than the pooreſt Woman of the meaneſt Condition; yet ſhe endur'd it with great Patience of Mind. And having with much ado obtained leave of him to write, ſhe by a Letter ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* the 19th of *December*, endeavour'd to clear herſelf 'from all hoſtile Malice

She writes to Q. *Eliz.*

againſt her; and thanked God for the Sentence of her Condemnation, who was now pleaſed to put a period to her woful and lamentable Pilgrimage in this Life. She prayed her that for the Kindneſſes and Favours following ſhe might be beholden to herſelf, and to none elſe, (for from thoſe zealous *Puritans*, who now bare the chief ſway in *England*, ſhe could expect no good). *Firſt*, That when her Adverſaries were glutted and ſatiated with her innocent Blood, her Body might be conveyed by her Servants into ſome Holy Catholick Land to be buried; ſhe would willingly into *France*, where her Mother's Soul reſted in peace. For in *Scotland* the Sepulchers of her Anceſtors were violated, and the Churches either demoliſh'd or profan'd; and in *England*, among the ancient Kings, the common Progenitors of them both, ſhe could have no hope to be interr'd with Catholick Rites and Ceremonies. So might her Body at length reſt in peace, which as long at it was join'd with the Soul could never find any reſt or quiet. *Secondly*, (in regard ſhe feared the ſecret Tyranny of ſome) that ſhe might not be put to Death in private without Queen *Elizabeth*'s knowledge, but in the ſight of her Servants and others, who might give a true Teſtimony of her Faith in *Chriſt*, her Obedience toward the Church, and her Chriſtian Departure, to prevent thoſe falſe Reports which her Adverſaries might otherwiſe throw out and aſperſe her with. And, *Thirdly*, That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whether they pleaſed, and enjoy thoſe Legacies which ſhe had bequeathed them by her Will and Teſtament. Theſe things with moſt earneſt Prayers ſhe intreated of her, in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by their near Kindred, by the Soul and Memory of *Henry* VII. the common Progenitor of them both, and by the Royal Dignity which ſhe had born. *Then ſhe complained*, That all her Regal Ornaments were taken from her by command of ſome of the Council, by which ſhe ſuſpected that their Malice might break forth to greater matters. *She added*, That, if they had ſhew'd her Letters and Papers which were taken from her, fairly and without any Fraud, it might have plainly appeared by them, that there was no other cauſe of her Ruin, but the Over-carefulneſs and Solicitude of ſome for Queen *Elizabeth*'s Safety. *Laſtly*, She earneſtly beſought her, that ſhe would write back a few Words to her touching theſe matters, with her own Hand.

Craves certain Favours.

Variety of Opinions concerning her Caſe.

Whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands I cannot ſay. But divers Diſcourſes were raiſed about this Affair, according to the ſeveral Affections and Diſpoſitions of Men; to ſay nothing of the Declamations and Exclamations of the Churchmen on both ſides, who for the moſt part are very fiery and vehement.

Some indifferent Cenſurers there were, who thought ſhe was too ſharply dealt withal, and had hard meaſure, *in regard ſhe was a free and abſolute Princeſs, and had no Superiour but God alone*:

For her.

They ſaid, 'She was Queen *Elizabeth*'s very near Kinſwoman, who had alſo by *Henry Midlemore* made her a large Promiſe, on the Word of a Prince, of all Courteſie and kind Hoſpitality, as ſoon as ſhe was arriv'd in *England*, being thrown out of her Kingdom by her Rebels; and yet on the contrary had kept her ſtill in Priſon, and violated the ſacred Rights of Hoſpitality: That ſhe could not be otherways reputed than as a Priſoner taken in War; and it was always lawful for ſuch as were taken Priſoners in War, to uſe what means they could to work their own Safety and Liberty: That ſhe could not commit Treaſon, becauſe ſhe was no Subject; and *Par in parem non habet poteſtatem*; that is, *Princes of equal Degree have no Power or Soveraignty one over another*; and thereupon the Sentence of the Emperor againſt *Robert* King of *Sicily* was diſannull'd, becauſe he was no Subject of the Empire: That Ambaſſadors, who are Princes Servants, if they conſpire againſt the Kings to whom they are ſent in Embaſſy, are not to be charged as guilty of Treaſon, much leſs Princes themſelves; and, That the Purpoſe or Intention is not to be puniſh'd, unleſs the Effect follow. Moreover, That it was a thing never heard of, that a Prince ſhould be ſubjected to the Stroke of an Executioner. Alſo, that ſhe was condemn'd contrary to the Law of God, the Civil Law of the *Romans*, and the common Law of *England*; yea contrary alſo to the firſt Act of Parliament made in the 13th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by which it is enacted, *That no Man is to be arraigned for intending the Deſtruction of his Prince's Life, but by the Teſtimony and Oath of two lawful Witneſſes to be produc'd face to face before him*; whereas in this Trial no Witneſs was produced, but ſhe was over-born with the Teſtimony of her Secretaries, who notwithſtanding were abſent from the Trial. Much more arguing alſo there was about the Credit and Validity of the Teſtimony of Servants, Priſoners and Domeſticks. And that Saying of the Emperor *Hadrian* was commended: *Teſtibus non Teſtimoniis, credendum; Witneſſes not Witneſſings, are to be believ'd.*

Theſe Men farther mutter'd and complain'd, 'That Spies and Emiſſaries were employ'd, by crafty Diſſimulation, counterfeit Letters, and other cunning Devices, to circumvent her, (being a Woman eaſily to be wrong'd and abus'd, and very deſirous of her Liberty) to fiſh out her ſecret Counſels, and to encourage and put her on to dangerous Deſigns, which never would have entered into her thoughts, if ſhe had been kept with that care as was requiſite, and ſuch cunning Fellows had not been privately ſent to her on ſet purpoſe to intrap her. That in all Ages it hath ſtill been ordinary with great Courtiers, to thruſt forward thoſe whom they hate, even againſt their Wills and Inclinations, to ſuch Attempts as ſhall bring them within the compaſs of Treaſon, and treacherouſly to plunge the ſuſpectleſs Innocent, if once impriſon'd, into inextricable Dangers.

Others there were who took her 'not to be a free and abſolute Queen, but a titular Queen only, becauſe ſhe had reſign'd her Kingdom, and when ſhe firſt came into *England* had put herſelf under the Protection of the Queen of *England*; after which, as by carrying herſelf well ſhe enjoy'd the benefit of the Laws; ſo by Miſdemeanor ſhe was ſubject to the Equity and Juſtice thereof, according to that Rule of the Lawyers, *He deſerveth not the benefit of the Law who offendeth againſt the Law*. Otherwiſe, better were the Condition of a foreign Prince, if he might do what he liſted in another Prince's Kingdom, than his that reigneth never ſo well. They reputed her alſo to be a Subject, tho' not originally, yet *pro tempore*, becauſe two abſolute Princes with Regal Authority cannot be in the ſame Kingdom at one time. That it was a receiv'd Opinion of the Learned in the Laws, *A*

Againſt her.

King

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King out of his Dominions (except it be upon a warlike Expedition) is but a private Person, and therefore can neither confer Honours, nor exercise any Royalty. Moreover, That she by her Misdemeanors had lost *merum Imperium*, her absolute and just Power and Sovereignty; and that such as are Subjects by their Abode only and place of Habitation, might commit Treason. As for her Kindred; That no Kindred is nearer nor dearer than our Country: Our Country is to us as another God, and our first and greatest Parent. And as touching the promised Offices of Civility and Hospitality, That they could not privilege her to offer Wrongs and Mischiefs afterward with Impunity: That those Promises were to be understood, *things continuing in the same state, and not altered.* He which shall afterwards commit a Crime, deserves not to enjoy the Security which was before promis'd him. Sacred indeed are the Laws of Hospitality, but more sacred are the Laws of our Country. That Princes, as well as the Pope, do never bind their own Hands. And all Men are more strongly tied and engaged to the Commonwealth than to their own Promises. And for her being dealt withal as a Prisoner taken in the Wars, they alledged, out of I know not what Author, *That only such Prisoners of War are to be spared, from whom we need to fear no disturbance of the Peace; others not*: And, *That a Prince hath Power and Jurisdiction over another Prince that is his Equal, whenever that other Prince makes himself subject to the Judgment of his Equal, either by express Words, or private Contract, or by trespassing within the Jurisdiction of his Equal.* That the Pope repeal'd the Emperor's Sentence against *Robert* King of *Sicily*, because the Fact was not committed within the Emperor's, but within the Pope's Territories. That Ambassadors are by the Law of Nations privileged in respect of the necessity of their Embassy to be free from Violence; but so are not Kings that shall attempt Mischief and Disturbance in another King's Dominions. Again, That in case of Treason the Purpose and Intention is to be punished, though it never be brought to Effect; and that to attempt the Death of the Prince, yea to know of such an Attempt and conceal it, comes within the Compass and Guilt of Treason. That many Kings have been condemn'd and put to Death, namely, *Rhescuporis* King of *Thrace* by *Tiberius*, *Licinius* and *Maximianus* by *Constantine the Great*, *Bernard* of *Italy*, and *Conradine* of *Sicily*, &c. And, to conclude, (which is instead of a thousand Arguments) that the Safety of the People is the supreme Law; and no Law is more sacred than the Safety of the Commonwealth. That God himself hath given and ordained this Law; That all things which are good and profitable for the Commonwealth, should be accounted just and lawful. Yea, that the very Popes, not so much for the Publick as their own Security, have put to death several Ecclesiastical Princes: As *Boniface* VIII. caused *Celestine* V. after his deposing from the Popedom, to be put to death, fearing lest for his singular Piety he should be called again to the Papacy; and *Urban* VI. caused five Cardinals to be sowed up in Sacks and thrown into the Sea; others he beheaded; and the Bodies of two he commanded to be dried in an Oven, and carried about upon Mules for a terror to others. Farthermore, That her Secretaries were not to be accounted of as Servants; and that domestick Evidences were to be admitted concerning those things that were done privately and secretly at home. That it was a mere Nicety to make question, whether those Accusers that were voluntarily sworn, and themselves accessary to the Crime, were to be brought face to face to maintain their Accusation in criminal Cases. To be short, That there was great and notable Example extant which did not carry with it some Colour and Appearance of Injustice.' These things and the like to these were then heard familiarly bandied to and fro.

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The King her Son makes Intercession for her.

In the mean time the King of *Scots* (such was his singular Piety toward his Mother) laboured all that possibly he could by *William Keith* to save her Life, and omitted nothing that became a most dutiful and pious Son, and a prudent King: But without any Success at all; for the *Scots* were rent into Factions amongst themselves, and more there were in the Interest of Queen *Elizabeth* than of the captive Queen: Insomuch that some of them secretly solicited Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters to hasten her Execution: And the *Scottish* Clergy, being commanded by the King to recommend his Mother's Preservation to God in their Prayers at Church, peremptorily refus'd to do it; such was their hatred to the Religion which she profess'd. Nevertheless the King, as he had before by frequent Messages and as frequent Letters made Intercession for her to the Queen; so now by repeated and more importunate Letters and Messages he again solicited for her. Wherein he complained, 'That it was great Injustice and Indignity, that the Nobility, Council and Subjects of *England* should give Sentence against a Queen of *Scots* that was also descended of the Blood-Royal of *England*: And no less Injustice to think that the States of *England* can by Authority of Parliament exclude the true and undoubted Heirs from their Right of Succession and lawful Inheritance, (as some for a Terror now and then threatned).

Some Scots labour the contrary.

He sent also *Patrick Grey* and *Robert Melvin*, to let the Queen know, 'That out of his singular Love and Friendship he could not believe but she, who had by her Vertues, and especially by her Clemency, purchased herself all over the World so renowned a Name, free from all blot and imputation of Cruelty, would still preserve the same, and not by any means stain it now with the Blood of his dear Mother, who was of the same Regal State and Condition, of the same Blood, the same Sex with herself, and whom (forasmuch as he was bound in Conscience to have a pious and religious Care of his Mother's Life) he could not forsake, or leave to the Cruelty of those who had now for a long time gaped after his Destruction as well as his Mother's.

In other Letters to her, after he had at large declared with what thoughtful Care and Anguish of Heart he was perplex'd about so weighty a Business, which nearly concerned and touched him in regard both of Nature and Honour, and into what Straits and Hazard of his Reputation amongst his own People he should be plunged, if any Violence should be offer'd to his Mother; out of an inward sense of Sorrow and his filial Affection, he propounded to Queen *Elizabeth* these things following to be seriously weighed and consider'd by her: 'How much it concerned him in Honour, who was both a King and a Son, if his dearest Mother, and she an absolute Princess, should be put to an infamous Death by her who was so nearly allied and engaged to her both in Blood and League of Amity? Whether by the Law of God there could be any just Proceeding by Law against those whom God hath appointed to be his supreme Ministers of Justice, whom he hath called *Gods on Earth*, whom he hath anointed, and once anointed, hath forbidden to be touched, and

will

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'will not suffer 'em to go unpunish'd that shall 'do them Violence? How strange and monstrous a thing it would be, to subject an absolute Prince to the Judgment of Subjects? How 'prodigious, if an absolute Prince should be 'made so dangerous a Precedent for the profaning and vilifying her own and other Princes 'Diadems? And moreover, What should drive 'her to this Rigor and Severity? Honour or Profit? If Honour, she would purchase more Honour by sparing her; for so would she, with 'eternal Commendations of her Clemency, oblige 'unto her by this Favour both himself and all the 'Princes of *Christendom*, whose Affections otherwise she could not but alienate from her, with 'the Loss of her Fame, and incur the Brand of 'Cruelty. And if Profit were the Thing that 'mov'd her to it, it was to be consider'd, whether 'any thing were profitable, which was neither 'just nor honest. He concluded with this Request, That his Ambassadors might bring him 'back such an Answer as might beseem a most 'religious Queen to give, and not be unfit for a 'King and a loving Kinsman to receive. But his Ambassadors unseasonably mingling Threatnings with Entreaties, they were not very welcome; and indeed, after a few Days, were dismissed with small Hope of succeeding in what they came about.

French K. intercedes by his Ambassadors.

Monsieur *Pompon de Bellieure*, who was sent from the *French* King upon this Occasion, having got access to the Queen in company with *L'Aubespine a Chasteau-neuf* the Ordinary Ambassador, and briefly signified with what contrary Affections the *French* King was distracted, on the one side out of his singular Respect towards her, and on the other side by reason of the strict Alliance betwixt him and the Queen of *Scots*, propounded these and the like Considerations in Writing several times to the Queen in her behalf.

Bellieure's Reasons for the Q. of Scots.

'That it very much concern'd the most Christian King of *France*, and all other Kings, that a 'Queen, a free and absolute Princess, should not 'be put to death.

'That the Queen's Safety would be more endanger'd by the Death of Queen *Mary*, than it 'would be by her Life: That if she were deliver'd out of Prison, she would probably attempt nothing against the Queen, being now 'in a sickly Condition, and having but a short 'time to live.

'That altho' she had laid Claim to the Crown 'of *England*, she was not to be blam'd for it, but 'it was wholly to be imputed to her young and 'tender Years, and to bad Counsellors.

'That she came at first a Supplicant into *England*; and therefore having been unjustly detain'd, she was now at length to be either ransom'd, or mercifully dealt withal. Moreover, 'That an absolute Prince was not to be call'd in 'question; which made *Tully* say, *So unusual a 'thing is it for a King to be put to death for any 'Crime, that before this Time it was never so much as 'heard of.*

'That if she were innocent, she was not to be 'punish'd; if guilty, she was to be spared. For 'this would turn to far greater Honour and Advantage, and would be recorded eternally as an 'Example of the *English* Clemency. That the 'Story of *Porsenna* in this Case was to be remember'd, who snatch'd the right Hand of *Mutius 'Scævola* out of the Fire, and set him at Liberty, 'tho' he had conspir'd his Death.

'That it was a prime Rule and Precept for 'well-governing, To be sparing of Blood: That 'Blood crieth for Blood: That to use the Extremity of Rigour towards her, could not but seem 'a cruel and bloody Part.

'That the *French* King would do his best to 'repel and frustrate the Attempts of all Men 'whatsoever who should offer Violence to the 'Queen: And, That the *Guises*, the Queen of '*Scots* near Kinsmen, would engage themselves to 'do the like by Oath and Covenant under their 'Hands; who, in case she should be put to death, 'would take it very hardly, and haply not leave 'her unreveng'd.

'*Lastly*, They requir'd, that she might not be 'proceeded against according to so rigorous and 'extraordinary a Sentence; otherwise the *French* 'King could not but take very great Displeasure 'thereat, howsoever other Princes should happen 'to resent it.

To these Reasons Answer was made from Point to Point in the Margin as followeth.

Answers.

'That the Queen of *England* trusted the most 'Christian King of *France* would have no less a 'Regard and Respect for her, than he had for the 'Queen of *Scots*, who had practised the Destruction of an innocent Princess, her near Kinswoman, and a Confederate with the *French* 'King. That it was expedient and necessary 'for Kings and Commonwealths, that wicked 'Attempts (especially against Princes) should not 'go unpunish'd.

'That the *English*, which acknowledge the Sovereign Authority of Queen *Elizabeth* only in '*England*, could not acknowledge two supreme 'free and absolute Princes in *England* at one 'Time; or account any other Person whatsoever 'equal to her in *England* as long as she lived. 'Neither indeed did they see how the Queen of '*Scots*, and her Son who at present reigneth, can 'be reputed both at one time for supreme and 'absolute Princes.

'Whether the Queen's Safety would be exposed to greater Danger upon her being executed, 'depended upon future Accidents and Contingencies: The States of *England*, upon serious 'Deliberation of the Matter, thought otherwise. 'There would never be Occasions wanting for 'bad Attempts, especially when the Matter was 'now come to that pass, that the one had no hope 'of Safety unless the other were ruin'd; and this 'Saying they might call to mind, *Aut ego illam, 'aut illa me*; Either I must take away her Life, 'or she will take away mine. The shorter the 'Time to come of her Life was, the sooner and 'more eagerly would the Conspirators hasten the 'Queen's Danger.

'That the Title which she claimed to the 'Crown of *England* she would not yet renounce, 'and therefore she was with good Reason detain'd 'in Prison, and so to be detain'd (tho' she came 'a Supplicant into *England*) till she had renounc'd 'the same. And the Crimes which she had committed since she was a Prisoner, she ought to 'suffer for, whatever were the Cause of her first 'casting into Prison.

'That the Queen had formerly most graciously 'spared her Life, when, by unanimous Consent 'of the States, she was condemn'd for a Rebellion 'raised about an intended Marriage between her 'and the Duke of *Norfolk*; and to spare her 'again were but unadvised and cruel Pity. That 'no Man was ignorant of that Saying of the 'Lawyers, *A Man offending in another's Territory, 'and there found, is punish'd in the Place of his Offence, 'without regard to his Dignity, Honour, or Privilege.* 'And that this was both justifiable by the Laws 'of *England*, and by the Examples of *Licinius*, '*Robert* King of *Sicily*, *Bernard* King of *Italy*, *Conradine*, *Elizabeth* Queen of *Hungary*, *Joan* Queen 'of *Naples*, and *Dejotarus*; for whom *Tully* pleading, said, *It was no unjust thing that a King should 'be found guilty and put to death, tho' it were not*

Several Princes put to death.

usual.

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'*usual*. For thus the Words run, *Which I speak first touching a King's forfeiture of Life and Estate. Which thing, tho' it be not unjust, especially when thy Life is in danger from him, yet is it so unusual*, &c.

'That she ought to be punish'd, having been found guilty upon a just and legal Trial; considering that what is just, the same is honest; and what is honest, is also profitable and expedient.

'That the Story of *Porsenna* suited not with the present Case; unless a Man should imagine a numerous Combination of Men to have laid wait for the Queen's Life, and should thereupon persuade her to set the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty without any Hurt, out of a fear of 'em, and with some regard to her own Honour, but none to her Safety, as *Porsenna* discharged *Mutius* after he had affirm'd that Three hundred like himself had conspir'd and vowed his death. Moreover, *Mutius* attempted this against *Porsenna* in a just and declared War; and when *Mutius* was let go, *Porsenna* verily persuaded himself that all the Danger was over: But the case here is quite otherwise.

'That Blood indeed is to be spar'd, but it must be innocent Blood: This God hath commanded. True it is indeed, that the Voice of innocent Blood crieth for Blood; and this can *France*, both before and since the Massacre at *Paris*, well witness and testifie.

'That Death that is justly inflicted, cannot seem bloody; as neither is Physick, prepared duly and as it ought to be, esteemed violent.

'That howsoever the *Guises*, the Queen of *Scots* Kinsmen, might take the matter, yet it highly concerned the Queen to regard rather the Safety of herself, the Nobility and People of *England*, (upon whose Love and Affection she wholly depended) than the Displeasure of any whosoever. That the matter was come to that pass, that what was said of old concerning two Princes, *Conradine* of *Sicily*, and *Charles* of *Anjou*, might now be spoken of two Queens, it might now be truly said, *The Death of* Mary *is the Life of* Elizabeth, *and the Life of* Mary *is the Death of* Elizabeth.

'That the *French* King's or the *Guises* Promises could not secure the Queen and Realm, much less make Satisfaction for her Life, if she should be made away.

'That the *French* King could neither discover nor hinder secret Plots against himself at home; much less was he like to hinder those against the Queen of *England*: For Treason is plotted in secret, and therefore hard to be prevented. If the Fact were once committed, what would it avail to claim their Promises? How should an incomparable Prince's Death be made amends for? And in so sad and woful a Confusion of all things, what Remedy could be found for the languishing Commonwealth.

'That the Obligations and Oaths of the *Guises* were of small value, who judged it meritorious to kill the Pope's Adversaries, and could very easily procure Dispensations for their Oaths. And what *Englishman*, if Queen *Elizabeth* were slain, and the Queen of *Scots* of the House of *Guise* advanced to the Crown, durst accuse them of Murder? And if any should accuse them, could they thereby make her alive again?

'And the Ambassadors, in calling this a rigorous and extraordinary Sentence, have spoken rashly and unadvisedly, (forasmuch as they have seen neither Process nor Proofs) and have more sharply than is fitting taxed the States of the Realm of *England*, Men eminent for their Nobility, Vertue, Prudence and Piety: Yet they have very inconsiderately uttered such Words in the *French* King's Name, as if they meant by Threats to terrify the Queen and the States of the Land. The *Englishmen* use not to be terrified by the *Frenchmens* Threats from taking Courses to secure their own Tranquility, when they in the mean time could direct them no proper way to avoid the instant and threatning Dangers.'

The Thirtieth Year of her Reign. 1587.

French Ambassador plots the Q's Death.

While these things, either out of Hatred or Affection, were curiously and copiously argued according to Mens apprehensions of Things, *L'Aubespine* the *French* Ambassador Leiger in *England*, a Man wholly devoted to the *Guisian* Faction, supposing it the best way to provide for the captive Queen's Safety and Preservation, not by Arguments, but by underhand Practices and Artifices, tampered about taking away Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life (at first more closely) with *William Stafford* a young Gentleman, and ready to catch at new Hopes of Advancement, whose Mother was one of the Queen's honourable Bed-chamber, and his Brother at that time Ambassador Leiger in *France*; and afterwards more plainly and openly, by *Trappy* his Secretary, who promised him, if he would effect it, not only infinite Glory and a vast deal of Money, but also special Favour with the Pope, the Duke of *Guise*, and generally with all the Catholicks. *Stafford*, as detesting the Fact, refus'd to do it; yet recommended one *Moody*, a noble Bravo, one ready for any Mischief, as a Man who for Money would without doubt resolutely do the Business. This *Moody* lying then in the common Gaol of *London*, *Stafford* gave him to understand that the *French* Ambassador would very gladly speak with him. He answered, He was very ready so to do in case he were once out of Prison: In the mean time he desired that *Cordalion*, the Ambassador's other Secretary, with whom he was well acquainted, might be sent unto him. The next day *Trappy* was sent, accompanied by *Stafford*. *Trappy*, after *Stafford* was removed a little aside, conferreth with *Moody* about the best way of killing the Queen. *Moody* propounds either to do it by Poison, or by a Bag of Gunpowder of 20 Pounds weight to be put under the Queen's Bed, and secretly fired. These two ways pleased not *Trappy*, who wish'd that such another resolute Fellow could be found as that *Burgundian* who murder'd the Prince of *Orange*.

He deals with Stafford about it.

And with Moody.

Stafford discovers it.

The French Ambassador sent for and told of it.

These things were soon after reveal'd to the Queen's Council by *Stafford*. Whereupon *Trappy*, intending suddenly to go for *France*, was seiz'd upon; and being question'd touching these Matters, confess'd what I have said. Upon this the Ambassador himself was sent for the 12th of *January* to *Cecil*'s House, whither he came in the Evening; where were present, by the Queen's appointment, *Cecil* Lord *Burghley* Lord-Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, and *Davison* one of her Secretaries. They let him know, that they had sent for him to inform him for what reason they had apprehended *Trappy* his Secretary as he was going for *France*: And they acquainted him with all things particularly which *Stafford*, *Moody* and *Trappy* himself had confess'd, and commanded them to be called in to witness the same to his Face. The Ambassador, having heard all the Story with great Impatience and a frowning Countenance, now rose up and said, *That he, being the King's Ambassador, would not hear any Accusation to the Prejudice of the*

King

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King his Maſter, and againſt the Privileges of Ambaſſadors. When it was anſwered, *That they were not produced as Accuſers, but that he might ſee theſe things not to be feign'd and pretended, and that he himſelf might have liberty to charge* Stafford *with Falſhood,* he was ſatisfy'd. As ſoon as *Stafford* was brought in, and began to ſpeak, he interrupted him, railing upon him, and affirming that *Stafford* was the firſt Man that propounded the matter; and that he had threatned him, unleſs he would deſiſt, to ſend him bound Hand and Foot to the Queen; but yet had ſpared him out of his ſingular Love to *Stafford*'s Mother, Brother and Siſter. *Stafford*, falling upon his Knees, deeply proteſted upon his Salvation, that the Ambaſſador firſt propounded the matter to him. The Ambaſſador being now more vehemently moved, *Stafford* was commanded to withdraw, and *Moody* was not brought in.

The Ambaſſador denies it.

Is reprimanded.

And when *Burleigh* had gently reproved the Ambaſſador, as conſcious or acceſſary to the plotting of ſo foul a Fact, both by his own Words and *Trappy*'s Confeſſion; he anſwer'd, *Altho' he had been acceſſary to it, yet ſeeing he was an Ambaſſador, he ought not to diſcover the ſame to any, but the King his Maſter only.* When *Burleigh* reply'd, *That if it be not for an Ambaſſador to make any ſuch Diſcovery when a Prince's Life is by wicked Contrivances brought into Danger, (which notwithſtanding is a thing controverted) yet it is the Duty of a Chriſtian to repel and hinder ſuch Injuries, and that where the Safety not only of a Prince, but alſo of any private Chriſtian, is concerned.* This he ſtrongly deny'd, and withal told him, how a *French* Ambaſſador not long ſince in *Spain*, having Knowledge of a Deſign againſt the King of *Spain*'s Life, diſcover'd it not to the King of *Spain*, but to the King his Maſter, and was therefore commended by the King and his Council. But *Burleigh* gravely adviſed him to beware how he committed Treaſon any more, or forgot the Duty of an Ambaſſador, and the Queen's Clemency, who ſhould not by puniſhing a bad Ambaſſador prejudice the good: and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt of the Offence, tho' he eſcaped the Puniſhment.

Whether an Ambaſſador ought to reveal Treaſon againſt a Prince.

This and falſe Rumors ſet Q. *Eliz.* againſt the Q. of *Scots*.

By means of this Attempt, ſuch as bare a mortal Hatred againſt the Queen of *Scots* took occaſion to haſten her Death. And to ſtrike the greater Terror into the Queen, (knowing that where a Man's own Safety lies at Stake, there Fear excludes all Pity) they cauſ'd falſe Rumors and terrifying Reports daily to be ſpread all over *England: viz. That the* Spaniſh *Fleet was already arrived at* Milford-*Haven; That the* Scots *were broken into* England; *That the Duke of* Guiſe *was landed in* Suſſex *with a ſtrong Army; That the Queen of* Scots *was eſcaped out of Priſon, and had raiſed an Army; That the Northern Parts were up in Rebellion; That there was a new Conſpiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and ſet the City of* London *on Fire; yea that the Queen was dead;* with other ſuch like Stories, which Men either crafty for their own ends, or really fearful, are wont to feign to themſelves, and to make worſe, out of a natural Propenſity they have to cheriſh and increaſe Rumors, which Princes lightly credulous do eaſily entertain.

With ſuch Scare-crows and affrighting Arguments as theſe, they drew the Queen's wavering and perplex'd Mind to that paſs, that ſhe ſign'd a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution. And one of the principal Perſuaders to it (as the *Scots* report) was *Patrick Gray* a *Scot*, ſent purpoſely by the King of *Scots* to diſſuade the Queen from putting his Mother to death; who many times buzz'd into the Queen's Ear that Saying, *Mortua non mordet*, that is, *A dead Woman bites not.*

Falſeneſs of *Gray* a *Scot*.

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Q. *Eliz.* conſiders the matter ſeriouſly.

Yet ſhe, being a Woman naturally ſlow in her Reſolutions, began to conſider in her Mind, whether it were better to put her to death, or to ſpare her. Againſt putting her to death theſe things had great Weight: 'Her own innate Clemency, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to ſhew herſelf cruel to a Woman, and that a Princeſs, and her Kinſwoman; Fear of Infamy with Poſterity in after-Hiſtories; And imminent and certain Dangers, as well from the King of *Scots*, who would now be advanced to a Step higher in his Hopes of *England*, as from the Catholick Princes and deſperate Men, who would now adventure upon any thing. On the other ſide, if ſhe ſhould ſpare her, ſhe foreſaw that no leſs Dangers threaten'd her. 'The Noblemen that had given their Sentence againſt the Queen of *Scots* would endeavour underhand to get into Favour with her and her Son, not without maniſeſt Hazard to herſelf; The reſt of her Subjects, who had been ſo careful for her Safety, ſeeing ſhe had fruſtrated their Pains and Care, would take it very ill, and for time to come neglect her Preſervation; Many would turn Papiſts, and entertain greater Hopes, when they ſhould ſee her preſerved as it were by Fate to a Probability of enjoying the Crown; The Jeſuits and Seminaries, whoſe Eyes are upon her only, ſeeing her ſickly, and fearing that ſhe would not live long, would leave no means untry'd to haſten Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, that ſo their Religion might be reſtored.

Dangers if ſhe ſhould be executed.

Dangers if ſpared.

Courtiers preſs for her Execution. Their Reaſons.

The Courtiers alſo continually ſuggeſted to her theſe things following, and the like: 'Why ſhould you ſpare her, when ſhe is guilty and juſtly condemn'd, who, tho' ſhe ſubſcribed to the Aſſociation for your Safety, yet preſently after reſolved unmercifully to ruin you who were altogether innocent, and by deſtroying you to deſtroy Religion, the Nobility, and People? Clemency and Mercy is a Royal Vertue, but not to be extended to the mercileſs. Let the vain Shew of Mercy give place to wholeſome Severity. Have a care that your unſeaſonable Mercy and Favour involve you not in the greateſt Miſery. It is Commendation enough of your Clemency, to have ſpared her once: to ſpare her again were nothing elſe but to pronounce her guiltleſs, condemn the Parliament of Injuſtice, encourage her Favourers to haſten their wicked Deſigns, and diſcourage your faithful Subjects from their Care for the Commonwealth. Religion, the Commonwealth, your own Safety, the Love of your Country, the Oath of Aſſociation, and the Care of Poſterity, do all with their joint Prayers beſeech you, that ſhe who endangers the Subverſion of all theſe may forthwith be put to death: and except they may prevail, Safety itſelf will never be able to ſave this Commonwealth; and Hiſtorians will leave it recorded to ſucceeding Ages, that the bright Sun-ſhine and glorious Days of *England* under Queen *Elizabeth*, ended in a foul, cloudy and dark Evening, yea, in an eternal Night. Poſterity will blame us for lack of Wiſdom, that could foreſee theſe Miſchiefs, (which adds to the Miſery thereof) and yet could not prevent them; and will impute the Maſs and Heap of future Calamities, not ſo much to the Adverſaries Malice, as to the groſs Careleſneſs of theſe Times. The Life of one *Scottiſh* and Titular Queen ought not to weigh down the Safety of all *England*. In ſo important a matter there ought to be no Delay; for Delay brings Danger: nor any ſpace of time allow'd to Plotters of Miſchief, who will now have their laſt Refuge and Recourſe to bold Attempts, ſince beſides Impu-

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'nity they will be in hope of Reward for their 'Labour. He that doth not what lies in his 'power to avoid Dangers, doth rather tempt 'God than trust in God. The Mischiefs which 'threaten from Foreigners, the Cause being once 'taken away, will be all taken away with it; 'neither can they do *England* any Harm but by 'her. Whatsoever mind or power the Pope 'hath to hurt us, will fall to the Ground with 'her. The *Spaniard* can have no just cause to be 'offended, who for his own Security put to 'death his only Son *Charles*, and now for ambi'tious Ends layeth wait for the Life of Don *Antonio* of *Portugal*. The *French* King most religi'ously maintaineth Amity with *England*, and him 'it highly concerneth that by the timely death of 'the Queen of *Scots* the Hopes of the *Guisians* 'should be quashed, who, presuming upon the 'expected future Power of their Kinswoman, do 'at present insolently insult over their King. The 'King of *Scots* indeed may by the force of natu'ral Affection, and out of a respect to his Ho'nour, be deeply troubl'd for his Mother; But 'his Wisdom will carry him rather to expect the 'Succession of things themselves leisurely and 'with Security, than to be over-hasty in com'passing them with Danger. And the nearer he 'is to the height of his Hope, the farther will 'foreign Princes be from assisting him; it being a 'thing usual with them by any means to hinder 'the growing Power of another.

And by Examples.

They produced also Examples at home in our own Country, (for whatsoever is done by Example is done more excusably) how the Kings of *England* for their own Security have carried themselves toward their Kinsmen and Competitors; namely, *Henry* I. toward *Robert* his eldest Brother; *Edward* III. or rather his Mother, toward *Edward* II. *Henry* IV. toward *Richard* II. *Edward* IV. toward *Henry* VI. and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and toward his own Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*; *Henry* VII. toward *Warwick* the Duke of *Clarence* his young Son; and *Henry* VIII. toward *De la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, and *Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*: All which were for light Causes (if their Faults be compared with hers) taken off. And not only did the Courtiers use these Persuasions with the Queen, but some Preachers also with more Bitterness than was fit, and some of the vulgar sort, (either out of Hope or Fear) more sawcily than became 'em, exercis'd their Wit at their pleasure upon this Subject.

Her doubtful suspense.

In the midst of these doubtful and perplexing Thoughts, which so troubled and stagger'd the Queen's Mind, that she gave herself wholly over to Solitariness, sat many times melancholy and mute, and frequently sighing, mutter'd this to herself, *Aut fer, aut feri*; that is, Either bear with her, or smite her; and, out of I know not what Emblem, *Ne feriare, feri*; that is, Strike, lest thou be stricken; she delivered a Writing to *Davison*, one of the Secretaries, signed with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for the Execution, which should lie in readiness if any Danger chanced to break forth in that time of Jealousie and Fear; and commanded him to acquaint no Man therewith. But the next Day, while Fear seem'd to be afraid of her own Counsels and Designs, her Mind changed, and she commanded *Davison* by *William Killegrew* that the Warrant should not be drawn. *Davison* came presently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already. She was somewhat mov'd at it, and blamed him for making such haste. He notwithstanding acquainted the Council both with the Warrant and the whole matter, and easily persuaded them, who were apt to believe what they desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon without any delay, *Beale* (who in respect of Religion was of all others the Queen of Scots most bitter Adversary) was sent down, with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, to see her executed according to the Law; and this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. And tho' she at that very time told *Davison* that she would take another Course with the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he for all that call *Beale* back.

Orders a Warrant for her Execution.

Changes her mind too late.

1587.

As soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whose Custody she was committed, came unto her, told her the Cause of their coming, reading the Warrant, and in few Words admonish'd her to prepare herself for Death, for she was to die the next Day. She undauntedly and with a composed Spirit made this Answer: *I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my Death, who am not subject to your Law and Jurisdiction: But seeing her pleasure is so, Death shall be to me most welcome: Neither is that Soul worthy of the high and everlasting Joys above, whose Body cannot endure one Stroke of the Executioner.* She prayed them that she might have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and *Melvin* the Master of her Houshold. For her Confessor, it was flatly denied that he should come at her; and the Earls recommended to her the Bishop or the Dean of *Peterborough* to comfort her; whom she refusing, the Earl of *Kent*, in the heat of his Zeal for the Reformed Religion, turning towards her, brake forth into these Words amongst other Speeches; *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, as contrariwise your Death will be the Life thereof.* Mention being made of *Babington*, she constantly denied his Conspiracy to have been at all known to her, and the revenge of her Wrong she left to God. Then enquiring what was become of *Nawe* and *Curle*, she asked, Whether it were ever heard of before, that Servants were suborned and accepted for Witnesses against their Master's Life. When the Earls were departed from her, she commanded Supper to be hasten'd, that she might the better dispose of her Concernments. She supped temperately and sparingly, as her manner usually was. Being at Supper, and spying her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting, she comforted them with great Courage and Magnanimity, bad them leave mourning, and rather rejoice that she was now to depart out of a World of Miseries. Turning to *Burgoin*, her Physician, she ask'd him, Whether he did not now find the force of Truth to be great? 'They say (*quoth she*) that I must die because I have plotted a'gainst the Queen's Life; yet the Earl of *Kent* 'tells me, that there is no other cause of my 'Death, but that they are afraid for their Reli'gion, because of me. Neither hath my Offence 'against the Queen, but their Fear because of 'me, drawn this End upon me, while some un'der the colour of Religion and the Publick 'Good, aim at their own private Respects and 'Advantages. Towards the end of Supper she drank to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine, and begging Pardon for their neglect of their Duty; as she also in like manner did of them. After Supper she perused her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she bequeathed every Particular. To some she distri-

Queen of Scots prepares herself to die.

Her Confessor denied her.

Her Carriage towards her Servants.

buted

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buted Money with her own Hand. To her Confeſſor ſhe wrote a Letter, that he would make Interceſſion for her to God in his Prayers. She wrote alſo Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the *French* King and the Duke of *Guiſe*. At her wonted time ſhe went to Bed, ſlept ſome Hours; and then awaking, ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayers.

The fatal Day now being come, which was the 8th of *February*, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as gorgeouſly and curiouſly as ſhe was wont to do upon Feſtival-Days; and calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be read, prayed them to take their Legacies in good part, for her Ability would not extend to giving them any greater matters. Then fixing her Mind wholly upon God in her Oratory or ordinary place of Prayer, with Sighs, Groans and Prayers, ſhe begged his Divine Grace and Favour, till ſuch time as **Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. And forth ſhe came with State, Countenance and Preſence majeſtically compoſed, a chearful Look, and a matron-like and modeſt Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linen Veil, and that hanging down to the Ground; her Prayer-beads hanging at her Girdle, and carrying a Crucifix of Ivory in her Hands. In the Porch ſhe was receiv'd by the Earls and other Noblemen, where *Melvin* her Servant falling upon his Knees, and pouring forth Tears, bewailed his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the woful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Miſtreſs. She thus comforted him: 'Lament not, but rather rejoice; thou ſhalt by and by ſee *Mary Stuart* freed from all her Cares. Tell them that I die conſtant in my Religion, and firm in my Fidelity and Affection towards *Scotland* and *France*. God forgive them who have thirſted after my Blood as Harts do after the Fountain. Thou, O GOD, who art Truth itſelf, and perfectly and truly underſtandeſt the inward Thoughts of my Heart, knoweſt how greatly I have deſired that the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united into one. Commend me to my Son, and aſſure him that I have done nothing which may be prejudicial to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; admoniſh him to hold in Amity and Friendſhip with the Queen of *England*; and ſee that thou do him faithful Service.

The Sheriff calls for her to Execution

Her words to *Melvin*.

And now the Tears trickling down, ſhe bade *Melvin* ſeveral times farewel, who wept as faſt as ſhe. Then turning to the Earls, ſhe pray'd 'em, 'That her Servants might be civilly dealt with al; That they might enjoy the Legacies ſhe had bequeathed them by her Will and Teſtament; That they might ſtand by her at her Death, and might be ſent back into their own Country which Letters of ſafe Conduct. The former Requeſts they granted; but that they ſhould ſtand by her at her Death, the Earl of *Kent* ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat unwilling, fearing ſome Superſtition. 'Fear it not (*ſaid ſhe*) theſe harmleſs Souls deſire only to take their Laſt Farewel of me. I know my Siſter *Elizabeth* would not have denied me ſo ſmall a matter, that my Women ſhould be then preſent, were it but for the Honour of the Female Sex. I am her near Kinſwoman, deſcended from *Henry* VII. Queen-Dowager of *France*, and anointed Queen of *Scots*.

To the Earls in behalf of her Servants.

When ſhe had ſaid thus much, and turn'd herſelf aſide, it was at laſt granted that ſuch of her Servants as ſhe ſhould name ſhould be then preſent. She named *Melvin*, *Burgoin* her Phyſician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two Waiting-women, and others; of whom *Melvin* bare up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff of the County going before her, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the Hall; on which was placed a Chair, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all cover'd with black Cloath. As ſoon as ſhe was ſet down, and Silence commanded, *Beale* read the Warrant. She heard it attentively, yet as if her Thoughts were taken up with ſomewhat elſe. Then *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech to her touching the Condition of her Life paſt, preſent, and to come. She interrupted him once or twice as he was ſpeaking, *praying him not to trouble himſelf, proteſting that ſhe was firmly fixed and reſolved in the ancient Catholick Roman Religion, and for it was ready to ſhed her laſt Blood.* When he earneſtly perſuaded her to true Repentance, and to put her whole Truſt in Chriſt by an aſſur'd Faith; ſhe anſwer'd, *That in that Religion ſhe was both born, bred, and now ready to die.* The Earls ſaid they would pray for her: To whom ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray with her; but to join* (ſhe ſaid) *in Prayer with you who are of another Profeſſion, would be in me a heinous Sin.* Then they appointed the Dean to pray: With whom, while the Multitude that ſtood round about were praying, ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her in her Hands, pray'd in *Latin*, with her Servants, out of the Office of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.

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She comes to the Scaffold.

Paſſages betwixt her and the Dean of Peterborough, &c.

After the Dean had made an end of praying, ſhe in the *Engliſh* Tongue recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth*, to God, beſeeching him to turn away his Wrath from this Iſland; and profeſſing that ſhe repoſed her hope of Salvation in the Blood of Chriſt, (lifting up the Crucifix) ſhe called upon the celeſtial Quire of Saints to make Interceſſion to him for her: She forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning herſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O Chriſt, were ſpread out upon the Croſs, ſo receive me with the ſtretched-out Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive my Sins.* Then the Executioners ask'd her Forgiveneſs, which ſhe granted 'em. And when her Women-ſervants had taken off her upper Garments, (which ſhe was eager and haſty to have done) wailing and lamenting the while, ſhe kiſſed them, and ſigning them with the Croſs, with a chearful Countenance bade them forbear their Womaniſh Lamentations; *for now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her Sorrows.* In like manner turning to her Men-ſervants, who alſo wept, ſhe ſigned them likewiſe with the Croſs, and ſmiling, bade 'em farewel. And now having covered her Face with a Linen Handkerchief, and laying herſelf down to the Block, ſhe recited that Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I truſt, let me never be confounded.* Then ſtretching forth her Body, and repeating many times, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*, her Head was taken off at two Stroaks; the Dean crying out, *So let Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies periſh*; the Earl of *Kent* anſwering, *Amen*, and the Multitude ſighing and ſorrowing. Her Body was embalm'd, and ordered in a decent and fitting manner, and afterwards interr'd with a Royal Funeral in the Cathedral-Church of *Peterburough*. A pompous Obſequies was alſo performed for her at *Paris* by procurement of the *Guiſes*, who, to their great Commendations, perform'd all the higheſt Offices of Kindneſs to their Kinſwoman both alive and dead.

Her laſt Words.

This lamentable End had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Daughter to *James* V. King of *Scots*, Great-grand-daughter to *Henry* VII. King of *England*, by his eldeſt Daughter; in the ſix and fortieth Year of her Age, and the eighteenth of her Impriſonment. A Lady fixed and conſtant in her Religion, of ſingular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wiſdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; a Lady to be reckon'd

Her Character and Commendations.

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An EPITAPH.

MARY *Queen of* Scots, *a King's Daughter, the King of* France's *Widow, the Queen of* England's *Kinfwoman and next Heir, a Princefs accomplifh'd with Royal Vertues and a Royal Soul, having many times (but in vain) demanded the Privileges belonging to a Crown'd Head, is, by barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty, extinct; who was the Ornament of our Age, and a Light truly Royal; and by one and the fame wicked Sentence is both* Mary *Queen of* Scots *doom'd to a natural Death, and all furviving Kings, being made as Common-People, are fubjected to a civil Death. A new and unexampled kind of Tomb is here extant, wherein the Living are inclofed with the Dead: for know, that with the Sacred Afhes of* Saint Mary *here lies violate and proftrate the Majefty of all Kings and Princes. And becaufe (Reader that travelleft this way) the inclofed Remains of Royalty do moft fufficiently admonifh Kings of their Duty, I fay no more.*

By this fo lamentable a Fate of this great Princefs appear'd moft confpicuoufly (as fome underftanding Perfons have obferv'd) the wife Difpofition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For thofe things which both the Queens, *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, moft of all defired, and in all their Councils propounded to themfelves, were hereby attain'd. Queen *Mary* (as fhe faid juft before her Death) defired nothing more ardently, than that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the Perfon of her dear Son: and there was nothing which Queen *Elizabeth* wifh'd for more earneftly, than that the true Religion might be preferv'd in *England*, together with the Safety and Security of the People. And that the high and great God granted them both their Prayers, *England* now fees with unexpected Felicity, and moft joyfully acknowledges the fame.

As foon as the Report was brought to Queen *Elizabeth's* Ears, who little thought of fuch a thing, that the Queen of *Scots* was put to death, fhe heard it with great Indignation, her Countenance alter'd, her Speech falter'd and fail'd her, and through exceffive Sorrow fhe ftood in a manner aftonifh'd; infomuch as fhe gave herfelf over to paffionate Grief, putting herfelf into Mourning-Habit, and fhedding abundance of Tears: her Council fhe fharply rebuk'd, and commanded them out of her Sight, caufing them to be examin'd: *Davifon* fhe commanded to appear and be try'd in the *Star-Chamber*. And as foon as Grief would give her leave, fhe wrote this following Letter in hafte, with her own Hand, to the King of *Scots*, and fent it by *Robert Cary*.

'My deareft Brother,

'I would to God thou kneweft (but not that thou felteft) the incomparable Grief my Mind is perplex'd with, upon this lamentable Accident, which is happen'd contrary to my Meaning and Intention, which, fince my Pen trembles to mention it, you fhall fully underftand by this my Kinfman. I requeft you, that as God and many others can witnefs my Innocence in this matter, fo you will alfo believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it. I am not fo faint-hearted, that for Terrour I fhould fear to do the thing which is juft; or to own it when it is once done: no, I am not fo bafe nor ignobly minded. But as it is no Princely Part, with feign'd Words to conceal and difguife the real Meaning of the Heart; fo will I never diffemble my Actions, but make them appear in their true and proper Colours. Perfuade yourfelf this for Truth, that as I know this is happen'd defervedly on her part, fo if I had intended it, I would not have laid it upon others: but I will never charge myfelf with that which I had not fo much as a Thought of. Other Matters you fhall underftand by the Bearer of this Letter. As for me, I would have you believe, there is not any which loves you more dearly, or takes more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs. If any Man would perfuade you the contrary, you may conclude he favours others more than you. God preferve you long in Health and Safety.

Whilft *Cary* was upon his Way with this Letter, *Davifon* was brought into the *Star-Chamber* before certain Commiffioners chofen for that purpofe: namely, Sir *Chriftopher Wray* Knight, Chief-Jufticer in the King's-Bench, who for that Occafion was made Lord Privy-Seal; the two Archbifhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Earls of *Worcefter*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincoln*; the Barons *Grey* and *Lumley*; Sir *James Croftes*, Comptroller of the Queen's Houfhold; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Mafter of the Rolls; Sir *Edward Anderfon*, Chief-Jufticer at the Common-Pleas; and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Before thefe Commiffioners, *Popham*, the Queen's Attorney, charged *Davifon* with Contempt towards the Queen's Majefty, Breach of his Allegiance, and Neglect of his Duty, in that, *Whereas the Queen (according to her innate Clemency) never intended that the Queen of* Scots, *tho' condemn'd, fhould have been put to death, for Caufes beft known to herfelf alone, and not to be fearch'd into by others, nor could by any*

means

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means be perswaded to consent thereto, either by the Estates of the Realm, or by the repeated Instances and Reasons of the Council; notwithstanding that she had, for preventing of Dangers, commanded a Warrant for her Execution to be drawn up, and committed it to Davison's Trust and Secrecy: He nevertheless, being her sworn Secretary, forgetting his Allegiance and Duty, and in Contempt of her Majesty, contrary to what the Queen had commanded him, had acquainted the Council therewith, and put the Warrant in Execution, without her knowing any thing at all of it.

Davison, according to his singular Discretion, answer'd sedately, with great Presence of Mind,

His answ.

'That he was very sorry, that in so just a Cause 'concerning the Queen of *Scots*, and the Sen'tence given against her, a Sentence of all others 'the most weighty and serious, he should now 'again trouble the Commissioners; and that, if 'not with the Loss, yet at least with the Impair'ing, of his Credit, which to him was as dear as 'all things else. But most heavily of all he took 'it, that he was charged to have offended con'temptuously against her Majesty, who by how 'much she had been the more gracious and boun'tiful to him, and he the more engaged to her 'for her singular Favours, so much the more hei'nous might his Offence seem. If he should 'confess himself guilty of the Crimes objected 'against him, he should wrong his own Reputa'tion, which was more precious to him than his 'Life. And if he should contest with the Queen 'in his own Defence, he should do that which 'was unbefitting the Obedience of a Subject, the 'dutiful Behaviour of a Servant, and the Faith 'and Place of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, 'That he had done 'nothing in this matter wittingly and willingly, 'but what he had persuaded himself was the 'Queen's Will and Pleasure, wherein if he had 'wronged himself either through Ignorance or 'Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly 'troubled at it, and be ready patiently to under'go the Commissioners Censure.

As to Particulars, he affirm'd, 'That when 'the Queen *blamed* him for making such Haste 'to get the Warrant under the Great Seal, she 'gave some Signification, but no express Com'mand, that he should keep it in his own Hands. 'Neither does he believe himself to have offen'ded against his Trust of Secrecy, seeing he ne'ver spoke a Word of the Business to any but the 'Council. Whereas he recall'd not the Warrant 'after the Queen had told him that she had chang'ed her Resolution, he affirm'd, That it was a'greed by all the Council, that it should be pre'sently sent away, and Execution done, lest the 'Commonwealth or the Queen should receive 'any Hurt.

Hereupon *Egerton*, the Queen's Solicitor, began to press *Davison* with his own Confession, reading a Peice thereof. But *Davison* pray'd him *to read the whole, and not Parcels pick'd out here and there: but he had rather* (he said) *it should not be read at all, because there were contain'd in it some Secrecies not fit to be divulged abroad*; saying withal, *That as he would not contest with the Queen, so could he not endure, that his Modesty should prejudice the Truth and his own Integrity.*

He's prest with his own Confession.

Gaudy and *Puckering*, Serjeants at Law, now charged him home and sharply, that he had craftily abused the Wisdom of the Queen's Council, and that by the Confession of *Burleigh* Lord-Treasurer, who doubting whether the Queen had absolutely resolv'd to have Execution done, *Davison* confidently affirm'd it; as he likewise did to the rest that subscribed the Letters for the manner of the Execution. *Davison* here prayed the Queen's learned Council, with Tears running down his Cheeks, *that they would not urge the matter any farther, but remember that he would not contest with the Queen, to whose Conscience, and the Commissioners Censure, he wholly submitted himself.*

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Manwood, in the first place, made an historical Relation touching the Queen of *Scots*, beginning from her Usurping the Arms of *England* in her tender Age, quite down to *Babington's* Conspiracy; commended and approv'd the Sentence given against her, according to the Law; extoll'd the Queen's Clemency, which because *Davison* had inconsiderately prevented, he censured him to be fined in Ten Thousand Pounds, and imprison'd during the Queen's Pleasure.

Judges Censures of him.

Then *Anderson* argued, that he had done the thing which was just, tho' he had not done it after a due and just manner: otherwise he thought him to be no bad Man.

Of the same Opinion was *Gerard*.

Mildmay (having first declar'd with what mature Deliberation, and serious Gravity, the Trial against the Queen of *Scots* was manag'd, and by how earnest Intreaties and Obtestations of the People, Queen *Elizabeth* was persuaded to publish the Sentence) made use of that place of Scripture against *Davison*, *The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord*; and therefore no Man, much less an Officer and a Servant, ought underhand and deceitfully to prevent Princes of their Purpose; without whose Knowledge and Consent nothing was to be done, especially in matters of so great Importance as is the Death of a Princess. He clear'd him of Malice, but tax'd him with Unskilfulness in State-Affairs, and condemn'd him of Rashness and too much Haste in preventing the Queen's Intention. And that Men of his Place and Rank might not for the future dare to commit the like Offence, he agreed in Opinion with the rest, concerning his Fine and Imprisonment.

Croftes blamed him for his Unadvisedness in revealing things which ought to have been concealed; considering that Princes, what they impart to one of their Council, that many times they do not let the rest know of.

The Lord *Lumley* was of Opinion with the Judges, that the Sentence was justly pronounced against the Queen of *Scots*. But he affirm'd withal, 'That never in any Age was there such a Con'tempt against a Prince heard or read of, that 'the Queen's Council, in the Queen's Palace, 'in the Council-Chamber near the Queen, who 'was, as it were, President of the Council, should 'resolve upon a matter of such Consequence, with'out her Advice or Knowledge, when both they 'and *Davison* might have had so easie Access to 'her. Protesting, that if he had but one only 'Son, and he were in the same Fault, he would 'censure him to be severely punish'd. But be'ing persuaded of the Man's ingenuous and ho'nest Intention, he would inflict no heavier 'Punishment upon him, than the rest had done 'before.

After him follow'd the Lord *Grey*, who in a set Speech, as being enflamed with a religious Zeal, thus sharply deliver'd himself: '*Davison* '(said he) is charged to have demean'd him'self contemptuously towards the Queen, and 'that Contempt is aggravated with these Cir'cumstances; That he has caus'd the Queen of '*Scots* to be put to death, has divulged certain 'Secrets, and conceal'd from the Queen the sen'ding away of the Warrant. But what Queen 'was it whom he caus'd to be put to death? 'Even she from whom, as long as she lived, Dan'gers daily threatned our Religion, our Queen, 'our Commonwealth, and every particular Man 'of us; and by means of whom, though she be

Grey's Defence of him.

'now

1587. *Ann.* 30. 'now executed, we are at this day put to this 'Trouble. So that he who has deliver'd *England* 'from so great Dangers, may seem worthy rather 'to be honour'd and esteem'd. I do not take him 'to have reveal'd Secrets, who imparted the Bu'finess to no other than the Council and Ma'nagers of the weightiest Affairs, whom it spe'cially concern'd to know such Matters; and 'the Queen herself had already acquainted one 'or two of them with the thing. If *Davison* have 'offended, he is most to be blamed for this, that 'when the Queen was entring upon a new Re'solution, he did not let her know that the War'rant was not already sent away. But he, with'out question, was divided in doubtful and per'plex'd Thoughts, whether he were best venture 'the Queen's Favour, by sending away the War'rant without her Knowledge, or by recalling it 'endanger the Queen's Safety anew. Who re'members not how turbulent a time it was, and 'what frighting Rumours were spread abroad in 'all places? If any Violence had then been of'fer'd to Religion or the Queen, or her Life had 'been taken away while the Warrant was in his 'Hands, should not he have born the Blame of 'it? should not we ourselves, our Wives and 'Children, have fallen violently upon him? 'Should we not have imbru'd our Hands in his 'Blood? should we not have curs'd his Indiscre'tion to the Pit of Hell? and should we not, to 'his eternal Infamy, have erected a Monument 'of his Inconsiderateness, engraven with Letters 'of Blood? Whatsoever either Punishment or 'Fine ye lay upon him shall not displease me; 'but to be sure he shall never, with me, lose the 'Esteem of a good and honest Man. These things *Grey* continu'd to press copiously, eloquently, and boldly.

The three Earls concurr'd with the rest touching *Davison's* Penalty; but concerning his Reputation, with *Grey*.

The Archbishop of *York* reason'd theologically concerning his Disobedience proceeding from the Blindness of his Understanding, and Corruption of his Mind.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* approv'd the Fact, commended the Man; but the Manner and Way of doing it he utterly condemn'd.

Wray, Lord Privy-Seal, having summarily repeated the Opinions of the Commissioners, confirm'd the Penalty inflicted: and withal signify'd, that albeit the Queen had been offended (and that not without just Cause) with her Council, and had left them to Examination; yet now she forgave them, and withal acknowledg'd, that they had been very careful and diligent in their Actions and Counsels for the Preservation of Religion and the Common-wealth, and for preventing of all Dangers.

Davison's Request. *Davison* pray'd the Commissioners to be a means to the Queen, *not for the honourable Office of Secretary, which he formerly held, nor for his Liberty, nor the Abatement of his Fine, but that he might be restored to her Favour*. Which notwithstanding he never recover'd, tho' she sometimes relieved his Wants.

Thus was *Davison*, a Man of good Ingenuity, but not well-skill'd in Court-Arts, brought upon the Court-Stage, on purpose (as most Men imagin'd) to act for a time this Part in the Tragedy; and soon after, the Part being acted, and his Stage-attire laid aside, as if he had fail'd in the last Act, he was thrust down from the Stage, and, not without the Pity of many, shut up a long time in Prison.

What was done publickly against *Davison* I have said already: but how he excused himself in private, take here a compendious Account upon his own Credit, and out of an Apologetical Discourse of his to *Walsingham*.

1587. *Ann.* 30. Davison's Apology for himself. 'The Queen (says he) after the Departure 'of the *French* and *Scottish* Ambassadors, of her 'own Motion commanded me to deliver her the 'Warrant for executing the Sentence against the 'Queen of *Scots*: when I had deliver'd it, she 'sign'd it readily with her own Hand: when 'she had so done, she commanded it to be seal'd 'with the Great Seal of *England*; and in jesting 'manner said, *Go tell all this to* Walsingham, *who 'is now sick; altho' I fear he will die for Sorrow, 'when he hears it.* She added also the Reasons 'of her deferring it so long; namely, lest she 'might seem to have been violently or malici'ously drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time 'she was not ignorant how necessary it was. 'Moreover she blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that 'they had not eas'd her of this Care, and wished 'that *Walsingham* would feel their Pulses touch'ing this matter. The next day after it was 'under the Great Seal, she commanded me by '*Killegrew*, that it should not be done: and 'when I had inform'd her that it was done al'ready, she found fault with such great Haste; 'telling me that in the Judgment of some wise 'Men, another Course might be taken. I an'swer'd, that that Course was always best and 'safest which was most just. But fearing lest 'she would lay the Fault upon me, (as she had 'laid the putting of the Duke of *Norfolk* to death 'upon the Lord *Burleigh*) I acquainted *Hatton* 'with the whole matter, protesting that I would 'not plunge myself any deeper in so great a 'Business. He presently imparted it to the 'Lord *Burleigh*, and the Lord *Burleigh* to the rest 'of the Council; who all consented to have the 'Execution hasten'd, and every one of them 'vow'd to bear an equal Share in the Blame, 'and sent *Beale* away with the Warrant and Let'ters. The third day after, when, by a Dream 'which she told of the Queen of *Scots* Death, I 'perceiv'd that she waver'd in her Resolution, I 'ask'd her, Whether she had changed her Mind? 'She answered, No; but another Course (said 'she) might have been devis'd: and withal she 'ask'd me, Whether I had receiv'd any Answer 'from *Powlet*? Whose Letter when I had shew'd 'her, wherein he flatly refus'd to undertake that 'which stood not with Honour and Justice; 'she, waxing angry, accused him and others '(who had bound themselves by the *Association*) 'of Perjury and Breach of their Vow, as those 'that had promis'd great Matters for their 'Prince's Safety, but would perform nothing. Yet 'there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. 'But I shew'd her how dishonourable and unjust 'a thing this would be; and withal into how 'great Danger she would bring *Powlet* and *Drury* 'by it. For if she approv'd the Fact, she would 'draw upon herself both Danger and Dishonour, 'not without Censure of Injustice: and if she 'disallow'd it, she would utterly undo Men of 'great Desert, and their whole Posterity. And 'afterwards she gave me a light Check the same 'day that the Queen of *Scots* was executed, be'cause she was not yet put to death.

How high a Displeasure soever against *Davison*, and how great Grief Queen *Elizabeth* either conceiv'd or pretended, for the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, certain it is that the King of *Scots*, her only Son, who respected his Mother with the greatest Piety that could be imagin'd or found in a Son, took exceeding great and hearty Grief, mixt with deep Displeasure, at the same, and very much lamented and mourn'd for her. For he did not think that Queen *Elizabeth*, in regard of the mutual Love betwixt them, and the League

King of *Scots* exceedingly troubled.

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League of ſtricter Amity but lately contracted, would have neglected all the Interceſſions and Mediations of Princes, and brought his Mother, a Princeſs of equal Majeſty with herſelf, and ſo nearly ally'd to her in Royal Blood, under the Hand of a baſe Executioner. *Robert Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, who was ſent out of *England* to excuſe the Queen, and lay all the Fault upon her Council and *Daviſon*, he ſuffered not to enter into *Scotland*, ſcarce would give him the Hearing by another, and with much ado receiv'd the Letters which he brought. He revoked the Commiſſion of his Ambaſſador in *England*, and breathed nothing but Revenge. For there wanted not ſome that went about to perſuade him, that the Princes of Chriſtendom would never ſuffer ſo great an Affront done to the Royal Majeſty and to the Name of Kings, to eſcape unrevenged.

Refuſes Cary Entrance into *Scotland.*

Indignation of the *Scots.*

The Eſtates of *Scotland*, who were now aſſembled in good number, profeſs'd that they were ready to ſpend both their Lives and Fortunes in Revenge of his Mother's Death, and the Defence of his Title to the Crown of *England*, and that they could by no means brook this Injury, done not ſo much to the King, as to the whole Nation of the *Scots*. There was ſome who perſuaded the King to deſire an Aſſiſtance of Shipping from the King of *Denmark*, whoſe Daughter he now ſought in Marriage, againſt the Crown of *England*. Others, addicted to the Popiſh Religion, adviſed him that he ſhould rather join with the *Spaniard*, the *French* King, and the Pope; by which means he might eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of *England*. Above all things, that he ſhould give no Credit, nor rely upon the Proteſtants of *England*; for they now ruled all, and ſecretly plotted his Deſtruction; uſing that Saying againſt them, *He will not ſpare the Son, who has deſtroy'd the Mother*. Others there were, who privately adviſed him to declare himſelf openly for neither Party, but to hold both Papiſts and Proteſtants in ſuſpence. For if he ſtood openly for the Proteſtants, all the Papiſts of *Europe* would level their Deſigns againſt him, as their Mark to ſhoot at, and would erect another Prop and Buttreſs for themſelves in *England*, which would prove dangerous and prejudicial to him. There were alſo ſome, who perſuaded him to maintain a ſtrict and religious Amity with *England*, not to hazard his certain Hopes upon the uncertain Chance of War, and to be firm and conſtant to himſelf in the receiv'd Religion; wherein if he once waver'd, he ſhould neither get himſelf Friends, nor rid himſelf of Foes. Theſe things Men perſuaded him, every Man as his private Advantage led him. The King, being a wiſe Prince, and apprehenſive above his Years, conſider'd all things ſeriouſly with good and long Deliberation by himſelf alone, and adviſed alſo with ſome few others, uſing no Haſte in the Buſineſs, which is always blind, by a mature and due Conſideration.

Divers Counſels ſuggeſted to the K.

The King's Wiſdom.

Q. *Eliz.* endeavors to pacify him.

But Queen *Elizabeth* throwing all the Blame upon *Daviſon*, and the unadviſed Credulity of her Council, ſought to aſſuage his Grief by little and little, leſt unſeaſonable and ſudden Conſolations might more irritate him; and waited till his Sorrow were leſſen'd by longer Time, and would ſuffer itſelf to be eaſilier dealt withal. And when ſhe perceived that the *French* eagerly excited the young King to avenge his Wrongs, fearing leſt by their cunning Wiles and his own boiling Heat to take Revenge, he might be drawn away from the Proteſtant Religion and the Amity of the *Engliſh*, ſhe bent herſelf with all her Art and Skill to pacify his exulcerated and already alienated Mind by all poſſible means not unbeſeeming a Princeſs.

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By her Favourers therefore in *Scotland*, and ſhortly after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick*, ſhe propounded theſe things following to be conſidered by him. 'Firſt, of how dangerous Conſequence it would be for him to break out into a War againſt *England*, for this Reaſon, when all the Eſtates of *England* had judged the late Proceeding moſt neceſſary for the Safety of the whole Iſland, and alſo in itſelf juſt. Secondly, Whether he were able to undertake ſuch a War, ſince *England* was never better provided of Martial Men, Forces and Wealth; and *Scotland* never weaker, as having been exhauſted by Civil-Wars. If he rely'd upon foreign Aid, how hardly and too late he might obtain it, his Mother's Condition might teach him, who ſo often crav'd it in vain. And if he ſhould obtain any, what Succeſs could he hope for? ſince *England*, joining with the Fleets of *Holland* and *Zealand*, feared not the Attempts of the moſt potent Kings of *Europe*. In the *French* King or the *Spaniard* what Confidence could he put? ſince his own Power being once increas'd by the Addition of *England*, would oppoſe all their Deſigns; and his Religion is directly contrary to their Profeſſion, that they cannot aid him without Damage to themſelves. Neither would the *French* King be well contented to ſee the King of *Scots* made ſtronger by the Addition of *England*, leſt he ſhould then proſecute anew the ancient Title of the *Engliſh* in *France*, or aſſiſt the *Guiſes* his Kinſmen, who now aim at the Kingdom of *France*. As for the *Spaniard*, he will without Queſtion, ſerve his own Ambition, conſidering that he boaſts himſelf to be the firſt Catholick Prince of the Blood-Royal of *England*, and of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, tho' falſly. In which Reſpect certain Jeſuits and others went about, even in the Queen of *Scots* Life-time, to advance him to the Crown of *England* by Election, as the meeteſt Man to reſtore the *Romiſh* Authority in *England*, preferring him before his Mother and himſelf. Yea, they began alſo to perſuade the World that ſhe intended to bequeath the Kingdom of *England* by her laſt Will and Teſtament, to the *Spaniard*, in caſe her Son ſhould continue to adhere to the Proteſtant Religion.

Reaſons for her ſo doing.

'What theſe things tend to, and what Aſſiſtance may be hoped for from the *Spaniard*, let the King conſider. And withal, if he revolt from the Religion he has been bred up in, with how great Ignominy he ſhall plunge his own Soul into eternal Perdition, and all *Britain* into Ruin and Deſtruction. Beſides, he muſt conſider with himſelf, if he purpoſe Revenge, whether the Eſtates of *England*, who gave the Sentence againſt his Mother, would not quite exclude him alſo by a new Sentence from his Title of Succeſſion: whoſe Love he may eaſily purchaſe by yielding to Neceſſity, and bridling the Paſſions of his Mind, (ſeeing that which is done cannot be undone) and may in due time peaceably enjoy the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of *England*; and in the mean time may live in Security, and be thought by all indifferent Men, to have ſufficiently diſcharged his Honour, conſidering that while time was he omitted no Duty of a moſt pious Son toward his Mother. And let him really perſuade himſelf this, that the Queen of *England* will moſt lovingly and kindly eſteem of him as her Son, and bear a motherly Affection towards him. Theſe things ſhe caus'd to be inculcated into the King of *Scots* Ears: and to put him out of doubt that his Mother was put to death without her Privity and Intention, ſhe determin'd to ſend him the Sentence againſt *Daviſon*, teſtify'd by

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by the Subscriptions of all the Commissioners, yea and by the Great Seal of *England*; and another Instrument likewise (the more to pacify him) under the Hands of the Judges of *England*, affirming, That the said Sentence against his Mother would not in the least hurt or prejudice his Title to the Succession.

Drake sent to divert the Spaniard.

With these and such like Reasons, while she gently sooth'd the King, she sent *Drake* (to prevent the War which she saw threatned her from the *Spaniard*) with four of her capital Ships and some others to the Coast of *Spain*, to surprize and destroy his Shipping in the Havens, and intercept his Provision. *Drake*, entring into the Port of *Cades*, chased six Gallies (which made head against him) under the Forts; and sunk,

What he perform'd

took or fired about an hundred Vessels, wherein was great store of Munition and Victual, and amongst them a great Gallion of the Marquis of *Sancta Cruce*, and another of *Raguse* laden with Merchandize. From thence returning to the sacred Promontory, called *Cabo Saint Vincent*, he assaulted three Forts, and took 'em by composition; and firing the Fishermens Boats and Nets all along the Coast, came to *Cascaies* at the Mouth of the River *Tayo*, where he challeng'd the Marquis *Sancta Cruce* to fight, who not once so much as mov'd against him, but suffer'd him freely to spoil the Coast, and take their Shipping without Interruption or Molestation. From thence setting sail towards the Isles of *Azores*, he lighted by chance upon a very great Merchant Ship, call'd a *Carack*, richly laden, and named the *Saint Philip*, returning from the *East-Indies*, and easily master'd it. Which Accident the Seamen on both sides, in regard of the Name of *Philip*, interpreted to presage some Disaster to *Philip* of *Spain*. Sure it is that from this short Expedition great Advantages redounded to the *English*. For the *Spaniards*, having sustained so great a loss of Provision and Munition for War, were constrained to give over their design for invading of *England* this Year; and the *English* ever after that time more couragiously adventur'd upon those huge Castle-like Ships, which before they were afraid of; also they so fully understood by the Merchants Papers the rich value of the *Indian* Merchandizes, and the manner of trading in the Eastern World, that they afterwards set up a gainful Trade and Traffick thither, establishing a Company of *East-India* Merchants.

East-India Company

Cavendish sails round the World

At the same time, in another Part of the World, *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*, (who two Years before set sail from *England* with three Ships) passing the Straits of *Magellan*, fired many petty Towns of the *Spaniards* upon the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru* and New *Spain*, took and pillaged nineteen Merchant Ships, and amongst them a very rich Ship of the King's near *California*, and returning home this Year by the *Philippines*, the *Moluccaes*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, and *Saint Helena*, with a rich Booty and great Glory, as being the second after *Magellan* who sail'd round about the World. The Particulars of this Voyage, if any Man desire, let him repair to the *English* Voyages exactly described in three Volumes by *Richard Hackluit*.

Stanley and York Traitors.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this time purchased themselves great Fame and Commendations; so two other *Englishmen*, *William Stanley* and *Rowland York*, procured themselves the disgraceful and infamous Note of Traitors. This *York* was a *Londoner*, a Man of a loose and dissolute Behaviour, and desperately Audacious, famous in his time amongst the common Bullies and Swaggerers, as being the first that, to the great admiration of many at his Boldness, brought into *England* that bold and dangerous way of Fencing with the Rapier in Duelling; whereas the *English* till that time used to fight with long Swords and Bucklers, striking with the edge, and thought it no part of a Man either to push or strike beneath the Girdle. This *York*, having receiv'd I know not what Injury at *Leicester's* hands, fled, and served a while under the *Spaniard* in the *Netherlands*; but at length was reconciled, and made Governor of a Fort near *Zutphen*. But scorning at his Heart to put up the former Disgrace, he soon contriv'd to be revenged; for being bribed with Money, he not only betrayed the Place to the Enemy, but also drew *Stanley*, who had served with singular Fidelity and Valour in the *Irish* War, to be Partner with him in his Treachery, affirming with several Oaths and Protestations, that by the Confessions of the Conspirators he was charged to be guilty of *Babington's* Plot, and was forthwith to be sent into *England* to be hang'd; and persuaded him to betray *Deventer*, a strong and wealthy City, to the *Spaniards*, contrary to his Oath taken to *Leicester* and the States. But considering at last the notoriousness of his Offence, he satisfied himself in his Conscience against the imputation of Treason, in that he had restor'd the Place to the true Lord and Owner, which had been kept from him by Rebels; and, being a rank Papist, he soon after sent for Priests to instruct his Regiment, consisting of Thirteen hundred *English* and *Irish*, in the Popish Religion, giving out that this should be a *Seminary Regiment of Soldiers*, to defend the Romish Religion by their Swords, as the *Seminary Priests* did by their Writings. And indeed, for this purpose *Allen*, who was not long after made Cardinal, not only dispatched Priests to him with all expedition, but set forth a Book also, wherein, according to *Pius* V's Bull against Queen *Elizabeth*, he commended the Treason, and excited others to the like Perfidiousness, as if they were neither bound to serve nor obey an excommunicate Queen. But mark with what Success.

Their reward.

The *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* together by the Ears. *York* they poison'd, and rifled his Goods. His Body was three Years after digged up by the States, and hanged upon a Gibbet, where it rotted. *Stanley* and his Regiment were removed out of *Deventer*, and posted from place to place, exposed to Dangers, and so far neglected, that some of 'em perish'd miserably for lack of Food, and some ran away one after another. *Stanley* himself, in hope of Reward for his Service, went into *Spain*, and offered his farther Service for invading of *Ireland*; but he was neither receiv'd with that Honour he expected, nor was any Credit given unto him; for the *Spaniards* (they say) have this Proverb, *A Traitor may have some Honour done him, but never any Credit given him.* And now he found too late that he had in the first place betray'd himself.

The States accuse Leicester.

These Traitors procured *Leicester* ill-will among the Confederate *Netherlanders*, because the Traitors were still very intimate with him; and also to the whole *English* Nation, whom therefore those who were more free and lavish of their Tongues reproached and scandalized, till it was forbidden by Proclamation. But the States in a long Letter to the Queen, accused *Leicester* of ill governing the Commonwealth in matters of Money, War and Trade; and to his Restriction and easie Credulousness they imputed all Damages received by such kind of Traitors. The Queen,

Commissioners sent to examine and compound Matters.

for examining and compounding of the Matter, and to sound their Inclinations touching a Peace with the *Spaniard*, sent *Thomas Sackvil* Lord *Buckhurst*, (lately made one of the Privy-Council in *Leicester's* absence) *Norris* and *Bartholomew Clerk*, who faithfully managed these Matters. But

whereas

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whereas *Buckhurst*'s officious Diligence seemed to tend to the intrapping of *Leicester*; *Leicester*'s Displeasure against him, and settled Favour with the Queen, prevail'd so far, that *Buckhurst* at his Return was confin'd to his House for several Months.

The States send for *Leicester* to relieve *Sluys*.

Sluys being afterward besieged by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was sent for out of *England* by the States to relieve it. This Town being furiously batter'd with 17000 great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicolas Baskerville*, with a Garrison of *Walloons* and *English*, with great Commendations for their Valour; but at length they were forced to surrender it, when *Leicester*, who was drawn near to succour them being too weak for the Enemy, was fain to retire. And sure it is the States would not allow him a sufficient Army, who reserved to themselves in reality that great Power which they had conferr'd upon him in Name and Words only. And he himself disdain'd to be subject to private Men of meaner Quality under the Notion of States, who pretended to carry the same Authority over him their Governor, which *Charles* V. held over his Governors of the *Netherlands*. Hereupon brake forth first Grudges, then open Enmities, on both sides; and far greater, after he once began to mention a Peace with the *Spaniard*: For they could not endure to hear of the name of Peace, as a thing contrary and pernicious to their Designs. But when he perceiv'd his Authority daily to be slighted and contemned among them, he betook himself to more subtle and crafty Counsels, and attempted to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his Power. But being with the Loss of some Men frustrated of his Hope, and having caused great Discontent, he was called home again into *England* by the Queen, resign'd his Government, and left the free Administration of the Provinces to the States, being derided by those that envied him, and the Title of *His Excellency*, which of all *Englishmen* he was the first that ever used, exploded and hissed off the Stage.

Sluys lost.

Leicester called home.

The Title of *His Excellency*.

He distributes Medals amongst his Faction.

At his Departure he privately distributed amongst some, whom he had drawn to his Faction, certain Medals or Tokens made in Gold, on the one side whereof was his own Picture; and on the other side a Flock of Sheep, some Sheep straying, and a Dog ready to go away looking behind him. Near the Dog was, *Invitus desero*, that is, *Unwillingly I forsake*; and near the Sheep, *Non gregem sed ingratos*, that is, *Not the Flock, but the Unthankful*. And no doubt but he had it in his Head to usurp the Government. But these People have by their Policy and Wisdom not only retained their ancient Freedom, both against the Power of the *Spaniards*, who have the knack also to fight with Gold and other Arts, and the wily Subtilties of the *French* and *English*, and the crafty fox-like Fetches of the Prince of *Orange*; but also have incredibly increased the same, by means of the favourable Inclination of their Neighbours towards them: And (which is more strange) whereas other Nations are impoverish'd by War, they are the only Men that thrive and are enrich'd thereby. Grave *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Son to the Prince of *Orange* by *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to *Maurice*, that heroical Elector, being twenty Years of Age, was by the States made Governor in *Leicester*'s room, over the *United and Confederate Provinces*; and *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby* was made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries* by the Queen. Both which the *Leicestrian* Faction put to much Trouble. For the Garrisons of *Gertruydenberg*, *Naerden*, *Worcom*, *Husden*, and especially *Medemblike*, being addicted to the *English*, as if they had sworn Allegiance to the Queen, raised Tumults and Seditions. And Sir *William Russel*, Governor of *Flushing*, having drawn to his Party those of *Armuyden* and *Gampvere*, was suspected by the States, who were very full of Jealousy and Mistrust, as if he had a Design to reduce the Isle of *Walcheren* under the Power of the *English*. And this Suspicion was increased by the coming of the Admiral of *England*; who tho' he labour'd to make up the matter, yet they, misdoubting themselves, betray'd their Suspicion and Jealousy, both publickly, by coining Money with two Earthen Pots swimming in the Sea (according to the old Fable) and wittily inscribing, *Si collidimur, frangimur*; that is, *If we knock together, we are broken in pieces*; and also privately, by Letters to the Queen. Who being very careful of them, and not neglecting herself, as foreseeing the Dangers by means of the *Spanish* Fleet now threatning her, commanded the Lord *Willoughby* to reduce the seditious People under their Obedience to the States: Which he, together with grave *Maurice*, happily effected.

Maurice of *Nassau* chosen in his room.

Leicester's Faction raises Sedition.

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Russel suspected.

Q. *Eliz.* quiets all.

Leicester being return'd, and smelling that there was an Accusation framed against him by *Buckhurst* and others for ill managing of Affairs in *Holland*, and that he was to be summoned before the Council, cast himself down privately at the Queen's Feet, and with Tears craved her Protection; beseeching her, *That whom she had sent forth with Honour at his first Departure, she would not now receive with Disgrace at his Return; and whom she had raised up from the Ground, she would not now bring alive to his Grave*. And with such flattering Speeches he so mollified the Queen's offended Mind, that her noble Displeasure abated, and she receiv'd him into Grace and Favour. Insomuch, as when he was expected the next Day to come to his Answer, he took his Place in the Council, and did not kneel at the upper end of the Table, as the manner is; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, complaining that he was injuriously dealt withal in his Absence, for that his publick Commission was restrain'd by private Instructions; and so appealing to the Queen, he avoided the whole weight of the Accusation, not without the secret Displeasure and Indignation of his Adversaries.

The death of the L. *Abergavenny*.

This Year, in the Month of *February*, departed this Life *Henry Nevil*, Baron of *Abergavenny*, Great Grandson to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of *Henry* VI, obtain'd his Title in Right of his Wife, the only Daughter and Heir of *Richard Beauchamp*, or *De bello campo*, Earl of *Worcester*, and Baron of *Abergavenny*. By which Title, when the only Daughter of this *Henry*, the Wife of Sir *Thomas Pane* Kt. claim'd the Title of Baroness of *Abergavenny*, there grew a remarkable Suit for the Title betwixt her and the next Heir Male, to whom the Castle of *Abergavenny* was bequeathed by Will and Testament, and the same Testament confirm'd by Act of Parliament.

Of the Dutchess of *Somerset*.

There died also at this time, and all in the Month of *April*, four other Persons of honourable Note amongst us; *viz.* *Anne Stanhope* Dutchess of *Somerset*, being ninety Years of Age, formerly Wife of *Edward Seimour*, Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*; who by her womanish contending with *Katherine Parr*, Queen Dowager of King *Henry* VIII, for Precedence of Worth and Dignity, was the Cause of great Bustles in the Family of the *Seimours*, while she was persuaded by *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (who plotted the Ruin of this noble and potent House) that she, being the Protector's Wife, ought not to bear up the Train of the Queen Dowager, who was married to the Protector's Brother, or to give her Place: Sir *Ralph Sadlier*,

Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, a Man
1587. famous for so many and great Employments for
Ann. 30. the State, and the last Knight Banneret of *England*, to which Dignity he was raised at *Musselborough-Field*: *Thomas Bromley*, Chancellor of *England*, under sixty Years of Age, a famous Lawyer: And the 6th Day after, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, whom the Queen had design'd to be his Successor, being the third Earl of the House of *Manours*, a profound Lawyer, and a Man accomplish'd with all polite Learning, leaving behind him one only Daughter, *Elizabeth*, Wife to *William Cecil*, Grandson to the Lord-Treasurer *Burghley*.

Sadlier. Bromley. And the Earl of *Rutland*.

Hatton made Ld Chancellor.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, a Man in great Favour with the Queen, of a Courtier was made Lord-Chancellor; which the great Lawyers of *England* took very great Distaste at. For ever since Churchmen were deny'd this Preferment, they had with singular Commendations for their Equity and Wisdom born this highest Place of gowned Dignity; which was bestowed in old time for the most part upon Churchmen and Noblemen. But *Hatton* was advanced to it by the cunning Court-Arts of some, that by his Absence from Court, and the troublesome Discharge of so great a Place, which they thought him not to be able to undergo, his Favour with the Queen might flag and grow less. Yet executed he the Place with the greatest State and Splendor of any that ever went before him; and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he labour'd to make good by Equity and Justice.

Sir William Fitz-Williams the fifth time Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Sir *John Perot* being this Year called home out of *Ireland*, deliver'd up his Charge, leaving all things in a peaceable Condition, to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, having first brought in such as were any way suspected, to deliver Hostages for their Fidelity, and that out of hand, lest, if they took Deliberation, they might seem to study a Revolt: The most Suspicious of all he providentially apprehended and committed to Custody, and put the rest in mind of their Allegiance towards their Prince in these doubtful Times; who, because of his Love towards the *Irish* Nation, readily and willingly hearken'd unto him therein.

Till this time (that I may digress a little) the *Englishmen* had very easy Wars in *Ireland*, 800 Foot and 200 Horse were held an invincible Army. *Randolph* with 600 *English* easily discomfited *O-Neal* with 4000 *Irish*. *Collier*, in the Year 1571, with one single Company defeated a Thousand *Hebridians* in *Connaught*. Three Hundred Horse overthrew the *Butlers* with a great multitude of Rebels. And (to omit other like Instances) two Companies of Foot won in one Day above twenty Castles from the *Irish*. But after they were by *Perot's* Command exercised daily at home, taught to use their Weapons, and discharge their Guns at a Mark, that so they might be the more ready for Service against the *Hebridians*, and had afterwards been bred up in the *Netherland*-War, and learned the Ways of Fortifications; they then troubled the *English* (as we shall after see) with a more difficult War.

1588. *The One and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.*

The Admirable Year.

Now we are come to the Year of Christ One Thousand Five Hundred Eighty and Eight, which an Astronomer of *Koningsberg*, above an hundred Years before foretold would be *a Year of Wonders*; and the *German* Chronologers presaged would be the *Climacterical Year of the World*.

Preparations in Spain against England.

The Rumours of Wars, which before were but slight and small, began now to grow greater and greater daily. And now the Reports were no longer uncertain, but the universal Belief of all Men carried it for certain Truth, that a most invincible Armada was rigged and prepared in
1588. *Spain* against *England*, and that the famousest
Ann. 31. Captains and expertest Leaders and Soldiers were sent for out of *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and out of *America*, into *Spain*.

By whom set on.

For the Pope, some religious Persons in *Spain*, and several *English* Fugitives, had of late called back the *Spaniard* to his former Design of the Conquest of *England*, which had been interrupted by the space of ten Years before by the *Portugal* Wars; earnestly exhorting him, 'That seeing God 'had blessed him with such exceeding great Blessings and Benefits, *Portugal* with the *East-Indies* 'and many rich Islands being united by him to 'his Dominions, he in like manner would perform somewhat, which might be pleasing and 'acceptable to God, the Giver of so great good 'Things, and beseeming the Grandeur and Majesty of the Catholick King. But nothing could 'there be more acceptable to God, or more beseeming him, than to propagate and enlarge the 'Church of God. That the Church of God could 'not be more gloriously nor more meritoriously 'propagated, than by the Conquest of *England*, 'and replanting the Catholick Roman Religion, 'and abolishing Heresy there. This War (they 'say) would be most just, not only because it was 'necessary, but also because it was for the Maintenance of Christ's Religion; in regard that 'the Queen of *England*, being excommunicate, 'persisted contumacious against the Church of '*Rome*, supported his Rebels in the *Netherlands*, 'annoyed the *Spaniards* by continual Depredations, surprized and sacked his Towns in *Spain* 'and *America*, and had very lately put the Queen 'of *Scots* to death, violating thereby the Majesty 'of all Kings. And no less profitable would this 'War be than it was just. For so should he add 'unto his Empire those flourishing Kingdoms, 'extinguish the Rebellion in the *Low-Countries*, 'which was kept alive as it were by the Breath 'it had from *England*, secure his Voyages to and 'from both *Indies*, and lessen his yearly Expences for convoying his *Indian* Fleets forward and 'backward. And for a ready Proof hereof, they 'suggested, That the *English* Navy was neither 'for Number nor Bigness of Vessels, nor for 'Strength, comparable to that of *Spain*, especially the *Portugal* Fleet being now added to it: 'That *England* had no Forts nor Defences; that 'it was unprovided of Commanders, Soldiers, 'Cavalry and Munition, bare of Wealth and 'Friends; that there were many in all Parts of 'the Realm addicted to the Romish Religion, 'who would presently join their Forces with his. 'Briefly; that so great was the Strength of the '*Spaniard* both by Sea and Land, and so matchless the Valour of the *Spaniards*, that no Man 'durst oppose him; so that they did confidently 'assure themselves of his Victory. Moreover, 'that now an Opportunity was as it were offer'ed him by God himself, whilst he had no 'ground to fear any thing either from the *Turk*, 'having lately concluded a Truce with him; or 'from the *French*, who were now embroiled in a 'Civil War. They made him believe also, That '*England* was easier to be conquer'd than the '*Netherlands*; in respect it was a shorter and 'convenienter Cut from *Spain* to *England*, namely by a free and open Sea; but to the *Netherlands*, a longer and more difficult, by a Sea for 'a great part of it narrow and pent, and lying 'over against *England*. Also, That the *Low-Countries* were as it were a continued Bulwark, 'fortified every where with so many Cities, and 'Castles; but *England* with none at all: So that 'it was an easy matter for them to pierce pre-

For what Reasons.

sently

1588. Ann. 31. 'sently into the very Bowels of the Land, as well as they had done of late into *Portugal*. And lastly, out of that military Axiome, *That it is not good leaving an Enemy at our Back*; That the *English* therefore, being inveterate Enemies to *Spaniards*, must necessarily be first conquer'd, upon whose Assistance the *Netherlanders* relying, had so long a time sustain'd the Burden of the War, and without whom they could not longer subsist. So as *England* being once conquered, the *Low-Countries* must of necessity be subdued.'

Consultation about the manner of Invasion. These things being thus dispos'd, and the business resolv'd on, they enter into serious Consultation about the best way and manner of invading *England*. Don *Alvares Bassano*, Marquess of *Sancta Cruce*, to whom was committed the principal Charge and Conduct of the Armada, was of opinion, that first of all some Port-Town in *Holland* or *Zealand* should unawares be surprized by the Prince of *Parma*'s Land-Forces, and some *Spanish* Ships sent beforehand, where the *Spanish* Fleet might have safe Harbour, and a Place of Retreat, and from whence it might conveniently attempt the Invasion; considering that the Fleet could not ride safely in the unquiet *British* Sea, where the Winds often changed, and wherein the Tides were especially to be observed. With him agreed in opinion the Prince of *Parma*, who urged this Expedition tooth and nail. Others disliked this Project, as being a thing difficult, full of Danger, requiring long time, much Labour, great Expence, and the Success thereof like to be uncertain; adding, That it could neither be done secretly nor at unawares, but would easily be prevented by the *English*. These Men were of opinion, that *England* might easier be won with the same Charge; and that the Victory would be certain and sure, if a well-provided Army from *Spain* and the *Low-Countries* were landed by a powerful Navy at the *Thames* Mouth, and *London*, the chief City, surprized by a sudden Assault. This seemed to them very easy to be effected, and therefore all concurred in this Opinion, that it was forthwith to be put in execution. Of these notwithstanding some thought it meet that War should be first proclaimed by an Herald, and that to good and wise Purpose, as they thought; both to remove Suspicion and Jealousy out of the Neighbour-Princes Minds, and also to force the Queen to call in foreign Forces to her Assistance; hoping that they (according to the usual Insolency of Mercenaries) would mutiny and spoil the Country, and that she thereby would procure the Ill-will of her Subjects, and all things would run into Confusion in *England*. But this was not hearken'd to by those who were puffed up, and eager with Confidence of their own Strength; for they held it sufficient to recommend the Cause, the Armada, and Army, to the Pope, and to the Prayers of the Catholicks, to God and the Saints; and set forth a Book in Print for a Terror, wherein the whole Preparation was particularly set down; which verily was so vast throughout all *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themselves were amazed at it, and named it *The Invincible Armada*. The Invincible Armada.

Preparation in the Low-Countries. The Prince of *Parma* also in the *Netherlands*, by the King of *Spain*'s Command, built Ships, and many flat-bottom'd Boats, each of them big enough to carry thirty Horses, with Bridges fitted to them: Mariners he hired from the Eastern Parts of *Germany*, prepared Piles sharpen'd at the nether end, armed with Iron, and hooked on the Sides, and provided twenty thousand Barrels, and an infinite number of Faggots; and in the Sea-Towns of *Flanders* he had an Army in readiness of 103 Companies of Foot, and 4000 Horse, amongst which were 700 *English* Fugitives, who of all others were least esteemed. Neither was *Stanley*, who had the Command of them, nor *Westmorland*, nor others who offer'd their Service and Counsel, once heard; but for their Unnaturalness to their Country they were debarred from all Access, and as most inauspicious Persons worthily and with Detestation rejected. Traitors odious. Pope *Sixtus* V. also, that he might not seem to be wanting to the Cause, sending Cardinal *Allen*, an *Englishman*, into the *Low-Countries*, renewed the Bulls declaratory of *Pius* V. and *Gregory* XIII. excommunicated the Queen, dethroned her, absolved her Subjects from all Allegiance, and published his Croisado in Print, as it were against *Turks* and *Infidels*; wherein, out of the Treasury of the Church, he granted Plenary Indulgences to all that gave their Help and Assistance. Help from the Pope. Whereupon the Marquess of *Burgoew*, of the House of *Austria*, the Duke of *Pastrana*, *Amadæus* of *Savoy*, *Vespasian Gonzaga*, *John de Medicis*, and many Noblemen from all Parts, lifted themselves voluntarily for this Enterprize and Expedition.

Preparations in England for Defence. Queen *Elizabeth* on the other side, that she might not be taken unprovided, prepared with all Diligence imaginable as strong a Fleet as she could, and all things necessary for War. And she herself (who was of a quick Judgment in discerning Mens Natures and Dispositions, and ever then most happy when she made her own free Choice, and trusted not to the Recommendations of others) assigned most excellent Men to every particular Place and Charge. By Sea. The Command of the whole Fleet she gave to *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord-Admiral of *England*; of whose fortunate Conduct she had a very great Perswasion, and whom she knew, by the Sweetness of his Behaviour, and Bravery of his Conduct, to be skilful in Sea-matters, wary and provident, valiant and couragious, industrious and active, and of great Authority and Esteem amongst the Seamen of her Navy. Him she sent early to the Western Parts of *England*, where *Drake*, whom she appointed Vice-Admiral, joined him. The Lord *Henry Seimour*, second Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, she commanded to lie upon the Coast of the *Low-Countries* with forty Ships, *English* and *Netherlandish*, and to take care that the Prince of *Parma* put not out to Sea with his Forces. Tho' some there were who earnestly perswaded her to expect the Enemy's coming, and to welcome him with a Land-Battel, according as had been resolved in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, when the *French* with a strong Fleet threatened *England*.

By Land. For Land-Service there were disposed along the Southern Coasts 20000 Men. Besides which, two Armies were raised of choice well-disciplin'd and experienc'd Men; the one under the Command of the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of 1000 Horse, and 22000 Foot, which incamped at *Tilbury*, not far from the *Thames* Mouth; (for the Enemy was fully resolv'd to set first upon *London*) the other under the Leading of the Lord *Hunsdon*, consisting of 34000 Foot and 2000 Horse, to guard the Queen's Person.

Consult how best to oppose the Enemy. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, Knights, and excellent Soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the War at Land. These Men thought good, that the most convenient Landing-places for the Enemy, as well out of *Spain* as out of the *Low-Countries*, should be well manned and fortified, namely, *Milford-Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the *Isle of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, that open Coast

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Coaſt of *Kent* which we call the *Downs*, the *Thames* Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. and that the Train'd-Bands all along the maritime Counties ſhould meet in Arms upon a Signal given to defend the ſaid Parts, and do their beſt to prevent the Enemy's Landing. And if the Enemy did land, to lay all the Country waſte round about, and to ſpoil all things that might be of any uſe to them, that ſo they might find no Food but what they brought with them on their Shoulders. And to buſy the Enemy night and day with continual Alarms, ſo as to give them no Reſt: but not to put it to the Hazard of a Battle, till more Commanders with their Companies were come up to them. Of which Commanders they nominated one in every Shire to have the chief Command and Conduct. I think it needleſs to relate particularly what inland Shires they aſſign'd to aid this and that Coaſt, what Numbers, what Arms, and what manner of Fight they agreed upon.

And about the Papiſts at home.

In this troubleſome Seaſon, ſome beat it many times into the Queen's Head, that the *Spaniards* abroad were not ſo much to be feared, as the Papiſts at home; for the *Spaniards* would not attempt any Hoſtility againſt *England*, but upon Confidence of Help from them: and that therefore, for better Security, the Heads of that Party were, upon ſome Pretence or other, to be taken off; alledging the Example of King *Henry* VIII, when the Emperor and the *French* King, by the Inſtigation of the Pope, were ready to invade *England*; for as ſoon as he had put to death the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, *Edward Nevil*, and others, whom he ſuſpected to favour their Enterprize, their Expedition preſently was daſh'd. But the Queen, diſliking this as cruel Counſel, thought it ſufficient to commit ſome of the Papiſts, and thoſe not of the chief, to Cuſtody, at *Wisbeach* in the Fens. And having her Eyes and Mind every way, ſhe by frequent Letters excited and quicken'd the Parliament, who were not aſleep the while. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, ſhe directed what he ſhould do. The King of *Scots* ſhe put in mind by her Friends in *Scotland*, and by Meſſengers, to be very wary of the Papiſts and the *Spaniſh* Faction. But he, not ignorant how great a Tempeſt and Deſtruction hung over his head, was of his own accord forward and careful, and, according to his continual good Affection to the true Religion and the Queen, had already refuſed to give Audience to the Biſhop of *Dumblane*, (who was ſent from the Pope) and had procured a Confederacy to be enter'd into by the Proteſtants of *Scotland*, for reſiſting the *Spaniards*: and he himſelf marching in Perſon with an Army into *Annandale*, forced *Maxwell's* Camp, who, contrary to his Faith given, was return'd out of *Spain* into *Scotland*, and favour'd the *Spaniard's* Deſigns, took him and threw him into Priſon, declar'd the *Spaniards* Enemies, and made Preparation againſt them with great Chearfulneſs and Alacrity.

K. of *Scots* Alacrity againſt the *Spaniard*.

Treaty of Peace in the mean time.

Amidſt theſe great Preparations for War by both Parties, Projects for Peace are not quite laid aſide. Two Years before, when the Prince of *Parma* had conſider'd with himſelf how difficult a matter it would be to bring the *Low-Country*-War to an Iſſue, as long as it was cheriſh'd with daily Supplies from the Queen, had dealt ſeriouſly by Letters, with the Help of Sir *James a Croftes*, one of the Privy-Council, a Man very deſirous of Peace, *Andrew van Loe*, a *Netherlander*, and others, that there might be a Treaty of Peace, he being impower'd thereto by the King of *Spain*. The Queen fearing leſt this were done politickly underhand to break off the Amity betwixt her and the Confederate Provinces, and to allure them cunningly to the *Spaniard*, deferr'd the matter a while. But now, to divert the War which threatned on both ſides, ſhe reſolv'd to treat of Peace, but with the Sword in her Hand: neither indeed was the Prince of *Parma* againſt it.

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In the Month of *February*, therefore, Commiſſioners were ſent into *Flanders*, viz. *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James a Croftes*, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers*, Doctors of Law: who being receiv'd in the Prince's Name with all Courteſy and Civility, ſent *Dale* preſently to him, to underſtand his Mind about the Place of Meeting, and to ſee his Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*. He appointed the Place near *Oſtend*, not in *Oſtend* itſelf, which was now held by the *Engliſh* againſt the King: and as for his Commiſſion, he promis'd it ſhould be ſhew'd 'em when they met. But he wiſh'd they would haſten the matter, leſt any thing ſhould happen in the mean time which might hinder the Treaty of Peace. But *Richardot* ſaid plainly and expreſly, *That he knew not what might be attempted in the mean time againſt* England. Not long after, *Rogers* was ſent to the Prince by the Queen's expreſs Command, to underſtand for certain, whether there were any Deſign for invading *England*, as he and *Richardot* ſeem'd of late to give Hints of. He affirm'd, that he never had the leaſt Thought of invading *England*, ſince he deſired the Negotiation might be haſtned; and was ſomewhat angry with *Richardot*, who deny'd that any ſuch Words had fallen from them.

On the 12th Day of *April*, there met with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners in Tents near *Oſtend*, Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, *Mas* a Doctor, and *Garnier*, ſent as Commiſſioners from the Prince of *Parma*; who voluntarily gave the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners the Precedency and upper Hand both in going and ſitting. They affirming that the Prince had ſufficient Power and Commiſſion to treat of a Peace, the *Engliſh* propounded, that a Truce might firſt be concluded on. The other deny'd it, becauſe it would be damageable and prejudicial to the *Spaniard*, (who had been at the Charge of maintaining a powerful Army for now full ſix Months) in caſe a Peace ſhould not be agreed upon. The *Engliſh* inſiſted, that a Truce was promis'd before they came into the *Low-Countries*. They on the other ſide acknowledg'd, that a Truce was promis'd ſix Months before, but not accepted; and that it was not in the Queen's Power to make a Truce for the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, who daily attempted Acts of Hoſtility. The *Engliſh* urged that the Truce might be general, for all the Queen's Dominions and the Kingdom of *Scotland*. They refuſed to grant it for any more than four Towns only in the *Netherlands*, which were in the Queen's Hands; that is to ſay, *Oſtend*, *Fluſhing*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and *Brill*; and that only during the Treaty and twenty days after; and upon ſuch Terms, as it ſhould be lawful in the mean time for the Queen of *England* to invade *Spain*, and for the *Spaniard* to invade *England* out of *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*.

Engliſh Propoſals and *Spaniards* Anſwer.

Whilſt the time was ſpent and ſquander'd away from day to day, in arguing about the Truce and the Place of Treaty, which at length was appointed to be at *Borbourg*, Sir *James a Croftes*, out of his ſingular Affection to Peace, made a Journey to *Bruſſels*, without acquainting the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and there propounded certain Articles in private; for which he was afterwards, upon *Leiceſter's* Accuſation, impriſon'd; tho' in the Judgment of the reſt of the Commiſſioners,

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sioners, the said Articles were not to be mislik'd: but Commissioners must not pass the Limits of their Commission. At last, when the English Commissioners could by no means get from them that there should be an absolute Cessation of Arms, nor see the Prince of Parma's Commission to treat of Peace, they propos'd these things following.

Other Proposals of the English.

'That the ancient Leagues betwixt the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy* might 'be renew'd and confirm'd. That all the *Netherlanders* might fully enjoy their Privileges, and 'serve God with Liberty of Conscience. That 'the *Spaniards* and foreign Soldiers might be re-'mov'd out of the *Netherlands*, so as neither the '*Netherlanders*, nor the bordering Countries, 'might have cause to fear them. Which things 'if they might be granted, the Queen would 'condescend to reasonable Conditions concerning 'those Towns in the *Netherlands*, which she then 'had in Possession, (that it might appear that it 'was not for her own Advantage, but for the 'necessary Defence as well of the *Netherlands* as 'of herself, that she had taken up Arms) provi-'ded the Money which was due to her from 'thence might be repay'd.'

Their Answer.

They answer'd, 'That there would be no 'Difficulty in renewing the ancient Leagues, 'when they should once come to a friendly Con-'ference together about the same. That there 'was no reason why foreign Princes should take 'Care of the *Netherlanders* Privileges, which 'were most freely and bountifully granted not 'only to the Provinces and Towns that were 'reconciled, but even to those also which were 'reduced by Force of Arms. And for foreign 'Soldiers, they were retain'd upon urgent Ne-'cessity, as long as *Holland*, *England*, and *France* 'were in Arms. As for those four Towns, that 'had been taken from the King, and the Repay-'ment of the Money which the Queen had ex-'pended, the *Spaniard* might in reason demand 'as many thousands of Ducats to be repaid him 'by the Queen, as he had disburs'd upon the '*Low-Country*-War, from the time that she first 'supported the revolting *Netherlanders*, and took 'them into her Protection.'

Expostulation with the Prince of Parma about a Book of Allen's.

About this time *Dale*, by the Queen's Command, went to the Prince of *Parma*, and mildly expostulated with him about a Book lately set forth by Cardinal *Allen*, an *Englishman*, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and People of *England* and *Ireland* to join with the *Spanish* Forces under the Conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, to execute the Sentence of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, publish'd already by Bull, against the Queen of *England*, whereby she was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, and tax'd of Cruelty against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, &c. and her Subjects commanded to aid the Prince of *Parma* against her. (And indeed there were a great Number of these Bulls and Books printed at *Antwerp*, to be dispers'd all over *England*.) The Duke deny'd 'that ever he saw 'any such Book or Bull, neither did he undertake 'any thing upon the Pope's Account; but his 'own Prince he must obey. As for the Queen 'of *England*, he had so high an Esteem of her for 'her Royal Vertues, that next to the King his 'Master, he honour'd her above all, and desired 'to do her Service. That he had persuaded his 'King to condescend to this Treaty of Peace, 'which would be more advantagious for the *Eng-'lish* than for the *Spaniards*. For if the *Spaniards* 'be overcome, they will soon repair their Loss; 'but if you (said he) be once vanquish'd, your 'Kingdom is quite lost by it.' To whom *Dale* reply'd, *Our Queen is provided of Strength sufficient to defend her Kingdom; and you yourself in your Wisdom may judge, that a Kingdom cannot easily be won by the Fortune of one Battle, seeing the King of* Spain *has not yet been able, after so long a War, to recover his ancient Inheritance in the* Netherlands. *Be it so*, (said the Duke) *these things are in the Hand and Disposal of the Almighty.*

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The Commissioners continued their Proposals, Answers and Replies to one another, and still spun as it were the same Thread over again.

Other Demands of the English, and Spaniards Answers.

The *English* urging that a Toleration of Religion might be granted to the Confederate Provinces, at least for two Years; it was answer'd, *As the* Spaniard *demanded it not for the* English *Catholicks, so they hoped the Queen was so prudent as not to desire any thing which should be against the Honour, Oath and Conscience of the* Spaniard. When they demanded the Money due from the States of *Brabant*; they answer'd, *That it was lent without the King's Knowledge or Leave: but when the Accounts were cast up, how much the said Money was, and how much the King had disburs'd about the War, it would soon be known who had most due to them.* With such Answers as these they dally'd with the *English*, till the *Spanish* Fleet was come upon the Coast of *England*, and the Thundring of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea. And then they receiv'd a safe Conduct from the Prince of *Parma*, (who had in the mean time drawn down all his Forces to the Sea-side) and were honourably conducted by his Commissioners to the Borders near *Calais*.

Treaty broke off.

Thus came this Treaty to nothing, which at first was begun by the Queen (as the wiser sort have thought) to divert the *Spanish* Fleet; and continued by the *Spaniard*, purposely to surprize *England* at unawares and unprovided. So as they seem'd on both sides to sow the Fox's Skin to the Lion's.

Spanish Armada.

The said *Spanish* Fleet, being the best furnish'd with Men, Munition, and all manner of Provision, of any that ever the Ocean saw, and call'd by the arrogant Name of *Invincible*, consisted of 130 Ships: In which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Mariners, 2080 Galley-Slaves, and 2630 great Ordnance.

Its Commanders.

Don *Alphonso Perez de Gusman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had the principal Command thereof; (for Don *Antonio Columna*, Duke of *Paliano*, and the Marquess of *Sancta Cruce*, to whom this Command was formerly design'd, died both of them while the Fleet was rigging) and under him *John Martinez de Recalde*, an experienced Seaman.

It sets sail. Is dispers'd.

On the 29th of *May*, the Fleet set sail out of the River *Tayo*, and while it bent its Course towards the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, it was totally scatter'd and dispers'd by an hideous Tempest, so that with much ado it met again together some few days after, at the *Groyne* and other Harbours thereabouts: three Gallies being convey'd into *France*, by the Policy of *David Guinn*, an *English* Slave, and the Treachery of the *Turkish* Rovers. It was reported to be so weather-beaten and distress'd, that the Queen was verily persuaded that this Fleet was not to be look'd for this year; and Secretary *Walsingham* wrote to the Lord-Admiral to send back four of the biggest Ships, as if the War were now at an end. The Lord-Admiral did not easily believe it, and therefore humbly desired that nothing might be rashly credited in so weighty a matter, and that he might retain the Ships with him, tho' it were at his own Cost and Charges. And taking the Benefit of a favourable Wind, he set sail toward *Spain*, to surprize the Enemy's weather-beaten Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Coast of *Spain*, the Wind came about into the South, and he thereupon (who was commanded to defend the Coast of *England*, fearing lest with

the

1588. *Ann.* 31. the same Wind they might arrive in *England* undiscover'd) return'd to *Plymouth*.

Puts to Sea again. With the same Wind the Duke of *Medina* set sail with his whole Fleet from the *Groyne* the 12th day of *July*, according to the Account of the *Julian* Year: and after a day or two he sent *Roderico Telie* before into the *Low-Countries*, to advertise the Prince of *Parma* of the Coming of the Fleet, and to tell him what was best to be done. For he had Orders to join with the Prince of *Parma*'s Forces and Shipping, and to conduct 'em under the Protection of his Fleet into *England*, and withal to send the Land-Forces ashore at the *Thames* Mouth. And now will I give a brief Account, out of the most credible Relations, as well of the *Spaniards* as of our own Countrymen, what was done every day in this Expedition, that the Truth may the more plainly appear.

On the 16th day there was a great Calm, and a thick Fog till Noon: then the North-East Wind blew very strongly, and presently after the West Wind, till Midnight, and then the East-South-East Wind; insomuch as the *Spanish* Fleet being dispersed thereby, was hardly gather'd together again till it came within sight of *England* on the 19th day. *English Fleet puts to Sea.* Upon which day the Lord-Admiral of *England*, being certainly inform'd by *Flemming*, the Captain of a Pinnace, that the *Spanish* Fleet was enter'd into the *British* Sea, (which the Seamen ordinarily call *the Channel*,) and was seen near the Point call'd *the Lizard*, tow'd out the *English* Fleet into the main Sea, not without great Difficulty, the Wind blowing stiffly into the Haven, but indeed with singular Diligence and Industry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encouraged at their Halser-Work, assisting them and the common Soldiers in the doing of it in Person.

The next day the *English* discover'd the *Spanish* Fleet with lofty Turrets like Castles, in Front like a Half-Moon, the Wings thereof spreading out about the Length of seven Miles, sailing very slowly, tho' with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight of 'em; which they willingly suffer'd to pass by, that they might chase them in the Rear with a fore-right Wind.

On the 21st of *July*, the Lord-Admiral of *England*, sending a Pinnace before, call'd the *Defiance*, *1st Fight.* denouncing War by discharging her Ordnance; and presently his own Ship, call'd the *Ark-Royal*, thunder'd thick and furiously upon the Admiral (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, (but it was *Alphonso de Leva*'s Ship.) Soon after, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher* play'd stoutly with their Ordnance upon the hindmost Squadron, which was commanded by *Recalde*, who labour'd all he could to stay his Men from flying to the main Fleet, till such time as his own Ship being much batter'd with Shot, and now grown unserviceable, he was fain himself, with much ado, to retreat thither also. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gather'd together his Fleet, which was scatter'd this way and that way; and, hoisting more Sail, held on his Course with what Speed he could. *Agility of the English Ships.* Neither could he do any other, seeing both the Wind favour'd the *English*, and their Ships would turn about with incredible Celerity and Nimbleness, which way soever they pleased, to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintain'd a smart Fight for the space of two Hours, when the Lord-Admiral thought not good to continue it any longer, because forty of his Ships were not yet come in, being scarce got out of the Haven.

The Night following, the *St. Katharine*, a *Spanish* Ship, having received much Damage in the Fight, was brought into the midst of the Fleet, in order to be repair'd; and a vast Ship of *Biscay*, belonging to *Oquenda*, and having the King's Treasurer on board, was designedly set on fire, by some Gun-powder laid for that purpose by a *Dutch* Gunner, who had receiv'd some ill Treatment: But the Flame was happily extinguish'd by some Vessels that came in seasonably to its Relief; among which a Galleon (the Master of her Don *Pedro de Valdez*) fell foul of another Ship, and sprung her Foremast; so that being left behind, by reason the Night was so dark, and the Sea ran so high, that no Succour could come to her, she was taken by *Drake*, who sent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and distributed the Cash found in her, as a Booty to his Men. *Don Pedro de Valdez taken.* *Drake* was order'd to carry a Lantern that Night, but fail'd to do it, having at the same time in chase five *German* Merchant-Men, which he took to be Enemies. This occasion'd almost all the *English* Fleet to lie by, because they could not discover the Light; nor did he or the rest of the Fleet get sight of the Lord-Admiral, till the next Evening following; for he, with two Ships more, *viz.* the *Bear* and the *Mary-Rose*, stood after the *Spanish* Fleet, all the Night before. The Duke spent this whole Day in disposing his Fleet into the best Order, and commanded *Alphonso de Leva* to bring the first and the last Squadron together; then he appointed every particular Ship his proper Station, according to the Platform agreed on in *Spain*, and made it Death for any one to abandon his Post. *Glich* an Ensign was dispatch'd to the Prince of *Parma*, to acquaint him with the State of the Navy; and *Oquenda*'s Ship was turned loose to Sea, her Cargo being first taken out and dispos'd of into other Vessels: The very same day she was taken by the *English*, with about fifty Sailors, wretchedly bruised and burnt, and carry'd into *Weymouth* Harbour. *Oquenda's Ship taken.*

On the 23th of this Month, the *Spaniards*, very early in the Morning, took the Advantage of a Northerly Wind, and bore down upon the *English*, who soon tack'd about and stood Westward. Both Fleets strove hard for some time to get to the Windward, and then prepared for the Engagement. It was managed with Confusion enough, and various Success. The *English* on the one hand rescu'd some Ships of *London*, that were surrounded by the *Spaniards*; and the *Spaniards* on the other as bravely brought off *Recalde*, when he was in equal Danger. The great Guns on both sides rattled like so many Peals of Thunder; but the *Spaniards* Shot flew for the most part over the Heads of the *English*, without doing Execution; *Cock* being the only *Englishman* that died bravely in the midst of his Enemies in a Ship of his own. The Reason of this was, that the *English* Ships being far less than the Enemy's, made the Attack with more Quickness and Agility; and when they had given a Broadside, they presently sheer'd off to a convenient Distance, and levell'd their Shot so directly at the bigger and more unweildy Ships of the *Spaniards*, as seldom to miss their Aim; tho' the Lord-Admiral did not think it safe or proper to grapple with them, as some advised, with much more Heat than Discretion; *L. Admiral's Care.* because that the Enemy's Fleet carry'd a considerable Army within their Sides, whereas ours had no such Advantage. Besides, their Ships far exceeded ours in Number and Bulk, and were much stronger and higher built; insomuch that their Men having the Opportunity to ply us from such lofty Hatches, must inevitably destroy those that were obliged, as it were, to fight beneath them: And he easily foresaw likewise, that the Damage and Disgrace of a total Defeat would weigh much heavier than the Advantage of a Victory, should he happen to

compass

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On the 24th Day of the Month, there was a Ceſſation on both ſides, and the Lord-Admiral ſent ſome of his ſmaller Veſſels to the neareſt of the *Engliſh* Harbours, to fetch a Supply of Powder and Ammunition; then he divided the Fleet into four Squadrons, the firſt of which he commanded himſelf, the ſecond he committed to *Drake*, the third to *Hawkins*, and the fourth to *Forbiſher*. He likewiſe ſingled out of the main Fleet ſome ſmaller Veſſels to begin the Attack on all ſides at once, in the very dead of the Night; but a Calm happening, ſpoil'd his Deſign.

3d Fight. On the 25th, being St. *James*'s Day, the *Saint Anne*, a Galleon of *Portugal*, not being able to keep up with the Fleet, was taken by ſome *Engliſh* Ships, and *Leva* with Don *Diego Telles Enriques* attempted to reſcue her with three Galeaſſes; but were ſo warmly received by the Lord-Admiral himſelf, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden-Lion*, who by reaſon of the Calm, had their Ships tow'd along with Boats, that the Galleon was got off with much ado, and not without ſome Loſs. However from that time the Galleaſſes durſt not venture any new Engagement.

Different Accounts thereof. The *Spaniards* reported, 'That the *Engliſh* did at 'the ſame time miſerably batter the *Spaniſh* Ad'miral who lay in the Rear, with their great 'Guns, and that they came ſo near her, as to 'ſlay many of her Men, and ſhoot her Main'Maſt by the Board; but *Mexia* and *Recalde* 'came up ſeaſonably enough to beat off the *Eng'liſh*; That after this the *Spaniſh* Admiral, with 'the Aſſiſtance of *Recalde* and others, fell upon 'the *Engliſh* Admiral, who made his Eſcape, by 'the Advantage of the Wind's chopping about. 'That the *Spaniards* from that time gave over the 'Chaſe, and keeping on their Courſe, diſpatch'd 'a Meſſenger to *Parma*, to deſire him to join the 'King's *Armada* with his own Squadron as ſoon 'as poſſible, and to ſend withal ſome great Shot 'for the uſe of the main Fleet.' This was altogether a Secret to the *Engliſh*, who give this Account of the matter: 'That they tore down the 'Lantern from one of the *Spaniſh* Ships, robbed 'another of her Bowſprit, and did a conſiderable 'Damage to a third: That the *Nonpareil* and the '*Mary-Roſe* held a ſmall Fight with the *Spaniards*, 'and that ſome other Ships retriev'd the *Triumph*, 'when ſhe was in great Danger.' Thus have we very different Accounts of the ſame Action, from thoſe who were preſent on the ſpot, and made their Reports, every Man according to his own Obſervation.

Knights created at Sea. The next Day, the Lord-Admiral knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffeld*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*, in Conſideration of their good Service; and a Reſolution was taken not to attack the Enemy from that time forward, till they came to the *Britiſh Frith*, or the Streights of *Calais*; where the Lord *Henry Seymour* and Sir *Will. Winter* expected their Arrival. Thus the *Spaniſh* Fleet ſailed forward with a fair and ſoft Gale at South-Weſt and by South, and the *Engliſh* chaſed them cloſe at the Heels. But ſo far was this *Invincible Armada* from alarming the Sea-Coaſts with any frightful Ap-

Noblemen and Gentlemen join the Fleet. prehenſions, that the *Engliſh* Gentry of the younger ſort enter'd themſelves Volunteers, and taking leave of their Parents, Wives, and Children, did, with incredible Chearfulneſs, hire Ships at their own Charge; and, in pure Love to their Country, join'd the grand Fleet in vaſt Numbers; amongſt whom were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brooke*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambroſe Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and ſeveral others of good Quality.

On the 27th of this Month, the *Spaniſh* Fleet came to an Anchor before *Calais*; their Pilots having acquainted them, that if they ventur'd any farther, there was ſome Danger that the Force of the Current might drive 'em away into the Northern Channel. Not far from them came likewiſe the *Engliſh* Admiral to an Anchor, and lay within ſhot of their Ships. The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted by this time of 140 Sail; all of 'em Ships of Force, and very tite and nimble Sailors, and eaſily manageable upon a Tack. But however, the main Brunt of the Engagement lay not upon more than 15 or 16 of 'em. The *Spaniards*, as they had frequently done before, preſſed the Duke of *Parma* by one Meſſenger after another, to ſend away forty Fly-boats, without which they could not well engage the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of the unweildy Bulk of the *Spaniſh* Veſſels, and the Lightneſs and Activity of the *Engliſh*. They intreated him likewiſe, with great Earneſtneſs, to put aboard his whole Army, which the *Spaniſh* Fleet would be ſure to guard, according to the Reſolutions already taken, till it was landed in *England*. But it ſeems he was not ready, and ſo could not anſwer their Summons. His flat-bottom'd Boats, which were fram'd for the Channel, were all leaky, his Proviſions not ready, and his Sailors, who had been hitherto kept together againſt their wills, had made a ſhift to give him the ſlip, and get away. Beſides, ſeveral Men of War belonging to *Holland* and *Zealand*, block'd up the very Mouth of the Harbours of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, from whence alone he could put to Sea; and ſo well were they furniſh'd with great Guns and ſmall Arms, that he could not poſſibly get from ſhore, without running a very palpable Hazard of his Life. However, being a ſtout and experienced Soldier, he left no Method unattempted, out of an eager Deſire of aſſiſting towards the Conqueſt of *England*.

Spaniſh Fleet anchors.

Prince of Parma ſent for.

But Queen *Elizabeth*, by a wiſe Precaution, baffled all his Attempts, and daſh'd the forward Hopes of the *Spaniard* all at once: For, by her Majeſty's Orders, the Lord-Admiral got ready eight of his worſt Ships the very Day after the *Spaniards* came to an Anchor; and having beſtow'd upon them a good Plenty of Pitch, Tar, and Roſin, and lin'd 'em well with Brimſtone and other combuſtible Matter, they ſent 'em before the Wind, in the dead time of the Night, under the Conduct of *Young* and *Prowſe*, into the midſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet: The Approach of which was no ſooner diſcover'd by the *Spaniards*, and the prodigious Blaze which the Fire made all the Sea over, but they ſuſpecting that theſe Fire-Ships were big with other Engines of Slaughter, beſides the deſtructive Element that ſhew'd itſelf without, began to raiſe a moſt hideous Clamour, *Cut your Cables, and get up your Anchors!* and in a panick Fright put to Sea with all the Confuſion and Precipitancy imaginable. One of the Fleet (a large Galleaſs) having broken her Rudder, floated up and down before the Wind; and the next Day making for *Calais* in a very piteous Plight, ſhe at laſt ſtruck upon the Sands, and after a ſmart, long, and doubtful Engagement, was taken by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvey*. The Captain of her, Don *Hugo de Moncada*, being firſt ſlain, and the Soldiers and Rowers either drown'd, or put to the Sword; the *Engliſh* pillaged a great Quantity of Gold which ſhe had on board, and the Ship and Guns fell to the Governor of *Calais*.

Fireſhips ſent among the Spaniards.

A Galleaſs taken; Moncada ſlain.

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The *Spaniards* reported, that the Duke, upon the Approach of the Fire-ships, order'd the whole Fleet to weigh Anchor and stand to Sea, but that when the Danger was over, every Ship should return to her Station. This is what he did himself, and he likewise discharg'd a great Gun as a Signal to the rest to do as he did: The Report however was heard but by very few, by reason their Fears had dispersed them at that rate, that some of them ventur'd out to the main Ocean, and others sail'd up the Shallows of *Flanders*.

4th Engagement. In the mean time *Drake* and *Fenner* play'd briskly with their Cannon upon the *Spanish* Fleet, as it was rendezvouzing over against *Graveling*. They were not long after join'd by *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeston*, *Cross*, *Riman*, and in a little while by the Lord-Admiral himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke *Leva*, *Oquendo*, *Recalde*, and the rest, got clear of the Shallows with much ado, and stood the Brunt as well as they could, but had the better part of their Ships miserably torn, and in several places shot through. The Galleon of *St. Matthew*, under the Command of Don *Diego Piementelli* (as she came to the Relief of Don *Francisco de Toledo* in the *St. Philip*, which had received great Damage from *Seimour* and *Winter's* Shot, and after being driven almost as far as *Ostend*, had been as roughly treated by the *Zelanders*, and was at length made a Prize by some Ships of *Flushing*) was at last taken herself, and the whole *Spanish* Fleet closely ply'd, and in great Distress for the space of a whole Day.

St. Philip and *St. Matthew* taken.

On the last Day of the Month, the Wind blew hard at North-West early in the Morning, and the *Spanish* Fleet attempting to get back again to the Streights of *Calais*, was driven toward *Zeland*. The *English* then gave over the Chace, because, in the *Spaniards* Opinion, they perceived them making haste enough to their own Destruction. For the Wind lying at the West-North-West Point, could not chuse but force 'em on the Shoals and Sands on the Coast of *Zeland*. But the Wind happening to come about in a little time to South-West and by West, they went before the Wind, and having got off the Shoals, in the Evening a Council of War was held: The general Resolution was to return into *Spain* by the Northern Channel; for they wanted many necessary Provisions, especially great Shot: their Ships were wretchedly torn and batter'd, and they had no Hopes at all that the Prince of *Parma* would come and join them. Being now therefore clear of Danger in the Main Ocean, they steer'd Northward, and the *English* Fleet renewed the Chace after them. Now and then the *Spanish* Fleet slacken'd their Sail, and seem'd to tarry for the coming up of the *English*; so that 'twas generally thought their Fleet would tack about and return home.

The *Spaniards* fly Northward.

Q. *Eliz.* visits her Camp at *Tilbury*.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth* was pleased to take a View of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*; and as she rode through the Troops drawn up on both sides of her, sometimes with a martial Pace and Posture, at other times more like her Sex and herself. 'Tis scarce to be thought what a Spirit of Bravery she infused into the Officers and Soldiers by her Presence and Direction.

On the very Day the last Engagement was between the two Fleets, the Prince of *Parma*, having paid his Addresses to our Lady of *Hall*, came to *Dunkirk*, tho' something of the latest; for which reason the *Spaniards* receiv'd him in a very reproachful manner, as if out of some By-regards to Queen *Elizabeth*, he had on purpose slipt so fair an Occasion of doing Wonders for the Service of his Country. The Duke, to appease this Storm, punish'd those who had the Charge of Victualling his Fleet; tho' in the mean time he could not but secretly laugh at the sawcy and insolent Brags of the *Spaniards*, whom he had heard talking at this vain rate, 'That wherever 'they turn'd their Sails, a most certain Victory 'waited upon their Course, and that the *English* 'would not have Courage enough to look them 'in the Face.'

And 'tis certain, that Don *Bernardine de Mendoza* was so ridiculous as to print a lying Poem in *France*, which proclaim'd the Triumph before the Victory was obtain'd. However, to block up *Parma*, so that he might not get out of *Dunkirk*, the Lord-Admiral order'd the Lord *Henry Seimour* and the *Dutch* to keep a very strict Eye upon the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst he himself pursued the *Spaniards* on the other side of *Edinburgh Frith*, anciently called *Bodotria*. For some Suspicions there were, that they design'd to betake themselves to the King of *Scots*, who was already provok'd to an high rate for his Mother's Death. Certain it is, that *Ashby*, the Queen's Ambassador in *Scotland*, the better to keep him in Temper, made him, this Month, very considerable Offers, *viz.* That he should be created a Duke of *England*, with a yearly Salary of 5000 Pounds to maintain the Title: That he should have a Guard maintain'd at the Queen's Charge, besides some other Advantages. Whether this was done out of private Humour or by publick Authority, I can neither tell, nor will stand to examine in this place: However the Blame lay at his door, and the Propositions were never made good.

Parma block't up at *Dunkirk*.

Offers made to [illegible]

But the *Spaniards* having now laid aside all the Thoughts and Hopes of returning to attempt the *English*; and perceiving their main Safety lay in their Flight, made no stay or stop at any Port whatever. And thus this mighty *Armada*, which had been three whole Years fitting out, and at a vast Expence, met in one Month's time with several Attacks, and was at last routed, with a vast Slaughter on their side, and but a very few of the *English* missing, and not one Ship lost, except that small Vessel of *Cock's*, it happening that the Enemy's Shot flew too high to do the *English* Ships any great Damage. When therefore the *Spanish* Fleet had taken a large Compass round *Britain*, by the Coasts of *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, and had weather'd many Storms, and suffer'd as many Wrecks and Blows, and all the Inconveniences of War and Weather, it made a shift to get home again, laden with nothing but Shame and Dishonour. This occasion'd the coining of several kinds of Money and Medals, some in Memory of the Victory, with the Device of a Fleet flying under full Sail, and this Inscription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*; i. e. *It came, it saw, and fled.* Others were stamp'd in Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ships, and a Fleet all in Hurry and Confusion, with this Motto, *Dux Fœmina Facti*, i. e. *A Woman manag'd the Design.* Certain it is, that several of their Ships perish'd in their Flight, being cast away on the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and that above 700 Soldiers were cast on shore in *Scotland*, who by the Prince of *Parma's* Mediation with the King of *Scots*, and with Queen *Elizabeth's* Permission, were sent over about a Year after into the *Low-Countries*. As for those who had the ill Fortune to be drove upon the *Irish* Shore, they met with the most barbarous Treatment; for some of 'em were butcher'd by the wild *Irish*, and the rest put to the Sword by the Lord-Deputy; who fearing that they might join with the *Irish* Malecontents, and observing that *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, treated them with more Gentleness than he had several times order'd him to do, upon their Surrender, he forth-

Medals coin'd in Memory of the Victory.

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forthwith dispatched *Fowle*, Deputy-Marshal, to execute his Orders; who first dislodged 'em from the Places where they lay concealed, and then executed about 200 of 'em. But this Rigour the Queen condemn'd and complain'd of as too extreme. However the rest being terrify'd by this way of Proceeding, tho' they were sick and half famish'd, yet chose to trust themselves to their shatter'd Barks, and the Mercy of the Seas, and so were many of 'em a Sacrifice to the Waves.

Spaniards blame the Prince of Parma.

The *Spaniards*, who got safe home, laid their Disparagement on the Prince of *Parma*'s Negligence, and in some measure on the too nice Obsequiousness expressed on their side in making a Scruple of receding in the least from their Instructions: For their Orders ran, not to make any Attempt before the Prince of *Parma*'s Fleet had join'd theirs, and there was not an inch of discretionary Liberty lodg'd in their Hands; had things been managed at another rate, they made their Boasts that the *English* Fleet could never escape being seized in their Harbours. And in truth it became a Dispute among Persons skill'd in the Discipline of War, Whether Orders were not to be sacredly observed, whatever the Issue proved, lest otherwise Authority should lose its Force, and its proper Fruit too, Obedience? 'Twas likewise controverted, Whether upon urgent Occasions, Men might not qualify or enlarge their Commissions, or suit 'em to the present Exigency, according as fresh Accidents arose, lest otherwise good Occasions were let slip, and Matters of Importance quite dash'd thro' an unseasonable Neglect. The King of *Spain*, for his part, bore the Defeat with a Patience that became him; and being sensible there was a Providence in it, he ordered a general Thanksgiving all over his Kingdom, to God and the Saints, that it was no greater; and shewed moreover a most extraordinary Tenderness in the Relief of the distressed Soldiers and Seamen.

K. of Spain returns Thanks to God.

So did Q. Elizabeth.

Queen *Elizabeth* did likewise appoint a publick Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to be used throughout the whole Kingdom, and she was pleased to pass herself in a triumphant manner, and with a most splendid Retinue of Noblemen and others, thro the Streets of *London*, which on this Occasion were hung with blue Cloth; (the City-Companies being drawn up on both sides the Way with their Banners) she was carried in a Chariot with a Pair of Horses (Coaches being at *that time but little in use*) to St. *Paul*'s Church, (where the Standards and Colours taken from the Enemy were hung up) and there she returned Thanks to God, and heard a Sermon proper to the Occasion.

The Lord-Admiral had a Pension settled on him for his great piece of Service, and he and his Officers had the Honour of being consider'd by the Queen as Persons born for the Preservation of their Country. She was likewise pleased to use the Freedom of saluting the other Commanders by their Names, whenever they happen'd to come in her sight, in consideration of their high and particular Merits; (a Reward as glorious as they were capable of desiring) and for the poor and disabled Seamen, on those she bestowed handsome Pensions. The Learned both at home and abroad congratulated this happy Victory with Transports of real Joy, and expressed the Triumphs of their Hearts in Poems wrote in all Languages upon this Subject.

She commends her Officers.

Publick Joy augmented by Sir Ro. Sidney.

This general Satisfaction receiv'd a farther Increase on Sir *Robert Sidney*'s Return out of *Scotland*, who assured the Queen, that the King of *Scots* stood firm to her Interests, and would defend and assert those of the Protestant Religion. This Gentleman was sent over to him, when the *Spanish* Fleet lay cruising on the Coasts of *Britain*, on purpose to compliment him for his Respects towards the Queen, and to return him Thanks on that account, as likewise to acknowledge his generous and cheerful Adhesion to the Common Cause; and to give him Assurance of the like Assistance on her Majesty's part, should the *Spaniards* attempt to land in *Scotland*. He was moreover to remonstrate to him, how eagerly the King of *Spain* thirsted after the Acquisition of all *Britain*, and what Diligence he had used with his Holiness to get him excommunicated, and by that means to deprive him at once of the present Possession of the Crown of *Scotland*, and of his Title likewise to that of *England* in Reversion. Nor was he to conceal the menacing Expressions thunder'd out against him by *Mendoza* and the Pope's Nuncio, and that he could not therefore arm himself with too much Precaution against the Arts and Machinations of the Papists in *Scotland*. At this I cannot but mention, by the by, a pleasant Remark of the young King, *viz. That he expected no other Favour at the* Spaniards *hands, than what* Polyphemus *promised* Ulysses, *That when he had devoured all the rest, he would reserve him for the last morsel.*

A pleasant Saying of the K. of Scots.

The E. of Leicester's Death.

Nor did the Death of *Leicester* (however sadly the Queen resented it) put any stop to the Current of the publick Joy, who died on the 4th of *September*, on his way to *Killingworth*, of a continued Fever. He was the fifth Son of *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, and one of the Privy-Chamber to King *Edward*. Queen *Mary* restor'd him and his Brothers and Sisters to their Blood and Privilege, and made him Master of the *English* Ordnance at the Siege of St. *Quintins*: And in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign (who loved him at such a rate, as if a secret Conjunction of their Planets had form'd as mysterious a Sympathy between their Souls) he was made Master of the Horse, honour'd with the Orders of St. *George* and St. *Michael*, chosen one of the Privy-Council, made Lord-Steward of her Majesty's Houshold, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, Ranger of the Forests on this side the River *Trent*, Lieutenant and Captain-General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, and this Year advanced to be General of the *English* Forces against the *Spaniards*: Nor did he in the last Declension and Period of his Life, drop the Hopes of new Honours and Advancements, by the Accession of the high Character of acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*. Nay, this he had so far secured, as that the Letters-Patents were already drawn; but *Burghley* and *Hatton* put a stop to the matter, and the Queen saw in time the great Hazard of entrusting so large a share of her own Prerogative into the hands of a single Person.

His Titles and Places.

His Character.

He was reputed a most compleat Courtier; was a Person of exact Neatness, a generous Patron of Arts and Arms, and one that knew how to nick a Juncture, and manage a Turn to his best Advantage. Besides, he was of a Temper pleasant and popular, very shy and reserved to his suspected Enemies, had in his youthful Days been very complaisant to the Ladies, and when he grew almost past it, expressed a strange Fondness for Marriage. But as he prefer'd those two great Subjects of Envy, *Power* and *Greatness*, to solid Vertue; so did he of course draw upon himself the Malice and Reproach of inferior Persons, and could not avoid the Insults of libelling Pens, and infamous and false Reflections, even when he seem'd to be Fortune's and his Queen's chief Favourite. In a word, the Croud caress'd him in publick with flattering Commendations, but in private they used quite another Language.

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His Goods sold.

And whereas he was a Debtor to the Crown, his Effects were difpofed of at a publick Sale: For however gentle the Queen might fhew herfelf in other refpects, yet did fhe very rarely remit what was owing to her Treafury.

Parma befieges Bergen-op-Zome.

The Prince of *Parma*, tho' he had loft his Aim of making a Defcent into *England*, yet that he might purchafe fome degree of Honour with that powerful Army which had been raifed againft *England*, and that he might at the fame time open a Paffage into *Zeland*, and fecure *Brabant* from hoftile Incurfions, he laid fiege to *Bergen* upon the River *Zome*, a Town of *Brabant*, which Nature had fortified by an happy Situation, and Art by ftrong Works round about, and which had a Garrifon in it, confifting of *Englifh* for the moft part. But this Project was likewife defeated by the timely Vigilance of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the ftout Refiftance of the Garrifon: For tho' during the Heat of the Siege, there arofe as vain a Diffention between them, fome adhering to Sir *William Drury*, who was made Governour of the Town by the General, the Lord *Willoughby*; and fome fiding with *Morgan*, who had received the fame Commiffion from the Queen's Hands: Neverthelefs they buried their Differences in the common Safety, and by feveral brave Repulfes, frequent Sallies, and other well-apply'd Arts of War, made a fhift to give the Enemy fuch a warm Entertainment, that four hundred of them being kill'd outright, taken Prifoners, or drowned, (the fame Perfons having been trapann'd by *Grimftone* and *Redhead*, who pretended themfelves Revolters, by fpecious Oaths and fair Promifes, into a Bulwark of the Town) the Prince of *Parma* quitted all his Hopes of blocking up the Harbour, or winning the Town; and fo the Winter approaching, and Provifions growing fcarce, he e'en broke up the Siege, after it had been carried on for two Months. And that true Courage might not want its due Reward or Diftinction, the L. *Willoughby* confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on Sir *Francis Vere*, whofe Fame commenced from this Siege; as alfo on Sir *Tho. Knolles*, Sir *Nicolas Parker*, and Sir *John Pooly*, in regard to their good Conduct and Bravery.

Breaks up the Siege.

The Infolency of Diffenters.

Now was *England* harrafs'd, not only with foreign Wars, but difturb'd with Schifmaticks, thofe domeftick Enemies; (for War is always the Nurfe and Midwife of Church-Confufions) and certainly there never was a time, when the Difcipline of the Church was run down with fuch a fawcy Pertnefs, and the Authority of her Officers fo rudely and bafely infulted. For the Queen refufing (as indeed fhe was confiftent, and always the fame) to liften to any Changes in Religion, or encourage thofe new Modellers, whofe Defign fhe believ'd to be no other, than to wound her Royal Prerogative thro' the Sides of the Hierarchy, fome who had a profound Veneration for the *Geneva* Platform of Church-Difcipline, imagin'd there was no furer or nearer way for erecting it in *England*, than by loudly railing againft the *Englifh* Forms and Rites, and rendering the Names of Bifhop and Prelate as odious as they could to the common People. Their firft Effay therefore was, to put out fcurrilous Pamphlets againft Church-Order and Prelacy; the Titles whereof were *Martin-mar-Prelate*, *Minerals*, *Diotrephes*, *A Demonftration of Difcipline*, &c. Thefe Libels were ftuff'd with fuch an Heap of fcandalous and virulent Abufes, that the Authors of them appear'd rather to have learnt their Language from *Billinfgate*, than to fpeak the Senfe of any Chriftian Community: Yet it feems *Perry* and *Udall*, the chief Scribblers, were of the Miniftry; and another of 'em, *Job Throckmorton*, was a Man of Learning, and Mafter of a very facetious and fatyrical Vein. Their grand Patrons and Abettors were Sir *Richard Knightly* and *Wigfton*, Perfons in other refpects fober and pious, but drawn into the Party by fome Inftruments, that were to make a private Market by them. However the Knights had a pretty round Fine laid on them in the *Star-Chamber*; but the Archbifhop of *Canterbury* was fo generoufly good-natur'd as to procure a Remiffion of it at her Majefty's Hands.

Scurrilous Pamphlets againft the Church of England.

1588. Ann. 31.

Presbyterians began to fhew themfelves.

Whilft thefe Engines were employ'd in railing at the Church of *England* Liturgy, and bringing the *Geneva*-Model into its Place, fome of their Affociates took the Boldnefs to practife it in private Affemblies, in fpite of the Laws and Conftitution; nay they went fo far as to hold Synodical Conventions, and draw Presbytery into a Scheme. On this account were *Tho. Cartwright*, *Edmund Snape*, *Andrew King*, *Budlow*, *Payne*, and fome others of the fame Religious Brotherhood, call'd before their Superiours; but fome of the Party, glowing with a fond Zeal for their Teachers, endeavour'd to refcue them from the hands of Authority. With what a ftrange Petulancy and fullen Haughtinefs thefe Congregational Teachers managed themfelves, maugre all the Tendernefs and prudent Forbearance of the Archbifhop, I leave to the Obfervation of Ecclefiaftical Writers, whofe proper Province it is.

By this time, that black Storm which threaten'd from the *Spanifh* Quarter, was happily blown over; but fome Remains of it feem'd to have been diffipated thorow *Ireland* and *Scotland*; tho' the moft violent Tempeft of all blew from *England*, and fell afterwards upon *Spain*, as fhall be fhewn anon. For *Ireland*, the Troubles and Commotions which fprang up there, did in fome meafure owe their Rife to the Mif-conduct of the Lord-Deputy Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, amongft other Caufes, who made too ftrict Searches, and rigorous Demand of thofe Wrecks of *Spanifh* Goods, which were caft afhoare; and on that account went fo far as to commit fome Perfons to Prifon, as Favourers of the *Spaniards*.

The beginning of a Rebellion in Ireland.

Daniel Rogers, who was fome time ago fent into *Denmark*, to condole the Death of *Frederick* II. and to fettle the fame good Correfpondence with his Son and Succeffor, began his Negotiation with the Regents of the Realm, with thefe Propofals: 'That no *Danes* might be permitted to 'affift the Enemy againft the Queen of *England*. 'That no Arrefts of Ships might be allowed 'within the Streight of *Denmark* (call'd the '*Sound*) for private Men's Faults. That the *Ifland* Fifhing-Trade, which was, by the ancient 'Treaty, to be renew'd by a frefh Grant, every 'feven Years, might not be ftopp'd or prevented 'on any new Defign or Pretence whatever. 'That the *Englifh* fhould pay no Cuftoms within 'the *Sound*, except on their Return from the '*Baltick*, and that in the ufual Coin of *Denmark*. 'That the Owners of Ships fhould not fuffer a'ny Detriment, through the ill Dealings of the 'feveral Mafters and Pilots. That all Bales of 'Cloth might be free from any Impoft upon 'em, 'and that the Cuftom call'd *Laft-gelt* might be 'remitted to the *Englifh*.' But in refpect of the King's Minority, the Difpatch of this Bufinefs was deferr'd till another time; for the *Danes* were at prefent out of humour with the *Englifh*, for failing into *Ruffia*, not through the *Sound*, but by the Coafts of *Norway*, *Finmark*, *Lapland*, *Scrickfinnia*, and *Biarmia*. But *Boris Theodorides* who fucceeded *Theodore Joannides* in the Empire of *Ruffia*, who died about the beginning of this Year, did all he could to countenance and encourage the *Englifh*; and omitted no good Offices, which might ingratiate and recommend him to the Queen of *England*.

An Embaffy into Denmark.

Ruffian kind to the Englifh.

ELIZABETH,

Anno 1589.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

The Two and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

1589. *Ann.* 32.

THE *Spaniards*, after the unhappy and disgraceful Disappointment of their Expedition against *England*, to patch up the Reputation they had lost, and to keep the *English* from attempting a Descent on any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, they took up a new Resolution of invading *England* by the way of *Scotland*: And in the Conduct of this Secret, the principal Agent employ'd by them was *Robert Bruce*, a Priest, with *Chrichton* and *Hayes*, both Jesuits, who found no Difficulty in bringing over to their sides the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arrol*, and *Crawford*, Men bigotted to the *Romish* Persuasion, as likewise *Bothwel*, the Son of *John* Prior of *Coldingham*, the natural Son of *James* the fifth King of *Scots*, a Man of unsteddy Principles, with a great many more. The Substance of the Plot was, That they should in the first place seize on the Person of the King, and then bring in a foreign Power to re-establish the *Romish* Religion, and invade *England* in pretended Revenge of the Queen of *Scots* Death. The Arguments used for summoning the Mob together, were of this sort: 'That the King was 'kept in Custody against his own Consent by 'the Lord-Chancellor *Maitland*, and the *English* 'Party: That the *English*, who had lately took off 'the King's Mother's Head in a very unwarrant-'able way, were at that very time levying For-'ces to destroy the *Scotch* Nobility: That on the 'other side, they took up Arms at the King's 'own Desire and Sollicitation, to set him free 'from his Jaylor, the Chancellor, and their Coun-'try from that Ruin that threaten'd it.' The King being one Day gone an Hunting, received the very same Day Messages, one upon the heels of another, That *Bothwel*, on the one hand, appear'd with several Troops raised from the Borders; and *Huntly*, on the other, with a very powerful Army from the North. Hereupon a Proclamation was issued out, to declare them Traitors; and the King's faithful Subjects were summoned in, all that were above Sixteen and under Sixty. This so frighted *Bothwel*, that his Gang forsook him, and himself slunk home as well as he could: But *Huntly* proceeded so far as to seize *Glamis*, the Captain of the King's Guard, between whom and himself there was a most inveterate profess'd Enmity.

Commotions in *Scotland*.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who judged the *English* equally concern'd with the *Scots* to quash this Attempt of the *Spaniards*, used all possible Arts with her Friends in *Scotland* that her Coin or good Sense could supply, to induce the King to put an end to these Disorders. He was very sensible of his Danger, and marched to encounter *Huntly*; who being arrived as far as the Bridge on the River *Dee*, with a potent Army, and hearing of the King's Approach, set *Glamis* at liberty, and retired to his own House called *Strathbolgy*, situated amongst the rocky Mountains; whither being closely pursued by the King, who endured the Fatigue of the March, the Want of Provisions, and the Inclemency of the Season, beyond what might be expected from so green an Age; he first offer'd to surrender himself, provided his Life and Estate might be secure, and not long after yielded on Discretion, when he found no Conditions were like to be offer'd him. The King, without hearing one Word of Apology, commanded him to Prison; but soon after order'd his Release; and to the great Commendation of his Clemency, was pleased to pardon both him and his Adherents, upon their humble Submission.

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Huntly taken.

The very same Month these Things were acting in *Scotland* against the *Spanish* Faction there, was *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel* (who was, as I have said, sent to the Tower three Years before on suspicion of being too well inclin'd to *Spain*) arraign'd in *Westminster-Hall*, and tried by his Peers, before *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, who was created Lord-High-Steward of *England* on this particular Occasion.

The Persons summoned to attend this Trial, were these following Peers.

Arundel's Trial.

William Cecil Lord *Burleigh*, Lord-High-Treasurer of *England*.
William Lord Marquess of *Winchester*.
Edward Earl of *Oxford*, Lord-Great-Chamberlain of *England*.
Henry Earl of *Kent*.
Henry Earl of *Sussex*.
Henry Earl of *Pembroke*.
Edward Earl of *Hertford*.
Henry Earl of *Lincoln*.
The Lord *Hunsdon*.
The Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresly*.
The Lord *Morley*.
The Lord *Cobham*.
The Lord *Grey*.
The Lord *Darcy* of the North.

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The Lord *Sands*.
The Lord *Wentworth*.
The Lord *Rich*.
The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*.
The Lord *North*.
The Lord *St. John* of *Bletnesho*.
The Lord *Buckhurst*.
The Lord *La-Ware*. And
The Lord *Norris*.

Being order'd to hold up his Hand, he did so, and moreover used this Expression, *Behold here a clean Hand, and an honest Heart!* The Heads of his Impeachment were much the same with those mention'd before, *Ann.* 1586. *viz.* 'That he held a very strict Intimacy and Correspondence with Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons* the Jesuit, and other Conspirators, who attempted the Ruin of their Prince and Country, by stirring up Foreigners and the Queen's natural Subjects to bring in Popery, to the total Destruction of both: That he had engaged by Letters convey'd by *Weston*, alias *Burges*, a Priest, to assist the said Cardinal in advancing the Catholick Cause, and to that purpose had design'd to withdraw privately out of the Kingdom: That he was privy to the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, which dethroned the Queen, and made over her Dominions to the *Spaniard*: That when he was a Prisoner in the Tower, he had caused Mass to be said for the happy Success of the *Spanish Armada*, and had himself composed a special Prayer on that Occasion.'

Heads of his Charge.

Being demanded to answer, Whether he was *Guilty, or Not Guilty?* he turned himself to the Court and Judges, and made these Challenges one after another, *Whether such a Number of Articles might lawfully be put into one and the same Impeachment?* They answer'd in the Affirmative. Then he demanded, *Whether presumptive Arguments bore any Weight in an Indictment?* He was answer'd, *That he might except against them as far as he pleas'd.* Another Demand was, *Whether he could stand accus'd of those things charged to be Treason in the 13th of Queen* Elizabeth, *after the Time limited in the said Act?* They then promised him, *he should not be try'd upon any other Law or Act of High-Treason, but an ancient one of* Edward III. In the last place, he demanded, *If that were a fair Indictment, which fail'd grosly as to Circumstances both of Place and Time?* The Answer was, *That these things signified little, if the Matter of Fact were proved.* After this, being ask'd a second time, Whether he were *Guilty, or Not?* he answer'd, *Not Guilty*, and submitted himself to God and his Peers; but desired them to spare his Memory, which was impair'd by his Imprisonment, and ill Health, and not to over-charge it with too much Variety.

Puckering, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, open'd the first Part of the Charge, *viz.* That Cardinal *Allen* having engag'd with the Jesuits and others against his Prince and Country, upon which account he was banish'd the Kingdom; yet he the said Earl had kept up a Correspondence with him by Letters, and had expresly written to him to advance the Catholick Interest, which by a fair and modest Construction, was a plain inviting of him to invade *England*. The Earl made Answer, That all he intended by it, was the Promotion of that Faith, by the Accession of new Proselytes. *Popham*, the Queen's Attorney-General, endeavour'd to prove, by the Confessions of *Savage*, *Throckmorton*, and *Babington*, that this could not possibly be understood of a free Conversion upon the Strength of Argument; but of a Publick Invasion by Force of Arms. *Shuttleworth*, a Serjeant at Law, made it appear out of the Form of the Proclamations put out against the Jesuits and Seminary Priests, on what Designs they were sent into *England*: That they were Traitors, he proved from the Earl's own Words; who, upon the hearing of *Valenger's* Cause in the *Star-Chamber*, in relation to a scandalous Libel of his, said publickly, *That an hearty Papist could not but be as thorow a Traitor.* But for all this, Men of this very Principle were among the Earl's greatest Intimates. 'Twas urged moreover, That he had espoused the Faith of the *Romish* Church, and became of Consequence a Subject to the *Romish* See; but this he flatly deny'd, and demanded that any Evidence might be produced to prove him a professed Catholick. He acknowledged indeed, that he had in some Instances made *Burges* his Confessor; whereupon it was debated, That none were admitted to the Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, but such as were reconciled to her Doctrine and Worship; but he was admitted by *Gratley*, a Priest, and therefore a Papist before, at least in his Heart. This *Popham* labour'd to prove from his own Letters, and that he intended likewise to withdraw beyond Sea; That he was an absolute Creature of Cardinal *Allen*, and conform'd entirely to his Measures; for which he was guilty of High-Treason. He then produced *Gratley*'s and *Morgan*'s Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, and made from thence this Inference, That the Earl owed his Change in Religion more to Sourness and Spleen, than to Conscience and Conviction. Then was produced an Emblematical Piece found in the Earl's Cabinet, which had on one side an Hand shaking a Serpent into the Fire, with this Motto, *If God be with us, who shall be against us?* And on the other, a Lion Rampant, without Claws, and with this Inscription, *Yet a Lion.* He moreover added, That the Earl designing to quit the Kingdom, was persuaded by the Cardinal to alter his Purpose, as being a Person likely to do the Church of *Rome* more service by his Stay in *England*, than his Departure thence; That in a Letter to the Queen, the Earl had reflected severely on the Justice of the Laws, in reference to the Sentence of Death denounced against his Grand-Father and Father; That the Queen of *Scots* had recommended him to *Babington*, as the great Patron of the Catholick Interest; That *Allen* had owned that the aforesaid Bull was procured by the Applications of a Person of Figure in *England*; which could be no other than the Earl, because no one Nobleman besides, was so intimate with *Allen* as himself, and whom therefore *Allen* must needs know to be ill-affected to his Country, by what he had heard pass before in the *Star-Chamber*. Then were read also the Confessions of the Lord *William*, the Earl's Brother, with those of his Sister, the Lady *Margaret*, and his own Letters, when he had Thoughts of leaving the Kingdom. And this gave occasion to magnify the Queen's Clemency afresh, who would not suffer him (at that very time) to be examin'd on an Article of Treason, but barely on a Point of Contempt. To these Charges the Earl answer'd in the gross, 'That as for the Picture, 'twas a Trifle presented him by his Man: That indeed he had promised to assist the Cardinal in the Promotion of the Catholick Faith, but never at the Expence of his Prince and Country: That what he had written in relation to the Sentence of his Grand-Father and Father, was extant upon Record, and so any one might read it: That he was not at all concerned in what the Cardinal or the Queen of *Scots* might write about him, since he stood clear as to Fact: That it was impossible to restrain other Mens Pens: That he had indeed some Design of acting under the Prince of *Parma*, in the

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'the Wars abroad, since the Rigour of the Laws 'against Catholicks made it not safe for him to 'stay at home: That the Attorney had managed 'the Letters and Confessions, at the same rate 'that Spiders do Flowers; that is, suck'd all the 'Poison out of them: but he, for his part, was 'able to extract out of them something more use-'ful, might he be permitted to see them.' Then were read *Allen*'s Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, with those of the Bishop of *Ross*, about invading *England*, that very Year he design'd to quit it; and the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, and several Remarks made on *Allen*'s Memorial to the *English*, printed at *Antwerp* the Year before. He was likewise charged with having assumed this Title, *Philip* Duke of *Norfolk*, which was found among his Papers; and it was *Allen*'s Advice, that he should in some degree mend his Title. These things were brought against him as Convictions of Treason before his Imprisonment. *Egerton*, the Sollicitor-General, having summ'd up and repeated the Particulars of the Charge, proceeded upon a threefold Distinction of Time, *viz.* 'Be-'fore the Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet; at the In-'stant of its coming; and after it fled: And 'that he had been guilty of Treason since his 'Confinement: Before the Fleet appeared, he 'had been guilty of Treason, in wishing it hap-'py Success; when it was arrived, in making a 'Form of Prayer suitable to his Wishes, and 'causing the Mass of the Holy Ghost to be said, 'and a Course of Devotions to be used for 24 'Hours together: And then when the Fleet was 'gone, in lamenting its Defeat with all the 'Marks of an extraordinary Sorrow; as if he 'had fix'd his last Hope, and best Confidence, in 'the *Spanish Armada*, which was fitted out with 'a Design to ruin his Prince and Country.' These Particulars were all made out against him by Sir *Tho. Gerard* Kt. *Will. Shelley*, condemn'd for Treason, *Ann.* 1586. *Bennet*, a Popish Priest, and some other Prisoners. He then mutter'd in a broken and imperfect kind of Tone, That the Prayers he made, and the Masses he perform'd, were in order to deprecate a Massacre he had heard was design'd against the Catholicks. *Gerard*'s Evidence he roundly deny'd; and as he adjured him to declare nothing but the Truth, and represented before him the dreadful Solemnity of the last Day, he so terrified and scared the Evidence, that he hardly was able to speak one Word to the purpose. *Bennet*'s Attestations he endeavour'd to invalidate, as being a Man of a tarnish'd Reputation, and who had contradicted himself in his Confessions. The rest he taxed as Persons impeach'd, and Prisoners, and Men likewise of a loose and profligate Character; who were far from deserving Credit, and who might be suspected to have the Liberty of using his Conversation with a Design to ensnare him in the Querks of the Law. Having received a Check for this, as too indecent and bold a Challenge upon the Evidence for the Queen, at the Solicitor's Motion, an ancient Law of *Richard* II. was read, whereby it was declared, That the Crown of *England* was under the Command of none but God alone, and that the Bishop of *Rome* had no manner of Authority over it. It now growing towards Night, and nothing being produced farther against him, the Earl was order'd to withdraw: He threw himself wholly upon the Judgment of his Peers, protesting his Obedience to the Queen, and heartily praying they might come to such an Issue, as might be most for the Glory of God, the Safety of the Queen, and the Integrity of their own Honour and Conscience. They then went aside, and held a Debate, which lasted an Hour, and in Points of Law they consulted the Opinion of the Judges and Serjeants. Being returned to their Seats, the Clerk of the Crown demanded of them, Whether the Earl were *Guilty or Not*? At which every one of 'em, putting his Hand to his Breast, as the Custom was, declared upon his Honour and Conscience, that he was *Guilty*. Then being asked if he had any thing farther to say, why Sentence of Death should not pass upon him? he only said the same Words which his Father had done before him, in the same Place, *God's Will be done*. Sentence being pronounced, he desired leave to speak with his Wife, and that he might see his young Son, who was born since his Confinement; that he might have the Liberty to speak with his Stewards, who had the Accounts of his Estate, and that his Debts might be discharged. He likewise humbly desired the Queen would take his young Son into her Favour and Patronage. Then the Lord-Steward brake his Staff, the Badge of his Place; and the Earl was carry'd back to the Tower, the Ax being carry'd before him, with the Edge towards him. There were a great many that most heartily lamented the untimely Fall of this young Nobleman, (for he was not above 33 Years of Age at the most) and as many on the other side were ready to cry up the Queen's Wisdom and Caution, who by this Example had struck a kind of Terror into the more powerful Part of the *Romish* Faction. The Queen after all gave him his Life, and was well enough satisfy'd in having lessen'd the Power of so considerable a Man, and one who was so great a Bulwark of the Catholick Cause.

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Earl of *Arundel* condemn'd.

His Life is saved.

When she had shewn this Example of Terrour at home, to make herself equally feared abroad, and pursue the Victory which Providence had given her over the *Spaniards*; the Queen conceiving it to be both more safe and honourable to attack the Enemy, than to stand an Assault from them, suffer'd a Fleet to put to Sea, upon an Expedition against *Spain*. This Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* did generously and frankly undertake, at their own and some other private Mens Charge, and with very little Expence to the Queen's Purse, except the fitting out of a few Men of War; for indeed they were fully convinced that the Power of *Spain* lay rather in common Fancy and Opinion, than in any real Strength they were Masters of. The Agreement between them was this, That whatever Prizes they took, should be shared among 'em by a fair and equal Dividend. But it happen'd that there came not in so many to this Expedition, as was expected. The States added some Ships, altho' they were at present displeased with the *English*, because *Wingfield*, Governour of *Gertruydenburgh*, and the *English* Garrison of that Place, had betray'd the Town to the *Spaniard*. The Fleet was reckon'd to consist of 11000 Soldiers, and 1500 Sailors. Don *Antonio*, the Bastard, Prior of *Crato*, with a few *Portuguese*, join'd them; for he, it seems, laying Claim to the Crown of *Spain*, by a popular Election, (for by the Laws of that Kingdom Bastards are not excluded) had made the *English* mighty Promises, hoping, we may suppose, to recover the Kingdom, by the Help of these Forces, the Revolt of the *Portuguese* from the *Spaniard*, and the Assistance of *Muley Hamet*, King of *Morocco*.

An Expedition into *Spain*:

On what Terms, and at whose Expence.

In *April* they sail'd from *Plimouth*, and arrived five Days after at the *Groyne* in *Gallicia* (call'd by the Ancients *Flavia Brigantum*) without any Opposition whatever. In their Passage towards the lower Town they received some Damage by several Shot, which plaid on them from an huge Vessel and two Gallies in the Harbour; till they were obliged to quit their Station, through the warm

Groyne attack'd.

1589. Ann. 32. warm Salutes of some great Pieces planted on the Shore. The Day following, they made an Assault on the lower Town in three Places at the same time, Unton and Brett assisting the Attack from the Land with 300 Men; and Sir Richard Wingfield and Sampson with 500 on the other side. They were at first roughly received by the Enemy, and once or twice beat from the Walls, as they attempted to scale them; but the other Forces made their way into the Town in the mean time, with little or no Loss. The Spaniards presently threw down their Arms, and got away, by the nearest and best known Avenues, to the Upper Town. They that were in the great Ship made a shift to get ashore, having first set her on fire: she burnt two Days together, and most of her Guns being too full charged, burst in pieces with a most frightful Noise. The Ammunition and Provision lodged there for a new Expedition against England, were carried on board the English Ships.

Higher Town assaulted in vain.

From thence they marched to the Upper Town, which Sir John Norris observing to be situated on a Rock, not capable of mining, except in one Place; he ordered a Mine to be dug there, and on the other side made a Breach in the Walls with his great Cannon, resolving to storm it on both sides at once: But it proved fruitless, by reason the fire broke out of the Mine on the outside of the Walls. The Pioneers then carried on the Mine farther under the Walls; and setting fire to the Powder, blew up one Part of the Bulwark, which falling some time before the other Part sunk, maim'd several of the English with the Fall. The rest, scared by this unexpected Accident, forsook their Commanders; whilst on the other side, they who made the Attack at the Breach, wanting a secure Footing, because the Rubbish gave way under them, were obliged to retire with a considerable Loss.

Spaniards come to its Relief.

About this time Norris received a most certain Intelligence, that the Conde di Andrada had got some Forces together at the Bridge of Burges, and that the Conde Altimira was upon his March with some Recruits; and that they intended to besiege the English in the Lower Town, or to cut off their Retreat to their Ships: He, supposing it the best way to prevent them, march'd against them with ten Companies. The Van was commanded by Edward Norris and William Sidney, the main Body by Norris himself, with Medkerck a Dutchman; and the Rear by Henry Norris, Huntley and Brett. The Spaniards attack'd 'em on this side the Bridge; but being beaten back by the Courage of the English, they quitted their Lines, and left the English a free and easy Passage over the River; who pursued them so hotly, that they fled in the utmost Confusion, and were slain three Miles together. After this the English burnt and plunder'd the Villages; and in two Days return'd again to their Ships, without any Disturbance.

Are beat.

Earl of Essex joins the English.

As they sail'd for Portugal, the Wind happening to be in their Teeth, Robert Earl of Essex fell in with them. He was a young Gentleman, who partly from a Thirst of Glory, partly out of Hatred to the Spaniards, and Pity to Don Antonio, had quitted the Pleasures of a Court, to try his Fortune at Sea, without the Queen's Leave or Approbation, and had look'd out for the Fleet a long time. He could never hope to gain the Queen's Consent to this Expedition; because she was mighty averse from suffering any Persons of the first Quality to run so great an Hazard: However, he flatter'd himself with the Honour of commanding in chief, by reason several of the Colonels and Captains had been obliged to his Brother for their Preferment. The second Day after, the Sea being very rough, they arrived at Penicha, a Town of Portugal, and became Masters of it, with the Loss of a few Men only, who were drown'd as they were getting ashore; and the Inhabitants flying at the same time, the Castle surrender'd to Don Antonio. From hence all the Foot, under the Command of Sir John Norris, march'd as fast as they could by Land to Lisbon, which lay about sixty Miles from thence; and Drake promised to follow with the Fleet up the River Tayo. In their Passage they call'd a Council of War at Torres Vedras, and resolv'd to encamp on the East-side of the City, to prevent the Arrival of any Succours from Spain, and to facilitate the Portuguese's Access to their King. After six Days March, they came to the Western Suburbs of Lisbon, call'd St. Katharine's, without the least Opposition; where they made some stay, contrary to their former Resolutions, and cast their Eyes on none but a few unarm'd People, who saluted them ever and anon with a God save King Antonio! For Albert of Austria, their Governour, had before this totally disarm'd the Portuguese. The next Day, as the English, who were sick and fatigued with their long March, were giving themselves some Ease and Refreshment, the Spanish Garison made a Sally, and Brett, with his Party, sustain'd the Brunt with a great deal of Bravery; till some of the English and Portuguese coming in to his Relief, drove them back into the City, Essex himself following them to the very Gates: Yet Brett, Carsey, and Carr, brave Commanders, and some common Soldiers, were slain. When they had been here two Days, without any Hope of the Defection of the Portuguese, as Don Antonio had vainly promised himself, and boasted to others; and the King of Morocco failing, at the same time, to send them the Supplies he had promised; whereas on the other side, Recruits came in from the Eastern Parts, the Sickness raged more and more in the Army, Provision and Powder grew scarce, and Drake fail'd to supply 'em with Cannon for Battery; the English mov'd off, and took their March towards Cascais, taking away nothing out of the Suburbs, which were well stock'd with foreign Wares; lest they should by that means alienate the Affections of the Portuguese. As they retir'd to this small Town, lying on the Mouth of the Tayo, the Spaniards pursued them with a very slow Pace, and did not so much as cut off any of their Rear. Drake, who in the mean time had taken Cascais, was very much blamed, the English charging their Disappointment upon his Cowardice entirely, for that he did not follow with the Fleet, according to his Promise. He excused it from the Impossibility of the thing, there being no Passage thro' the Channel of Alcacava, by reason of the Shoals and Sands; and had he gone directly by the Port of St. Julian's, which was defended with 50 Pieces of Cannon, and had a great many Gallies riding in it, with their Heads towards him, he had then exposed the Fleet to a most palpable Hazard; nor could they have hoped for any thing but Destruction, should the Enemies Ships have been brought down upon him in the mean time as he lay at the Mouth of the Tayo. And had the Fleet miscarry'd by this Conduct, he made it appear, that the Army too must have undergone the same Fate. The Castle of Cascais was now surrender'd on Articles, and a great part of it blown up; and to make themselves some amends for their Expence, the English seized about sixty Hulks belonging to the Hans-Towns of Germany, laden with Wheat, and all manner of Naval Stores, to equip out a new Fleet against England. These Vessels had sailed round by the Orcades, the Hebrides, and the Coast of Ireland, and made a tedious and dangerous Voyage, to escape falling into the English

Lisbon besieged.

English withdraw their Forces.

Castle of Cascais taken.

1589. Ann. 32. English Hand; notwithstanding the Queen had given Warning before, by her Royal Letters, that the Hans-Towns should carry no warlike Provisions into *Spain* or *Portugal*, on pain of losing their Ships and Cargo. The *English* set sail from thence (Don *Antonio* not being able to detain them longer) and burnt *Vigo*, a Town on the Coasts, quite deserted by its Inhabitants. Having pillaged the Country all about, they return'd into *England* with 150 Pieces of great Ordnance, and a very rich Booty; Part of which was divided among the Seamen, who began to mutiny, but could not satisfy them. Most Men were of Opinion, that the *English* hereby answer'd all Points both of Revenge and Honour, having in so short a Compass of Time taken one Town by Storm, made a glorious Assault upon another, driven before them a very potent Army, landed their Forces in four several Places, march'd seven days together in Order of Battle, and with Colours flying, through the Enemies Country, attack'd a strong and flourishing City with a small Handful of Men, and lodg'd for 3 Nights in the Suburbs of it. Beside that, they beat the Enemy back to the very Gates, after they had made a Sally; took two Castles lying on the Sea, and spoil'd the Enemy of all their Stores and Ammunition. However there were others, who thought all this was no manner of Equivalent for the Damages sustain'd in this Enterprize; the Loss of Soldiers and Seamen, by Sickness alone, amounting to 6000. But most certain it is, that *England* was so far a Gainer by this Expedition, as from that time to apprehend no Incursions from *Spain*, but rather to grow more warm and animated against that Country. Whether this Sickness seiz'd the *English*, through their immoderate Use of the Wine and Fruit of the Country, or the Intemperance of the Climate, or all together, has occasion'd various Disputes: And it has been observ'd, that hitherto all the Expeditions made into *Spain* by Land, have prov'd fatal to the *English*: Witness that of *John* of *Gaunt* D. of *Lancaster*, about the Year 1386; wherein perish'd 10000 out of 20000: As likewise that of the Marquess of *Dorset*, in the Year 1512, in which there died 1000 out of 10000, in a very short time, of a pestilential Disease; and that in the hithermost Parts of *Spain*. But the learned have made this Remark, that Armies marching from South to North, grow more hardy, according as the inward Heat is either evaporated or compress'd by the outward Air, so that they have justify'd the Observation of *Vitruvius*, viz. *That they which are transplanted from cold Countries to hot, cannot bear the Change; but are in some measure melted down from their Firmness and Strength; whereas those that remove from warm Countries Northward, are so far from impairing their Health by this Alteration, that they grow more strong and hardy.*

The *Hanse-Towns* began now to vend their Complaints not without some menacing Resentments for the Seizure of their Hulks, which they took to be an Infringment of their ancient Privileges. The Queen's answer was, 'That she had given them a Caution, not to assist the Enemies of *England* with any manner of warlike Provisions; and that since they had transported such Provisions, she had lawfully intercepted 'em, and was oblig'd to do as she did, unless she would connive at the Ruin of herself and People: That Privileges founded on private Laws only, are neither to be pleaded nor granted in bar to the publick Safety, which is the supreme Law. Nay, That in the Privilege granted by King *Edward* III. to the *Hanse-Towns*, it was expresly provided, That they should not import any Commodities into the Dominions of any of the profess'd Enemies of *England*. That their Goods had many times been stopt and arrested, for supplying the *French* with Provisions during the War between *France* and *England*: Nor had this been done by the *English* only, but (on the very same grounds) by *Charles* V. the Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and not long since by the Prince of *Orange*; and all this without any violation of the Laws of Nations. That a Neutrality is so to be manag'd, that in lending Assistance to one side, the other shall receive no Damage. That it became not private Cities and Towns to threaten crown'd Heads; and that for her own part, she fear'd not the Menaces of the most potent Princes, much less of particular Cities; and as for the just Rights and Privileges belonging to States that were Neighbours, she would take care to observe them, punctually with all the World.'

Answer to the Hans-Towns.

Nor did she fail in this Particular; for she not only assisted the King of *Navarre*, when he was intangl'd in a dangerous and difficult War, with Money and other military Provisions, but sent over Sir *Thomas Bodley* to support or encourage the *French* King, when his Affairs seem'd to be in a very desperate Condition. For (if we may be allow'd to look a little back in a small but necessary Digression) when the Duke of *Anjou* the King's Brother died without Issue, at the same time the King had no Children, nor was he likely to have any, so that the Kingdom descended of course to the King of *Navarre*, and after him to the Prince of *Conde*, both of 'em profess'd Protestants.

Q. assists the K. of Navarre.

Hereupon the Popish Princes of *France*, with the privity of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, entred into a private and dangerous Treaty, call'd *The Holy League*; wherein, under pretence of asserting the Catholick Cause, they attempted to ruin the King, by raising in the Peoples Minds a Jealousy and Disaffection towards him through their evil Insinuations; as also to crush the Reform'd Religion, by cutting off the Succession of the lawful Heir. The Parties concern'd in this Conspiracy took all of 'em an Oath, That they would suffer no Man to be King of *France*, who ever had, or should hereafter profess any other than the Catholick Religion: Nor would they accept of any, who had been educated in any other Persuasion, tho' he should abjure it, lest upon his accession to the Throne, he should overthrow the old Religion, &c. That all this tended to the Exclusion of *Navarre* and his Cousin *Conde*, no Man made the least doubt. However, this League began to be made more publick, and to gather Ground in all Parts of the Kingdom, making its way by these gradual Advances. The Duke of *Guise*, the Head of this Faction, was wonderfully cry'd up and caress'd by the common People and Ecclesiasticks, who rated him above the King himself, as the great Bulwark of Popery, and the chief Thorn in the Side of the Protestants; and all this because he stoutly defended *Poictiers* against the Protestants in his youthful Days, routed the *German*-Horse which *Alençon* had summon'd in as Recruits, and but a little before put to flight a numerous Army of the *German*-Horse under the Command of the Baron *Dohna*.

The Duke, when he came to *Paris*, rais'd such a Tumult there, that the King himself was forced to leave the City, to summon a Convention at *Blois*; to subscribe to this Association for extirpating all Protestants by an Edict of *July*, and to proclaim the Duke of *Guise* Grand Commander of the *French* Militia; in confirmation of which, and in token of mutual Sincerity, they receiv'd

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receiv'd the Holy Communion together. However 'twas not long before he cauſed him to be baſely ſtabb'd within the Court-Walls, and his Brother the Cardinal to be ſtrangl'd ſome time after! For in truth he ſtood in fear of him, as a Creature whom he had render'd Formidable, by advancing him to ſuch an Height, that the Laws could not reach him, and he ſuſpected moreover that his Ambition would carry him beyond what was juſt and reaſonable, if he were not already perſuaded that the Duke had laid Snares for his Life, and that there was no other way left to ſecure his Royal Perſon and Prerogative, but by this violent Remedy. The Duke of *Guiſe*'s Son, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and as many of the Conſpirators as he could apprehend, were committed to Priſon. Whereupon there aroſe ſuch mighty Diſorders through all *France*, that like a Body in Convulſions, that fair and flouriſhing Kingdom was ready to break aſunder. For the People, having now got above the Magiſtrates, ranſack'd the King's Palace at *Paris*; and the ſeveral Cities of the Nation were differently inclin'd to a *Democracy*, *Ariſtocracy*, or *Oligarchy*; but moſt of 'em declar'd downright againſt *Monarchy*.

Duke of *Guiſe* ſtabb'd.

Others impriſon'd.

Confuſion in *France*.

The Conſpirators ſet up a new Synod, and order'd a new Seal for the diſpatch and confirmation of Buſineſs, aſſum'd a kind of Regal Authority, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Forts and Caſtles, nay of intire Provinces, ſeiz'd on the Crown-Revenues, and invited the *Spaniards* out of the *Netherlands* to come in to their Aſſiſtance. In the mean time four of the principal Parliaments of *France* approv'd of what was done, and the Eccleſiaſticks ſerv'd for Trumpeters of Rebellion againſt their Prince: So that the King was forc'd to fly to the Proteſtants for Relief, whom he had not long ſince incens'd and provok'd. But the Cabal eaſily broke theſe meaſures, and by a moſt notorious Act of Villany, got him murder'd by the Hands of *James Clement* a Monk. The King of *Navarre*, whom the King had declar'd at his death his right and lawful Succeſſor, was excluded the Throne by Proclamation, as an Heretick profeſs'd, and one that brought an hoſtile Army of Foreigners into the Kingdom. However, agree they could not whom they ſhould have for their King. *Charles* Duke of *Mayne*, Brother to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, made ſome Pretenſions to the Crown for the great and eminent Services perform'd by him againſt the Proteſtants: And for that the chief Cities had tender'd him their Homage and Allegiance. Beſides, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was under Confinement: who, being an infirm Man, and in Orders, could never make himſelf acceptable to ſo warlike a Nation, as *France* was; beſides, ſhould they make him King, they would *Ipſo facto* eſtabliſh the Title of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and renew the antiquated Claim of the Uncle againſt the Nephew. Others were of opinion, that the Duke of *Lorain*, or one of his Children, ought to be advanced to the Throne, which would be but the reſtoring of a Family to its juſt Right, which had been heretofore wrongfully depriv'd of the Crown of *France* by *Hugh Capet*. 'Twas thought too, that the King of *Spain* would countenance the Riſe of this Houſe, and readily beſtow his Daughter on any Branch hereof, that ſhould be elected to the Kingdom. Others were ready to nominate the Duke of *Savoy*, who was Son to the *French* King's Daughter, and Son-in-law to the King of *Spain*, beſides a valiant Prince, and a Neighbour. Nor were there ſome wanting, who were for complimenting the King of *Spain* with the Government, as indeed the moſt conſiderable Prince of all. However, the far greater part, out of a pretence of Juſtice and ſeeming Regard at leaſt to the Merits of the Cauſe, inclin'd to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was by one degree nearer of Kin to the murder'd King, than his Nephew of *Navarre*, and one who had been a great Sufferer for the Catholick Cauſe, whom it was not difficult, they thought, to free from his Confinement, and he might then prove an happy Inſtrument of uniting the Catholicks, to the total Suppreſſion of the Proteſtants, and that, without being beholden to any foreign Aid or Aſſiſtance whatever. To this opinion they all ſubſcrib'd, chiefly at the Inſtigation of *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; who thought that by this means his Maſter the King of *Spain* might have the eaſier acceſs to the Throne of *France*. Thus was the Cardinal of *Bourbon* proclaim'd King of *France*, and Monies ſtampt with his Effigies, and the Title of *Charles* X. The Duke *de Mayne* was likewiſe proclaim'd Lieutenant-General of the Crown of *France*, who preſently levied what Forces he could from all Parts, and ſet up his Standard againſt *Navarre*, (who was alſo, and on good Grounds, declar'd King by his Party, and lay now at *Diep*, a Sea-Port of *Normandy*) aſſuredly promiſing himſelf, that he ſhould either take him Priſoner, or elſe force him to quit *France*.

French K. murder'd.

Differ about the choice of a King.

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The Cardinal of *Bourbon* proclaim'd King.

Navarre in danger.

The King of *Navarre* being reduc'd to this Extremity, encamp'd with his Forces near the Town, and diſpatch'd into *England* Monſieur *Beavoir de Noclé*, and ſoon after him *Buby* and *Buzenvall*, to requeſt ſome Succours from the Queen, and to deſire a League Offenſive and Defenſive. The Queen, that ſhe might not be wanting to a Prince of the ſame Perſuaſion, and ſo conſiderable for his Bravery, in ſo tickliſh and critical a Juncture; and fearing likewiſe the Revolt of the *Germans* and *Switzers*, that took his Pay, ſent him a preſent Supply of 22000 Pounds in *Engliſh* Gold, (a Sum which he profeſs'd he had never ſeen together ever before) and furniſh'd him alſo with Arms and 4000 Men under the Command of *Peregrine Lord Willoughby*, who had Commanded in the *Low-Countries* after *Leiceſter*'s remove, with great Applauſe and Commendation. She made Sir *Thomas Wilford* afterwards Marſhal, and Sir *John Boroughs*, Sir *Thomas Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervill*, Knights, Colonels, and readily gave 'em a Month's Pay beforehand. Hereupon the Conſpirators, who had a little before receiv'd an unexpected Defeat, and were put to flight by the King in the Battel of *Arques*, being now quite out of Heart and Hopes, got away the very day before the *Engliſh* arriv'd. The King being ſtrengthen'd by theſe Supplies, march'd directly towards *Paris*. The *Engliſh* and *Switzers* being order'd to Aſſault that Part of the Town which lies between St. *Marcellus*'s Gate and the *Sein*, brake through the Trenches, and gain'd the Outworks, and advanc'd as far as St. *Victor*'s Gate, which they were very near making themſelves Maſters of: But the King not believing it poſſible to win ſo great a City with ſo ſmall a Force, and being not willing to expoſe it to the Inſolence of the Soldiers, ſince he had Hopes it would declare for him at the long run; and the D. *de Main*, not being by any Arts to be drawn out to venture a Battel, the Siege was broke up, and the Army retir'd. From thence they march'd to *Eſtampes*, and *Willoughby* was left behind with the *Engliſh* to block up the Paſſage of the oppoſite Party, till the Town and Caſtle were ſurrender'd to him. After this *Vendoſme* was taken by Storm, and the whole County of that Name which had been formerly (to mention it by the by) confer'd by way of Grant on *Robert Willoughby*

Q. *Eliz.* aſſiſts him.

The Service of the *Engliſh*.

by

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by Governor of *Normandy*, for his great and fignal Services, by *Henry* V. At this time likewife the *Englifh* were very ferviceable to the King in the Reduction of *Mans*, *Alenzon*, *Falais*, *Luxon*, and *Honfleur*; when after the Fatigue of a long Winter's Expedition, and a March of about 500 Miles, they were disbanded with great Commendations for their good Service; and all that were left of them, return'd home to *England*. There died by Sicknefs *Hunnings* and *Stubs*, who (as I faid before) loft his right Hand for writing a Book againft the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage with the Queen, but was very much lamented after his death. Sir *William Drury*, a very fine Gentleman, was kill'd in a Duel by Sir *John Boroughs*, on this occafion; That being *Knight of the Garter*, he claim'd Precedency of *Boroughs*, who was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Order of Heraldry obferv'd amongft the Nobility of *England*.

They return.

The Queen was concern'd at the difcharging the *Englifh*, and fo was the King too, when both of 'em came to be certainly inform'd, that the King of *Spain* had private Aims upon the Crown of *France*. For, it feems, he had made a Propofal in the Convention of the Leaguers, by the Commendator *Morea John de Taxis*, That in confideration of the great Expence he had been at in relieving them with fuch vaft Recruits and Supplies, he might be proclaim'd the Protector of the Catholicks in *France*, with the fame Authority which he holds in *Naples* and *Sicily*, to confer by Proxy what Offices he fhould think fit, both Civil and Spiritual, all over *France*, which the Pope's Nuncio, Cardinal *Cajetan*, earneftly preffing at the fame time, it wrought a great many *Frenchmen*, otherwife ftanch and true to the Catholick Intereft, into a Difaffection and Diflike of thefe Proceedings.

Q. Eliz. recommends a Match to the King of Scots.

As Queen *Elizabeth* defir'd nothing more than to fettle *Navarre* in the Throne of *France*; fo had fhe of late a mighty inclination to advance a Match between his Sifter, the Lady *Katharine*, and the King of *Scots*: For indeed both thefe things appear'd highly requifite, in order to baffle the Attempts of the Papifts againft the Proteftants. But things did not anfwer her Expectation; for that Lady was a little advanc'd in Years, and had but a fmall Portion, which the King her Brother, being drain'd by the Wars, was not like to increafe: And whereas formerly the King of *Scots* had frequently confulted with Queen *Elizabeth* about the choice of a Wife, and fhe had appear'd loofe and remifs in the matter, the *Scots* began to fufpect, and give out publickly, That the *Englifh* were jealous of the Honour as well as the Off-fpring of their Prince, for fear he fhould avenge the Death of his Mother; as well as that they wanted the Opportunity of excluding him from the Succeffion of *England*. The Queen, as foon as fhe heard this, advis'd the King in the firft place to choofe a Wife agreeable to himfelf, and not altogether unacceptable to his People, and fuch a one as might confent to the holding a good Correfpondence with *England*, without bringing him under terms of Sufpicion.

He marries Ann of Denmark.

The King, having above a Year before placed his Affections on *Ann* the Daughter of *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, (whom Queen *Elizabeth* liked extremely well) the Marriage was confummated by Proxy, and the Royal Solemnities perform'd this Year in *Auguft*, through the happy Mediation of the Earl-Marfhal, in a fet and particular Form ufed on thefe Occafions. But as fhe was on her Voyage to *Scotland*, fhe was driven back by difmal Storms into *Norway*, before fhe had got half over; and her Fleet fo miferably beaten and fhatter'd with the Weather, that 'twas not in a Condition to put to Sea again. The King therefore, after having firft confulted Queen *Elizabeth*, who had fent over feveral valuable Prefents towards the more fplendid Celebration of the Marriage, went himfelf over to *Norway* in *October*, which was a very cold Seafon, on purpofe to confummate the Marriage in Perfon within the Year, as the States of the Kingdom had refolv'd, and the King oblig'd himfelf by Oath. This he happily effected, and ftaid in that Country till the *May* following, having not met with a fit Opportunity to return fooner.

He goes to Norway.

There were fome who were fo wife as to attribute thefe Storms to the power of Magick and Enchantments, becaufe 'twas obferv'd the Winds were more furious and bluftring, the Waters higher and more enrag'd, and the Gufts fhorter and more frequent, than what are generally produc'd by natural Caufes. And becaufe, as they thought, the Dæmons, who are petty Princes of the Air, have a more uncontrolable Range in thefe Northern Countries, which are rude and heathenifh, than any where elfe. And to corroborate this Opinion, there were certain Witches and Necromancers apprehended in *Scotland*, who publickly confefs'd that they had rais'd thofe Storms on purpofe to keep off the Queen from the Coafts of *Scotland*; and that *Bothwel* had likewife tranfacted with them about murdering the King. This being made a capital Crime in *Scotland* by a Law of Queen *Mary*, he was hereupon imprifon'd: But in a little time he got loofe from his Confinement, and gave the rife to new Troubles in *Scotland*.

Bothwel caft into Prifon.

This Year died in *England*, *Frances* Countefs of *Suffex*, Widow of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffex*, and Sifter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, an excellent Lady, and whofe Memory is defervedly facred, as fhe was the Foundrefs of *Sidney-Suffex*-College in *Cambridge*, wherein fhe follow'd the Copy of Sir *Walter Mildmay*, who about the fame time exchanged this Life for a better. He was a Perfon of fingular both Piety and Prudence, who acted all the Parts of a good Man and a faithful Subject, and had been made by King *Henry* VIII, Surveyor of the Court of Augmentations, and chofen Privy-Councellor to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Chancellor and Under-Treafurer of her Exchequer. For the promotion of Piety and good Letters, he built *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge*, *An.* 1584; in which are maintain'd a Mafter and 62 Students. He was fucceeded by Sir *John Fortefcue*, a very worthy Gentleman, and a great Mafter of the *Latin* and *Greek*, who was for a confiderable time Preceptor to the Q. in her Studies, and Mafter of her Wardrobe. About this time likewife died *Will. Somerfet*, Earl of *Worcefter*, in a good old Age. He was Son to *Henry* and Grandfon to *Charles*, and was fucceeded by his only Son *Edward*, whom God had blefs'd with fo fruitful an Iffue, that he lately faw more Children of both Sexes from his own Loins, than all the Earls of *England* befides. Nor was it long before thefe following Perfons paid their Debt to their common Mother, *viz.* *John* Lord *Stourton*, the eldeft Son of *Charles* (whom Queen *Mary* punifh'd for Example's fake, on account of a Murder committed by him) by the Lady *Ann Stanley*, the Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Derby*, who was fucceeded by his Brother *Edward*. Alfo *Henry* Lord *Compton*, a Perfon of a fine Wit and folid Judgment, who left his Eftate and Title to *William* his Son by *Frances Haftings*, the Daughter of *Francis* Earl of *Huntington*. At *Bruxels* died alfo *Thomas* Lord *Paget*; who being clofely link'd to the Interefts of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and being fufpected on that account, retir'd out of *England*, as I faid, *An.* 1585, and left behind him only one Son, *viz.* *William*, whom

The death of the Countefs of Suffex.

Mildmay.

The E. of Worcefter.

Stourton.

Compton.

Paget.

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The death of Lawrence Humfreys.

he had by *Nazareth Newton*; his Death however prov'd a sad and universal Loss to the Commonwealth of Learning. In the last place, Dr. *Lawrence Humfrey* quitted this troublesome Stage; an *Ox-ford-man* and Doctor of Divinity; who, in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, liv'd as an Exile in *Germany*; where he translated *Origen de Recta Fide* and *Philo de Nobilitate* out of the *Greek* Tongue, and wrote likewise three Books of Nobility, which he stil'd *Optimates*. At his return, he was made President of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, where he was educated; and also the Queen's Professor of Divinity; where, by his Lectures for several Years, his Sermons and Writings, he did the Church considerable Service, and was justly looked on as a Person of Merit. However his highest Station in the Church was the Deanery of *Winchester*; perhaps because he was not altogether Conformable to the Church of *England* in some Points of Indifference.

1590.

The Three and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

Q. Eliz. fortifies some Port Towns.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who always paid the first regard to Peace in all her Deliberations, tho' not so neither, as to be unconcern'd about the necessary Provisions for War; that she might not be surpriz'd by the *Spaniard*, levied fresh Forces in the beginning of the Spring, both in *England*, and in the South of *Ireland*. Here she fortified *Dunganon* at the Mouth of the *Suire*, and *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, with new Ramparts: Towards the repair of her Navy she appointed a yearly Sum of 8970 Pounds Sterling: And tho' in the Year 1587, she had lent by Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, towards raising an Army in *Germany*, for the King of *Navarre*'s Service, under the Command of the Baron *Dohna*, 101560 *French* Crowns, and the very last Year 71165 more, on Security given by *Beavoir*, *Bubi* and *Buzenval*, and had likewise consum'd 20000 in sending over the Recruits under the Lord *Willoughby*: Nevertheless, upon Security offer'd by the Viscount *Turenne*, she advanced in the first place 33333 Crowns more, for levying Forces in *Germany* under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and afterwards the same Sum on the Credit of *Beavoir* and *Incarvil*: And besides all this, she paid every two Months, to the Garrisons in *Flushing* and the *Bril*, 125000 Florins, and 26000 more to three thousand Horse and Foot, which serv'd in the *Netherlands*. She moreover furnish'd out several Ships to all Parts; was at vast Expences in opposing the Attempts of the Pope and the King of *Spain* in *Scotland*, and discharg'd all the Arrears she owed her Subjects, beyond Expectation; insomuch that many wonder'd whence she procur'd so much Money to answer all Emergencies, considering she ran not in Debt, (as most other Princes do) and was in a Capacity to support herself and Kingdom without any foreign Assistances, which was a thing that could not be said of any of the Princes that were her Neighbours.

Furnishes the French King with Money.

Her Frugality.

But the truth is, she was provident and frugal to a great degree, and scarce spent any thing, but in the necessary Support of her Royal Character, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. Besides, the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* narrowly inspected the Officers of her Customs; through the Avarice of whom either the Queen's Cash had been impair'd, or her Dues lost for want of demanding. But this Defect was mended, after the Queen, being inform'd by one *Caermarden*, a subtle and prying Fellow, of the great Abuses of the Custom-House-Officers, was pleas'd to order Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of the Customs, who held them at 14000 of *English* Money *per Annum*, to pay from thenceforward 42000 Pounds, and to advance a considerable Sum besides for having enjoy'd so advantagious a Bargain for several Years, and after that farther raised the Agreement to 50000 Pounds a Year. This the Lord-Treasurer, *Leicester* and *Walsingham* oppos'd all they could, and order'd the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber not to give admission to *Caermarden*; nay they went so far as to dispute the matter with the Queen, alledging, That it would be an open Disparagement to herself and Council, to listen to the Insinuations of such a petty Informer. But she answer'd, 'That it was the 'Duty of a Prince to manage things equally be'tween Persons of all Ranks; that such as ac'cus'd Magistrates, or other publick Ministers, 'without producing good Proofs to back their 'Charge, were punishable; whereas such as 'brought true Informations deserv'd Encou'ragement: That the meanest were her Subjects 'as well as the biggest; and that she resolv'd ne'ver to shut her Ears against them, nor to en'dure that the Farmers of the Customs should 'suck, like Horse-leeches, till they burst again 'with the Blood of the Commonwealth; which 'running so fast out of the Treasury, must needs 'bring it into a fatal Consumption: On the o'ther side, she would never suffer her Exche'quer to swell and thrive upon the Spoils of the 'Poor.' And to say truth, the Queen ever abhor'd all Acts of Extortion, and Demands of rigorous Taxes and Contributions; a thing which other Princes before her had Arts to palliate under the softer terms of *the Peoples Bounty and Liberal Grant*, &c. The laying of the Poll-Tax, propounded first in the Reign of *Edward* VI, she would never suffer to be so much as mention'd. Besides, the People were always cheerful in paying their Subsidies; and tho' the Assessment now in use seem'd to be somewhat more burdensom than in old Times, yet was it manag'd with *all* the Candor imaginable, and no rigorous *Exactions* made; insomuch, *that Taxes were then a* kind of free Contributions, and always laid beneath the Estimation of the Government; nay the Queen's method was to refer it to her Parliament so to order it, that the Rich might bear the greater share of the Burden, and the Poor be eas'd; which had been done before in the Reign of *Richard* II. But it was now order'd otherwise: For, upon a fair Computation, it appear'd, that the Taxes would amount but to an inconsiderable Sum, should Men of narrow Estates, which make by far the greater number, and whom we call *Pound-Men*, pay any thing short of what they used to do.

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She advances the Farm of her Customs.

Favourable in demanding Taxes.

Relieves the States in the Low-Countries.

Now that the Queen might preserve the better Correspondence with her Neighbours abroad, she refus'd to take *Groeningen* under her Protection, (which was a rich City of *Frizeland*, that refus'd both to submit to the *Spanish* Yoke, and to bear that of the States) for fear of giving the States any disgust. And tho' the *Zelanders* had disoblig'd her, in casting themselves upon the *French* King's Protection, without the knowledge and consent of the States of *Holland*, (of which the *French* King himself inform'd her) yet she was so Gracious as to reconcile them to the *Hollanders*. Nor could she forbear taxing the Misconduct of some in those Provinces, whose Proceedings she express'd her dislike of, by publick Writings; because, under pretence of Allegiance to her, they had rais'd Commotions, and embroil'd the States. And she was the more tart and severe in her Reproofs on this Occasion, having understood that *Richardot* had endeavour'd to procure a general Toleration for all the *Netherlanders*, which had quitted the other Provinces, on Condition

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dition they would return to their Habitations; which were it once granted, she easily saw, would prove of the worst Consequence to the States: Forasmuch as these were the very Men, that taking up their Residence in those Towns of *Holland*, which before wanted Inhabitants, not only enrich'd them, but went a great way towards maintaining the Expence of the War. She likewise order'd the restitution of those Ships which the *English* had taken from the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, at the request of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*; and put out a strict Proclamation, That none of her Subjects should any way damage or molest the *Italians*, *Venetians*, *French*, *Danes*, *Netherlanders*, or those belonging to the *Hans-Towns*.

Q. Eliz. puts out a Proclamation against Piracy.

However, some there were that adventur'd to annoy the *Spaniards*, and others that infested the *Atlantick-Ocean* near the *Azores*, where the Ships of both *Indies* must of necessity touch; many of which they took for Prizes, the Earl of *Cumberland* having demolish'd the Castle of *Fyal*, and brought off 58 pieces of Ordnance: Others ventur'd to make their way through the midst of the Galleys lying in the Bay of *Gades*, doing a great deal of Mischief, and spreading a kind of Terror over the Ocean itself.

She procures a Peace for the *Moldavians* & *Polonians*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was now grown very famous, and her Name and Glory of a large and wide Extent; so that she prevail'd on the *Grand Sultan* to grant a Peace to the *Vaivod* of *Moldavia*, who had been miserably infested by the *Turks*; and the same Benefit she procur'd for the *Polanders*, whom they had threatned to prosecute with a long and dangerous War: For which good Service the King of *Poland* and his Chancellor returned her Majesty their hearty Thanks in several Letters of Acknowledgement.

King of *France* and *Scots* made Knights of the Garter.

In the mean time, to continue a good Agreement with *Scotland*, she sent *Edward Somerset*, Earl of *Worcester*, to congratulate the King on his Marriage and safe Return out of *Denmark*, and to let him know, that himself and the *French* King were created *Knights of the Garter*; but withal to recommend to him the timely Suppression of the Catholicks in *Scotland*, which were now grown up to a numerous Faction. The King receiv'd him very courteously; and, the better to preserve a good Correspondence with *England*, and express his singular Affection to the publick Tranquillity, he dispatch'd Colonel *Stuart* into *Germany*, to concert some Measures with the King of *Denmark*, and the Ambassadors of the Princes there assembled, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain* and *France*.

Q. *Eliz.* assists the *French* King.

France (as I before took notice) was at this time miserably consumed by the Flames of Civil War, kindled by the King of *Spain* and those of the *Holy League*. In order to extinguish which, and relieve that Nation, the Queen used all possible Means, and held several Consultations and Debates: As, whether the old *English* Soldiers in the *Low-Countries* would not do well to join with the *German*-Forces, which were coming down? Or, whether it were not a better way to send a strong Army into the *Netherlands*, to give the Prince of *Parma* a Diversion, who was now projecting a Descent into *France*? But the great Query was, how the *Spaniards* might be kept off from the Coasts of *France*, who (she heard) were attempting to reduce *New-Haven*, by bribing the Garrison, and then to send a Fleet into *Bretaign*.

Parma invades *France*.

Whilst these things were on the Anvil, the Prince of *Parma* entred *France* with a powerful Army, at the Command of the King of *Spain*, who was prevail'd on, through the Entreaties of those of the *League*, to take this course under colour of protecting the Catholick Religion, and shewing Charity to the Distressed, (meaning themselves, over whom the King had obtain'd a signal Victory at *Ivry*) the Prince soon marched all over *Picardy*, relieved with necessary Provisions the City of *Paris*, which was then in Rebellion, and almost ready to famish, gain'd *Corbeil* and *L'aigny* into his Hands, for the better and safer conveyance of Provisions into *Paris*, and then march'd back with the Army, and receiv'd higher Applauses for his good Conduct, in making the Soldiers cast up Trenches, after the *Roman* fashion, with their own Hands; and for his prudent declining to Fight, than for the Order and Discipline of his Soldiers, who were so vilely Insolent as to plunder and violate the very Churches. On the other hand, about the Autumnal Equinox, there arrived at *Blavet* in *Bretaign* other *Spanish* Troops under the Command of Don *John D'Aquila*, who besieg'd *Henebon*, a small but strong Town upon the Sea, and took it by the Assistance of *Philip Emanuel*, Duke of *Mercoeur*, of the House of *Lorain*. He had invited them in just at the time when the *Leaguers* were in hopes of sharing and parcelling out all *France* between 'em, and he had promis'd himself the Dukedom of *Bretaign*, part of it at least, for his own share, by the Assistance of *Spain*, and in Right of his Wife, who was the only Daughter of *Sebastian Martigues*, whose Mother *Caroletta* of *Bretaign* was Heiress to *John Brose* Duke of *Estampes*.

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Exploits.

Return.

Spaniards take some Sea-Ports in *Bretaign*.

This was an Opportunity the King of *Spain* was mighty willing to take hold on, as thinking that *Bretaign* did justly belong to his Daughter; forasmuch as it was a Feminine Fee, and she was a Branch of the eldest Daughter of *Henry* II, King of *France*; which eldest Daughter (her Uncles happening to die without Issue) had a right to succeed to the Crown of *France*, unless the *Salick Law* interpos'd in the case. And tho' he knew very well that *Bretaign* was, in the Reign of *Francis* I, united for ever to the Kingdom of *France*, yet could he not swallow what the Lawyers assert, *That whatever is once annexed to the Crown of* France, *is for the future inseparable from it*.

Q. *Eliz.* desired to send some Forces.

As soon as these *Spanish* Forces arriv'd, *Henry Bourbon*, Prince of *Dumbez*, and Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and whom the King had joined with *La Noue* in the Government of the Province of *Bretaign*, desired he might have some auxiliary Troops from *England*, to go against them. But the Queen and Council thought it no way convenient to furnish a Subject with Supplies of that kind, since the King himself neither knew of, nor requested any such thing, being at that time sufficiently taken up elsewhere, and in Affairs which were like to cost him Trouble enough. However she was far from neglecting the afflicted Condition of *Bretaign*, for she could not bear the Reflection that the King of *Spain* should reduce so wealthy a Country, and which being so near a Neighbour, was too conveniently situated for the Invasion of *England*, *Holland*, or *Zeland*: And in this she declar'd herself to be much more nearly concern'd than was *Edward* III, so long ago, who at a vast Expence was pleas'd to interest himself in the Quarrel of *John Montford*, to hinder the *French* from making themselves Masters of *Bretaign*. Some Persons there were who attempted to persuade the Queen to spare this Charge, to take care of her own Affairs rather than other Mens, and not to trust the *French* too far; that 'they had been false and treacherous to 'their own Princes, had lately murder'd one 'that was a zealous Asserter of Popery, and at 'this instant were prosecuting another with *Spanish* Arms and *Popish* Thunder, who was a Pro-'testant:

1590. *Ann.* 33. 'testant: That within the Compass of one Age, 'they had injuriously robb'd the *German* Empire 'of *Metz*, *Toule*, and *Verdun*: That they were 'sworn Enemies to the *English*; and therefore 'when they most pretended to be their Friends, 'were even then treating them after a base 'and ungrateful manner; and had moreover so 'often chous'd them upon the Loan of Money, 'that they came at last to call all Creditors they 'resolv'd to cheat, in way of proverbial Derisi-'on, *Les Anglois*: Moreover, that what by ill 'Counsels, and a worse Destiny hanging over 'their Heads, they had so rent and mangled that 'once flourishing Kingdom, that its Neighbours 'rather consider'd it as an Object of Pity, than 'Terrour; since, like an unwieldy Body, 'twas 'ready to sink under the Weight of its own 'Bulk; at least it was grown so light and un-'steady, that if it met with no Enemy abroad, 'it would seek for one within its own Borders; 'for they were now grown so wretchedly stu-'pid, (a Thing which will puzzle the Faith of 'future times) as to invite an Army of *Spaniards* 'into their Country, and receive them into their 'Towns.' However, the Queen being greatly concern'd for the Safety of the *French*, rejected all these Remonstrances, as Affronts to that potent and honourable Nation. Nay, upon other Suggestions of the like Nature, which were started by *French*, as well as *Englishmen*; as, That whilst *Spain* and the *Juncto* were parcelling and dividing *France* into several Principalities, she might seize on the maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*; and when they reminded her at the same time, of what the warlike *Charles* of *Burgundy* used to say, viz. *That the neighbouring Nations would be in a blessed Condition, when* France *should be govern'd, not by one King, but by twenty Petty-Princes:* she heard them with Regret, and disdainfully put them off, saying, *That most assuredly the Day which determin'd the Fate of* France, *would prove the Eve to that of* England's *Ruin.*

Death of the E. of *Warwick*, Whilst these things were under Debate, *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, the Son of *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, and Knight of the Garter, a most excellent Person, departed this Life, without Issue: And not long after him, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queen's Secretary, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and Knight of the Garter, died of an Excrescence about his Privities, or rather through an intemperate Application of Physick. He was a Person of great Prudence and Industry, and had been concern'd in several honourable Embassies: He was a most steady Assertor of the Reform'd Religion, understood well the Intrigues of Government, and as well how to gain and improve the good Affections of the People, so as to serve his own Turn; insomuch that his Quickness and Dispatch of Business made him consider'd by the Queen, as a Man that even out-did himself; and the Papists found him, to their great Mortification, a Person of that Intelligence and Penetration, and so dexterous at finding out their Tricks and Designs against Religion, his Prince and Country; that they complain'd of him as a very subtle and insidious Man. Indeed he watch'd the Practices of these Men with so great an Expence, that he lessen'd his Estate by that means; and brought himself so far in Debt, that he was bury'd privately by Night, in St. *Paul's* Church, without any manner of Funeral Solemnity. He left but one Daughter behind him, whose first Husband was Sir *Philip Sidney*, who had a Daughter by her, afterwards marry'd to *Roger* Earl of *Rutland*. Her second Husband was *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, who had a Son and several Daughters by her; and her third Husband was the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, an *Irishman*, who had Children by her of both Sexes.

and Sir *Fra. Walsingham*,

A Month or two after *Walsingham*, *Thomas Randolph*, his intimate Friend, departed this Life. This Person, whom I have had occasion to mention so often already, had a Brother, *Edward* by Name, a brave Soldier, who died in *Ireland*, after having obtain'd a Victory, *Ann.* 1567. In his younger days he study'd the Civil Law at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and was Principal of *Broad-gates*. Afterwards he was employ'd in several Embassies; thrice to the Peers of *Scotland*, during the Disorders there; as often to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, after her Return from *France*; seven times to *James* VI. King of *Scots*; thrice to *John Basilides* Emperor of *Russia*; once to *Charles* IX. King of *France*, and once to *Henry* III. These great and eminent Services of his, for his Prince and Country, the Queen was pleas'd to repay, by making him Chamberlain of the Exchequer, (a Place formerly of great Honour) and by giving him the Post Master's Place, with some small Manours to maintain them. Nor did he desire any larger Returns, (so far was he from a covetous Man) although he had many Children. It may not be amiss, to mention a pious and serious Piece of Advice which he gave *Walsingham*, a little before his Death, by Letters which I have seen my self, viz. How decent, and even necessary a thing it was, for them to lay down the invidious Employments, the one of Secretary, and the other of Ambassador; to give themselves the more Leisure to meditate on Heaven, and reconcile themselves to God by a timely Repentance.

The next that quitted this earthly Abode, was Sir *James Croftes*, who in *Edward* VI's Reign defended *Hadington* in *Scotland*, against the *French*, and was for some time Governour of *Ireland*. He was condemn'd for Treason in Queen *Mary's* Reign, but acquitted by Queen *Elizabeth*; and being made Governor of *Berwick* and the East-March, Comptroller of the Queen's Houshold, and a Commissioner at the Treaty of *Borbourg*, he got above the Envy of the Court, which however had well nigh crush'd him, and died in a good Age his Prince's Favourite, and in fair Esteem with all that knew him. and Sir *J. Croftes*,

The same Year concluded with the Death of *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Son of *Francis*, and the seventh Earl of this House and Line. In Queen *Mary's* Reign, being then a very young Gentleman, he was entrusted by his Father, who was General in the *Scottish* War, with 3000 Men, with which he brought off the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was in great Danger at *Lowick*. after which he was made Captain of a Troop of 500 brave Veterans in the Marches. Q. *Elizabeth* order'd the Queen of *Scots* into his Custody, and after the Duke of *Norfolk's* Death, advanc'd him to the Honour of Earl Marshal of *England*. In those ticklish times, he made a shift to assert his Honour, and make good his Trust for 15 Years together, against all the Machinations and Slanders of the Court Party, and the ill Conduct of his second Wife, to such a degree, That he left behind him the double Character of a wise and faithful Statesman, and a brave and worthy Commander. He had these Children by his first Wife, who was *Gertrude* the Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Rutland*, viz. *Francis*, who was taken away by an untimely Death; *Gilbert*, who succeeded him in Title and Estate, and marry'd *Mary Cavendish*, his Stepmother's Daughter; *Edward*, who marry'd the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord *Ogle*; *Henry* and *Thomas*; *Katharine*, marry'd afterwards to *Henry*, Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who died without Issue; *Mary*, Wife to *George* and the E. of *Shrewsbury*,

Savill,

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Savill, and *Grace*, married to *Henry Cavendiſh*. By his latter Wife, who was Daughter of *John Hardwick*, and Widow of *William Cavendiſh*, he had no Children at all.

and the L. *Wentworth.*

Nor muſt we omit the Mention of *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, who accompanied the aforeſaid Perſons to another World. He was the laſt *Engliſh* Governour of *Calais*. He was ſucceeded by his ſecond Son, the eldeſt dying before his Father.

Gavilock ſtrangled by *Tir-Oen.*

In *Ireland*, *Hugh Gavilock*, ſo call'd by reaſon of his long Impriſonment, the baſe Son of *Shan-Oneal*, had the Year before accuſed *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen* of holding a ſecret Correſpondence with certain *Spaniards*, who were caſt on the Coaſts of *Ireland* in the Year 1588. The Earl, to prevent any farther Diſcoveries, ſurprized him firſt, and then had him ſtrangled; but the Ruffians he employ'd, who were in other reſpects brutiſh enough, yet refuſing at that time ſo barbarous an Office, 'tis ſaid he drew the Cord himſelf, and ſo choaked him. Hereupon he was ſummoned into *England*, and had the Queen's Pardon, upon his humble Submiſſion, and moſt ſolemn Proteſtations and Engagements, before the Queen at the Honour of *Greenwich*; That on the Faith and Word of a Man of Honour, he would live peaceably with *Turlough Leinigh*, and all his Neighbours, (for Performance of which he gave Security) and that he would diſclaim the Title of *O-Neal*, or any Juriſdiction over thoſe Lords that were his Neighbours; That he would form the Country of *Tir-Oen* into a County; That he would not exact that *Iriſh* Tax call'd *Bonaghty* of any of his Dependents; That he would thenceforward put no Man to death, but according to Law; That he would not ſtop the Conveyance of any Ammunition or Proviſions, deſign'd for the *Engliſh* Garriſons at *Blackwater*, or the River *More*; That he would not admit into his Territories any Monks, Friers, Nuns, or Male-contents; That he would uſe all Endeavours to civilize the Inhabitants of *Tir-Oen*, and to bring them to better Order; with other Conditions of the ſame nature; provided ſtill that *Turlough Leinigh*, and the neighbouring Lords ſhould likewiſe engage themſelves to an amicable Correſpondence with him; That whilſt he himſelf avoided all Acts of Hoſtility, he might not be expoſed to their Inſolence or Barbarity. Being diſmiſſed home, he promiſed a ſecond time to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the Lord-Deputy, and to the Gentlemen of the Privy-Council, that he would obſerve every tittle of his Engagement. And for ſome time he was indeed very punctual to all the Duties and Obſervances which could be expected from a good Subject, and a vertuous Man. He was Maſter of a Conſtitution that could endure the Difficulties of Watching and Hunger; and join'd to that a moſt indefatigable Induſtry. He had a generous Soul, and capable of the weightieſt Undertakings, and was beſides an expert Soldier, and a ſubtle Politician: Inſomuch that ſome have concluded beforehand, that he was born to do *Ireland* a great deal of Good, or as much Hurt.

On what Terms he is pardon'd.

His Character.

'Twas not long before, that *Hugh Roe-Mac-Mahon*, a potent Lord in the Territory of *Monaghan*, was ſeized in his own Houſe, by Order of the Lord-Deputy; who, tho' he had but juſt before given him the Precedency in a Conteſt that happen'd in his Family upon that Point; yet did he ſuffer him to be try'd by Common Soldiers, and the Scum of the People (as the *Iriſh* complain'd) for having by Force of Arms extorted from the People thoſe Subſidies, which are demandable by the barbarous Cuſtom of the Country. The Effect of this was, that they condemn'd and executed him, and divided his Eſtate (which was a very good one) betwixt the *Engliſh* and ſome of the *Mac-Mahons*; aſſigning to them ſeverally a certain yearly Revenue, that they might enjoy it according to the Laws of *England*. This he did on purpoſe to weaken the Intereſts of a Family, that was too powerful in Creatures and Dependents; as likewiſe to put the ſame End to the Title and Tyranny of *Mac-Mahon*; for, it ſeems, this Privilege of the Family render'd 'em inſolent and uſurping, and prone to uſe all the Methods of an inſupportable Oppreſſion. Hereupon *Brian-O-Rork*, a mighty Lord in the adjacent Country of *Brenu*, apprehending the very ſame Fate, roſe in Rebellion againſt the Queen; but being chaſed and routed by Sir *Richard Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, he fled into *Scotland*. The Lord-Deputy in the mean time being highly concern'd that the Honour of this Piece of Service came not to his ſhare. The King of *Scots*, upon the Queen's Demand, very chearfully ſurrender'd him into her Hands, proteſting that he conſider'd all her Enemies as his own. Nor was this a bare Complement; for he ſlighted all the Remonſtrances of the Popiſh Nobility in *Scotland*, and the Motions of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* and other Male-contents in *England*, who did what they could to incenſe him againſt the Queen. He likewiſe demanded Security of *James* and *Donald Mac-Conells*, that they would not moleſt the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, either from the *Hebrides* or *Scotland*.

O-Rork rebels.

The Four and Thirtieth Year of her Reign. 1591.

Queen's Care of the *French* King.

In the midſt of theſe Confuſions, the Queen was not more intent on any thing, than the Care of *Bretagne* in *France*, and how to relieve the Affairs of the *French* King; which appear'd to be indeed in a ſinking Condition. She therefore ſent *Edmund Yorke* early in the Year, to give him a gentle Touch upon his three Months Silence, and to remind him of what immediate Importance it was, to provide for the Defence of *Bretagne*, as ſoon as poſſible; and to perſuade him by all means to oppoſe and prevent the Deſigns of the Prince of *Parma*, who intended another Invaſion upon *France*, in order to join the *Spaniſh* Forces in *Bretagne*. Towards the diſpoſſeſſing of theſe, ſhe promiſed him her Aſſiſtance both by Sea and Land, on condition he would appoint a Place of Retreat for her Forces, and join a competent Number of Men with hers. The King was highly ſenſible of the Queen's generous Regards for him, return'd her hearty Thanks for it, and promiſed faithfully that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part. He required, in the firſt place, 3000 Men to ſupport his Affairs in *Bretagne*; and ſome Regiments to be immediately diſpatch'd for *Piccardy*. He nominated *Cherbourg*, *Granvill*, or *Breſt*, for Port-Towns of Retreat for her Majeſty's Forces; but principally *Blavett*, taken lately by the *Spaniards*, as the moſt commodious, (but whether in jeſt or earneſt, I cannot tell.) Then he gave Orders to *Beauvoir de Noclé*, his Reſident in *England*, to draw up Articles of Agreement, and he did accordingly manage the Contract with the Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh*, *Charles Howard* Lord-Admiral, and *Hunſdon* Lord-Chamberlain, who were Commiſſioners for the Queen: *That* 3000 English *ſhould be ſent over into* Picardy *and* Bretagne, *with neceſſary Proviſions to maintain the War: That the King ſhould, in the ſpace of one Year, re-imburſe their Pay into the Queen's Exchequer, beſide the Charge of their Tranſportation, and the Expence of Ammunition*, &c. *or ſooner, provided the Enemy were diſpoſſeſſed before that time.* The Queen was the more eaſily inclined to join

Fr. King's Demands and Overtures.

Contract of Aſſiſtance.

in

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in this Treaty, as being inform'd that the *Spaniards* were admitted into *Paris*, the Metropolis of *France*; and that the Citizens acknowledged the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign, and gave their lawful Prince no other Title than *The Bearnois*. That the *Spanish* King did from hence encourage himself with the Hopes of wearing the Crown of *France*; and that he had declared as much to *Janin*, who was Commissioner sent from the Leaguers to the Court of *Spain*: As also, that Pope *Gregory* XIII, had on this Occasion raised Forces against the *French* King, in *Italy* and *Switzerland*, under the Command of the Duke *de Montmartin*, and had published a Bull of Excommunication against him; which was nevertheless condemn'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, now met at *Tours*, and order'd to be first fix'd to the Gallows by the common Hangman, and then burnt to Ashes. Hereupon a Proclamation was issued out, forbidding the Exportation of Provision or Arms into those Ports of *France*, which the Leaguers had in possession, upon pain of High Treason; which also the King of *Scots* had done before. Sir *Henry Palmer* was likewise sent out with a Squadron of Men of War, and took 13 of their Ships in their Return from *New France*; and not long after, Sir *Roger Williams* went over to *Diep* with 600 Men, with express Orders to lie ready in those Parts; because the Enemy were very near that Town, and had threatned it hard. And a few days after, Sir *John Norris* set sail for *Bretagne*, with the rest of the Forces; which (under him) were commanded by his Brother *Henry*, and *Anthony Sherley*. These Recruits join'd the King's Forces, and made a brisk, but unsuccessful Attempt upon *Lamballe*, which was defended by the Leaguers; and here died that eminent Soldier, *Francis la Nové*, of a Wound he had received. After this, however, they took *Chastillon*, and gave some Check to those of the League; tho' they could not totally rout or dispossess them. Sir *Roger Williams*, with his own Forces and those of Monsieur *la Chatré*, Governour of *Diep*, broke thro' a Barricado at *Cinquesfaunce*, made of Wine-Fats fill'd up with Earth; and put to flight some of the Party, who were appointed to scour the Ways, under the Command of *Tremblecourt* and *Lounde*: for which Act he was highly applauded by the King, in his Letters to the Queen. Hereupon he grew more hardy; and not so well considering the Charge he had undertaken, he went along with the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*; and in a short Letter sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to dispatch 200 Pikemen, and 1000 Musketeers, to engage in the Field with the same Number of *English*. He had scarce got to *Diep*, but the King sent for him, and order'd him with his Troops to *Noyon*, quite contrary to the Orders which he had receiv'd from the Queen. Here he behaved himself with that Heat and Rashness, as to throw away the Lives of a great many Men in an Assault, which the Queen having not consented to, was therefore much displeased at.

Motives inducing the Queen hereto.

A Proclamation relating to the Leaguers.

Norris sent to *Bretagne*.

La Nove slain.

At the same time the *French* King acquainted her Majesty, by *Anthony Reaux*, that he was resolv'd to secure *Rouen* and *New-Haven*, before the Prince of *Parma* arriv'd with his Forces in *France*; and to that purpose he desired the Queen to send 4000 *English* into *Normandy*, with two Months Pay; and if they stay'd longer, he engaged to pay them himself; and promised most faithfully, that as soon as they landed, his Forces should be ready to join them; and he would tarry in *Picardy* in the mean while, lest they of *Rouen* should have any Suspicion of his Design. To this the Queen agreed, as being very desirous to drive the Enemy farther from the Sea-Coast. Hereupon, a new Contract was made on the Terms proposed; but with this Proviso, that it should be ratified, or (to use the *French* Term) verified by the Authority of the Supreme Parliament. Within a few days these Forces were raised, and arrived at *Diep*, under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, a young Nobleman, who had much of the Queen's Grace and Favour. He was attended by several Gentlemen of the first Quality; and Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *Henry Killigrew*, Men of great Experience, were appointed as Assistants to him, where Conduct and Counsel were required. At his Arrival in *France*, he found the King was at a great distance, as far as *Noyon*. In *Normandy* he perceiv'd there was not the least Preparation made, nor could he learn by any means, how he was to dispose of his Forces; so that he began to stomach the King's ill Treatment of himself and his Men, and resented very much his Breach of Promise. Some time after, came to him Sir *Roger Williams*, and intreated him in the King's Name, to make what haste he could to him at *Noyen*, in order to concert Measures for carrying on the War: Whither being at last arrived, after a very difficult and hazardous March, the King told him, that he must needs go in Person into *Champagne*, to join the *German* Army; but promised to send Marshal *Biron* and the D. of *Montpensier*, with all possible Dispatch, to the Siege of *Rouen*. The Earl with much ado got back to his Men, who had their Camp at *Arques*; and the better to gain the Affections of his Army, and encourage them at the same time, he knighted several, tho' he happen'd by so doing to disoblige some Persons who had obtain'd that Honour before they set out, and might perhaps think that he cheapen'd that Character, which had been hitherto in mighty Esteem among the *English*, and which the Queen had confer'd but on a very few Persons, and those of a distinguish'd Note, and good Family. After all there was no Appearance either of *Biron* or *Montpensier*: The latter was gone into *Champagne*, to attend at the Nuptials of Viscount *Turenne* and the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Daughter; and the former was marched out of the way, to lay a fruitless Siege to the Castle of *Pierrepont*. And now was another Message dispatch'd to *England*, by *Reaux*, to acquaint the Queen with the Reasons which hinder'd the *French* King from besieging *Rouen*; for the Queen had warmly pressed this Siege by Sir *Henry Unton*, her Ambassador in *France*, and likewise the Verification of the Contract, by Consent of Parliament. *Essex* all this while lay unemploy'd in his Camp, and was not a little disturb'd that he was cheated of such Opportunities of distinguishing himself: He happen'd once to approach too near *Rouen*, and lost his Brother by a Shot from the Town. The Queen blamed him by her Letters, for following the King without giving her Notice, and for coming so indiscreetly under the Walls of *Rouen*. But he made his Peace upon the easy Terms of a few smooth Words; and in the mean while marching with his Forces to *Gornay*, he was very serviceable to *Biron* in the Reduction of it.

New Supplies granted.

Earl of *Essex* commands there.

He goes to the King.

Makes several Knights.

Is impos'd on by the French.

French King sends a Message of Excuse to the Queen.

Essex's Brother shot.

Mean while the King solicites the Queen by *Beavoir* to send *Essex*, with the *English* Forces under his Command, out of *Normandy* into *Champagne*, having seemingly laid by all Thoughts of besieging *Rouen*. This the Queen took so ill, as to expostulate the Matter with him; forasmuch as two Months had now passed, since the signing of the Contract, and the Soldiers were still out of Pay: That for her part, both she and her Friends had been so long shamm'd, and imposed on, and either totally disregarded, or else posted about from place to place, and exposed to infinite

infinite Hazards by the Bargain; and the King
1591. moreover was so unsteddy to his Promises and
Ann. 34. *Resolves, and had* occasion'd her so vast an Expence to so little Purpose, that she determin'd to call home her Forces, unless he would keep his Word, and take some Course to defray the Sum agreed on. He presently endeavour'd to excuse Himself, and pacify the Queen by complaisant Letters: Wherein he laid the Fault upon the Hurry and Confusion of his Affairs. In the beginning of *November*, when the Prince of *Parma* was taking the Field with a well disciplin'd Army; he in a slow and dilatory manner began the Siege of *Rouen*. *Essex* was sent into *England* to hasten over new Supplies; and upon his Return, not many Days after, about *Christmas-Eve*, an Attack was made on St. *Katharine*'s Tower in four places at once, and in three of them the *English* were exposed to extreme Hazard. At the very same time the King solicited by *Mornay Plessis* a speedy Dispatch of fresh Recruits to serve against the Prince of *Parma*; and these the Queen granted, after a modest Reprimand of the King's Neglect, as to the Siege of *Rouen*, and his stopping the Prince of *Parma*'s Advances. She made it likewise her Request, that the *English* might be treated at a better rate, and not thrust always into the midst of Danger. But this I must be contented to leave with the Writers of the *French* History, who were either very little acquainted with these Proceedings, or else have pitifully misrepresented them. Nor will I rob the Church-Historian of his Right in conveying to Posterity the wild Enthusiasm of *William Hacket*, together with all those abominable Blasphemies, which I almost blush to mention. However, that I may not be charg'd as a Friend to his Follies, or an Enemy to Truth, I shall venture on this short Narrative, till the World is supplied with a better and fuller Account.

Fr. King break his Promise.

Hacket's blasphemous Tenets.

This *Hacket* was a Fellow of mean Extraction, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, a very illiterate Man, and as Haughty and Insolent as he was Ignorant: He was moreover of so revengeful a Complexion, that pretending to be reconciled to a worthy Schoolmaster, to whom he bore a Grudge, he clean bit off his Nose; and the poor Man desiring to have it again, that it might be sewed on whilst the Wound was green, the Report goes that he swallowed it after a most savage manner. So bitter an Enemy was he to all Goodness and Vertue, that he would expose and ridicule the Sacred Truths and Doctrines he had heard at Church, and make them the Entertainment of his Cups and Frolicks. After this, having spent an Estate, which he had by his Wife, who was a Widow, he put on a demure Face, and grew a mighty Saint all on a sudden. Accordingly he was the most constant frequenter of Sermons, and the most inquisitive Searcher of the Scriptures you should hear of. At last he came to manage the Pretences of an inward Call and supernatural Revelation, with that Confidence and Dexterity, as to work himself into the good Opinion of a sort of Divines, who were stark mad for introducing the Presbyterian Discipline after the *Geneva* Model into *England*. One of this good Brotherhood was *Wigginton*, as Brain-sick a Teacher as any of the Club, and as stanch an Enemy to Government. This Man brought *Hacket* acquainted with *Edmund Coppinger*, a Person of a good Family, who was likewise puffed up with the Conceit of being a chosen Vessel for the Benefit of the Church, and that God had vouchsafed him wonderful Discoveries for reducing the Queen and her Council to a better Sense of Things, even to the embracing of the *Geneva* Discipline. And this he afterwards communicated to one *Arthington*, a great Admirer of
1591. this way of Worship. For it seems some of these
Ann. 34. Teachers had before infused it into him, That God did every day stir up one or other of these extraordinary Labourers to work in his Vineyard. This he imparted in the great Joy of his Heart to *Hacket*, who with a Sanctity, which he could well enough dissemble, encourag'd the Humour, and by praying *extempore*, and with great Fervours, by Sunday-Fasts, and by frequent Boastings of his Conflicts with Satan, swore at the hazard of his Salvation, that all this was true, and brought as a Proof thereof several pretended Revelations and familiar Intercourses with God; which with many Oaths and Imprecations he likewise asserted. And he had the good Fortune to find so much Credit with the Fraternity, that they consider'd him as a special Favourite of God Almighty, and a much greater Prophet, without all doubt, than *Moses* or St. *John Baptist*. Nay, he proceeded so far, as to give broad Signs that he was appointed as a special Prophet to denounce God's Vengeance against such as slighted his Mercy; and foretold, That the Reign of Papacy was at an end, and that *England* this very Year should be afflicted with the three Scourges of Famine, Pestilence, and Sword, unless the Discipline of the Lord (for that was their Cant) and a new Reformation were put in practice. Towards the effecting this, they form'd a Charge of Treason against the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord-Chancellor, (their stiff Opposers) as afterwards appear'd by their Letters, and threaten'd to take them off, if they any way opposed the Schemes of these Novel-Reformers, in the Star-Chamber. They endeavour'd likewise to stir up the Mob to Rebellion, by seditious Papers and Rimes. In which they maintain'd amongst other Positions, That a true Child of Grace, though a mere *Ignoramus*, might lawfully teach Kings their Duty of Governing, and dethrone the Queen to boot, unless she would lend an Hand to their blessed Reformation. It may appear from this one Instance, how inveterate an Enemy *Hacket* was to the Queen's Person and Character, that he used to whisper it about, that she had quitted her Title to the Crown; and in a Rage stuck his Dagger into the Breast of a Picture of hers which was drawn upon a Board. Nor was this any wonder at all, forasmuch as he had now wrought himself into the Belief, that God had put the Empire of *Europe* into his Hands, and that therefore he ought to admit of no Corrival. He likewise made a shift to persuade *Coppinger* and *Arthington* themselves, that they had a more than Prophetical Spirit in them, and were a sort of Angelick Visionarists: They therefore conceiving themselves to be under the influence of a divine Inspiration, instantly paid him all Homage that could be expected for a King that had dropt down from Heaven; and began to foment Rebellion as fast as they could. In *July* they went to a certain Nobleman, and after having offer'd him the first Place of Authority next to the Queen, they presented him with the Description of *Hacket*'s Life and *Arthington*'s Prophecy. But he had something else to do, and so dismiss'd the Men about their business. Some time after they intimated to *Wigginton*, 'That 'our Saviour had appear'd to them the Night 'before, not with the Body which he wears in 'Heaven, but with that ruling Spirit which was 'shed on *Hacket* in a more abundant measure 'than on any other; and that *Hacket* was that 'very Angel who should come before the Approach of the last Day, with his Fan and Crook, 'to separate the Sheep from the Goats: That 'he should likewise beat down Satan, and pull

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'the Kingdom of Antichriſt up by the roots.' They then left *Wigginton*, and went to *Hacket*; before whom, as he ſat upon his Bed, they fell down, and were ſeized with a violent Fit of Devotion. *Hacket* got up, and joined with them in Prayer, earneſtly deſiring, that the Spirit would direct 'em to do every thing to the Glory of God, and ſo went to Bed again. *Arthington* immediately adviſed *Coppinger* to anoint their King with the Holy Ghoſt, in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Coppinger* fell proſtrate, and having with a profound Reverence kiſſed the Floor thrice, approached nearer *Hacket*; who put him back, ſaying, *That he need not be anointed by him, ſince he had an Unction from the Holy Ghoſt already*; to confirm which he began in this Strain: *Do ye my Commandments: Go and declare through the City, that Jeſus Chriſt is come with his Fan in his Hand to judge the World: If any enquire where he is, ſhew them this Place; and if then they will not believe, let them come and kill me if they can: As it is moſt certain that God is in Heaven, ſo 'tis as true Chriſt is come to Judgment.*

As ſoon as he had ſaid this, out they went, and proclaimed all the City over, that Chriſt was come, and what other Fooleries he had given them in Commiſſion; often repeating in a louder Tone, *Repent, Repent*, till they had got as far as *Cheapſide*; where being throng'd by the Multitude, up they got into a Cart; and what by the help of their Memories, and a written Scroll they had for that purpoſe, they proclaim'd aloud, 'That *Hacket* was, by the Spirit of Chriſt, made 'a Partaker of his glorified Nature, and was 'now come with his Fan to plant the Goſpel 'throughout *Europe*, and to ſet up a Form of 'Government and Church-Diſcipline in *England*,' (and pointed withal to his Lodging.) Then they declar'd, 'That they were two Prophets, the 'one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, who 'were given to *Hacket* as Co-adjutors and Fellow-'labourers in ſo important a Work: All which 'they affirm'd upon the Salvation of their Souls 'to be true. They farther declar'd, That *Hacket* 'was the firſt and ſupreme Monarch of the Uni-'verſe, and that all the Princes of *Europe* held 'their Scepters as ſo many Dependants on him; 'and therefore that he alone claim'd an univer-'ſal Obedience; and that as for the Queen, ſhe 'was to be depoſed.' In the ſame place they fell a curſing the Archbiſhop and the Lord-Chancellor, as Enemies to the ſincere Profeſſion of the Goſpel. Hereupon the Throng gathering ſo faſt, that they could not get forward to other Places of the City to make the ſame Oration, and being likewiſe adviſed by ſome of their Friends to withdraw, they fairly return'd to *Hacket's* Lodging.

They are taken.

Being ſome time after apprehended, they carried themſelves with that inſolent Saucineſs before the Magiſtrates and Council, as to refuſe the Civility of their Hats, and to tell them in plain Terms, *that they were above all human Laws*. *Hacket* was afterwards indicted of Treaſon, and confeſſed himſelf guilty; but made his Hearers tremble at the Blaſphemies then utter'd by him. This, 'tis poſſible, he did with a cunning Intention of poſſeſſing the Judges that he was a Madman, whereas his Gravity and compos'd Mien ſhew'd in other reſpects that he was no ſuch Thing. After his Condemnation, he was drawn upon an Hurdle to the Place of greateſt Concourſe in the City, crying out in a moſt dreadful Tone, *Jehova-Meſſias! Jehovah-Meſſias! ſee the Heaven open! behold the Son of the moſt High deſcending to deliver me!* At the Gallows, when he was importuned to acknowledge his Sin againſt God and the Queen, he, like an execrable Wretch, inveigh'd againſt the Queen with a loud and boiſterous Rudeneſs: *O Heavenly God, Almighty Jehovah, Alpha and Omega, Lord of Lords and King of Kings, God everlaſting, Thou knoweſt that I am the true Jehovah whom Thou haſt ſent, ſhew ſome Miracle out of the Clouds to convert theſe Infidels, and deliver me from mine Enemies: But if not*, (I tremble almoſt to repeat it) *I will ſet the Heavens on fire, and with theſe Hands pluck thee from thy Throne:* With a great deal more which he utter'd to the ſame purpoſe, and in the ſame Stile of Blaſphemy. Then turning to the Hangman, who was faſtening the Rope about him, *Thou Baſtard*, ſaid he, *wilt thou hang* Hacket, *thy Sovereign*? Having the Rope about his Neck, he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and, with a frightful Grin, ſaid, *Doſt thou reward me thus, inſtead of giving me a Kingdom? I come to revenge it.*

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Hacket is hang'd and quarter'd.

In the midſt of theſe loud and horrid Blaſphemies, the Halter diſpatch'd him: But the Mob would have had the impious Villain cut down alive; which was afterwards done, his Bowels taken out, and his Body quarter'd, according to Sentence paſſed upon him. Thus does the great Enemy of Mankind cajole thoſe who pretend an outward Sanctity, but are not ſincerely and ſoberly Wiſe and Good. *Coppinger* after this ſtarv'd himſelf to Death in Priſon; and *Arthington*, being reſerv'd for Repentance, ſhew'd it in good earneſt, and wrote a Book to teſtify his Heartineſs therein.

Coppinger ſtarves himſelf. Arthington recants.

Nor were theſe Perſons the only Oppoſers of the Church; but ſeveral others, who had hitherto made fruitleſs Efforts to overturn its Diſcipline, by deriving Slander and Scandal upon the Name and Function of Biſhops, having got ſome Common Lawyers on their ſide, fell to employ their Tongues and Pens in crying down their Authority, and traducing that Power which was given them by the Queen, as illegal and unjuſt. To which purpoſe they put out Pamphlets, complaining, 'That the Eccleſiaſtical Courts exerciſed a kind of Tyranny, contrary to the Laws: 'That the Queen could not by Law grant any 'ſuch Juriſdiction, nor could others fairly exer-'ciſe it, tho' it were granted: That thoſe Courts 'could not impoſe on the Defendant the Oath '*ex officio*, becauſe no Man is obliged to accuſe 'himſelf. That by this Oath Men are con-'ſtrain'd either to condemn themſelves with 'Shame and Loſs of Reputation, or elſe to per-'jure themſelves at the Coſt of their Souls: Be-'ſides, that the only Buſineſs of thoſe Courts was 'to take Cognizance of Marriages and Wills, 'according to the Tenour of that old Writ, *Mandamus Vicecomiti, &c.* i. e. *We command the She-'riffs of our Counties of* S. N. &c. *that they ſuffer 'not any in their Bailiwick to meet in any Places to 'make Recognizance upon Oath, except in Cauſes 'Matrimonial and Teſtamentary.*'

Eccleſiaſtical Courts oppugned.

On the other ſide, the Civilians and Canoniſts maintain'd the Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, 'as lodg'd in her Majeſty by Autho-'rity of Parliament: That to oppoſe this, was 'an Affront to her Royal Prerogative, and an 'Invaſion upon her Right, in oppoſition to the 'Oath of Allegiance: That the Eccleſiaſtical 'Courts may lawfully take Cognizance of other 'Cauſes beſides Matrimonial and Teſtamentary, 'they made out from the Statute of *Circumſpecte 'agatis*, and the Articles of the Clergy of the 'Time of *Edward* I. That the Writ or Law al-'ledg'd, was juſtly to be ſuſpected, becauſe the 'Date was uncertain, and the Stile inconſiſtent, 'for elſewhere it is written, *To make Recogni-'zances, or take Oaths:* As likewiſe, that to make 'Recognizance, does not properly ſignify to 'give in Evidence, or to anſwer in Law; but

'to

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'to confeſs a Debt, or to hold Pleas concerning 'Bills, Bonds, or Debts. That the Oath *Ex officio* in thoſe Courts, as well as in others, has 'been demanded time out of mind, for the Diſ'covery of Simony, Adultery, and other hei'nous Crimes, eſpecially when (to uſe the Law-'Phraſe) *Inſinuatio fuerit clamoſa*, i.e. the Suſpi'cion was loud and violent: And tho' no Man 'be oblig'd to accuſe or betray himſelf, yet when 'common Fame has already made him guilty, 'he is bound to clear and vindicate himſelf if he 'can, foraſmuch as the Penance impoſed is not, 'ſtrictly ſpeaking, of the Nature of a Puniſh'ment, but rather a ſort of Remedy to cure Of'fenders, to prevent Scandal, and to deter others 'by Example, according to that Saying of Scrip'ture, *For thy Souls ſake be not aſham'd to ſpeak 'Truth.* For there is a Confuſion that leads to 'Sin, and there is a kind of Shame, the Iſſue of 'which is Grace and Glory.' But I ſhall not inſiſt farther on this Head, there being ſeveral Tracts to the purpoſe learnedly written on both ſides, by *Richard Coſins*, Doctor of Law, *John Morris*, and *Lancelot Andrews*.

Q. *Eliz.* aſſerts the Churches Right.

The Queen being very ſenſible that their Aim was to wound her Prerogative through the Sides of the Prelacy, quaſh'd all this Violence without any Noiſe or Tumult, and found a way to aſſert the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in ſpight of all its Enemies.

Engliſh wait for the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet.

About this time, *Thomas Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ſecond Son, was waiting, as he had done for ſix Months before, for the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet homeward bound from *America*. During his ſtay at *Flores*, one of the Iſles of *Azores*, the Seamen being moſt of them ſick, (for Soldiers he had none at all;) *Alphonſo Baſſano*, who was ſent out with 53 Ships to convoy home the *American* Fleet, attack'd him ſo unexpectedly, that *Howard* in the Admiral, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Ships, had much ado to get out to Sea. Sir *Richard Greenvil* in the Vice-Admiral, call'd the *Revenge*, as he ſtaid behind to call his Men back out of the Iſland, and out of a raſh piece of Bravery, would not ſuffer them to ſail, was pent in between the Iſland and the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which was divided into four Squadrons; one of which he reſolutely attempted to break through: The *Spaniſh* Admiral, nam'd the *St. Philip*, got to Windward of him, and ply'd hard on one ſide, and three Ships more from other Parts as warmly entertain'd him on the other; the *Spaniards* often boarded him, and were as often beat off and thrown overboard, and fighting the whole Night with freſh Recruits from their Fleet, they loſt a vaſt number of Men. The *Engliſh* now began to want Powder, beſides which their Pikes were broke, all their braveſt Men either killed or wounded, their Maſts ſplit, and their Rigging damaged, the Ship batter'd, with 800 great Shot, and *Greenvil* himſelf wounded, and whilſt the Wound was dreſſing ſhot again a ſecond time, and the Surgeon ſlain by his ſide. By break of day, the Hatches appear'd all over Blood, and the vaſt ſhoal of Carcaſſes, and Men half dead that lay ſcatter'd up and down, preſented a very lamentable Spectacle to thoſe who were left alive. After a Fight of fifteen Hours, *Greenvil*, being now paſt all hopes of Life, order'd the Ship to be ſunk. The Maſter countermanded it, and by conſent of the major part, got into the Boat, and yielded themſelves to the Admiral, on compoſition for their Lives and Liberties. *Greenvil* being now almoſt at his laſt Breath, was convey'd into the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and died within two Days, with high Commendations, even from his Enemies, of his Conduct and Bravery. The Ship was ſurrender'd; but being ſhot through her Keel in ſeveral places, ſhe ſhortly after ſunk in a Storm, with 200 *Spaniards* on board her, and ſo did ſome other Veſſels; ſo that it may be ſaid, the *Revenge* made good its Name, and forc'd the *Spaniards* to pay dear for this new Victory.

The *Revenge* ſinks.

In the mean while *Howard*, depending more on his Courage than Strength, had a great mind to venture into the midſt of the Enemy's Fleet; but ſo far was the Maſter from conſenting to it, that he ſaid he would firſt leap overboard, before the Queen's Ship ſhould be expoſed to ſo palpable an Hazard; nor did the reſt think it proper to fight againſt ſuch apparent Odds and Danger, and with little or no Probability of reſcuing their Friends: For, to venture five Ships againſt fifty three of the Enemy's, beſides the Extravagance of the Action, would, in their opinion, be nothing elſe but to augment the Glory of *Spain*, by weakning *England*, and at the Expence of a great many Lives beſides. However, he and the reſt, eſpecially Sir *Thomas Vavaſor*, (who aſſiſted the *Revenge* for two Hours together) fought bravely as long as they had the Advantage of the Wind, and did all that could be expected from Men of Courage, till the Night parted them.

Spaniſh Ships taken.

The *Engliſh* made themſelves an ample amends for the loſs of the *Revenge*, by taking ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships; in one of which were ſeized about 20000 Indulgences, deſign'd for *America*, and a rich Treaſure beſides; the *Indians*, it ſeems, being forced to purchaſe their Pardons at a yearly Rate, by which the King of *Spain*'s Coffers are filled, and good Griſt carried to the Pope's Mill.

A Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

George Riman, a ſtout and able Seaman, and *James Lancaſter*, made about this time a Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and had the good Fortune to double the *Cape of Good Hope*. At *Cabo Corriente* the Admiral was caſt away, and *Riman* in her; and not long after there was a mighty Thunder-Storm, and four of the Seamen, who were in the other Veſſels, had their Necks ſo diſtorted by the Force of the Lightning, that they inſtantly died, and above ninety were ſtruck blind, and others lame, beſides ſome who were ſeized with horrible Pains, who yet recover'd all of them to a Miracle, and reſolutely kept on their Voyage. At the Iſle of *Comoro*, thirty of them and the Maſter were murder'd by the *Barbarians*, as they ſtopt to take in freſh Water; and at *Zanziber* they winter'd.

The Admiral caſt away.

Towards the Spring, they took ſome *Turkiſh* Veſſels belonging to *Pegu* with wooden Anchors and ſome *Portugueſe* likewiſe laden with Pepper and Rice.

After this, they ſailed to *Zealand*, and ſo to *Nicubar*, an Iſland that abounds in Cinnamon and Diamonds. And finding they had but 33 of their Crew left alive, and that their Proviſion grew ſhort, they ſteer'd their Courſe homewards. At the Iſle of *St. Helen* they got ſome Refreſhment; and leaving that, they were driven to *Trinidada*, where they met with poor Comfort and hungry Entertainment. At laſt they met with *Charles Barbotier*, a *Frenchman*, who gave 'em ſome Relief; but was treated by them not with that Candour and Fairneſs he had reaſon to expect, but as Seamen uſe to do when they are half ſtarv'd and long for Plunder; tho he prov'd at laſt too cunning for them, and prevented their Deſigns. Afterwards, as *Lancaſter* was refreſhing himſelf with ſome of his Men in the Iſland of *Mone*, near *Hiſpaniola*, the Ship was driven away by a Storm, and not above ſeven diſtreſſed Perſons in her, but got home ſafe and very rich, leaving behind them their Companions in great Miſery and Diſtreſs, who afterwards by the Civility of ſome *Frenchmen*

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Frenchmen were brought home, and had the Reputation of being the first that taught their Countrymen the Method of Trading in the *East-Indies.*

Cavendish's Voyage to the Straits of Magellan.

In the mean time *Thomas Cavendish* having sailed round the Globe, and returned home with Honour *Ann.* 1578, undertook this Year a Voyage to the Strait of *Magellan*, which not being able to pass by reason of bad Weather, and contrary Winds, he was driven back to the Coast of *Brazil*, and there died an untimely Death, taxing *John Davies* with his last Breath for having basely deserted him.

His death.

The War now growing hot, there was issued a Proclamation, forbidding any Person, upon pain of Treason, to carry Grain, Ammunition, or any kind of Naval Stores, into the King of *Spain's* Dominions: And this Reason was alledg'd, *That he, being the declar'd Enemy of* England, *had refused to ratify the ancient Treaties between their Predecessors.*

And forasmuch as *English* Priests began about this time to convey themselves privately into *England* from the Popish Seminaries abroad, in greater Clusters than they used formerly, (the *Spanish* King having lately founded an *English* Cloister at *Valladolid*) and endeavour'd to bring off the Queen's Subjects from their Allegiance, and draw 'em over to the *Spaniards* Party: There was publish'd a Proclamation in *October*, *That no Man should harbour any Person whatever, except he first enquir'd who he was, whether he frequented the Service of the Church, what Estate he lived upon, where he resided the Year before*, and other Circumstances of the like kind. *That whoever could not readily answer these Queries, should be sent to the Justices of Peace appointed in every County, that so the Government might suffer no Prejudice.*

A Proclamation against Seminaries.

This Proclamation being somewhat harsh and severe, occasion'd the Papists to put out several Pamphlets full of biting Reflections upon the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, as the supposed Author thereof. In which, however, they bestow'd high Commendations on Sir *Christopher Hatton*, as a Person better affected to their Interest, and who was of opinion, that Religion was not to be propagated by Fire and Sword: But it pleased God that he died of a *Diabetes* the very day before this Proclamation was put out; and 'twas thought his Distemper was heightned by the Regret he conceiv'd at the Queen's demanding from him a large Sum of Money in consideration of the Tenths and First-Fruits of which he had the Management; which Sum he hop'd would be remitted, as he was so great a Favourite with her Majesty: But when she had once sunk his Spirits by an unkind Expression, all that she could do by Visits or any other Methods to raise them again, was to no purpose. He was born of a Family in *Northamptonshire* more Ancient than Rich. And being a young Gentleman, tall, handsome and well-shap'd, he so wrought himself into the Affections of Queen *Elizabeth*, that she made him one of her Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, which were fifty in number; and afterwards, for his modest and courteous Behaviour, she admitted him a Gentleman of her Privy-Chamber, made him Captain of her Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, and one of her Privy-Council, and, to crown her Favours, made him in the last place Lord-Chancellor of *England*, and Knight of the Garter.

The death of Chancellor Hatton.

He was a Person pious and charitable, a great Patron of Learning and good Sense, and for that reason chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. And he was one that managed that weighty Post of Lord-Chancellor with that Equity and Clearness of Principle, as to be able to satisfy his Conscience, and the World too. His Funeral was solemnized with a due and decent Magnificence in St. *Paul's*, and *William Newport*, his Nephew by his Sister, whom he had adopted his Heir, by the Name of *Hatton*, erected a stately Monument for him.

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The Great Seal was for some time lodged in the Hands of the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *Buckhurst*, and some time after deliver'd to *John Puckering*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, tho' not with the Title of Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Puckering made L. Keeper of the Great Seal.

Now came on the Trial of *Brian O-Rork* in *Westminster-Hall*. He was a powerful Lord of *Brenny* in *Ireland*, very much in the *Spanish* Interest, and was the last Year deliver'd by the King of *Scots*, and sent into *England*, as I said before. 'He was impeached for having stirred up *Alexander Mac-Conel* and others against the Queen: For ordering her Majesty's Picture to be hung at an Horse's Tail, and carried about the Streets in Contempt, and at last cut in pieces: That he had shelter'd in his House several *Spaniards* that were Shipwreck'd, contrary to the Lord-Deputy's Proclamation: That he had set his Instruments to burn down the Houses of several of the Queen's good Subjects, and had murder'd others; and had made an Offer of *Ireland* to the King of *Scots*.' When this Indictment was explain'd to him by an Interpreter, (for he did not understand *English*) he was so strangely insolent, as to refuse submitting himself to a Trial by twelve Men, unless a longer time were allow'd him, and good Council also appointed him. And he demanded likewise, that the Impeachments sent out of *Ireland*, might be deliver'd into his Hands, and the Queen herself manage the Trial in Person. When the Lord-Chief-Justice had answer'd him by an Interpreter, 'That if he refused in plain Terms to take his Trial by a Jury of twelve Men, they were obliged however, by the Laws of *England*, to bring in their Verdict according to the Articles of the Indictment;' he made no other Answer than this, *That they might even do as they pleased*. Sentence of Death being passed upon him, he suffer'd as a Traitor some Days after at *Tyburn*, without the least touch of Remorse for his Crime, but ridiculed *Meilery Creah*, Archbishop of *Cassils*, (who ministred Advice and Comfort to him in the *Irish* Tongue) and charged him as a Man of unsteddy Principles and a leud Life, calling him a kind of Apostate from the *Franciscan* Order.

O-Rork's Trial.

Hang'd.

This Year her Majesty (to her immortal Honour) founded a College at *Dublin*, the Metropolis of *Ireland*, and dedicated it to the Holy and Undivided Trinity; for the Advancement of Learning. 'Twas built in the very same Place where the Monastery of *All-Saints* stood formerly, and endow'd with the usual Privileges belonging to Universities; of Teaching, Reading, and Conferring Honorary Titles or Degrees upon Men of Learning; (the same thing that the Pope had done for this Place, about the Year 1320.) This the Queen did, to propagate Piety and good Manners through the whole Island, and to ease the Inhabitants of a great Expence in sending their Children to a great Distance, for the Advantage of Education.

An University erected at Dublin.

Not long before this, *Hugh O-Donell*, whom Sir *John Perott*, the Lord-Deputy, had secur'd on board a Ship, and afterwards confin'd in the Castle of *Dublin*, to prevent his raising any new Commotions; got out of Prison, and sent the Lord-Deputy word, that his Father had con-

sign'd

1591. *Ann.* 34. fign'd to him the Authority of *O-Donel*, viz. the Government of *Tir-Conell*: And from that Inftant he began to rebel in *Ireland*, as *Bothwel* did in *Scotland*. Of whom it may not be amifs to add a Word or two, (tho' it may feem a Digreffion, to meddle with the Affairs of *Scotland*) becaufe thefe Matters are fo link'd and twifted with the Tranfactions here at home, that they will give Light to the following Hiftory, which would otherwife appear more difficult and perplexed.

O-Donel rebels in Ireland.

Bothwel having been charged with dealing in Witchcraft, had now broke out of Prifon, and maintaining a moft implacable Hatred againft *Maitland*, the Lord-Chancellor, whom he fufpected as the principal Party in his Impeachment; and having a mind likewife to get both him and the King into his power, about the end of *December* he broke into the King's Palace at *Edinburgh*, and with a Party of *Englifh* and *Scotch* Borderers, attempted to force open the Queen's Chamber, to fire the King's Lodgings, and to feize upon the Lord-Chancellor's Houfe, all at the fame time: But he was foon repulfed and put to flight by the Citizens that gather'd together upon this Occafion. Some of his Followers were hanged for their pains, and the Hammer was fix'd to the Queen's Chamber-door in remembrance of the Fact.

1592. *The Five and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.*

Bothwel proclaimed a Traitor.

The beginning of this Year, the King by Proclamation declar'd, 'That *Bothwel* was the Author of this bold and dangerous Attempt: That he was moreover fo entirely abandon'd to Vice, and loft to all fenfe of Vertue, as through an infolent Pride to trample on the Laws of God and Man: That fince his return from *Italy*, he had been at the bottom of all Commotions, whether he were directly concern'd in 'em or not: That he had barbaroufly murder'd *David Humes*, and receiv'd his Pardon for that Crime; but that he now defied the Laws, and feemed to take Sanctuary in repeated Villanies; and fo much the more, becaufe an *Italian* Wizard had told him, That he was in danger of receiving a juft Fate from the Anger of his provok'd Prince: That his Apprehenfions grew upon him after the Murder of *William Stuart* of *Achiltre*, the King's Servant: That from that time he began to herd with a Gang of loofe and profligate Fellows, as bad as himfelf: That he confpir'd with the Pope and the *Spanifh* King to ruin both Kingdoms: That he afterwards join'd with thofe, who out of a private Grudge had taken up Arms againft fome Courtiers, at *Deebridge*, a Place far diftant from the Court: That as foon as the King began his March, they threw down their Arms; but that he himfelf encamp'd near *Edinburgh*, the King's Refidence, intercepted feveral Perfons, and did not withdraw till the King was in the Field juft ready to engage him: That not long after, he applied himfelf to the Black Art, and confulted with Necromancers and Witches, how to take the King off when he was in *Denmark*, out of a Confcioufnefs of his Guilt, and the Hopes he had conceiv'd of efcaping fcot-free, and fecuring the Crown to himfelf: That being hereupon caft into Prifon, and juft upon his Enlargement on certain Terms and Conditions, his Confcience ftung him to that degree, that he broke the Prifon, and getting together a Gang of defperate *Debauchées*, attack'd the King's Palace with no other Defign than to tyrannize with more Security when he had murder'd the King's Perfon, and in him the Laws of the Land: That he made a very ftrict Search for the King, fet his Chamber-door on fire, attempted to force open the Queen's Lodgings with an Hammer, flew fome of the King's Servants, and wounded others, and all this out of pure Malice to the King. The King therefore commanded, that no Man fhould harbour or relieve him or his Accomplices, upon fuch Pains and Penalties as are allotted to the Receivers and Harbourers of Traitors.' 1592. *Ann.* 35.

I fhall refer it to the *Scottifh* Hiftory, which is chiefly concern'd in the Relation, to give an Account of the Earl of *Huntley*'s purfuing him, authoriz'd by this Proclamation, and the Chancellor's Inftigation; how he affaulted *Murray*'s Houfe, who had conceal'd *Bothwel*; how *Murray* was flain, and *Huntley* imprifon'd for the Fact, and in a fhort time bail'd out on Security given for his Appearance at his Trial; of his Return home afterwards, and the infolent and rude Treatment he there met with from the *Clan-Hattons* and *Murray*'s Friends, who feemed refolved upon a Revenge. However, it will be of ufe in purfuing the Thread of our *Englifh* Hiftory to touch upon the following Particulars.

Bothwel having got together a loofe Gang of Fellows from the Borders, and out of *England*, where he had for fome time skulked, returned into *Scotland*, and once more outraged the King, in the Month of *June*, at his Houfe at *Falkland*, but with the fame Succefs as before: For no fooner did the Courtiers oppofe him, but he fled into *England* as faft as his Fears could drive him. The Chancellor however was removed from Court upon his Friends Sollicitations. In the mean while, the Jefuits were every where very induftrious with the Nobles to advance the Romifh Intereft: And the Clergy at the fame time, for the Defence and Prefervation of their Religion, prefer'd a Bill in Parliament, 'To have all thofe excommunicated who refufed to join in the Service of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and if they continued obftinate the fpace of a Year, that their Lands and Chattels fhould be forfeited during their Lives.'

He molefts the Court again.

Amongft the excommunicated Party was one *George Kerr*, a Doctor of Law, who defigning before the Year's end to travel into *Spain*, was fo clofely and briskly purfued by the Clergy, that they took him juft as he was ready to go on board; and in their Search of his Things they found feveral Blanks, fome in the Form of Letters Miffive directed to the King of *Spain*, others relating to private Leagues, and every one of them fubfcribed and figned with the Names and Seals of *William* Earl of *Angus*, *George* Earl of *Huntley*, *Francis* Earl of *Aroll*, and *Patrick Gourdon* of *Achindon*: But thefe Circumftances will be better left to the *Scotch* Writers, who are more fully acquainted with them.

'Tis now time to return to the Affairs of *England*; for never was *Ireland* in a more compofed State. However a very exact Enquiry was made all the Ifland over into the Life and Morals of Sir *John Perrot*, the late Lord-Deputy, who was chofe one of the Queen's Privy-Council for the faithful and honourable Difcharge of his Truft there. But the Lord-Chancellor *Hatton*, who had a Creature of his own to prefer, and other of *Perrot*'s Enemies at Court, fpared no pains to get him out of his Place, under pretence of his being a very proud Man; and fo far the matter went, that having got one or two *Irifh* Evidences to inform againft him, he was brought to his Trial in *April*, tho' the Lord *Hatton* was dead, and *Burleigh* ufed all poffible means to prevent it. The Commiffioners were *Henry* Lord *Hunfdon*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurft*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, the Lord *Burleigh*'s

An Enquiry after Sir John Perrot's Life.

His Trial.

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Burleigh's Son, (who being a Gentleman of promising Parts, was of late an Assistant to his Father in State-Matters, and made a Privy-Counsellor) besides Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and some other Justices.

His Charge,

He was impeach'd, in the first place, 'for having abused the Queen's Person, by contumelious Expressions; saying, that she was illegitimate, inquisitive, and faint-hearted: That she was no Lover of Soldiers, and had hindred him from reducing *Ulster*; and that one time or other she would want his Assistance. Secondly, That he had fostered and relieved Popish Priests, and notorious Traitors. Thirdly, That he had held private Correspondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen's Enemies. Fourthly, That he had fomented the Commotions raised by *O-Rorke*, and those of the Clan of *Burgh*.'

and Answer.

He did not deny, but that he had thrown out some reflecting Words upon the Queen's Person, but alledged that those Expressions proceeded not from Want of a just Regard for the Queen. He professed himself to be very much concerned, that through an indiscreet Passion he should ever let fall such Expressions; the Occasion of which was, his being hindred from carrying on the good Designs he had begun in *Ireland*. As for the rest of the Charge, it being neither made out by clear Proof, nor competent Witnesses, he got clear of it, as a Person no ways deserving the Character of being a Friend to Popery.

Amongst the Witnesses that appeared against him, was *Philip Williams*, formerly his Secretary; *Dionyse O-Roghan*, an *Irish* married Priest, to whom he had given a Pardon for Life, after having counterfeited his Hand, in hopes of discovering the Practices of the Priests through his means; and last of all, *Walton*, a Man of stain'd Reputation. After he had maintained stoutly his own Charge against *Popham*, the Queen's Attorney, and the other Council, till Eleven at Night; he was by the Jury brought in guilty of Treason: But the Sentence of Death was deferred till another day; which it being absolutely necessary to pass in Form of Law, at the Instigation of his Enemies, it was pronounced about twenty days after; and a Report went, that *Burleigh* shed Tears at the same time, for the unhappy Fate of that Gentleman, and said, with a Sigh, *That the more unjust any Man's Malice is, so much the more keen and barbarous 'tis of course.* *O-Roghan* the Priest had a Pension of 40 *l. per ann.* assign'd him. As

Perrot dies in the Tower.

for *Perrot*, he fell sick in the Tower, and died in *September*; when he had hopes of Life, through the Queen's Clemency, who was now appeased. Hereupon she was often heard to applaud that Rescript of *Theodosius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*; *If any Person speak ill of the Emperor, through a foolish Rashness and Inadvertency, it is to be despised; if out of Madness, it deserves Pity; if from Malice and Aversion, it calls for Mercy.*

His Estate went, by the Queen's Favour, (as he had formerly settled it) to his Son, who married the Earl of *Essex*'s Sister. Thus did a Gentleman, otherwise very well deserving, occasion his own Ruin, by the ill Management of his Tongue. For sure it is, that reflecting Speeches cannot but leave a scurvy Tincture of Resentment on the Minds of Princes.

We have formerly observed, that the *French* King encamped the last Year, when cold Weather came on, against *Rouen*, with the *English* Auxiliaries under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*; and there he wintered, inconveniently enough, with the small Forces he had. On the Approach of the Spring, when the King had pretty well fatigued himself with the Hardships of a Winter-Siege, and finding himself not strong enough to take so well fortified a City; he forbore making any nearer Approaches, (tho' he had a Supply of 2000 fresh Men from *England*) and made no farther Attempts: Nor would he listen to *Essex*, who being led on by a Desire of Glory, undertook to make a Breach, and enter the City with the *English* Forces. (But the Truth is, the *French* were too cautious a People to expose a wealthy City, which they hoped in a short time to get into their own Hands, to be plundered by those of the *English*.) *Essex* despairing now of doing any great Feats, after he had (to no purpose) sent a Challenge to *Villars*, the Governour of *Rouen* to fight him singly; left the Care of his Men to Sir *Roger Williams*, and took leave of the *French*

Essex returns out of France.

King, in order to return for *England*. For the Queen called him home, and his Friends acquainted him, that his Enemies at Court had possessed the Queen against him, and made their Advantage of his Absence. Within a few Days after,

Fr. King quits the Siege of Rouen.

the *French* King himself was forced to break up this tedious Siege; his Men daily revolting from him, the Enemy making frequent Sallies, and the Prince of *Parma* being just ready to attack him: Wherefore he left some of his Forces in the Camp, and returned with the rest to *Diep*. The Prince of *Parma* was now a second time invited into *France*, by those of the Association; and he and his Son *Rainutio* brought an Army thither once more; and making a Feint, as if he designed the Relief of the Garrison of *Chaumert*, they took *Chasteau-Neuf*. After this he had good Success in a small Skirmish with the King's Horse at *Aumarle*, which animated the People of *Rouen* to that degree, that they made a Sally, fell on the King's Camp, and seized his Ordnance. *Parma* returned after this to *Abbeville*, as if with an Intention to go home; and the King supposing he had been gone, and being straiten'd for Provisions, brake up the Siege, and disbanded a great part of his Army: But the Prince of *Parma*, just nicking the Opportunity, carried on his Design with new Supplies, took *Caudebeck*, and open'd the River *Seine*, for a Conveyance of Provisions to the City, which was now half famished. His Entrance into *Rouen* flushed and hardened the Rebels; but being too politick a Soldier to engage

Parma returns.

the Enemy, he soon returned home, with the Loss of his Health, and a great Number of Men. How

English Valour.

bravely the *English* behaved themselves on this Occasion, when the Van of the Leaguers Army were beat out of their Trenches, and routed at *Tuccourt*, the King himself was pleased to take notice, in some Letters to the Queen, dated from *Viccara-ville*; wherein he applauded Sir *Roger Williams*, as a second *Cæsar*, and bestowed great Commendations on Sir *Matthew Morgan*.

The King being almost crush'd with the weight of so tedious a War, was forced to apply once more to the Queen for fresh Recruits of Provision and 6000 Men, for the *British* Service. She a-

Succours sent again to the French.

greed to furnish him with 4000, besides some Pieces of Ordnance; and hereupon entred into a Contract with *Bevoir Noclé*, and *Sancy*, who were sent as Deputies from the King. The Conditions were; 'That the King should neither make Peace with the Associators, unless they first submitted themselves, and joined with him in driving the *Spaniards* out of *France*; nor with the *Spaniards*, unless with her Consent: That he should put into the Hands of the *English*, whilst they were employed in *Bretagne*, a fortified Town, and some Haven for a Retreat: That he should add of his own 4000 Foot, and 1000 Horse: That he should in a Year's time repay the Charges of transporting the Forces, and all the Money which went to pay the Soldiers;

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'diers; and that this Contract should be recorded in the Chamber of Accounts.' Hereupon Norris, who had been call'd home to inform the Queen of the State of things in Bretagne, was sent again thither in October: Where the French not joining with him, according to Promise, but instead of that, sending him from thence from place to place, and ordering his Forces into La-Main and Normandy; (whilst the Spaniards in the mean time fortify'd themselves in Bretagne.) The Queen resented it very highly, and often demanded the Performance of Conditions; tho' to no purpose. And she had probably call'd her Men home, but that she was certainly inform'd, that the Prince of Parma had a Design of making a third Expedition into France, with Recruits for the Spanish Army in Bretagne, and in order to secure the Sea-Ports there.

Who break the conditions.

But during his Preparations for this Descent, he was taken away by Death, having been fourteen Years the King of Spain's Vice-Roy in the Government of the Netherlands. He was a Prince that had all the Accomplishments fit for a General, and had deserv'd the highest Love and Respect, even from his Enemies. Queen Elizabeth never named him but with great Regard and Commendation; but yet with so prudent a Reserve, that her Praises might no way turn to his Prejudice.

Death of the Prince of Parma.

The Queen, in the mean time, who knew very well, that the King of Spain advanced his Arms, not so much by the Strength of his Country, as the Advantage of the American Gold, which let him into the Cabinets of Princes, debauch'd their Councils, and stole away the Honesty of their Subjects; resolv'd to send Sir Walter Raleigh into America, with 15 Men of War, to seize on Panama, whither the Gold is brought, to be put on board; or else to intercept the Spanish Fleet. But having the ill Fortune to be detain'd in Port, for three Months together, by contrary Winds, he set sail a little too late: Having pass'd Cape Finisbre, or the Land's-End, he receiv'd a most certain Account, that the King of Spain had given positive Orders, that not a Ship should sail from America this Year. Shortly after, the English Fleet was separated by a violent Storm, and they lost their Long-boats; so that his Project was quash'd: and he, designing to return, divided his Fleet into two Squadrons; one of which he entrusted to Sir John Borroughs's second Son, and the other to Sir Martin Forbisher. He order'd Sir Martin to cruize upon the Coasts of Spain, and to prevent any Ships from coming into Harbour: And he commanded Sir John Borroughs to wait at the Azores, to surprize the Caracks that came from the East-Indies. And this Attempt was not altogether without Success; for the Spanish Admiral was most intent upon Forbisher, and neglected the Safety of the Caracks. Borroughs, besides that he took some small Vessels from the Spaniards, and escaped a very notable Danger, by his Conduct and Courage, being hemm'd in between the Spanish Shoar and the Enemy's Fleet; arrived safely at Sancta Cruce, a small Town in the Isle of Flores; and in a few days got Sight of a Spanish Carack, which was chased by three English Ships, under Command of the Earl of Cumberland, and very likely to fall into their Hands, but that they were becalm'd and could not come up with her: A Storm, however, arose in the Night, which obliged both the English and Portuguese to weigh Anchor. At break of day, the English observ'd, that the Portuguese were unlading the Carack in a great Hurry, at the Flores; and upon the Approach of the English they immediately set her on fire. Borroughs being inform'd by one or two Prisoners he had taken, that there were other larger Caracks behind, ranged what Ships he had for two Leagues together, near the Island, and spread them to such a Latitude, as that they could easily discern whatever was around them, at a great Distance. They had not tarry'd long, before a large Carack, call'd the Mother of God, which was 165 Foot from Stem to Stern, and a seven-deck'd Ship, came in Sight, most richly laden, and with 600 Men on board.

Raleigh sent into America.

Design fails.

Boroughs chases a Spanish Carack.

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The English play'd furiously upon her with their great Guns, and fired in Broad-sides upon her, being animated with the Hopes of a considerable Prize: But they soon sheer'd off again, being something surpriz'd at the Talness of the Ship, and the Number of Men to defend her; till Sir Robert Cross laid the Queen's Ship, call'd the Providence, athwart her Stern, and stood the Brunt singly for three Hours together: After which, the other Ships ply'd her so warmly, especially at the Stern, that no Man had the Courage to stand at the Helm any longer. The first that boarded her was Cross himself, follow'd by several others. The Victory obtain'd, they found every Place full of slaughter'd Bodies, and a confused Heap of dead and dying Men, which with the maim'd and wounded, who lay every where scatter'd up and down, made a very lamentable Spectacle: So that the very Sight inclined them to use their Success with Clemency and Moderation. The Prize, when 'twas brought home, was valued (on Report) at 150000 *l.* Sterling; besides what the Officers and Seamen had pilfer'd and got into their own Clutches. But although Commissioners were appointed to make strict Search after the Men and Goods, as having stoln the Custom; and a Proclamation was issu'd out, as several others had been before, that they should produce the Goods they had purloin'd or convey'd away, upon pain of being prosecuted as Thieves and Pirates; yet did they manage the Roguery too dexterously for the Commissioners Care, or the Rigour of the Proclamation to lay any hold upon 'em; for they forswore the Fact, and that secured them. And they were observ'd to say, *That they had rather trust a merciful God with their Souls, tho' stain'd with Perjury; than venture their Money, which they had got with so much Danger and Pains, into the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

Takes another.

Some of the Booty imbezeled.

Nor was the Dishonesty of some particular Merchants less infamous, who, upon the breaking out of a dangerous War between Spain and England, (tho' not yet declared) privately furnish'd the Spaniards with Brass and Iron Guns for their Shipping; which the Queen being made sensible of, prohibited the Exportation of them, under such Penalties, as are due to those who aid and assist the Enemies of their Country; and withal, she forbad the Iron workers from that time forward to cast any Ordnance bigger than those we call Minions. and those not above sixteen thousand Pound Weight.

Merchants send Guns to Spain.

The Queen, in her Summer Progress, pass'd through Oxford, and stay'd there several days; where she was agreeably entertain'd with elegant Speeches, Plays, and Disputations; and receiv'd a splendid Treat from the Lord Buckhurst, Chancellor of the University. At her Departure she took her leave of them in a Latin Oration, whereby she let them know, that she prefer'd the sincere and cordial Respects of that learned Body, to all their Entertainments; tho' they too were very acceptable to her. She return'd 'em abundance of Thanks for their Civility, made a short Prayer, and left some good Advice with them. Her Prayer was, that as she desired nothing more earnestly, than the Safety, Honour and Happiness of the whole Kingdom; so, that the University (which

Q. visits Oxford

(which was one of the Lights thereof) might
1592. flourish and rise up every day to a greater Lu-
Ann. 35. stre: Then for her Advice, it was this, that they would in the first place be careful to serve God, not with the novel and fantastical Devotion practis'd by some, but according to the Laws of God and the Land: That they would not outrun the Laws, but follow them; nor dispute the Fitness and Authority of them; but sincerely obey those that were in Force, and submit to their Superiours: And, in the last place, that they would preserve Peace, Union and good Agreement among themselves.

There was both this Summer, and the last, so great a Drought all *England* over; that the Fields were burnt, and the Fountains dry'd up, and a great many Beasts perish'd every where for want of Water. The *Thames* likewise, the noblest River of all *Britain*, and which has as full and large a Tide as any in *Europe*, (for it flows twice a day above 60 Miles from the Mouth of it, and receives an Increase from the Mixture of many other Streams and Rivers with it) was however sunk to that degree, (to the Wonder of all Men) on the 5th of *September*; that a Man might ride over it near *London*-Bridge; so shallow was the Channel. Whether this Effect was owing to that Drought, or the Violence of a strong South-West Wind, which blew hard for two Days together, and so drove the fresh Waters upwards, and kept back the Sea Tide at the same time, I cannot determine; especially the Moon being then at the Full, and Southerly, and the Sun near the Equinoctial; at which Season Seamen have remark'd, that there are the highest Tides in the River *Thames*. Some there were, who maintain'd from Philosophy, that this was occasion'd by some occult Quality in Nature; and affirm'd, 'That as a Quartan Ague returns precisely at its Hour, as the Gout observes its Time, as a Purgation keeps a stated Period, unless some Impediment be in the Way; and as the *Fœtus* is ripe at its Month; so have the Waters certain Spaces and Distances for their ebbing and flowing: But some being lesser than others, are therefore the more easily observ'd; though the greater are no less certain than the other. Nor is this to be wonder'd at, when we see, the whole Order and Course of Nature turns, upon set and determinate Seasons. The Winter has never yet miscarry'd, and the Summer-Heat has return'd in its Season: The Spring and Fall succeed one another as they us'd to do; and the Solstice and Equinoctial keep their exact Times and Measures. There are likewise some Laws and Periods in the subterranean World; which tho' we know little of, yet are they as fix'd as the Center of it. We may easily conceive, that the same Cause which governs the visible Earth, is observ'd in Proportion, in the Regions beneath it.'

Thames very low.

A Guess at its Cause.

L. Montacute dies.

This Year died *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, (Son of *Anthony*, Master of the Queen's Horse, and Standard-Bearer of *England*) whom Queen *Mary* honour'd with this Title, because his Grand-mother was the Daughter and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquess *Montacute*. She likewise made him Knight of the Garter, and sent him to *Rome*, with some other Gentlemen, to tender Obedience to that See, in the Name and Behalf of the whole Kingdom. Queen *Elizabeth* having experienced his Loyalty, had a great Esteem for him, (tho' he was a stiff Romanist) and pay'd him a Visit some time before his Death: For she was sensible that his Regard for that Religion, was owing to his Cradle and Education, and proceeded rather from Principle, than Faction, as some People's Faith did. He was succeeded by *Anthony*, his Grand-son, who very commendably follow'd the good Example 1592.
set him by his Grand-father. Ann. 35.

As does L. Scrope.

About the same time died *Henry* Lord *Scrope*, of *Bolton*, who was likewise Knight of the Garter, and Warden of the West-March towards *Scotland*; a Person whom I have made frequent Mention of. He left for his Successor his Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Margaret Howard*, Sister to *Thomas*, the last Duke of *Norfolk*.

Nor must we forget Sir *Christopher Wray*, Lord Chief-Justice of the Queen's-Bench; a Person mention'd more than once already, and whose Memory is valuable upon the account of that profound Knowledge he had in the Law; as well as for the Probity of his Life and Actions. He was happy in his Family, and was a great Benefactor to *Magdalen*-College in *Cambridge*. He was succeeded in his Office by *John Popham*, the Queen's Attorney; a Person of a bitter Temper and censorious Disposition.

The Six and thirtieth Year of her Reign. 1593.

A Parliament meets.

In *February* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and made several good Laws, to restrain Dissenters, and Popish Recusants, denying themselves, and dissuading others from holding Communion with the Church of *England*; concerning the Revenues of Monasteries and other religious Houses granted to *Hen.* VIII. the Relief and Maintenance of Soldiers and Seamen; the not Building of any Houses, within three Miles of the City of *London*; and several other Matters. And when they had closely debated and weigh'd (as the Acts of Parliament themselves declare) how earnestly bent the Enemies of our Constitution were, upon the Ruin of *England*; having already subdu'd our confederated Forces in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*, and seiz'd on all the Places that lay convenient for annoying *England*: they thought it proper to provide necessary Supplies to divert this impending Danger. Then, after bestowing large Encomiums upon the prudent and wise Conduct of a Maiden-Queen, temper'd with that affectionate Care and Regard for her Subjects; who had disburs'd so vast a Supply from her own Treasury, to carry on a War (with good and happy Success) against an opulent and potent Enemy; as none of her Ancestors had ever done before: and all this, without any burdensome Grants from her People; tho' she had occasion not only to act on the Defensive, but to assist and support her Allies: On this account, the Clergy freely and chearfully consented to advance two entire Subsidies, and the Laity three; together with six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid at a certain time or Date. But they humbly requested withal, That forasmuch as those Acts were to be kept upon Record, a *Caveat* might be enter'd in express Terms, that these large and unusual Grants, which were made to a most excellent Princess, on a most pressing and extraordinary occasion, might not at any time hereafter be drawn into a Precedent. The Queen coming into the House on the last Day of the Session, to give her Royal Assent and Confirmation to the Laws that were made; after a solemn Profession of her Love to her People, was pleas'd to make this Protestation, in the first place: 'That her first Care and Concern had ever been for the Advancement of God's Glory, and that of the Publick; and that she had apply'd her constant Endeavours to this end.' She then represented, in a very few Words, but full of Weight and Sense, 'how free she had always been from Abjectness or Despondency of Spirit, since having God and a good Conscience

Queen's Speech to them.

'for

1592. *Ann.* 36.

'for her Security, she knew not how to fear 'the most powerful Enemies that could assault 'her.' After this, to encourage her Subjects, she said a great deal of the Bravery of the *English*; and among other things, 'That their E'nemies knew to their Cost, that the *English* Na'tion are embolden'd by a kind of Native Cou'rage, to look Danger in the Face; as they had 'often prov'd, if they would not disguise the 'Matter; and would hereafter have occasion to 'do, to the still greater Advance of the *English* 'Glory and Honour. Let the *English* only look 'about them, and not suffer themselves to be 'surprized; and their Enemies would soon per'ceive, that it would cost them dear, to pro'voke a Nation so able to revenge its own Cause.' She concluded with her Thanks for the Supplies of Money they had granted, and promis'd to employ all her Thoughts upon Religion, and the Care of her People*.

* *See the Appendix.*

Barrow the great Sectary executed.

How just she was to the first Part of her Promise, the Care of Religion, you may learn from the Church-History of that time, in the Punishment she inflicted on *Henry Barrow* and his Followers, who began to disturb the Peace of the Church, by advancing monstrous Opinions, crying down the Church of *England*, and lessening the Queen's Prerogative in Matters Spiritual: And how well she acquitted herself as to the Civil State, will appear from what follows.

The Queen took no less Pains to weaken and divert the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of *Bretagne* in *France*, than she did to keep them off from *Scotland*; being very much afraid, lest the Confusions which were on foot in that Kingdom, might open a Gap, to let in the *Spaniards*, to the absolute Destruction both of that and *England*. For she had not long since receiv'd most certain Intelligence, as I hinted before, that the Catholick Noblemen in *Scotland* had, by the Help of the Priests, conspired to let the *Spaniards* into *Scotland*, to change the Face of Religion there, and to invade *England* from that Quarter; and that *Creighton* the Jesuite, who was, by reason of his great Age, enlarged from his Confinement, upon giving his solemn Word, that he would attempt nothing against *England*, was, for that purpose, frequently dispatch'd into *Holland* and *Spain*.

Queen's Care of Scotland.

The Queen likewise readily foresaw, what an easie matter it would be, to debauch the common sort of People in the West of *Scotland*, being generally poor and indigent, by some round Offers of *Spanish* Gold. She likewise reflected what convenient Sea-ports they had in those Parts, from whence they might land their Forces without the least Opposition; what a warlike Nation it was, and how well provided with Cavalry; and how easily they might enter *England* from thence, as it were by a Back-door: Add to all this, that those of the *English*, who lie in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, were a sort of fickle and unsteady Subjects; most of them either Papists, or true Lovers of Change and Novelty, that subsisted upon bare Hope and Prospect: And then again, that the Assailants are generally more active and couragious, than those who are put upon the Defensive; because they seem to be reduced to the Cast of a Die, whether their Estates shall be their own, or not.

She sends to the K.

The Queen therefore communicates all this to the King of *Scots*, and advises him to crush betimes the Power of those *Scottish* Nobles; to exercise his Royal Authority upon his seditious Subjects, and not shew himself as it were the Shadow of a King. He, for his part, was very well prepared to follow this Advice, and put out very severe Laws against the Catholicks and their Abettors, punish'd *David Graham* of *Fentre*, one of the Association, and pursu'd and easily routed the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, and *Arrol*. In the mean while, *Bothwell* lay skulking in *England*, and sent fawning Letters to the Queen, (whose Favour he had very little deserv'd) back'd with large Promises, that were he once more re-admitted into his Prince's Favour, he would serve him most faithfully, and do his best to crush the *Spanish* Faction in *Scotland*: Wherefore he humbly intreated the Queen to mediate with the King his Master, for his Pardon. But she finding that the King very much stomach'd his being receiv'd in *England*, was so far incens'd at the Impudence of the Man, for daring to assault his Prince, God's Image and Vice-gerent, and to bring him into daily Fears and Apprehensions; that she sent the Lord *Borough* Ambassador into *Scotland*, to assure the King, in her Majesty's Name, that *Bothwell* had clandestinely stoln into *England*, and that she would certainly punish those that harbour'd or reliev'd him. His Commission was likewise to inflame the King yet further against the *Spanish* Faction, and to set up an opposite Association of Protestants in *Scotland*, for the Preservation of the King's Person, and the joint Defence of the Religion of the Kingdom, against all foreign and seditious Attempts whatever: And this Association was enter'd into in a very short time after. Upon the King's Return from the North, the Lord *Borough* requested this of him in Writing: 'That he would please to certify the 'Queen of any Attempts or Designs the *Spa*'*nish* Faction might have upon *England*, and that 'he would be so just to protect the Crown from 'any Usurpations upon it: That if he could not 'do Justice on the Persons of those Traitors, he 'would at least confiscate their Estates: That 'he would admit none to his Council, but Per'sons of known and experienced Loyalty; and 'that he would inform the Queen of all these 'Particulars, under his own Hand, to make it 'appear to her and other Princes of the same 'Perswasion, what Care he had taken to oppose 'the common Enemy: And in the last place, 'that he would listen to an Accomodation with 'the Borderers.' If he would consent to these Terms, he promis'd, that her Majesty would be wanting in no possible Service to him, and that she had already inflicted strict Penalties on those of her Subjects, that had conceal'd *Bothwell*.

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Queen's Demands.

King's Answer.

To all this he answer'd severally, That he had already given the Queen Intimations of all that he knew of the *Spaniards* Designs: That he had pursued and manag'd the Rebels to the best advantage he could: That he had put some to Death, and fin'd others, and put Commissioners in possession of their Estates, and that he design'd to Outlaw them every one by an Act of Parliament: That after the Outlawry, he would dispose of their Estates: That he would choose of his Council Persons of Probity, who were sincerely affected to the Religion and Happiness of their Country: That he would ratify and confirm all this by a Writing under his own Hand: That as for the Borderers, and what related to them, he would be sure to observe the strictest measures he could; but that he thought it but reasonable that the Queen should advance Supplies for the carrying on of these Matters, and send her Assistance as well to the subduing the *Spanish* Faction, as the Rebels, who were now grown every way Formidable. He required in the last place, That she would severely prosecute *Bothwel*'s Abettors; and that she would deliver him up, and where ever he happen'd to be found in *England*, as an Instance of Treachery and Perfidiousness, which all Princes were oblig'd to abhor

Bothwel demanded out of England.

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abhor and deteſt; and therefore he could not but eſteem them his utter Enemies, whoever they were, that gave the leaſt Countenance to ſo profeſs'd a Foe of his King and Country. Nevertheleſs ſome *Scotchmen*, having poſſeſs'd the Queen that the King was favourably inclin'd to the Catholick Peers in *Scotland*, ſhe made anſwer to *Robert Melvin*, who came to demand *Bothwel*, and to ask ſome Aids againſt the Rebels, 'That *Bothwel* ſhould be ſurrender'd according to the Articles of the former Treaties, or elſe baniſh'd out of *England*; and that as for Supplies, they were not, according to the purport of the Treaty, to be lent againſt any but Foreigners.' However ſome Money was ſent, and *Bothwel*, who had been declar'd a Traitor by the States of the Realm, being now return'd privately to thoſe of his Party, was conducted by his Friends as privately to the King's Chamber, where, to the King's great ſurprize, he threw himſelf on his Knees, caſt his Sword on the Floor, and implor'd the King's Mercy and Pardon, which he obtain'd at laſt, at the Inſtance of thoſe who were with him, and upon certain Conditions to be obſerv'd by him, viz. *That he ſhould immediately depart from the King's Preſence: That he ſhould be ready to anſwer the Charge of conſulting with Wizards; and that he ſhould attempt nothing againſt the King's Miniſters. If he could not clear himſelf as to the point of dealing in Witchcraft, he ſhould depart the Kingdom, and diſpoſe of himſelf as the King ſhould direct, and there ſtay during his Royal Pleaſure.*

He returns into Scotland.

For all this, the Day after he had receiv'd his Pardon, he ſeiz'd forcibly on ſome of the King's Servants in the Court; and his Party was ſo prevalent there, that the King was not only oblig'd to reſtore both him and his Followers to the poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, for his own and the Kingdoms preſent Safety, but to remove from Court his moſt faithful Friends, the Chancellor and the Treaſurer, with the Lord *Humes*, and *George Humes*.

The King aſſerts his Authority.

But now the King, having conſider'd in the very Anguiſh of his Heart, what Conceſſions he had made, not only againſt his own Inclinations, but abſolutely unworthy of the Royal Character, he declar'd openly in Parliament, 'That he could look on himſelf as no other than a Captive: That he was evidently *Bothwel*'s Priſoner; and, That he could no longer endure that a mutinous Subject ſhould dare to Inſult his Miniſtry, after having had the Boldneſs to Outrage him three ſeveral times within the Walls of his Palace.'

Upon this he got the States to declare him forthwith a Prince abſolutely Free to exerciſe his Royal Power, and chuſe what Miniſters he thought fit. He then recall'd the Chancellor, and the reſt of his Friends, to Court; and revoked thoſe Grants which he had ſo unwillingly made to *Bothwel*. But ſo merciful a Prince was he, as to forgive all the Crimes which that ill Man and his Accomplices had acted againſt him, and made them an Offer of their Eſtates too, if they would ask 'em in a ſuppliant manner, and keep peaceably at home, and not come to Court till they were call'd. As for *Bothwel*, he was to go beyond Sea within a prefix'd time, and to ſtay at ſome places of the King's Appointment, during his Pleaſure: Such mighty Changes did ſo ſmall a Time produce in the Court; and *Bothwel* accordingly was baniſh'd for a little time; or, to ſpeak more properly, withdrew himſelf to the Borders of *Scotland*, where he retir'd to brew new and greater Miſchiefs. But neither did theſe Methods put an end to the Troubles in *Scotland*; for the Clergy were very Angry, and miſerably teaz'd the King for not proſecuting the Catholicks with the utmoſt Severity; inſomuch that they join'd themſelves in a Body, and without ſtaying for the Royal Orders, they ſummon'd the Lords and Commons to a Convention, to prevent any Damage that might accrue to the State of the Church or Kingdom.

Bothwel baniſhed.

About this time, there were publiſh'd in *Germany* ſeveral infamous Libels againſt the Queen; inſinuating, That ſhe had concern'd herſelf in ſtirring up the *Turk* to advance his Arms againſt *Chriſtendom*; and there were certain Letters produced, which ſhe had ſent to the *Great Turk*, but with ſeveral malicious Alterations, and falſe and ſcandalous Additions. The Queen did ſo well juſtify her Honour from theſe ſlanderous Aſperſions, by a Meſſage ſent on purpoſe to the Emperor, that the Pamphlets were call'd in, the Prints forbidden, and the Copies burnt at *Prague*, and ſhe, for her part, uſed all her Endeavours againſt the *Turk*, as the Emperor readily and freely acknowledg'd. Nor indeed had ſhe any thing to do with him, farther than to procure her Subjects a free Trade in his Country. To which purpoſe ſhe ſettled an Agent at *Conſtantinople*, to tranſact Buſineſs there at the Merchant's Coſt; juſt the ſame as the *French*, the *Polanders*, the Republick of *Venice*, and other States, had done.

Q. El[illegible] clears herſel[illegible] ſome [illegible]ſperſi[illegible] in re[illegible] ba to [illegible] Gr. T[illegible]

The next Thing ſhe did, was the taking upon her an honourable Umpirage, in mediating a Peace between the *Swede* and the *Muſcovite*, and ſettling likewiſe a good Agreement between the *Turk* and *Sigiſmond Bathor*, Prince or *Vaivod* (as they call him) of *Tranſilvania*. For the *Turk*, it ſeems, exceeding the Limits which had been fixed by Compact, and impoſing ſuch Burdens, as did not only claſh with the tenour of that, but which were really intollerable in themſelves: The *Vaivod* Addreſſed her Majeſty by *Stephen Kakaſy*, That if ſhe had any Regard for him, ſhe would make uſe of her Intereſt in the *Turkiſh* Court, *To put a ſtop to every ſort of Breach or Variation from the ancient Treaties, and to all Encroachments upon his Bounds and Poſſeſſions.* This the Queen undertook, and happily effected, in conſideration that 'twas a Chriſtian People and Province which was concern'd, and as ſhe always lov'd to Succour and Relieve the Diſtreſſed.

Shem[illegible] Peac[illegible] twee[illegible] Swed[illegible] Muſ[illegible] and [illegible] & Va[illegible]

Norris ſpent an whole Winter the Year before in a vain Expectation of Mareſchal *D' Aumont* and *Fr. Eſpinay* of St. *Luke*, who promiſed to join him; in which time a Sickneſs ſwept away a great many of the *Engliſh*, and the Queen advanced a weekly Pay of above 3200 Pounds of *Engliſh* Money.

Norris's Acts in Bretagne.

In *April*, *Eſpinay* joins his Forces, and routs *Ravender*'s, taking his Standard at St. *Supplice*; *Guerch* was likewiſe forced to ſurrender, and the Troops of the Governor of *Laval* were entirely defeated and put to flight, but not without the loſs of a great many Men, and among the reſt, *Randolph*, *Purley* and *Chriſtmas*, brave Commanders on the *Engliſh* ſide. When *D' Aumont* ſtill put off his coming into *Bretaigne*, and no Place of Refuge was yet granted to the *Engliſh*, the Queen calls *Norris* home; and *D' Aumont* on the other ſide preſſes hard for his ſtay, and makes repeated Inſtances that ſome freſh Recruits ſhould be ſent over.

Whilſt the Queen is aſſiſting *France*, under the preſent Exigence and Difficulty of Affairs, at ſo vaſt an Expence, and with ſuch an infinite Trouble to herſelf; there was a Report ſpread on a ſudden all over *England*, That the King was either turn'd Catholick already, or elſe reſolv'd to do ſo. Wherefore *Thomas Wilks* is diſpatch'd a-

French K. leans to the Ch. of *Rome*.

way

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way thither to learn the truth of the matter; and if he had not yet changed his Religion, to dissuade him from a Revolt by the best Arguments he could use, and to put 'em in Writing. But before his Arrival, the King had made a solemn Profession of the Romish Faith at the Church of St. *Denis*; tho' there were some of the religious Orders of that Church, that at the same time laid Snares for his Life. However he gave *Wilks* an ingenuous and clear Account of the Reasons inducing him to abjure his Religion, in Terms to this effect. 'As soon (*says he*) as I was made King of *France*, I took an Oath to learn the Principles of the Romish Religion within a certain time; and this was the very Condition of my being admitted to the Crown. I have defer'd this Exercise these four Years, and was at last brought to it with some Reluctancy: For when the King, my Predecessor, was dead, I was under a kind of necessity to govern my self by the same Council and Ministry, and to take their Advices in all Matters of Debate; and they made a shift to manage or forestal all the Measures I could think of taking against the Conspirators, by such kinds of Artifices and Agreements, as to leave them altogether fruitless and unsuccessful. As for the Protestants, who were the best Friends I had to advise with, they were seldom or never at the Council Board, being so intirely taken up with Business of their own, that I was stript of those I had most reason to depend on, and was not without Apprehensions that the Romanists would desert me too; so that I was forc'd to take up with their Directions in my own Defence. I do moreover solemnly protest, that as soon as I was call'd to the Government, Eight hundred Persons of Quality, and nine Protestant Regiments revolted from me, and I could not preserve them on any Terms whatever; so that I had none left about me, but a few of my Domesticks, and some Gentlemen of my Chamber. The Catholicks, seeing me totally abandon'd by those of my own Persuasion, began to assume a Power, and press me to a Change of Principle; affirming, that true Catholicks could not, with any good Conscience, submit to an Heretick. Nevertheless I suspended the matter from one day to another, till they plainly discover'd my Weakness, and found it impossible for me, by the help of a few Friends, to be a match for the united Force of the Pope, the *Leaguers*, and the King of *Spain*; till a third *Cabal* was patch'd up out of the Princes of the Blood Royal, the Officers of the Crown, the Prelates, and several Noblemen, who began to form Measures with the Heads and Governments of Cities and Provinces, about deserting me, as a notorious Heretick, and sharing the Kingdom severally amongst themselves. When I could find no other way in the World to contravene the Projects of these Men, I gave 'em my Word, that I would inform myself in the Articles of the Romish Religion. They granted me a Month or two for my better Instruction; and sent some Persons away to *Rome* to procure me an Absolution and formal Admission into the Church. Those of the *Cabal*, to prevent this, made all the dispatch they could toward the chusing another King. A great many Noblemen assisted the Pretensions of the Duke of *Guise*, on Condition he would secure to them and their Heirs the several Governments they were in possession of. For these Reasons I resolv'd, upon mature Deliberation, to embrace the Romish Religion. The Bishops however refus'd me Admission into the Church, without the Pope's leave; at least, till I had put them beyond all fear, that they might accept of my Conversion, without the least Enquiry or Hesitation. By this means, I gain'd over the third Faction to my Interest: I prevented the Duke of *Guise* his Election: I secur'd the Love and Respect of the *French* Nation, engag'd the Friendship and Service of the Great Duke of *Florence*, in Things of the nearest Concernment to me, and at the same time preserv'd the Reputation of the Reform'd Religion, which must needs have suffer'd greatly, had my Change proceeded upon Dispute, or from Instruction.'

His Reasons for it.

The substance of this was, in the mean time, communicated by *Morley* to the Queen, who endeavour'd to colour over the Aims and Inclinations of his Prince with as fair Representations as might be. But the Queen was very much disturb'd at the matter, and under those Resentments took up a Pen and wrote the King the following Lines.

Q. Eliz. Letter on the King's change of Religion.

'Tis hardly possible to express the extreme Grief and Dissatisfaction which has seiz'd me upon *Morley's* representation of Things. Good God! what a miserable World do we live in! Could I ever have thought, *Sir*, that any secular Consideration could have prevail'd with you to discard a just sense of God and his Fear! Or, can you ever reasonably expect that Providence will grant this Change of yours an happy Issue? Or, could you, when you entred on it, entertain a Jealousy, that the gracious Being, who had so long supported and preserv'd you, would fail and abandon you at last? 'Tis, believe me, a dangerous Experiment, *to do evil that good may come of it*: But I hope you may be yet recover'd to a better Inclination, even the Spirit of a sound Mind. In the mean time, I shall not cease to recommend your Case to God in my daily Prayers, and earnestly to beseech him, that *Esau's* Hands may not pollute the Blessing and Birthright of *Jacob*. The promise you make of a sacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive myself to have deserv'd, and even earn'd at a vast Expence: But that I had not matter'd, had you still kept yourself the Son of the same Father. From henceforward I cannot look on myself as your Sister, in respect of our common Father, for I must, and shall always pay a much greater Regard to Nature than Choice in that Relation: As I may appeal to that God, whom I beseech to recover you into the Path of a safer and sounder Judgment.'

Subscribed,

Vôtre sœur, si ce soit à la vieille mode, avec Nouvelle je n'ay que faire.	'Your Sister after the Old-fashion'd way; as for Novelties, I have nothing to do with 'em.'
Elizabeth R.	*Elizabeth R.*

The better to allay the Grief she lay under on this account, the Queen entertain'd herself with the sacred Scriptures, the Writings of the holy Fathers, and in frequent Conferences with the Archbishop: Perhaps she might consult also the Prescriptions of Philosophy on this Occasion. I am very assur'd, that about this time she employ'd herself in reading *Boethius*, of the Consolation of Philosophy, which she render'd into very elegant *English*.

She translates Boethius.

When, among other Particulars, *Wilks* did now intimate to the King of *France*, that he had not been so good as his Word in the Affairs of *Bretaign*: That *D'Aumont's* Delay was not only dou-

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bly Prejudicial to the Queen, in the loſs of her Men, and the expence of her Money, but inſignificant in regard of himſelf; and that the Queen reſolved not to augment or maintain any Forces in *Bretaign*, unleſs they had a Grant of ſome convenient place of Retreat. The King caſt all the blame upon *D'Aumont*'s Neglect, and promiſed to remedy thoſe Inconveniencies, and to provide a Place of Retreat, ſuch as his Council ſhould direct.

French King excuſes his breach of promiſe.

This he gave the Queen an account of by *Mony*, a Perſon of Quality, and one of his Bed-Chamber; and acknowledged his Crown and Safety to be chiefly owing to her Majeſty, and promiſed withal to ſend an Army into *Bretaign* as ſoon as the Treaty was concluded, and his Affairs diſpatch'd.

Treaty between *England* & *France*.

In the mean time, a Treaty was made between him and the Queen at *Melun*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, under their Hands and Seals, and in the Faith and Word of Princes, to carry on a mutual War, Offenſive and Defenſive, againſt the King of *Spain*, as long as he ſhould be at Variance with Either; and to make no Peace on either ſide, but by each others Conſent, and ſo as both ſhould be included therein.

However, *Bretaign* was altogether neglected, *France* being torn with miſerable Convulſions at home, and the *Engliſh* could not poſſeſs either *Pimpol*, or the ſmall Iſland of *Brehac*, with the Parts adjacent, for Quarters of Safety and Refreſhment, but upon ſcurvy and diſhonourable Conditions, *viz.* That they ſhould not be allowed to put Garriſons into them, or be quartered in any Prieſts or Gentlemens Houſes. Nevertheleſs the States of *Bretaign* petitioned the Queen not to call home the *Engliſh* Troops, which had been before determined. And they obtained their Requeſt: For the Forces were continued there, and winter'd after a wretched manner, in a parcel of ſmall Villages, where they lay expoſed to the inclemency of a bad Air, and their Enemies Aſſaults into the bargain. (For all this while *Pimpol* was too ſmall a Place to afford them all convenient Quarters). The Queen failed not in the mean while to acquaint the King, how much he was concerned, in point of Intereſt, to preſerve and defend the Sea-Coaſts; which if once they ſhould come into the Enemy's Poſſeſſion, would prove an Inlet into his Kingdom, and hardly be recovered without much Hazard and Difficulty. And ſhe recommended the Proteſtant Religion, and its Profeſſors, over and over, to his Care and Protection, by *Robert Sidney*. But when *Sidney* mentioned *Breſt* as a Place of Retreat for the *Engliſh*, and a Cautionary Town for the Money owing to the Queen, according to her own deſire and inclination; he could not be prevailed on to agree to it; for the *French* could not endure that the *Engliſh* ſhould enjoy one Foot of *French* Ground, tho' it were in their Sea-Ports. Perhaps it was yet too freſh in their Memories, how the *Engliſh* ſetting out from thoſe Ports in former Times, marched through their whole Country with Triumph and Victory, and were not eaſily perſuaded to quit their Poſſeſſions. Thus did the *French* practiſe that piece of Advice upon the *Engliſh*, which the Queen had directed them to uſe againſt the *Spaniard*.

Q. *Eliz.* recommends the Proteſtants to the *French* King.

But to guard her own Subjects the better from the Inſults of the *Spaniard*, ſhe ordered a Garriſon to be kept in the Iſles of *Silley*, and a Fort to be built in the Iſland of St. *Marie*, which was call'd *Stella Maria*, from the form of a Star which it repreſented. She likewiſe fortified *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, Iſlands that border upon *France*, and ſeveral other Places, at a vaſt Expence, and with a willing Mind, as bad and lowring as the Times were.

Iſles in the *Britiſh* Sea fortify'd.

For this whole Year the Sickneſs rag'd violently in *London*, *Saturn* paſſing through the extreme Parts of *Cancer* and the Head of *Leo*, as it did in the Year 1563, inſomuch that when the Year came about there died of the Sickneſs and other Diſeaſes in the City and Suburbs 17890 Perſons, beſides *William Roe* Mayor, and three Aldermen, ſo that *Bartholomew-Fair* was not kept, and *Michaelmas-Term* was held at St. *Albans* twenty Miles from *London*. At which place *Richard Hesket* was condemn'd for Treaſon, and executed. He was employed by ſome outlawed *Engliſh*, to perſuade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, whoſe Father *Henry* died juſt before, to make his Pretenſions to the Crown by a Right deriv'd from his Great Grandmother *Mary*, Daughter of *Henry* VII. To aſſert which, he made round Promiſes of Supplies both of Men and Money, and threatned to make away the Earl in a very little time, if he did not liſten to, and conceal this Propoſal. But the Earl, being now in fear of his Life, inform'd againſt *Hesket*, who own'd the Fact before the Court, and inveigh'd againſt thoſe who had given him this Council. However his Threatnings were too prophetically verified, for the Earl died about four Months after of a moſt lamentable ſort of Death, as we ſhall ſhew in its place.

Hesket hang'd.

In the compaſs of this Year died thoſe two noble Earls, and Knights of the Garter, *Henry Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, already mentioned, and *Henry Ratcliff* E. of *Suſſex*, who made a quiet and peaceable Exit out of the World: The firſt was the Son of *Edward* by *Dorothy*, Daughter of *Thomas Howard* the firſt Duke of *Norfolk*; who begat *Margaret* the Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, by *Eleanor Brandon*, *Henry* VIII's Niece by his Siſter the Lady *Mary*, *Ferdinand* and *William*, who both ſucceeded in their turns to his Title and Eſtate: The other was Governor of *Portſmouth*, and left but one Son behind him, *viz.* *Robert*, whom he had by *Honora* the Daughter of *Anthony Pound*.

The Death of the Earl of *Derby*, *Suſſex*.

These Noblemen were accompanied into the other World by three worthy Lords, *Arthur Grey* of *Wilton*, an excellent Soldier and Knight of the Garter, ſucceeded by his Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Jane Sybil Moriſon*: *Henry* Lord *Cromwel*, Nephew to the famous but unfortunate *Thomas* Earl of *Eſſex*, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Edward*, born of *Mary* the Daughter of *John Powlet* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; and alſo *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, who had by *Ann Hopton*, *Thomas*, who was his Heir.

L. *Grey*. *Cromwel*. L. *Wentworth*.

Nor muſt we omit to mention *Chriſtopher Carliſle*, who paid the ſame juſt Tribute to Nature; a Perſon famed for his military Bravery both by Sea and Land, in *Holland*, *France*, *Ireland*, and in the *American* Parts, at *Carthagena*, St. *Domingo*, &c. as I have already taken notice, *An.* 1585.

Chri. Carliſle.

In *Ireland*, *O-Conor Dun*, *Mac-Davy*, *O-Brien*, great Men in the County of *Connaught*, and ſeveral others, made heavy Complaints for being unjuſtly proſecuted about Lands formerly appertaining to the *Mortimers* Earls of *March*, which they had uſurped to themſelves upon no better Claim than that of ancient Preſcription. At the ſame time the leading Men of *Ulſter*, who were jealous of coming under the Reſtraint of the *Engliſh* Laws, which would by degrees leſſen their uſurp'd Authority over the People, by parcelling out their Territories into Counties, (an Example of which they had already ſeen in *Monaghan*) began now to foment a Rebellion, which they had been a long time brooding: And to begin the Tumult, *Hugh O-Donel* ſeiz'd unawares upon the Caſtle of *Montroſs*. And now likewiſe broke out an unhappy Difference between the Earl of *Tir-Oen* and *Henry Bagnal*, Mareſchal of the *Iriſh* Army,

A Quarrel between *Tir-Oen* and *Bagnal* in *Ireland*.

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Army, whose Sister the Earl had married by force. The Earl remonstrated before the Deputy, Chancellor and others, That all that Part of *Ulster* which he had reduced to their Allegiance, at the Expence of so much Sweat and Blood, was more at the Marshal's Service and Command, than his: That the Marshal had suborned a Pack of pitiful Fellows to accuse him of Treason, had incensed the Lord-Deputy against him, laid Snares for his Life, and had basely misrepresented him to the Queen. The Marshal however found Credit in Court, till the Earl sent Letters into *England*, and offered himself to be tried either there or in *Ireland*. Certain it is however, that he, together with the Grandees of *Ulster*, were about this time engag'd in a private League, to support the Catholick Religion, (for now-a-days Religion is the ordinary Mask for Rebellion) as also to thrust the *English* Sheriffs and Garrisons out of their Territories, to assert every Man their own Rights, and to revenge the Wrongs they had suffered from the *English*. *Mac-Guire*, a great Lord in *Fermanah*, was the Person prevailed on to give the next alarm. He was a Man turbulent and quarrelsome, and his Complaint was, That the Lord-Deputy had given himself and his Friends a great deal of Interruption and Disturbance. On this Pretence, he falls a pillaging all the Country about, and enters *Connaught* with one *Gauran* a Priest, at his Heels; who being Ordain'd by his Holiness, Primate of *Ireland*, commanded the other to trust in God and push his Fortune; and withal, promis'd him a most infallible Victory. But it fell out otherwise; for *Mac-Guire* was routed by the Valour of *Richard Bingham*, and the Primate slain with a great many more. Not long after, *Mac-Guire* breaks out into open Rebellion, and *Tir-Oen* pursuing him, like a good Subject, as he would be thought, receiv'd a Wound in the Skirmish, which got him the Reputation of a stout and loyal Man. *Dowdal*, a stout *English* Captain, demolished *Iniskilling* in the Lake of *Erne*, which was the strongest Garrison belonging to *Mac-Guire*, and slew the Centinels and Guards. About that time the Native *Irish*, who are generally false to the *English*, were form'd into Companies, and some of them had Commands. But the thing was ill managed, as wiser Heads judg'd then, and the *English* in general have experienc'd since.

Grandees of *Ulster* conspire against the *English*.

In the mean while the Earl of *Tir-Oen* watching all Advantages, upon the Death of *Turlough-Leneigh*, who had possess'd the Title of *O-Neal*, makes bold to assume the same, tho' contrary to his Oath, and an Act of Treason, made on that account. But, who could forbear a Character, which in *Ireland* sounds bigger than that of *Cæsar* itself? However, he takes the Honour with some Shinels at first, lest any of the Family of *O-Neal* should seize upon it; and he promises to throw it up, but begs heartily withal, that he may not be obliged by Oath to do it. After this, he seized on the Sons of *Shan O-Neal*, one or two of whom had got out of Custody through the Neglect of somebody or other, and refus'd to release them, tho' at the repeated Orders of the Lord-Deputy; for he knew their Power and Interest at home would prove too big and unweildy for his usurp'd Authority. Without taking therefore any farther notice, he falls to charging the Lord-Deputy with abundance of ill-will towards him, and complains heartily of the Injuries offer'd him by the Soldiers in Garrison, and from the Marshal's Designs against him; which however he managed with that Art and Intricacy in a little time, that he seem'd to have forgot them all, and went and submitted himself to the Lord-Deputy; and after great Professions of his future Obedience and good Behaviour, returned home.

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The Seven and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

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The Queen promis'd herself an happy conclusion of that dark Conspiracy which was hatch'd in *Spain*, and broke out in *Ireland*, could she but once crush that open and barefaced Faction which lurked it in *Scotland*. When therefore the King of *Scots* asked her Advice upon an Order made by the States of *Scotland*, for the Security of the Church and Kingdom, she dispatched *Edward* Lord *Zouch* into *Scotland*, to fix the Peers of the *English* Interest, and proceed with greater Rigour and Severity against those of the *Spanish* Faction, than was intended by that Act, forasmuch as it was notoriously known, that they frequented the Mass; that they harboured Jesuits and other Priests, and sent Blanks into *Spain* sign'd by their own Hands and Seals; and that the King of *Spain* flatter'd himself to subdue *England*, through their Assistance, by a Land-Battel, whereas he had in vain endeavour'd it by Sea.

L. *Zouch* sent into *Scotland*.

The King answered, that he would put the Laws in execution to the very utmost against those Catholicks; and if they would not be better advis'd, he would be sure to prosecute them till he had reduced them to Obedience, or driven them out of the Kingdom, provided the Queen, whose Interest was as much concerned as his, would lend her Assistance. When *Zouch* began to use more pressing Arguments for the Prosecution of this Party; the King demanded of him, whether he thought he was at the Beck of another? Or, whether the Queen took upon her to Direct how a Prince, absolute as he was, should govern his Kingdoms? However, he protested he would strenuously assert the established Religion, and preserve inviolably a good Agreement with the Queen. But he could not forbear complaining, that *Bothwel*, a most pernicious Rebel, had been supported in *England*; whereas he was ready to deliver up some time since, the *Irish* Rebel *O-Rork* into the Queen's Hands.

The King's Answer.

Nor was it long after that *Bothwel* made a new Effort of Sedition, and advanced against his Prince. Who were his Abettors, I leave the *Scotch* to tell. Most certain it is, that the prime Ministers of that Kingdom did frequently complain to the Queen, that their Prince was Partial on the Papists side. *Bothwel* having entred *Scotland* with 400 Horse from the Borders, came as far as *Leith* without any Resistance: Where he put out a specious Declaration, as Rebels use to do, and cloak'd his Treason under the following Pretences.

Bothwel rebels and Prints a *Manifesto*.

'Forasmuch as the true Religion, the King's 'Safety and Honour, together with the Laws 'of the Land, the State itself, and the good Cor'respondence between the two Kingdoms of '*England* and *Scotland*, are brought into Hazard 'by some bad Ministers, who have crept into 'the Government; and not only permit the Ro'mish Priests to carry their Masses from Street 'to Street, but invite the *Spaniards* to Suppress 'the Church and State, and interrupt all good 'Agreement with the *English*: He therefore be'ing with the Nobles, Lords and Burgesses As'sembled, to prevent these so great Inconve'niences, had in the Fear of God, and out of a 'due Respect to his Prince, resolv'd to punish 'those evil Counsellors, till he had either 'brought them to a fair Trial, or expell'd them 'out of the Kingdom, and declar'd them to the

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'World the Betrayers of their Country; and he 'resolv'd to lose no time in the Dispatch of this 'Affair, forasmuch as the *Spaniards* were just 'ready to invade them. Wherefore he intreats 'the King, persuades the Nobles, and commands 'the Commons, to join their Arms in this so 'pious, just and necessary a Cause; and requires 'the Magistrates to be assistant with their Pre-'sence and Authority. He declares those down-'right Rebels to the King, who shall aid or as-'sist his Counsellors, and threatens to proceed 'against them with the utmost Rigour.'

The King marches against him.

To this purpose, he wrote to the Parliament, which was then held at *Dunbar*, and also to the *English* Ambassadors, who were reported openly enough to favour his Designs; and the very same day that he understood the Royalists advanced from *Edinborough*, which was scarce three Miles off, he departed from *Leith*, with his Army, divided into two Bodies: But being far unequal in Number, by reason that few came in to him, he did what he could to keep out of Danger, by turning out into By-Roads, and had once the Fortune to attack some of the Royal Party that pursued him, from a steep Hill, whom he beat back and took some, but without killing one Man. He then advanced to *Dalkeith*, without breaking his Ranks; and from thence his Conscience scared him away into his usual Lurking-places upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms. The Queen sent out a Proclamation over the Kingdom, forbidding any to harbour or conceal him: And this the King took very well, and having made a chearful Profession of the Queen's Goodness, he call'd a Parliament to consult about the Outlawry of the Popish Earls. The Peers, who were but few of them present, were very loth to pass their Votes against 'em, forasmuch as they had no other than presumptive Evidence of their main Design, tho' nothing could give a greater Suspicion of their Aims, than the blank Papers sent over by them. Nevertheless, they were cast by the Votes of the Ministers and Burgesses, who were far the greater Number; and their Coats of Arms were, after the *Scotch* manner, torn in Pieces, and cast out of the Windows of the Town-Hall, and their Proscription proclaimed abroad by a publick Herald. After this, *Argyle* was employed against them, who being routed at *Glenlivet*, in a warm Engagement, the King himself undertook a tedious and difficult March into those Parts, over the rough and craggy Mountains; and having suffer'd *Huntly*'s Houses at *Strathbolgy*, *Slany*, and *Newton*, to be pull'd down, he reduced the Earls to those shifts, that *Huntly* was forced to take Sanctuary, first with his Aunt, the Countess of *Sutherland*, and then in *France*; and all the rest were forced to quit the Kingdom.

Argyle defeated.

The Earls fly the Kingdom.

The mutual Friendship and good Agreement between the Queen of *England* and the King of *Scots*, back'd by his constant Adherence to the Protestant Religion, which neither Money, nor Promises, nor the Tricks and Solicitations of the *Romish* Party could bribe him from; as also the strict Laws enacted against Jesuits and Men of that Complexion, the Execution of *Graham* of *Fentre*, the Ringleader of the *Spanish* Faction, the State's placing the Supreme Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical, in the King, and the Association formed against the Papists: All these Considerations did so damp all their Hopes of resettling the Popish Religion in *Scotland* and *England*, that some of them in *England*, who had before been vehement Sticklers for his Mother's Title, began now to think of lifting some *English* Catholick into the Succession.

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Essex proposed as Successor to the Crown of *England*.

But not being able to pitch on a proper Person of their own Persuasion, they cast their Eyes on the Earl of *Essex*, a Gentleman that could never endure the Maxim of murdering People for the sake of their Religion; and they borrow'd his Title from *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, King *Edward* III's Son, of whom he was descended. In the mean while, the fugitive Peers were for the Infanta of *Spain*; but fearing the Queen and the Nation would put in an Act of Parliament against it, and impose an Oath on every one, to reject that Title; they thought it enough for the present, by this means to raise a Difference between the King and the Earl of *Essex*: To this purpose there was a certain Book printed and dedicated to *Essex*, under the Sham-name of *Doleman*; which was a notorious Act of Malice in *Parsons* the Jesuite against *Doleman*, a Priest of a modest and quiet Temper, (so far as we may trust that Order) for the true Authors of the Book were *Parsons*, a great Enemy of *Doleman*'s, Cardinal *Allen*, and Sir *Francis Inglefield*.

Parsons opposes his Title.

The Purport of this Book, which quite laid aside the Business of Birthright, was: *That the ancient Laws of the Land, relating to Hereditary Succession, ought to be alter'd: That new Laws ought to be made about the Choice of a King, and that none but a* Roman-*Catholick, how near akin soever to the Crown, ought to succeed to it.* Most of the Kings of *England* they traduced as meer Usurpers, and all of the Blood-Royal in *England*, as illegitimate, and so uncapable of Succession. The King of *Scots* Title to the Crown, though most certain and indisputable, they attempted to invalidate; and by Sham-Tricks and Devices endeavour'd to set up the Infanta *Isabella*, the King of *Spain*'s Daughter, purely for being a *Roman*-Catholick; a thing I am ashamed and grieved to mention, because *the Priests Lips ought to preserve knowledge, and they should stand having their loins girt about with truth*. Their first Plea was, because, as this Book pretends, she fetches her Pedigree from *Constance*, the Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, King of *England*, and Wife to *Alan Fergant*, Earl of *Bretaign*; whereas notwithstanding *Gulielmus Gemeticensis*, who liv'd about that time, declares in his last Book, that she died without Issue, and he is followed by the Consent of all the Writers of the Affairs of *Bretaign*. The next Pretence was, because she had her Descent from *Eleanor*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry* II, who was marry'd to *Alphonsus* IX, King of *Castile*; whereas Pope *Innocent* III makes it out in *Matthew Paris*, pag. 381, that *Maud*, the Wife of *Henry Leo*, Duke of *Saxony*, and Mother of the Emperor *Otho* IV, was his eldest Daughter; and *Robert*, Abbot of *St. Michael's Mount*, who christened her, affirms, that she was born *ann.* 1162. A third Argument was, because she was a Descendant from *Blanch*, the eldest Daughter of the said *Eleanor*, which was proved to be false both by *Roderigo*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, in his Ninth Book, and Pope *Innocent*, a Writer of better Credit, and both of them living in the same Age. Another Reason alledged was, because she came originally from *Beatrice*, the Daughter of *Henry* III, King of *England*; though 'twas forgot, in the mean time, that she had two Brethren *Edward* I, King of *England*, and *Edward* Earl of *Lancaster*, from whom a great part of the Nobility of *England* were linerally descended, besides the Royal Family. Again, they asserted the *Infanta*'s Claim by the House of *Portugal*, and maintained on the same bottom the Title of the Dukes of *Parma* and *Braganza*, from *Philippa*, the Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, whom they make to be his eldest Daughter by his Wife *Blanch*; whereas *Froisard*, who was a Courtier at that time,

They set up the Infanta of *Spain*.

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time, proves, *fol.* 169, of the Second Part of his Hiſtory, that his eldeſt Daughter was *Elizabeth*, Wife to *John Holland*, afterwards Duke of *Exeter*, from whoſe Loins proceeded a large Race of Nobility, all the Kingdom over. But I have already confuted theſe genealogical Whimſies, and proved them to be the Brats of Spleen and Falſehood, the main Furniture of that Libel. Theſe things however they made a ſhift to impoſe on the World, clean contrary to the Character of their Function; and in Contempt of the Council of *Trent*'s Authority, and that of *Toledo* likewiſe, as alſo of their own Laws, a Review of which was made at *Rome* the Year before: And all to curry Favour with the King of *Spain*, to cajole and abuſe Mankind, to promote Sedition and Diſorder, and to erect Scaffolds, from whence ambitious Men might catch a Fall, tho' in open Defiance to Truth, they maſqued their Pretences under the venerable Diſguiſe of Religion. Nay they carried the Matter ſo far, as to force the *Engliſh Prieſts* in the *Spaniſh* Seminaries (if we may take their own Words for it) to ſubſcribe to this ſpurious Claim of the Infanta's. Yet all this was excuſed not long after, when King *James* was proclaimed King of *England*, by the general *Votes* of the People, by *Parſons*, in a Letter to a Friend of his, as not having proceeded from any Deſign to hinder King *James*'s Title, but from an eager Deſire to gain him over to the *Romiſh* Religion; and he hoped he ſhould be eaſily excuſed, ſince theſe Methods had proved no real Prejudice of the King's Claim, *i. e.* in effect, becauſe the Succeſs was not anſwerable to the Villany of his Intention.

Parſons excuſes the Book.

But whilſt theſe Vagabond Projectors were ſearching out for a falſe Heir in *Spain*, God, who laughed at their Inventions, raiſed up to King *James* a Son in *Scotland*, who was undoubted Heir to the Crown of *England*. For on the 19th of *February*, was born *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, the Darling of *Britain*, to whom Queen *Elizabeth* ſtood Godmother, and ſent the Earl of *Eſſex* on an honourable Embaſſy, to aſſiſt at the Ceremony as her Proxy.

Birth of *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*.

Now whilſt theſe bookiſh Outlaws endeavour'd to write the Infanta of *Spain* into the Crown of *England*, there were others of the ſame Principle and Perſuaſion, that were making the ſame Uſe of their Swords, as they did of their Pens; and ſent over ſome villainous Aſſaſſins to murder Queen *Elizabeth*, whilſt certain *Spaniards* attempted at the ſame time to take her off by Poiſon. The *Spaniards* however ſuſpected the *Engliſh* in a Matter of that Moment, and ſo made uſe of *Roderigo Lopez*, a profeſſed Jew, the Queen's domeſtick Phyſician, and of *Stephen Ferreira Gama* and *Emanuel Loiſie*, *Portugueſes*, a great Number of whom had in thoſe Days crept into *England*, as Retainers to Don *Antonio*. Theſe Perſons being apprehended, by means of ſome Letters, which happen'd to be intercepted, were about the end of *February* tried at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, and charged from their own Confeſſions, with an Intention to poiſon the Queen. *Lopez*, having had the Reputation of a juſt and faithful Perſon for a long time, did not ſo much as fall under the leaſt Suſpicion, (barring the naked Probability that foreign Phyſicians may be guilty of Treaſon or murder) till he confeſſed himſelf, 'That he 'was inveigled by *Andrada*, a *Portugueſe*, to uſe 'his beſt and moſt private Endeavours for the 'King of *Spain*: That he had received from '*Chriſtophoro Moro*, his chief Favourite and Counſellor, a rich Jewel: That he had thereupon 'given the *Spaniards* frequent Advertiſements of 'what fell within his Cognizance: That at laſt 'he was prevailed on to give his Promiſe to poiſon the Queen, upon an Agreement to receive '50000 Ducats for his pains: That *Emanuel Loiſie* was likewiſe privately ſent to him by *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, to preſs *Lopez* to diſpatch the 'matter out of hand. *Emanuel* owned, that Count '*Fuentez* and *Ibara*, after he had given them his 'Promiſe to conceal the Deſign, ſhewed him a 'Letter written by *Andrada*, in *Lopez*'s Name, 'about taking off the Queen; and that he himſelf was ſent by *Fuentez* to tranſact with *Ferreira* and *Lopez*, about diſpatching the Queen 'with all ſpeed, and to promiſe *Lopez* himſelf 'Money, and his Children Dignity and Preferments.'

Aſſaſſins employ'd by the *Spaniards* to murder the Queen.

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Lopez did not plead much at the Bar, but exclaim'd againſt *Ferreira* and *Emanuel*, as moſt baſe and notorious Lyars: 'That he had no ill 'Intentions againſt her Majeſty, but abhorred 'from his Heart the Bribes of a Tyrant: That 'he had preſented that Jewel, which the King of '*Spain* ſent him, to the Queen herſelf; and that 'his great Aim in what he did, was to gull the 'King of *Spain*, and get a little of his Money.' The reſt ſaid nothing on their own behalf, but caſt the Blame wholly on *Lopez*. They were all of them condemned, and, after three Months, hanged at *Tyburn*; *Lopez* affirming to the laſt, that he *loved the Queen, as well as Jeſus Chriſt*. Which Expreſſion, coming from a Jew, put the Spectators into a pleaſant Fit of Laughter. The next Day after their Condemnation, *Patrick Cullen* received his. He was an *Iriſh* Fencing-Maſter, who had received vaſt Promiſes from the fugitive Malecontents in the *Low-Countries*, and was ſome time ſince privately ſent over, with Money enough to bear his Charges, on purpoſe to kill the Queen. He did as good as confeſs the Crime, and it being likewiſe proved by undeniable Evidence, he was taken and hanged; tho' he were ſick enough already to have ſaved the Hangman a Labour. *Edmund Yorke* and *Richard Williams* were likewiſe apprehended, as Perſons who had been employed by *Ibara*, and the other Rebels, to kill the Queen; and other Incendiaries at the ſame time, who were employed to fire the Navy with Balls prepared for that purpoſe. Thus did the *Engliſh* Fugitives, lewd Prieſts, and Lay-Villains together, plot and contrive the Ruin of the Queen, by all the Arts they could uſe; and all from a pernicious Principle of Bigottry, rooted in their Minds, that *Princes excommunicated are not fit to live*; and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters ſeconded the Deſign, and improved their Hatred as far as it would go. However the Queen was neither alarmed nor daunted at the matter, but endeavoured by a pious and provident Caution, to prevent or contravene their Meaſures; often calling to mind that Paſſage of the Royal Pſalmiſt, *Thou art my God, my Times are in thy Hands*. Yet did ſhe not fail to inform *Erneſt* Archduke of *Auſtria*, and the King of *Spain*'s Governour of the *Netherland* Provinces, of theſe ſeveral Plots and Conſpiracies hatch'd by *Ibara* and other *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and *Engliſh* Renegado's, againſt her Life. She deſired him likewiſe to acquaint the King, his Maſter, therewith; that ſo he might clear himſelf of any Imputation, by puniſhing his Officers and Miniſters, and delivering thoſe *Engliſhmen* into her Hands, who were the principal Agents in ſo horrid and barbarous a Deſign; in order to have them brought to condign Puniſhment: *viz.* *Hugh Owen*, *Thomas Throckmorton*, *Holt* the Jeſuit, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, Doctors of Divinity, *&c.* For otherwiſe his Royal Character would ſuffer in Point of Honour and Credit with all good Men.

Lopez ſtrives to clear himſelf.

He and others are condemned and hanged.

Queen acquaints the King of *Spain* herewith.

And leſt the King of *Spain* ſhould demand *Antonio Perez*, his late Secretary, who was fled for

ſome

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Perez not loved in England.

some Commotions he had raised in *Arragon*, and abſconded at this time in *England*; ſhe declared he was ſent over without her Knowledge, by the *French* King, to his Ambaſſador; and that ſhe neither would relieve, nor protect him. Indeed ſhe had a perfect Averſion to him, for betraying his Prince's Secrets; and the Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh* would ſcarce vouchſafe him the Civility of a Conference. *Eſſex* 'tis true, entertained him at his Houſe, and furniſhed him with conſiderable Sums; for he conſidered him as the great Oracle of *Spain*, that knew the Myſteries of the *Spaniſh* Court, and was profoundly verſed in the Politicks of that Kingdom; yet was his Condition ſo fickle and full of Change, (as the Lot of ſuch Men generally is) that he uſed to ſtile himſelf *Fortune's Monſter*, and uſed thoſe Words for a Motto on his Picture.

French League diſſolved.

Now did the Leaguers begin to abate ſomething of the Violence of their Meaſures, by which they had plagued and harraſſed *France* for the ſpace of eight Years. For when the King, who had weakened them by his Arms, and in ſome meaſure broke their Alliance, by a politick embracing of the *Romiſh* Faith the Year before; came to be ſolemnly inſtalled the beginning of this, and had granted them a Truce; ſome of the Nobility, being overcome with large Promiſes, ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in returning to their Allegiance. Others ſubmitted on Condition they might ſtill hold the Governments they had got, in the ſame manner as *Hugh Capet* had in times paſt, to ſecure himſelf the Affections of the Nobility, granted them the Hereditary Poſſeſſion of their reſpective Governments. Hereupon ſome of the Cities that were in Rebellion, ſurrendred themſelves; others were taken by Surprize; and even *Paris* it ſelf invited the King privately into the City, and with great Joy delivered it ſelf into his Hands; and the *Spaniards* (who had now quite loſt the Hopes of the *French* Crown, and of a Match between the Infanta and the Duke of *Guiſe*; and all through the Duke of *Mayne's* Emulation and Jealouſy of his Nephew) were packed away bag and baggage, and not without ſome rude and inſulting Reflexions from the *French*, who before this time repented heartily of their late Proceedings. But foraſmuch as thoſe *Spaniards* who were invited into *Bretagne* by the Duke *de Mercœur*, made an obſtinate Reſiſtance, and put ſtrong Garriſons into the Sea-Ports, in order to defend what they had got; *Norris*, who had been called home to give the Queen, in Perſon, an Account of the State of the War in *Bretagne*, was remanded back thither, with Orders to ſeize on the *Spaniſh* Fort at *Crodon* near *Breſt*; and on the 1ſt of *September* arrived with freſh Forces at *Timpol*. At the very ſame time the Marqueſs *D'Aumont* and Sir *Thomas Baskerville*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Forces in *Norris's* Abſence, beſieged *Morlaix*; and upon *Norris's* Arrival, took it upon Capitulation: And altho' it had been concluded upon Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſadors in *England*, that if it were ſurrender'd, it ſhould be deliver'd to the *Engliſh* for a Place of Retreat; yet, to prevent it, *D'Aumont* added this Paragraph in the Articles of Surrender; *That none but a Roman Catholick ſhould be received into the Town*. After this, the Marſhal and Sir *Henry Norris* having taken *Quimper-corentin*, the *French* and *Engliſh* came on the 1ſt of *November* before the *Spaniards* Fort at *Crodon*; where Sir *Martin Forbiſher* lay at Anchor with ten Men of War, expecting their Coming. This Place is on two ſides guarded by a Moat; and there ſtand two tall and large Forts facing the Land, between which there runs a Wall 37 foot wide, and within that a thick Bank of Earth.

Norris returns to Bretagne.

Morlaix taken.

Quimper-corentin taken.

The Forts are defended on both ſides with Rocks, which have ſeveral Pieces of Cannon mounted on them. The *Engliſh* and *French* having got ſeveral Mortars out of the Ships, began to break Ground, and carried on a Trench on that ſide the Fort which lay to the Land; and the *Spaniards* making a Sally to hinder the Works, were repulſed: But Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Serjeant-Major of the *Engliſh*, a brave old Soldier, was ſlain with a Cannon-Shot, having made his Will juſt the Day before. On the 3d, they made a ſmall Breach, with 700 Shot of great Ordnance, and threw down the Counterſcarp, which *Liſter* and his Party immediately ſeized on. But whilſt their Eagerneſs prompted them on too far upon the Enemy, who made a ſtout Reſiſtance, ſeveral of them were ſlain, and amongſt them *Bruder*, *Jackſon*, and *Barker*, Officers of tried Courage and Bravery: Several more were wounded on the Attempt; and others miſerably ſinged with Gunpowder. Some were [illegible] charge *Norris* as having laviſh'd away the Lives of his Men by expoſing them to needleſs Hazards; and the Queen her ſelf, out of her uſual Tenderneſs, ſent him Orders to place the Safety of his Men upon the ſame Level with his own Honour, and not to hazard their Lives too far in a War, which was purely undertaken for the Aſſiſtance of others: For ſhe ſaid, *That the Blood of Man ought not to be ſquander'd away at all Adventures: That the boiling Heat of puſhing and forward Men had need be curbed, and not encouraged and egged on into Danger and Ruin: That if he obſerved theſe Meaſures, he would ſave the Credit of his Conduct, and ſit free at the ſame time from the Charge of Cruelty; and ſhe her ſelf ſhould upon better Grounds commend his Care and Regard for her Subjects.* But theſe Inſtructions came too late. During the Heat of this Siege, *D'Aumont* and *Norris* thought good to undermine the Eaſtern Bulwark, on that ſide where the *French* were poſted, and to blow it up; which they did, and made a very conſiderable Breach. Then did they attack the Fort on all ſides; *Latham*, *Smith*, and others, with the *Engliſh*, ſtormed the Works on the Weſt-ſide; and the *French* made the Aſſault on the Eaſtern Part at the ſame time; and the reſt fell to battering the Wall on the South, which lay between both: And this held from Noon till Four of the Clock. At length the *Engliſh* got poſſeſſion of the Weſtern Work, and *Thomas de Parades*, the *Spaniſh* Commander being cut off, they entred the Fort, pulled down the *Spaniſh* Flags, and opened a Paſſage for the reſt, who put the Garriſon (about 400 Men) to the Sword, and razed the Fort to the very Ground: And all this on the very Day that Don *John D'Aquila* was coming to their Relief. However this Victory coſt the *Engliſh* much Bloodſhed; for many good Soldiers periſhed in the Attempt, and Sir *Martin Forbiſher* being wounded in the Hip with a ſmall Shot, died as ſoon as he had brought back the Fleet to *Plimouth*. Thus fell a Man of undaunted Courage, and inferior to none of that Age in Experience and Conduct, or the Reputation of a brave Commander, as I have already obſerved.

Death of Sir Martin Forbiſher.

Not long after, there being certain Intelligence that ſeveral *Spaniſh* Officers were come into *Ireland*, to raiſe a Rebellion; *Norris* was once more recalled from *Bretagne*. The Ships which were to bring him over, upon their Arrival at *Morlaix*, were forbid to enter the Port; ſo that they were forced to put to Sea again in extreme cold Weather, and to make for *Ruſcon*, which is a very dangerous Road. This the Queen took ſo much the worſe at *D'Aumont's* hands, becauſe he owed the taking of *Morlaix* to the *Engliſh*.

The

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Hawkins's Voyage to *America.*

The *English* began now to molest and attack the *Spaniards*, not only in *France*, but in the farther Parts of *America*: For *Richard Hawkins*, Son to the famous Navigator, Sir *John Hawkins*, having got a Commission under the Broad-Seal to annoy the *Spaniards* in those Parts, put to Sea the Year before with three Ships and 200 Men. The first place he toucht at, was the Isle of St. *Ann*; where making a stay of three Months to refresh his Men, the least of his Ships by chance took fire, and was burnt. After which he took a *Portuguese* Vessel over against the River of *Plate*, and the Governour of *Peru* having notice of his coming, prepared a Fleet to intercept him; and after this another of his Ships by stress of Weather returned to *England*, for which the Captain was punished.

He loses 2 Ships.

Thus being left alone, and at a great Distance from shore, in the Latitude of 50 Degrees, he happen'd upon a fruitful Coast, abounding with Wood, and having good Harbours. Here he cruized up and down from West to North for the space of 60 Leagues, till being driven back by contrary Winds, he made the Strait of *Magellan* just before the end of *January* in the same Year, which he found to be nothing but a Sea stocked with a great many Islands; and herein he sailed to the 56th Degree of Latitude. After he had spent six Weeks among these Islands, and strove with uncertain and dangerous Currents, he got safe into the open Sea, and was, according to the *Spaniards* Account, the sixth Man that had the Honour and Fortune to pass that Strait. As he sailed afterwards along the Coast of *Chili* in the South-Sea, he took five laden Merchant-men at *Villa-Parissa*, one of which he carried off, and the Master of the Vessel, and the rest he ransomed for 2000 Ducats, whereas they were valued at more than 20000. After this he steered his Course for *Arica*, where *Bertrand di Castro*, at the Viceroy's Command, attacked him with eight Ships, though to his own Damage, his Powder and Shot being all spent. Afterwards, having received fresh Supplies, he made a second Assault upon him in the Bay of *Attacame*, but with the same Success; for the Fight was closely and briskly maintained on both sides, and several Men lost, insomuch that the *Spaniards* thought it safer to ply them at a Distance with their great Guns, and endeavour to disable their Ship; which having done for three whole Days together without Intermission, *Bertrand* sent his Glove, and in the King's Name offered *Hawkins* and the rest their Liberty, if they would surrender themselves. This Condition he accepted, and most of the rest, for they were miserably wounded, and unable to hold out any longer. Whereupon *Bertrand* treated them with a great deal of Civility: But it seems a Doubt was made, Whether Faith was to be kept with them or not? Whether *Bertrand*, whose Commission was immediately from the Viceroy, not from the King himself, could make *Hawkins* such a Promise in the King's Name, when he produced an Authority directly from the Queen? At length the general Opinion was, that a Faith plighted in the King's Name, was to be observed, by reason that he was no Pirate, but a fair Enemy: Nor could the *Spaniard* act by any other Martial Laws in the South-Sea, than what were agreeable to the Practice and Customs of other Parts. Nevertheless *Hawkins* was sent into *Spain*, and there retained several Years in Prison, tho' *Bertrand* pressed hard for the Performance of the Articles made by him: But the *Spaniards* were for using this Rigour to deter others from venturing into the South-Sea. But at length the *Conde di Miranda*, President of the Council, declared positively, that he ought to be discharged, forasmuch as in Military Cases the Promises made in the Royal Name ought to be sacredly observed by all Captains and Officers, for otherwise no Man would ever surrender himself.

Passes the Strait of *Magellan*.

Takes Prizes.

He is taken.

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James Lancaster had notwithstanding better Success in an Engagement with the *Spaniards* in another Part of *America*, being equipped with three Ships and a long Pinnace by some Merchants of *London*, whose Effects the *Spaniards* had seized on: For he took thirty nine of their Ships, and then taking *Venour* an *Englishman* into his Company, besides some *Hollanders* and *Frenchmen* who were cruizing in that Sea, he resolved to make an Attempt upon *Fernambuc* in *Brazil*, where he was informed that vast Treasures were put on shore from an *East-India* Carack, which was wrecked thereabouts.

Lancaster's Expedition, and Success.

He takes *Fernambuc*.

But when he saw the Shore lined by great numbers of the Enemy, he singled out the stoutest of his Men, and clapping them into Boats, made them row away with such Force as to split them in pieces. Nor did the Project fail of an answerable Success, for after they had couragiously driven the Enemy to the Upper Town, they made themselves Masters of the Lower Town and the Port, and maintained it thirty Days together, against all the Force and Policy of the Enemy, refusing all Terms of Accommodation, baffling all their Attempts of firing the Fleet, and at last filling fifteen Ships with the Cargo of the aforesaid Carack; as also with the Sugars which are made here in great Plenty from the Moisture of a sweet sort of Cane; besides a quantity of *Brazil* Wood, which borrows its Name from this Province, and is very much used in dying of Clothes: With this Lading, and some Gossipine or Cotton, they returned safe home.

Whether it be worth while to mention what follows, I cannot say, unless it may serve as a Curb to the Ambition of Youth. Sir *Nicolas Clifford* and Sir *Anthony Shirley*, two young *English* Knights, had behaved themselves so bravely under the King in the *French* Wars, that he honoured 'em with the Order of St. *Michael*, and they took the Oath in the usual Form, returning afterwards with the Ensigns of that Order, and shewing themselves thus equipped in the City and Court, the Queen took it ill that they should take an Oath to, and receive an Honour of that nature from any Prince, without her Leave and Cognizance, as if they had been his Subjects, and not hers; and for this Presumption they were sent to Prison. She was so tender however, as not to have them prosecuted according to Law, because they were young Gentlemen, and consequently erred out of Ignorance, as well as out of her great Veneration for the *French* King, who had conferred on them such an honourable Title. But she ordered them notwithstanding to resign the Character, and send back the Ensigns of it, and to endeavour to get their Names struck out of the Register of that Order; which the *French* King hearing of, 'tis reported he said in a pleasant Humour: *I could wish the Queen would do me the same Favour, and make some of my aspiring Subjects she happens to see next in* England, *Knights of the Round Table.* For that Order, which had been the Subject of so many old Tales and Stories, was long ago worn out of date, as of late the Order of St. *Michael* in *France* has sunk so low thro' the Confusion of the Times, that a *French* Nobleman said, *That the Chain of St.* Michael *was formerly a Character only of the Nobility, but now it was a Collar for all sorts of Animals.* But I will not prevent what I shall hereafter have occasion to say in reference to foreign Distinctions of Honour.

About

1594. *Ann.* 37. The death of Cardinal *Allen*.

About this time departed this Life *William Allen*, commonly called the Cardinal of *England*, whom I have often mention'd already. He was born in the County of *Lancaster*, of worthy Parents, and allied to some Noble Families. He had his Education at *Oriel-College* in *Oxford*, and was Proctor of the University in Queen *Mary*'s Days, and afterwards a Canon in *York* Cathedral. Upon the Change of Religion in *England*, he left the Kingdom, and professed Divinity at *Doway*, (which was made an University *Ann.* 1562.) and was made a Canon of the Church of *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be founded for the *English* at *Doway*, and another also at *Rhemes*, where he was likewise created Canon, besides a third at *Rome*, and two more in *Spain*, in order to keep up the Profession of Popery in *England*, for which he had so intemperate a Zeal, as to lay aside both his Duty to his Prince, and his Love to his Country, and stirred up both the King of *Spain* and the Pope to attempt the Conquest of *England*. Upon which account he engaged deep in hazardous Projects and Designs, after Pope *Sixtus* V. had dignified him with the Character of Cardinal of *St. Martin in the Mounts*, and the King of *Spain* had given him an Abbey in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and nominated him to the Archbishoprick of *Mechlin*. For when the *Invincible Armada* was preparing against *England*, he brought a Bill of Excommunication against the Queen into the *Low-Countries*, and ordered it to be printed in *English*; and he wrote likewise a kind of Memorial to his Countrymen, persuading them to adhere to the Pope and the King of *Spain*. But he returned to *Rome* under a great Disappointment; and being at length tired out with the Heats and Dissentions of the *English* Fugitives, both Scholars and Gentlemen, he died in the 63d Year of his Age, and was buried in the *English* Church of the *Holy Trinity*. He wrote a Treatise of the Eucharist in *Latin*, and some Apologies in *English*; one for the Seminaries, another for the *English* Catholicks, and a third for Sir *William Stanley*, who betrayed *Deventer* to the *Spaniards*. He wrote, besides these, the aforesaid Memorial, and a Book of Purgatory, which are all that I have seen.

And *John Piers*,

About this time there died likewise *John Piers*, Archbishop of *York*, an Orthodox and Pious Divine, who had for a long time been Lord-Almoner to the Queen. He was succeeded by *Matthew Hutton*, who was translated from the Bishoprick of *Duresme* to that See.

And Earl of *Derby*.

About the beginning of this Year died *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, whom I mention'd the last Year, in the very Flower of his Youth, and some suspected he was poison'd, because he was troubled with strange Pains and Vomitings of a darkish Colour, not unlike rusty Iron. There was found in his Chamber an Image of Wax, with Hairs thrust through the Belly of it, of the same Colour with his own, which better Judges thought to be placed there on purpose to avoid the Suspicion of his being poison'd. The Matter which he vomited left such a Stain upon the Silver Basons, that no Art or Care could possibly recover them to their usual Brightness; and his Corps, tho' rolled in Lead, and laid in a Searcloth, was so noisom and offensive, that no Man could endure to come near the Place where he was buried for some considerable time after. The Gentleman of his Horse was shrewdly suspected; for as soon as the Earl took his Bed, he rid away with his best Horse. His Brother *William* enjoy'd after him the Honour and Title of Earl of *Derby*, who had afterwards a Trial with the three Daughters of the Lord *Ferdinand*, for the Dominion of the *Isle of Man*. The Queen being sensible that the *English* Fugitives and the *Spaniards* had an eye upon that Isle, committed the Government of it to Sir *Thomas Gerard* Kt. for his approved Loyalty, and by reason of his near Neighbourhood thereto, till the Claim should be determined.

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The Title of the Earls of *Derby* to the *Isle of Man*.

Mean while, the Queen's Counsellors, who very well understood the Laws, and were nice Judges of such Cases, maintain'd from the Quirks and Subtilties of their Faculty, that the Right of that Island belonged to the Queen, and that the *Stanleys* and Earls of *Derby* had held it by a wrong Claim for 200 Years last past. For (to go a little higher) *Henry* IV. as soon as he was in Possession of the Crown of *England*, attainted *William Scrope*, Lord of the *Isle of Man*, and gave it to *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*. This Earl appear'd in open Rebellion about six Years after; whereupon, the Year following, the King made a Grant thereof by his Letters-Patents, to *John Stanley* for Life, whereas the said Earl of *Northumberland* was not then attainted by Act of Parliament, nor his Lands forfeited to the King. A Month after, there was an Agreement made between the King and *Stanley*, That those former Patents which run for Life, and some others granted by the King, should be delivered up and cancelled, and a fresh Grant of the Island should be made to *Stanley*, in this Form: *We, in regard the said* John Stanley *hath delivered up to us the said Letters-Patents to be cancelled in our Court of Chancery, have therefore granted unto the aforesaid* John Stanley *the Island aforesaid*, &c. Upon these Words, and notice taken of the Circumstance of Time, that those former Patents were granted for Life, before such time as the Earl of *Northumberland* was attainted, the Lawyers were of the opinion, that the King could not legally make any such Grant for Life, because he was not yet entitled to the Forfeiture; and consequently, that the latter Letters-Patents being grounded on the Delivery of the former, were invalid; but that the King had been imposed on by a false Pretence, and therefore the Grant was null and insignificant. However the Queen gave up the Claim, and then an Agreement was made between the Uncle and Nieces.

The Death of the Lord *Dacres*.

Gregory Feines, whom I mention as being the last Lord *Dacres* of that Surname, died this Year; he was a little Crack-brain'd, and the Great Grandson of *Richard Feines*, of the ancient Family of the Earls of *Bononia*, to whom *Edward* IV. and *Henry* VI. Kings of *England*, gave the Title of Lord *Dacres*, for having married the Heiress of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*. He was the Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, who was ruined in *Henry* VIIIth's Reign, when he was scarce four and twenty; for some of his Domestick Servants having killed somebody as they were going with him to hunt, tho' he himself were not present at the Fact, yet was he called in question for it, and over-persuaded by the Courtiers, who gaped after his Estate, to confess the Fact, and cast himself on the King's Mercy, as the only way to save his own and his Servant's Life. This he unadvisedly did, and so was condemned for his pains, and the next Day but one executed. However those hungry Courtiers missed of their Bait, for the Estate fell by Law to his Sister *Margaret*, the Wife of *Sampson Lennard*, and the Barony of *Dacres* was granted to the same *Margaret*, and settled on her Son *Henry Lennard*.

L. *Evers*. L. *Chandos*.

I must not forget these Persons following, who all departed this Life within the Compass of the Year, *viz.* *William* Lord *Evers*, who left behind him *Ralph* his Son and Heir by *Margery Dimmock*: *Giles* Lord *Chandos*, who died without Heirs-Male, and left his Dignity to his Brother *William*: And,

1594. Ann. 37. Montjoy.

And, in the laſt place, *William Blount* Lord *Montjoy*, a Perſon who had been much weaken'd by the Exceſſes of his Youth; to whom ſucceeded his Brother *Charles*, Governour of *Portſmouth*.

Ruſſel made Ld Deputy of Ireland.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, was called home, and in *Auguſt* his Commiſſion was given to Sir *William Ruſſel*, the youngeſt Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*; after that *Henry Duke* and *Edward Herbert*, who were ſent with Men and Proviſions to relieve the Garriſon of *Ineskilling*, beſieged by *Mac-Guire*, had been a little before put to flight, and miſerably beaten by the Rebels. As ſoon as he had receiv'd his Patent, *Tir-Oen*, having got Letters of Protection, contrary to all Expectation, applied himſelf to him, and on his Knees begged Pardon in Writing for not obeying the Summons of the former Lord-Deputy, which he endeavour'd to excuſe, by alledging that his Enemies had laid Snares for his Life. He complain'd that he had, thro' their falſe Suggeſtions, loſt the Queen's Favour, which he acknowledged he had enjoy'd a very liberal ſhare of, and that as he was a Creature of her own raiſing, ſo ſhe might as eaſily blaſt his Honours, and caſt him out of the Kingdom. He deſired he would pleaſe to conſider the Equity of his Caſe, and made large Promiſes of performing whatever ſhould be enjoin'd him as to raiſing the Siege of *Ineskilling*, and driving out the Iſland *Scots*. He likewiſe proteſted before God and the World, that altho' in compliance with a Dictate of Nature he endeavour'd to ſave his own Life from the malicious Purſuits of his Adverſaries, yet he never would take up Arms againſt the Queen. And in the laſt place, he humbly intreated the Lord-Deputy, and the Council of the Kingdom, to interceed with the Queen for his Re-admiſſion into her Favour.

Tir-Oen impeached by Bagnal.

There was preſent at the ſame time Sir *Henry Bagnal*, Marſhal of the *Iriſh* Army, who exhibited theſe Articles againſt him; *viz.* 'That he 'had privately ſent *Mac-Guire* and the Primate '*Gauran* (mention'd before) into *Connaught*: That 'he had held a Correſpondence with *Mac-Guire*, '*O-Donel*, and other Conſpirators: That he had 'aſſiſted them by his Brother *Cormac Mac-Baron*, 'and his baſe Son *Con*, in deſtroying *Monaghan*, 'and beſieging *Ineskilling*; and had menaced the 'Commanders of *Kilulto* and *Killwarny* out of 'their Fidelity and Allegiance.' All theſe things he flatly denied; and as if he had been as clear as Innocence it ſelf, he declar'd, *That he would forfeit the Benefit of his Protection, could this Charge be proved againſt him.*

Hereupon there paſſed a cloſe Debate in Council, Whether he ſhould be taken in Cuſtody, till he had anſwer'd to this Impeachment? 'Twas the Lord-Deputy's Opinion, that he ſhould: But the reſt, out of an Idle Apprehenſion they ſhould thereby violate the Benefit of his Protection, or elſe out of private Reſpect to his Perſon, thought that he ought to be diſmiſſed, and the Buſineſs deferred to another Opportunity: Whoſe Judgment, as being the major Part, and more experienced in the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Deputy complied with, tho' with ſome Reluctancy. He was therefore diſmiſſed, without ſo much as an Hearing given to the Evidence and Witneſſes who were there preſent.

The Queen was much concerned at this, becauſe all the World were acquainted with the Villany of his Deſigns; and the Queen had ſignified her Royal Pleaſure to have him confined till he could clear himſelf of the Crimes laid to his Charge.

He gave notwithſtanding great Encouragement to the Council of *England* and *Ireland* to hope the beſt of him, and was ready to engage for any thing almoſt that they propounded to him, *viz.* 'That he would ſecure his Brother *Cormac*, and 'his Party, from aſſiſting the Rebels, or *Mac-Guire*: That he would endeavour to thruſt the 'Iſland-*Scots* out of *Ireland*: That he would perſuade *O-Donel* to do the ſame: That in the 'Lord-Deputy's Abſence, he would defend the 'Frontiers with his own Troop of Horſe: That 'he would perform the Article for ſupplying 'Proviſions: That he would build a Priſon at '*Dungannon*: That he would, upon certain Terms, 'allow of a Sheriff and Juſtices in the County of '*Tir-Oen*: And, That he would be Security that '*Turlough Mac-Henry* ſhould not let the Iſland-'*Scots* into *Ireland*.'

Ld Deputy purſues the Rebels.

The Lord-Deputy marching ſoon after to raiſe the Siege of *Ineskilling*, put the Rebels to flight: relieved that Town, and fortified the Garriſon: after which he briskly purſued *Teagh Mac-Hugh*, who was in Arms in *Leinſter*; under pretence of going one day on Hunting, he had very like to have taken him; for he forced him from his own Houſe at *Ballencure* into the ſteep Valleys which they call *Glennes*, where he placed a Garriſon, and purſued him ſo narrowly by ſome Parties he ſent in queſt of him through the By-ways and unfrequented Roads, that ſcarce a Day paſſed, but they brought in, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, ſome of the Rebels Heads. They likewiſe apprehended *Rhiſe*, *Teagh*'s Wife, a Woman of a maſculine Spirit, and a Courage above her Sex, who was ſentenced to be burnt *in Terrorem*, but had her Life ſpared by the Queen's Clemency.

Sir *Henry Bagnal* was then ſent by the Lord-Deputy into another part of *Ireland*, where he relieved the Caſtle of *Monaghan* under a deſperate Siege laid thereto by *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mahon*, and put a freſh Garriſon therein. But the Lord-Deputy, having diſmiſſed *Tir-Oen*, could not by any means perſuade him to return to him again, though he made him ſeveral courteous Invitations. At the firſt he made Excuſes, as if he was afraid of the Marſhal. And not long after he began to talk high of a Truce or Accommodation, which is a Subject Princes are not pleaſed to have their Subjects inſiſt on; inſomuch that every one wondered to obſerve ſo odd a Change in the Man, when but a little before he had made his Submiſſions in ſo mean and abject a manner.

The Eight and Thirtieth Year of her Reign. 1595.

K. of Scots makes Preparations againſt the Spaniard.

The Queen and the whole Kingdom did at this time expreſs a publick Satisfaction for the Friendſhip of the King of *Scots*, and the great Care he profeſſed to keep up a good Agreement with *England*: For he ſent out a Proclamation for levying Forces to ſerve againſt the *Spaniards*, who were reported to have a vaſt Armada ready to ruin all *Britain*. And that he might ſucceed the better in his Preparations againſt them, he admoniſhes all his Subjects in the firſt place, to lay aſide all thoſe Heats and Quarrels, which are more frequent among the Natives of *Scotland* than any other Kingdom. He laid alſo a ſtrict Charge upon the Borderers, who had been corrupted, ſome of them, with *Spaniſh* Gold, to infeſt and plunder the *Engliſh* Territories, on purpoſe to create a Breach between *England* and *Scotland*; not only to forbear committing any Acts of Hoſtility upon *England*, but likewiſe to be very ſedulous in preſerving that good Correſpondence which had been confirmed on both ſides by the Nearneſs of Relation between the two Princes, as well as Parity of Religion and Similitude of Cuſtoms

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Customs and Language, and all this on pain of being esteemed and proclaimed the Enemies of their Country.

The Queen also put forth a Proclamation much to the same purpose: And whereas some Injuries had passed on both sides, it was agreed, That Commissioners should be assigned to hear and examine them, for the better Establishment of Peace and Justice between both Nations. In less than two Months from the beginning of this Year, were *Edmund York*, Nephew to that *York* who betrayed the Fort of *Zutphen* to the *Spaniards*, and *Richard Williams*, who, as I said before, were both of them apprehended the last Year, executed at *Tyburn* for High Treason. *York* confessed, 'That *Holt* the Jesuit, *Hugh Owen*, *Jacomo de Francisco*, and others, had offer'd him an Assignment of 40000 Ducats, subscribed by *Ibara* the *Spaniard*, if he would either murder the Queen himself, or assist the said *Richard Williams* in the Fact: That this Assignment was lodged in *Holt's* Hands for his use; and that *Holt* had kissed the consecrated Host, and sworn, that the Money should be paid as soon as the Murder was committed; and that he likewise bound *York* and *Williams* by their Oaths and the Sacrament to dispatch the Business.' To say truth, there was nothing more notorious than the lewd and villainous Attempts of the Fugitives about this time: For some were employ'd in hiring Assassins to murder the Queen, and others, for the sake of Money, were ready to serve as Actors in the infamous Parricide, though they no sooner took the Pay, but they revealed the Secret: Others again were so untrue to their own Villany, as to push on the Ruin of one another, and to fall a Prey to their own base Arts and counterfeit Impeachments.

York and *Williams* executed.

Fr. King declares War against *Spain*,

The *French* King was now at length resolved to denounce War against the King of *Spain*, who out of an Ambition of gaining the Crown of *France*, had raised a dangerous War in that Kingdom, and made daily Incursions upon the People of *Cambray*, who lived under the *French* King's Protection. This he signified by Letters to the Queen, and desired there might be some Measures taken in conjunction to carry on the War against *Spain*. He complained withal, That it would be very prejudicial to him to recal the Forces out of *Bretagne*, and very serviceable to the *Spaniards* at the same time. The Queen approved his Resolution of declaring War, and wished him good Success in it; and her Answer was, That she, for her part, had so publickly opposed the Designs of *Spain*, both by Sea and Land, in the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, *Portugal* and *America*, that she supposed it was known to all the World; and had the *French* King done his part, by an Offensive War, instead of acting, as he had, barely on the Defensive, the *Spaniards* could have done neither of them any great Damage.

and informs the Queen.

Her Answer.

She then laid before him, the Necessity of calling home her Men out of *Bretagne*, because there were several Commotions in *Ireland*: Besides that, they were by Contract to remain there no longer than till the *Spaniards* were removed from the Fort of *Brest*. She complained likewise, that the *English* had been very ill used; that they had not been join'd by the Supplies which were promised, and that *Morlaix* had not, according to the Terms of the Contract, been deliver'd up to them for a Place of Retreat.

No sooner had *France* and *Spain* blown the Trumpet to an open Hostility, but a miserable War broke out in the Countries of *Luxemburgh* and *Picardy*, *Chastellet* and *Dourlans*, were taken by the *Spaniards*, and *Cambray* assaulted. Hereupon Monsieur *Chevalier* was by the King's Council dispatched into *England*, to press closely for the sending some Recruits into *Picardy*, within fifteen Days after the Date of the Letters, whereas twelve of them were spent in his Journey, and so but three left to raise and send over the Forces.

However, they fell to making a Levy without Delay; and upon occasion, they were to be dispofed of to *Calais*, *Boulogn*, *Diep*, and other Sea-Ports. And this Sir *Roger Williams* represented forthwith to the King and the respective Governors of those Towns. The King's Council in *Bretaign* made at the same time pressing Instances for Aids to be sent thither: But because they mention'd no certain Number, nor on what Design they were to serve, nor took care of any Place of Retreat, the Queen could give them no direct Answer.

She aids him,

There were about this time spread abroad most probable Reports from all Parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were ready to sail for *England* with a more formidable and better provided Fleet than the former. Whereupon great care was taken to raise the stoutest Fellows in all the Maritime Counties of *England*, and strict Watch was kept upon all the Sea-Coasts. In the mean time two Fleets were got ready, one to encounter them in the *British* Sea, and the other bound for *America*, under the Conduct of *Drake* and *Hawkins*.

and prepares against a 2d *Spanish* Invasion.

All Men began now to expect and prepare for War, and the general Concern was, that so many brave Men, capable of doing their Country the best Service, and so much good Money too, were thrown away upon *France*; for certain it is, that the Expedition to *Brest* stood the Nation in 47248 Crowns *de Soleil*, and above 2000640 more were spent upon the Forces under the Earl of *Essex*, besides the Money that was lent; and it was a new Subject of Grief to the very Women, to reflect that their Sons and Relations were unhappily taken off, and not reserved for this glorious Occasion.

Mean while *Lomeney* arrives here from *France*; and though he did disguise the taking of *Cambray*, yet he pressed hard that some Auxiliaries might be sent into *Picardy*, and then Commissioners appointed to treat about Measures for maintaining the War. Which appearing somewhat odd to the Queen and Council, he grew very uneasy, and charged the Loss of *Cambray* upon the Queen, saying, *That she seemed to triumph in the King's ill Success, and thereby would oblige him to make a Peace with* Spain. She returned him an immediate Answer, which she likewise did soon after by Letters, and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, who then was her Ambassador at the *French* Court; which Answer was to this effect.

Her Answer to the *French* King's Demands.

'That she was much concerned for the Loss of *Cambray*, but more that *Lomeney* should lay the Loss of it at her door, because Supplies were not sent from *England*. She made it appear it was impossible to dispatch them at so short a warning. Nor should she have been thought a prudent Woman to expose them to an Army flushed with Victory, after having twice routed the *French*; but on the contrary, to have had very little Regard to the Welfare and Safety of her Subjects: That she was so far from taking any Pleasure in the King's Misfortune, and thereby obliging him to conclude a Peace with the common Enemy: That neither the King himself, nor any body else, had the least imaginable reason to suspect any such thing, if he would but take the leisure to reflect how constant and ready she had been in her Services to him. She promised to give him for the future

all

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'all the Aid and Assistance she could, forasmuch 'as they were imbarked in one and the same 'Interest, and their Affairs equally imbarrassed. 'Nor could she be fairly blamed for any Omis'sions or Neglects in respect of the Spaniard, 'since from the very time that they began to 'discover their Spleen against England, she had 'never ceased to weaken and divert his Forces 'both by Sea and Land, and all for this reason 'barely, That she had a mind to rescue her 'Neighbours from the Tyranny of a Spanish Yoke. 'And she was at this very Juncture wholly em'ploy'd in providing a Fleet and Army to op'pose him; she was therefore very much to be 'excused, if she did not send the French King 'Supplies out of hand, since thereby she must 'have exposed either England or Ireland to her 'Enemies, who lay ready to invade one or 't'other, for want of Forces at home to defend 'them. And whereas it was privately whisper'd 'by some Subjects of his, That she either suspec'ted the King's Honour and Constancy, or else 'envy'd his good Success; she protested, that 'such Thoughts were too unworthy of a Prince, 'to find the least Room in her Breast, for that 'she really believed she had a secure Interest 'in his Friendship, and wished him from her 'Heart all the Happiness and good Fortune he 'could desire.'

Besides this, she order'd *Edmonds* to put the King in mind of these Particulars: 'That 'tis a 'sovereign piece of Prudence in Princes to bear 'and forbear, in little and private Instances, '(tho perhaps against the grain) the better to 'keep their Subjects in Temper, and their Go'vernment in Peace; and that because the Love 'of the People is the surest Safeguard of the 'Prince. Now this having been the Method of 'the King of *France* himself, 'twas necessary she 'should observe the same Measures, and omit 'nothing for the Security of her Subjects, who 'were so dear to her, and for whose chearful 'Obedience, Courage and Fidelity, she owned 'her self greatly indebted to the Divine Good'ness. All this *France* it self was able to testify, 'for that many of them had bravely ventur'd 'their Lives there, and a great many more were 'ready to do so, were they not detain'd for some 'time at least by the Cries and Tears of their 'Wives, Children and Relations, especially at a 'time when the common Enemy threatned the 'Subversion both of *England* and *Ireland*. Would 'the King but impartially consider these things, 'she question'd not but he would pass a fair Con'struction upon her Answers, and give no ear to 'those who were serving the common Enemy, by 'dissolving that Friendship which had hitherto 'been preserved between her Majesty and her 'self, and endeavouring the Ruin of them both 'by that means. That some Men made it their 'business to do ill Offices on both sides, and so 'to rob Princes of the Lives of their bravest Sub'jects, and the Affections of the rest; yet could 'she never believe that those kind of Practices 'would ever induce him to make a Peace with '*Spain*, without the Concurrence of *England*, (as '*Lomeney* had often hinted) on pretence that 'he had not received more Supplies from thence. 'Nay, she professed her self very well assured, 'that so considerable a Prince as he, must needs 'have a greater Regard for his Reputation, and 'set an higher Value upon his Vows and Pro'mises, than ever to forget the good Services 'of the *English*, or once admit a Thought into 'his Bosom of that unworthy and dishonoura'ble Nature, as to deserve the worst Censures, 'should it be harboured in the Breast of any o'ther Man: But should he (which God forbid) 'be brought to such a Compliance through the 'Importunity of the Popish Leaguers, yet she de'pended still on a good Providence to preserve '*England*: That as soon as she could thoroughly 'learn the Design of the *Spaniard* in those fresh 'Preparations, she was ready to lend him the 'best Assistance she could, to prevent the Ene'mies reaping that Advantage for the future, 'which they had already made of his Necessity.' This is what *Edmonds*, and after him Sir *Henry Unton*, the Queen's Ambassador, communicated to his Majesty more at large upon his Return to *France*.

Fr. King perswaded to make Peace with Spain.

But, to say the truth, the Troubles in *France* increasing every Day more and more, there were a great many that pressed the King to enter on a Peace with *Spain*, and endeavoured to persuade him, that the Queen did nothing but amuse him with a few fine Words. Others, on the contrary, dissuaded him from it, particularly *Kath.* of *Navarre*, the D. of *Bouillon*, and Sir *Henry Unton*, the *English* Ambassador. And they intimated withal, that there was little or no Hopes of their having Peace with *Spain*, which had so long withheld from him the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which belonged to his Predecessors, and had likewise embroiled *France*, in hopes one Day to govern it; when that Prince had moreover claim'd *Little-Bretagne*, as his Daughter's Hereditary Right, and asserted her Sham-Title to *England* in printed Pamphlets, tho' in opposition to the known and unquestion'd Right of the King of *Scots*, insomuch that he seemed to be, at least in Conceit and Imagination, the Grand Monarch of all *Europe*.

The King taking but little notice of these Remonstrances, the Queen could not forbear mistrusting all his Pleas of Honour and good Faith, especially when she was certainly informed from the College of Cardinals, that he received the Benefit and Blessing of the Romish Communion, on no other Terms, than these which follow, *viz.*

Terms of the French King's being admitted a Catholick.

'That he should abjure all Heresies, and pro'fess the Catholick Faith after the same manner 'his Ambassadors shall do in this Place: That 'he shall introduce the Romish Religion into the 'Principality of *Berne*, and appoint Catholick 'Magistrates in the said Province: That within 'a Year he shall occasion the Prince of *Conde* to 'be taken out of Hereticks Hands, and cause 'him to be instructed and brought up in the 'Romish Faith: That the Decrees of the Coun'cil of *Trent* shall be published and received 'throughout the *French* Dominions: That he 'shall fill the vacant Churches, and religious 'Houses with sound and true Chatholicks, and 'Persons free from the Blemish of Heresy: That 'he shall use his best Endeavours to re-invest 'such of the Clergy in their Benefices, who have 'been unjustly and illegally dispossessed: That 'he shall be careful to confer Dignities and Of'fices of Trust on Catholicks only, and as much 'as may be, to deprive and keep out Hereticks: 'That the Concordates be duly observed, and all 'Abuses reformed which have any way crept in, 'contrary thereto: That the Absolution granted 'in *France* by the Bishops, be condemned: That 'he shall send Letters to all the Princes of *Christendom*, and therein give notice of his Conver'sion, Abjuration, and publick Profession of the 'Catholick Faith.'

See the Appendix.

* Mean while the *Spaniards* put to Sea under the Command of *Didaco Brochen*, with four Gallies, and arrived in *July* early in the Morning in *Cornwal*, opposite to *Bretagne*, where they set on fire St. *Paul's* Church, which stood alone in the Fields, besides *Mouse-hole*, *Neulin* and *Pensans*, three poor Fisher-Towns, and then retired without so much as taking or killing a Man. And these

1595. Ann. 38. were the only *Spaniards* that ever set foot in *England*, as Enemies.

But Matters of a much higher Nature, and greater Consequence, were undertaken against the *Spaniards*, not only on a private Account by some particular Persons, but in a publick Manner by the Queen: For Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Captain of the Queen's Guard, having debauched one of the Maids of Honour, (whom he married afterwards) and being on that account out of Favour, and confined for several Months, was at length enlarged, but banished the Court: whereupon he resolved to follow the Byass of his Fancy, which led him to make new Discoveries both of Things and Places, and so undertook a Voyage to *Guiana*; a Country which the *Spaniards* used to say, was very full of Gold. This Voyage, he hoped, would turn to the Honour and Advantage of his Country, as being a probable Road to vast Treasures, and affording a likelier means of annoying the *Spaniard*, in the inner Countries of *America*; where he conceived they lay abundantly more exposed, than on the Sea-Coasts; for these Towns are never wealthy, but when the Golden Tide flows in there, to be drained out again into *Spain*.

Raleigh's Design on Guiana.

His Voyage.

On the 6th of *February* therefore he failed from *Plymouth*, and on the 22d of *March* arrived at the Isle of *Trinidado*, eight degrees on this side the Line; where he took the small City of St. *Joseph's* without much Trouble; together with the Governour *Antonio Bereo*; but not so much as one Piece of Silver in the Place. Having asked *Bereo* several Questions, who had, it seems, made a very strict Search for Gold Mines in *Guiana*, he left his Ship at *Trinidado*, and entring the River *Orenoque*, which is extremely large, and fed by several Streams, with a few Pinnaces, and 100 Men, he looked out for *Guiana* for 400 Miles together; and ventured among several Shallows, and Windings, and parting Streams, exposed all the while to the Heat of the Sun just over his Head, and incommoded by violent Storms of Rain, and a great many Difficulties besides: till the Air blowing something cooler in *April*, forc'd the Rains down every where in such vast Quantities, that he was forced to return for his own Security. He that would know more of this Expedition, may consult an ingenious Book of his relating to it; wherein he gives a most accurate Description of the Countries, as if he had been born and bred there; and concludes that *Guiana* must needs be a wealthy Country; not only from the beautiful *Marcasits* found there, but from the Writings of the *Spaniards*, and upon the Credit and Report of the *Barbarians*, of whom yet he could but have little Knowledge; but indeed chiefly from the sanguine Complexion of his own Hopes and Desires. He likewise relates some things which appear fabulous enough, viz. of the *Amazons*, and a certain Nation of People, whose Shoulders are so high, that their Face is placed in their Breast: A Secret which Poets and Travellers had never before discover'd. In his way homeward he set fire on *Cumana*, because the Inhabitants would not ransom it at his Price, and he did the same by several small Cottages at St. *Mary's* and *Rio de la Hach*. Nor was he discouraged from one or two Essays more of this kind, tho' at a vast Expence to himself, and altho' the *Spaniards* had planted a Colony at *Trinidado* to oppose his Attempts.

At the same time, *Amias Preston*, and *Sommers* pillaged the Island of *Porto-Santo* near *Madera*, of *Coche* near *Margarita*, the small Town of *Coros*, and *St. Jago de Leon*, a small City; but *Cumana* they ransomed. A few Months before, the three Ships belonging to the Earl of *Cumberland* did attack a large Carack, called *the five Wounds of Christ*; she by chance took fire in the Engagement, and was burnt with all her Cargo; the Fire flaming out in that violent degree, that the *English* had much ado to escape, and the *Portugueses* were forced to cast themselves into the Sea. These Exploits, and some more, were executed at the Charge of private Men.

English infest the Western Ocean.

But the Queen being inform'd that a vast Treasure was brought to *Porto Rico* in the Isle of *Boriquena*, or *St. John's*, for the Use of the King of *Spain*; in order to cut off his main Support, by intercepting the same, and keep his Men employ'd in those Parts; she sent thither Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, who were to share the Command at Sea, and with them Sir *Thomas Baskerville*, as General of the Land-Forces, with six of the King's Ships, and twenty other Men of War. They failed from *Plymouth* on the last of *August*, and arrived at *Grand Canary* the 27th of the next Month. *Drake* and *Baskerville* had a great Inclination to attempt taking this Island, not only to do themselves Credit, but their Country Service, in gaining a Convenience for victualling the Fleet. *Hawkins* was of another Mind, as presuming the Fleet very well provided; and that they ought to lose no time, till they had dispatch'd the main Design. But being overborne at last by *Baskerville's* Importunity, who undertook to gain it in four days; and likewise by the Seamens Complaints for Want of Provision; he gave his Consent. But *Baskerville*, upon his Attempt to land, soon found the Difficulty, and gave over the Attempt: for the Townsmen had put themselves on their Guard, and the Seamen made a stout Opposition from the Shore. When therefore they had got from thence, after about a Month's Sail, they arrived at the Isle of *St. Domingo*; and much about the same time five *Spanish* Ships, which were sent out to observe the *English*, and convoy the Plate from *Porto Rico*, seized an *English* Pinnace which had lost the Fleet; and having by Tortures forced the Master and Mariners to confess that the *English* had a Design upon *Porto Rico*, they made thither with all the Sail they could, to give Intelligence that the *English* were coming. The Gold and Silver they immediately bury'd, and dispatch'd small Vessels to all the Islands and Sea-Coasts, to give the *Spaniards* timely Notice; who took the Alarm, and armed themselves. The *English* staying to build some Pinnaces in the Isle of *Dominica*, lost time, and came too late to *Porto Rico*: Where as soon as they came to anchor, the Enemy ply'd them with their great Guns from the Ports, and Sir *Nicolas Clifford* Knight, and *Brute Brown*, were mortally wounded, whilst they were at Supper, with a Shot which dispatch'd them in a day or two. The same day *Hawkins* died of Grief, occasion'd by some Contest which had arose between him and the other Commanders; and his Death was much lamented by the Seamen. The *Spaniards* sunk a great Ship, to block up the Mouth of the Haven, and had placed large Masts on both sides from thence to the very Forts that guard the Avenues: Within were the five *Spanish* Ships, prepared to oppose the *English*, all ballasted with Sand, and well stock'd with Musketeers, and great Guns and Ammunition. Nevertheless *Baskerville* mann'd out his Boats and Pinnaces, and made an Attempt to enter the Town, firing one or two of the *Spanish* Ships; but being repulsed with the Loss of a great many Men, taken off by a Shower of small Shot, he had no Stomach at all to renew the Assault. He failed therefore from thence to the Continent, and burnt *Rio de la Hach*, a small Town, which the Inhabitants offer'd to ransom at 34000 Ducats;

Canary in vain attempted.

as

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They take some small Towns.

as they likewise set fire to some other small Villages thereabouts. Afterwards they burnt *S. Martha's*, in which they found not the smallest Piece of Gold or Silver. The next Place they took was *Numbre de Dios*, which they burnt, together with the Shipping; but found neither People nor a Penny of Money in the Town. Thence they marched with 750 Men well arm'd, towards

March towards Panama.

Panama: But after a day or two's very troublesome March through very narrow and difficult Passages, they found themselves assaulted from the Woods with Showers of small Shot; and observing likewise that there was a Fort to oppose them, at the Entrance of that *Isthmus*; and hearing that there were two more within to obstruct

But without Success.

their Passage, they were forced to return to their Ships wretchedly harass'd and half-starv'd, the Men being much weakened and dispirited: And now 'twas resolved to make towards the Isle of

Death of Sir *Fran. Drake*.

Escudo, and from thence to *Porto Bello*. Mean while Sir *Francis Drake* was, on the 28th of *January*, carried off by the Bloody-flux, the Vexation of his Disappointment assisting his Distemper. He had no other Funeral, that what is common at Sea, *viz.* to be cast overboard with a Volley of Shot; and he happened to find his Grave, very near the Place from whence he had borrowed so large a Reputation, by his fortunate Successes. He that would know more of this Gentleman's History, may have Recourse to what is said of him under the Year of 1580. In their Return they were met by the *Spanish* Fleet on the South of *Cuba*, near the Isle of *Pines*; which had waited for their Coming: However, *Baskerville* and *Troughton*, the one in the Vice-Admiral, and the other in the Admiral, gave the *Spaniards* such a warm Entertainment, upon the first Brush; that, if we may take their Words, the Fleet got clear of them with less Damage from the Enemy, than was received on their side by the *English*. At last they returned to *England*, after they had been out eight Months, with very little Booty; having fired only some small Towns, and a good Number of Ships: For 'tis to be considered, that the *Spaniards* in *America*, who had formerly lived very secure, by reason of the Distance of the Place, having lately suffered great Damages both from the *French* and *English*, who ventured into those Parts, had by this time strengthen'd themselves with good Forts; and were very well provided to make their Defence upon any Assault.

Whilst the *English* were thus employ'd in the Western Parts, a former Misunderstanding between the Queen and the States-General, which as it ow'd its Rise to a very inconsiderable Occasion, so it by degrees grew enflamed, and soon after by the same degrees vanished; as will appear by what follows. The Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* had laid before the Queen, the vast Sums of Money, which had been expended upon the *Low-Country*-War, since the Year 1585. the great Quantity of Gold and Silver, which had been exported to *Holland*, and their coined, to the great Advantage of the States, but never a Penny of it brought back into *England*. How many brave *Englishmen* had been lost upon their account. What a mighty Expence she must needs be at, before she could quell the Commotions in *Ireland*, and divert the Attempts of the *Spaniards*. He remonstrated likewise, how the States ow'd their Security to her Majesty's Assistance, and had by the same means annoy'd their Enemies, establish'd their Government, which before stood on a tottering Foundation; and besides, the Increase of their Wealth by Trade, and their Power by the Accession of new Colonies, had made themselves capable of succouring their Neighbours.

1595. *Ann.* 38.

Mony demanded of the *Dutch*.

The Queen, being tired out with the Inconveniences of a tedious War, the Expence especially, signified all these things to the States, by her Residentiary Sir *Thomas Bodley*; particularly, that *England* was doubly impoverished, both as to Men and Money, by maintaining so long a War against *Spain*; which she had made her Enemy, meerly for having lent them her Assistance, in the Extremity of their Affairs. She demanded

Queen's Proposals.

therefore, 'That they would ease her of the Expence of maintaining her Recruits: That they would pay back some part of the Charge, and appoint Commissioners to find out Ways and Means for reimbursing the entire Sum, which was raised on their account, and payable to Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, to whom she had payed a large Interest for a long while.' The States owned, with many Thanks, the Queen's great and signal Favours; and acknowledged themselves obliged to her Majesty, next under God, for all their good Successes: But they alledged,

States Answer.

'That they had laid out such large Sums in the year 1588. against the *Spanish Armada*; so much the year following in the *Portugal* Expedition; and after that, so much more in the Voyage to *Brest*; and had suffered of late so very much by an extraordinary Flood; that they were not at present furnished with Money enough to discharge their Debts, unless by laying too heavy Burdens on the Necks of their People, and so murdering their Cause all at once: That they were so far from finding their Charges lessen'd by their new Acquisitions, that they were rather augmented, through the Necessity of fortifying those Places, and stocking them with fresh Garrisons. Then for their Trade, it was at that time, and had been exposed to infinite Losses, by Seizures of Goods in *Spain*, and through the Piracies of the *English* and *Dunkirkers*. They could not deny but they had supplied the *French* King; but 'twas not from the great Banks they were Masters of, or that they affected to be thought richer than they were; not out of any Design to crave his Protection, in Neglect of *England*: But purely to divert the Enemy, and keep that King from making a Peace with *Spain*; to which either his own Wants, or the civil Dissensions of his Subjects, or the corrupt Counsels of his Ministers, might otherwise oblige him. However, Part of the Money they engaged to reimburse.'

But the Queen demanded more than was offer'd; whereas they strongly insisted, that by the Agreement in the year 1585, the Money was not to be repayed, till the War was at an end; and that the Queen ought not to go back from her Contract, if she had any Regard for her Honour. She however was of another Opinion, founded upon these Maxims of Law and Policy.

Q. replies.

'That all Compacts between Prince and Prince are to be interpreted by the Measures of Truth and Sincerity; and that no Prince is bound by any Agreement, which afterwards appears to have a real Tendency to the common Prejudice and Detriment: That 'tis no Breach of Peace, for a Prince to recede from his Contract, upon the Intervention of some new and unforeseen Accident, which alters the Case, and puts a new Face on the State of things; and which had accordingly been provided for, could the Exigence have been foreseen or apprehended: That Leagues and Agreements between Princes ought not to be played or trifled with, nor are they to be kept with such as are unfaithful to their own Engagements: That a Prince is not bound to observe a Contract, relating barely to a Point of Honour or State, if it turn

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1595. Ann. 38. 'to the visible Damage and Inconvenience of 'the Subject: That every Contract, tho' confirm'd by an Oath, is understood to oblige no 'farther nor otherwise, than as things shall continue in *statu quo*, and may fairly alter upon 'Change of Circumstances: That every Man 'owes more to the Publick than to his Promise: 'And that, according to *Seneca*, a wise Man never changes his Purpose, if things remain as 'they were, when 'twas first fram'd; having no 'occasion to repent or revoke it, because he 'took the best Measures, as things then stood; 'and made as good a Choice as Fortune would 'give him leave.' Upon this therefore follow'd many, and very curious Disputes; as likewise whether the States were obliged to pay any thing to the Queen's Successors, should it please God to take her away; since, according to the Letter of the Contract, the one was not bound to aid, nor the other to pay. Again, Whether the Debt demanded in *Pallavicini*'s Name, were not rather chargeable on those of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Artois*; forasmuch as the Contract was sign'd during their Confederacy, and before the present one, in which the united Provinces were engag'd. However *Bodley* brought the States at last to those Terms, that rather than incur the Disfavour of so great a Princess, they made the following Propositions: *That they would immediately free the Queen from the entire Expence relating to the Maintenance of the* English *Auxiliaries: (computed at* 40000 l. per ann.) *That they would pay* 20000 l. *Sterling for some Years, assist her with a certain Number of Ships, and conclude no Peace nor Treaties without her Consent: That upon the Conclusion of a Peace, they would pay her a yearly Sum of* 100000 l. *for four Years; with this Reserve, notwithstanding, that they should have out of* England, *a Supply of* 4000 *Men, and a free and full Discharge of all Debts and Demands.* These Proposals they humbly desir'd her Majesty's Acceptance of, for the Reasons before alledg'd. They represented moreover the unstable Condition of their Government at this Juncture, the People being under a general Consternation at the great Power of the Enemy, who was able to maintain so many Armies on foot; the Provinces not being well agreed about the Method of raising their several Contributions; and the principal Lords at Variance among themselves: Besides that, great Numbers withdrew from the Reform'd Religion, and the Emperor us'd all possible Methods by his Ambassadors, to incline the People to accept of a Peace: So that should this large Debt of Ten Years standing be at that time punctually demanded, it was to be fear'd, the Consequence would prove very fatal to the United Provinces.

Lib. de beneficiis, cap. 13.

Their new Proposals.

The Queen could not be induced to admit their Excuses upon the Plea of Poverty; but her Pity supply'd the Room of all Arguments; for she was unwilling to lose the Benefit of their Alliance, to force them to Despair, or to give the Enemy any Opportunity of insulting. She demanded however, that they should bring into her Fleet 30 Ships, stored with all manner of Provisions, to serve on the present occasion against *Spain*; and allow some Months Pay to the *English* Recruits. And thus was this Dispute laid asleep, till the Year 1598.

Accepted by the Q.

In the mean time, the *Hans*-Towns in *Germany* made Complaints to the Emperor and States of the Empire, of the Infringement of their Privileges, in relation to Customs, which had been formerly granted them by the Kings of *England*: That their Goods had been arrested in the *Portugal*-Expedition; and that the *English* Merchants had engross'd the Trade in *Germany*.

To these Particulars, Dr. *Christopher Parkins* answer'd, in the Queen's Name, 'That those Privileges were revoked in the Reign of *Edward* VI. by an Act of Parliament, (since unrepealed) upon the account of some Mismanagements, and for other warrantable Causes; as 'being indeed no way convenient at that Juncture, and having been granted when Trade 'and Navigation were at a low Ebb in *England*: 'But now the Case was alter'd, and therefore in 'Queen *Mary*'s Reign the Exercise thereof was 'totally prohibited: That the Queen, for her 'part, never was for divesting them of their Privilege (which yet she had an Act of Parliament to warrant her in) but had in the first 'Year of her Reign made some temporary *Grants* 'to them, such as the Times would then bear; 'till they themselves had, without the least Warning, thrust the *English* out of *Hamburgh*, contrary to the good Agreement which was then 'between them: Nevertheless she design'd still 'to place them on the same Level of Privilege, 'with the *English*, in respect of Trade; but they 'rejected the Offer, and insisted on a greater: 'Whereas 'twas contrary to general Custom and 'common Reason, to prefer Foreigners before 'ones natural Subjects, in the Business of trading 'for Commodities, peculiar to every Country; 'which yet they seem'd, by those Privileges, to 'insist upon. Besides, 'twas impossible the Government should subsist, should the *Hans*-Towns 'be obliged to pay no higher Customs at this 'time of day, than were impos'd above 300 'Years ago; if Liberties granted to the Prejudice of the Government should be allow'd of, 'and those which have been formerly revoked 'should be in Force again, at the Request of any private Person; yet had she very lately offer'd them, upon the Emperor's account, almost the same Privileges with the *English*, viz. 'that for Customs on the account of Cloths exported hence, and for Commodities usually 'imported hither from the *Hans*-Towns, they 'should pay no more than the Queen's natural 'Subjects: But if they had a Mind to import 'foreign Wares into *England*, such as come from '*Spain* and the *Low-Countries*; they might lawfully do so, paying a Penny in the Pound less 'than other Foreigners: But as for Cloth, it 'should not be lawful for those of the *Hans*-'Towns to transport it any whither, but to the '*Hans*-Towns beyond the River *Ems*, and the 'City of *Emden* towards the East, and the *Baltick* Sea: That she likewise allow'd them the 'Liberty of having their Houses in *London* and 'elsewhere in *England*, and to govern their Company in a regular way, by a President; on 'condition nothing were done to the Queen's 'Prejudice, or against the Laws of the Land; 'though their own Privileges contain nothing 'of any Liberty to make Choice of their Governor, or to frame Statutes and Orders, or 'maintain any Jurisdiction in a foreign Country, '*&c.* That the Goods which they complain of 'being arrested, were warlike Ammunition, 'which they were carrying into *Spain*, to be 'employ'd against *England*; which their Privileges did not in the least warrant, and contrary 'to the Notice given in all their Cities, that 'they should not do it, unless they would be 'consider'd as Enemies: That their Ships were 'again discharged, and nothing seiz'd or kept, 'but the said Ammunition; which were lawfully detain'd, both by the Law of Arms, and 'the Constitution of the Kingdom. As for the 'Monopoly they complain'd of, the *Germans* 'themselves had certify'd in their Writings, that 'the *English* us'd a Way of Trade, far enough 1595. Ann. 38.

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1595. Ann. 38. 'from the Oppreſſion of engroſſing. She was 'therefore in hopes, that the Decree of *Augsburg* 'for prohibiting the *Engliſh* Trade, procur'd by 'the *Hans*-Towns, would be laid aſide; eſpeci-'ally conſidering the States of the Empire have 'no Authority to take Cognizance of Privileges 'or any thing whatever, relating to the Rights 'and Laws of the Kingdom of *England*; which 'being an abſolute and independent Kingdom, 'owns no Superior, but its own proper Sove-'reign.'

Nevertheleſs vaſt Quantities of Grain were in the mean time brought into *England*, from the *Hans*-Towns, after the Queen had granted a general Permiſſion to import it without paying Cuſtom. And this mightily abated the Price of Grain; which was advanc'd to ſuch a Rate, by reaſon of the great Rains which fell in the Summer, and ſome private Methods which were us'd to tranſport it, that ſome of the poorer Sort in *London* began to mutiny on that account.

The Death of the Earl of *Arundel*. About this time, *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, died in the Tower of *London*; having after his Condemnation in the Year 1587, (the Severity of which the Queen was pleas'd to qualify by a gracious Reprieve) given himſelf up to his retired Meditations; till by a religious kind of Auſterity, he had reduc'd himſelf to a very languiſhing State. He left behind him his young and only Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Ann Dacres* of *Gilleſland*.

L. *Vaux*. Much about the ſame time did *William* L. *Vaux* depart this Life, a Priſoner at large, and a moſt bigotted Catholick. He was ſucceeded by his Grandſon *Edward*, whom his Son had by *Elizabeth Roper*.

Heneage. Both theſe Gentlemen were accompanied by Sir *Thomas Heneage*, who had been a Servant to the Queen from his Youth, and made by her firſt Treaſurer of her Chamber, and then Vice-Chamberlain and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; a Gentleman he was of ſo ſpruce and polite Addreſs, that he ſeem'd purely calculated for a Court. He left but one Daughter behind him, by whom the Family of the *Finches* was happily augmented with a fair Eſtate and a numerous Iſſue.

Dr. *Whitaker*. The laſt Month of this Year did *William Whitaker* lay down this mortal Life; an excellent and well-accompliſh'd Divine, that had been fifteen Years the Queen's Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Maſter of St. *John*'s College. He had impair'd his Conſtitution by too intenſe Studies, when that Query was bandied among the Clergy there, *Whether true juſtifying Faith can be loſt?* His Memory was much valued, and his Loſs equally lamented by that Univerſity, which had receiv'd conſiderable Advantages from his Sermons, Example and Writings.

Sir *Roger Williams*. The very ſame Month died Sir *Roger Williams* Knight, a *Welſh* Gentleman of the Family of *Penroſe* in *Monmouthſhire*. He firſt tried his Fortune in the Army under the Duke of *Alva*; and afterwards having obtain'd a full and compleat Experience of the Arts and Diſcipline of War, he was perhaps no way inferior to the beſt Soldiers of that Age, could he have put bounds to his Courage, which ran quite away with his Conduct and Diſcretion. 'Twas undoubtedly by a ſingular Excellence in him, that he was capable, upon the bare ſtock of Experience, without the leaſt Improvements of Learning or Education, of writing a moſt exquiſite and judicious Hiſtory of the *Low-Country*-Wars, in which he was an Actor, and of maintaining, as he did, in an admirable Book on that Subject, the Art of Fighting as it is now practis'd, againſt that which was in former Ages, to the great Mortification of the antiquated Admirers of Bows and Arrows. The Earl of *Eſſex* attended at his Funeral, which was ſolemniz'd at St. *Paul*'s, beſides as many Officers of the Army as were then in Town. 1595. Ann. 38.

Sir *Tho. Morgan*. The next Day after he was buried, Sir *Thomas Morgan*, who was with Sir *Roger*, his Kinſman, when he breath'd his laſt, departed this Life. He was alſo a *Welſhman*, and an old Knight, of the Honourable Family of the *Morgans* of *Pencarn* in the ſame County; a Gentleman that was juſtly valued for a well-temper'd Courage, and receiv'd yet higher Commendations on the account of his unmovable Loyalty to his Prince; for he put into the Queen's hands an Aſſignment of a yearly Sum of Money made to him under the King of *Spain*'s Hand, to gain him over to his Intereſt, and contented himſelf with the Allowance of a ſmall Salary from her.

Ruſſel, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, foreſeeing by the Circumſtances mention'd by me towards the end of the laſt Year's Tranſactions, that a War was likely to break out, made preſſing Applications by his Friends in *England*, that ſome experienc'd Officer might be ſent over to him, to aſſiſt him with the beſt Advices in this dangerous Juncture. He had a mind for *Baskervil* before any other, tho' he did not go ſo far as to mention him. But, clear contrary to his Expectation, Sir *John Norris* was the Perſon pitcht upon, a thorow Soldier, a good Officer, and every way reſolute and brave.

Tir-Oen takes the Fort at *Black-water*. As ſoon as *Tir-Oen* heard that he was ready to arrive with 1300 Veterane Soldiers who had ſerv'd in *Bretaign* and the *Low Countries*, and with other Supplies likewiſe out of *England*, and that the *Engliſh* had a deſign on the Caſtles of *Baleſhanon* and *Belyck*, at the entrance of *Lough-Earn*, he was driven by his Fears to make an unexpected Aſſault upon the Fort at *Black-water*, which opens the Paſſage to the Country of *Tir-Oen*, and forc'd it to ſurrender, through the abſence and neglect of the Governor, *Edward Cornwallis*; which as ſoon as he had done, being hurried and toſſed between various Reſolutions, he wrote Letters to the Earl of *Kildare*, with Offers of his Service againſt the Injuries done him by the Lord-Deputy's Officers; and at the ſame time promis'd the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop* Treaſurer of the Army, to continue a good Loyaliſt, and intreated the Lord-Deputy and Sir *John Norris*, by Letters ſent on purpoſe, to uſe him favourably, and not force him to turn Rebel againſt his Inclinations, and purely for his own Security. But theſe Letters were intercepted by the Marſhal *Bagnal*, and ſuppreſs'd, to the Earl's great Detriment, as he afterwards complain'd.

He is proclaimed a Traitor. For ſoon after he was in *July* proclaim'd a publick Traitor, both in *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, by the Name of *Hugh-O-Neal*, the Son of *Matthew Fadareugh*, (which ſignifies the Blackſmith) and the baſe Son of *Con-Oneal*. The firſt part of the Proclamation took notice of his Ingratitude to the Queen, who had given him a yearly Penſion as a Relief under his Extremities, advanc'd him to the Dignity of an Earl, given him an Eſtate in *Ireland* above others of his Family, and pardon'd him not only for the Outrages committed on his Neighbours, but for the barbarous Murder of *Shan-O-Neal*'s Son, whom he had ſtrangl'd without allowing him a bare Hearing. Then was mention'd his baſe uſage of *Shan*'s other Sons, by keeping them in Irons; and his treacherous tampering with the Lords of *Ulſter* to join in Rebellion with him: And laſt of all, it contain'd the promiſe of a Pardon to all that would deſert him, and a general Caution to every one not to aid or

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assist the Rebels in any kind or degree whatever.

1595. Ann. 38. Rebel's Strength. The Rebels were at this present able to muster about 1000 Horse, and 6280 Foot in *Ulster*, and 2300 in *Connaught*, every Man of them at *Tir-Oen*'s Command. And among these there were several experienc'd Soldiers, that had been train'd in the Exercise of War ever since the Lord-Deputy *Perrot* had appointed every Lord in *Ulster* to have such a number of Men well-disciplin'd, and always in a readiness to serve against the Island-*Scots*: Others of them had been bred up in the *Low-Country*-Wars, being sent for over by the Deputy upon an unhappy Errand, as in the conclusion it prov'd: Others were induced, by the Persuasions of the Lord Deputy *Fitz-Williams*, to serve in the *English* Wars, and by that means grew experienc'd Soldiers.

Norris advances against *Tir-Oen*. Nor were the Forces under Sir *John Norris* any whit inferior, who had Orders to march against the Rebels to prevent the Succours they expected out of *Spain*; for the Queen had given him the principal Command, (to prevent any Reflection that might fall on the Lord Deputy) stiling him *The General of the Army in* Ulster *in the absence of the Lord-Deputy*; and granted him an absolute Power to pardon what Malecontents he should think fit. With what design this was done, I cannot divine; but most certainly 'twas the subject of general Wonder, in regard that the very Essence of Government seems to consist in its being lodg'd in the hands of one, and nothing being either more monstrous or mischievous than a mixt or divided Authority. However the Lord-Deputy acted in conjunction with him, and they advanc'd as far as *Armagh*, putting the Rebels into such a Consternation, that *Tir-Oen* abandon'd the Fort at *Black-water*, set fire on the adjacent Villages and the Town of *Dunganon*, demolish'd a great part of his own House there, and looking on his Affairs as quite desperate, began to look out for some Retreat or fit place to abscond in; but the Loyalists made an Halt for want of Provision, (which is a Neglect that has disappointed many Expeditions in *Ireland*) and after having proclaim'd *Tir-Oen* a Traitor in his own Territories, and placed a Garrison in the Metropolitan-Church of *Armagh*, they return'd back again. *Tir-Oen* observ'd them narrowly in their return, and sometimes shew'd himself at a great distance. They afterwards fortified the Garrison of *Monaghan*, and when they had got pretty near to *Dundalk*, the Lord-Deputy, according to the Instructions he had receiv'd, gave up the entire Charge of the Army to *Norris*, and after several Compliments and Expressions of Civility between them, return'd to *Dublin*, and kept a strict eye upon the Affairs of *Leimster*, *Connaught* and *Munster*.

And the Lord-Deputy.

They return again.

Norris remain'd with a strong Army in *Ulster*, and did nothing answerable to the great Hopes conceiv'd of him: Perhaps out of an Emulation against the Lord-Deputy, (which the Courtiers endeavour'd to foment by all the sly Arts they were Masters of) the one being as little able to brook an Equal, as the other to endure a Superior; or else from a Principle of Policy usual with Soldiers, who love to spin out a War, as being very sensible that their Value rises according as there is occasion for their Service; or it may be, out of some affectionate Regards for *Tir-Oen*, who was as great a Favourite with him, as, on the contrary, he was unacceptable to the Lord-Deputy; for he gave, it seems, so much credit to the fine Harangues of *Tir-Oen*, and his Party, that he blam'd the Lord-Deputy in his Thoughts, as having dealt too rigidly with *Tir-Oen*, when he refus'd to accept of any Terms of an Accommodation at his Hands. The Truth of the matter is, that the Lord Deputy was really persuaded, that *Tir-Oen* did nothing but make Pretences of Delay, till the Succours, which were expected, arriv'd from *Spain*. Wherefore he refused all Terms or Overtures of a Treaty, as so many Tricks and Artifices on his side, and as inconsistent with the Queen's Honour and his own Reputation, since they were the Proposals of a proclaim'd Rebel. *Norris*, on the other side, being more credulous, conceiv'd such Hopes of bringing him to handsome Terms, as to admit of a Conference with him. But these Expectations were rais'd and cherish'd by the Subtilty of *Tir-Oen*, who presented *Norris* with a pretended Submission, subscrib'd by his own Hand, and begg'd Pardon on his Knees before *Norris* and Secretary *Fenton*; protesting withal, 'That he did not withdraw his Allegiance from his Prince out of Malice or any ill Design; but that his Friends deeply resenting some Wrongs that were done him, particularly a Design that was form'd to take away his Life, he was in a manner forc'd into a Rebellion: That this was his first Crime against the Queen, which he promis'd to make a full amends for, by a future good and loyal Behaviour; and that he would likewise renounce the Title of *O-Neal*, which he had made use of for no other Reason, than to prevent its being usurp'd by others, in bar to his Right and Title: That from thenceforward he would quite abandon the *Spanish* Interest, (into which he had not entred before *August*) and therefore humbly implor'd the Queen's Mercy, and a general Act of Oblivion, for himself and Friends, in relation to what was past.'

1595. Ann. 38. Tir-Oen submits to Norris. A Truce agreed on.

O-Donel did at the same time submit himself, and thereupon two Hostages were given, and a Truce agreed to till the first of *January*. And 'twas not long after that *Teagh-Mac-Hugh* cast himself at the Lord Deputy's Feet, and craving Pardon with humble Looks, and in a lamentable Tone, was receiv'd into Protection, and lived for some time without giving the Government any Disturbance.

Truces prejudicial in *Ireland*. Persons of better Heads have made an Observation, that not only the present, but former Conferences and Treaties of this kind, have had a scurvy Aspect upon the Queen's Affairs; for in the mean while the Malecontents gain time enough to form and ripen their Projects, to corroborate themselves by new Alliances from abroad, and provide fresh Recruits at home. And thus it was in the present case, for base and ill-natur'd People flock'd in every day to them, the *English* Forces lying in the mean time unemploy'd, and at a great Expence, and eating the Queen's faithful Subjects out of house and home, because 'twas provided by the Treaty, that they should not quarter in the Enemy's Country.

The Nine and Thirtieth Year of her Reign. 1596.

Upon the expiring of the Truce in the beginning of *January*, (tho' before that time the Rebels made a shift to seize on the Castle of *Monaghan*) Sir *Henry Wallop* Treasurer of the Army in *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Gardner* Chief Justice, both Persons of Gravity and Conduct, were sent to treat with *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the rest of the Malecontents, and to persuade them to some Terms of Accommodation; to whom they made known their several Grievances, and gave in their Petitions one by one.

Tir-Oen's Remonstrance. *Tir Oen*'s Complaint was, 'That the Marshal Sir *Henry Bagnal* had defrauded him of the just Fruit of his Endeavours, and had by false and abusive

1596. *Ann.* 39. 'abusive Insinuations robb'd him of the Queen's 'Favour, and in some measure of his Title and 'Character: That he had intercepted his Let-'ters to the Lord Deputy, General *Norris*, and 'others, and detain'd 'em to his great Prejudice, 'and seiz'd likewise upon his Wife's Portion; 'whereas he protested he had entred into no 'manner of Correspondence with any foreign 'Prince, till he had been publickly proclaim'd a 'Traitor. He humbly requested a free Pardon 'for himself and his Friends, and that they 'might be restor'd again to their Estates, and 'enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion,' (a very pleasant Conceit, when Religion was a thing that had not hitherto fallen under any consideration in that Kingdom, and the Malecontents themselves had so little troubl'd their Heads about it, that this was the very first time they made use of it as a Medium to strengthen their Party). Again, 'That the Marshal might be 'obliged to pay him a thousand Pounds of *English* '*Money* for his Wife's Portion, she being now 'dead: That no Garrison Soldiers, Sheriffs, or 'any Officers of that sort, might be appointed 'in the County of *Tir-Oen*: That the Troop of 'fifty Horse, which being in the Queen's Pay 'under his Command, had been taken from him, 'might be restor'd to him: And that those who 'had seiz'd on the Possessions of himself and his 'Friends, might be brought to condign Punish-'ment.' Upon the grant of these Particulars he promis'd to behave himself as a most faithful Subject, and to permit the Archbishop and Dean of *Armagh* to enjoy their Demesns without molestation.

His Demands.

O-Donel's Complaint.

O-Donel, after a preliminary Harangue of the Loyalty of his Father and Family towards the Kings of *England*, complain'd, 'That *Boom*, an '*English* Captain, was sent by *Perrot*, the then 'Lord Deputy, with a Troop of Soldiers into 'his Country, under colour of reducing the In-'habitants to a more civil Deportment, and 'was withal receiv'd with a great deal of Cour-'tesy, and had some Towns appointed him by 'his Father, but that he made him no better re-'turn than doing him all the Mischief he could, 'and advancing a Bastard to the Dignity of *O-*'*Donel*: That the Lord-Deputy *Perrot* had seiz'd 'upon him in Person, committed him to Prison 'upon no Grounds, and unjustly detain'd him 'till by God's Providence he made his Escape: 'That the Lord-Deputy *Fitz-Williams* had sent 'for *Oen-O-Tool*, the next Person to *O-Donel* him-'self in those Parts; and contrary to the safe 'Conduct allow'd him, had for seven Years de-'tain'd him in Custody, tho' nothing could be 'alledg'd against him; and he had practis'd un-'sufferable Violences upon his Neighbours in '*Fermanagh*; and that he himself could therefore 'find no better way to secure himself, than by 'assisting them.' As for his Demands, they were much the same with the Earl's, but he insisted likewise on some Castles and Lands in the County of *Slego*, with the Castle belonging to that Place, which he claim'd an Assignment of as his proper Right: For, it seems, *Ulick a Burgh*, Ensign of the Garrison, had lately betrayed that Fort to the Enemy, having first basely murder'd his Captain *George Bingham*.

His Demands.

The Complaints of others.

After these, came on the Pleas of *Shan Mac-Brian* and *Mac-Phelim O-Neal*, who made grievous Complaints, 'That the Isle of *Magy* and 'the Barony of *Maughery Mourn*, the Hereditary 'Estate of their Ancestors, was unjustly taken 'from them, the one by the Earl of *Essex*, the 'other by Sir *Henry Bagnal*; and that he himself 'was kept in Prison till upon Compulsion he had 'made over his Title to *Bagnal*: And that he 'was at the very Instant, insolently and inju-'riously treated by the Garrison in *Knoc-*'*Fergus*.' 1596. *Ann.* 39.

Hugh-Mac-Guire made a lamentable Complaint of the Sawciness of the Garrison-Soldiers, who drove away his Cows; as likewise, that the Sheriff, being sent into his Territories, had cut off the Head of his nearest Kinswoman, and trampled it under his Feet.

Brian Mac-Hugh, *Oge Mac-Mahon* and *Ever Mac-Couley*, complain'd, 'That, amongst other 'things, the Lord Deputy *Fitz-Williams* had 'taken Bribes to settle *Hugh-Roe* in the Dignity 'of *Mac-Mahon*; and that not long after, upon 'his demanding a Tax for his People with Co-'lours display'd, according to custom, he had 'hang'd him up, and given away his Estate 'to meer Strangers, on purpose to extinguish the 'Name of *Mac-Mahon*.'

In a word, they all join'd in the same Demand, before-mention'd, as to the free exercise of Religion: But these two last requir'd moreover an absolute and full possession of all the Revenues, as well Ecclesiastical, as what belong'd to them, within their respective Counties, upon paying a yearly Acknowledgment in Money. These Proposals being, some of them, thought fit to be granted by the Commissioners, whilst some were to be qualified by certain Restrictions, and others referr'd to the Queen, a Proposal was made to the Rebels on the other side, under the following Terms: *That they should lay down their Arms, dismiss their Forces, ask Pardon for their Rebellion, admit Sheriffs into their Counties, repair the Forts they had demolish'd, not any way molest the Garrison-Soldiers, restore whatever they had unjustly seiz'd on, discover upon their Oaths the whole of their Transactions with foreign Princes, and most faithfully promise not to enter upon any such Engagements for the future against their Sovereign.*

Articles propounded to the Rebels.

Rejected.

But so insolent was the Faction now grown, as to judge these Conditions highly unreasonable; so that they broke up the Conference, having first agreed on a Cessation of Arms till the first of *April*, upon these Conditions: 'That no 'Act of Hostility should be committed on either 'side: That the *English* Soldiers in Garrison, 'should have free liberty to pass and repass with 'their Provision and Arms: That they should 'Forage, carry Wood, and fetch Materials to 'fortify their Garrisons at three Miles distance 'from them, where-ever they happen to lie: 'That they should not by any means endeavour 'to draw the Queen's Subjects into Rebellion, 'with other matters to the like purpose: That 'for the due performance of these Conditions, 'Hostages should be deliver'd by *Tir-Oen*, either 'to be detain'd during the whole time mention'd 'in the Truce, or to be reliev'd by others in their 'turns.'

The Malecontents insist on new terms.

O-Donel could not on any Terms be persuaded to deliver Hostages; but just upon their breaking up, *Tir-Oen* and *O-Donel* gave notice by Letters, that they were not capable of standing to any Conditions, unless *Feagh Mac-Hugh* in *Leimster*, *Mac Williams*, *O-Roro*, *O-Conor Dun*, and the rest of the Malecontents in *Connaught*; as also the *O-Railes* and those in *Brenny*, might be restor'd to their Estates, and enjoy full Pardon.

Q. Eliz. sentiments.

The Queen, tho' she was very willing both at that time and afterwards to accept of any Terms (to spare the Effusion of Blood) which were any way consistent with her Royal Character; yet she look'd on it as intolerable that one Rebel should pretend to interceed for another, since (to use her own Expression) *she was not to learn how to bestow her Clemency upon such as were sorry for their Crimes, and earnestly sought for it.* As for the free exercise

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exercise of Popery, (which they took no notice of in their written Form of Submission) and the business of alienating Church-Lands, her answer was, 'That she never had willingly and knowingly granted, nor would she hereafter grant to any Man the liberty of breaking the Laws, or seizing on the Revenues of the Church. As for what Wrongs they had suffer'd, she would make 'em Satisfaction, if they could make out the Particulars wherein they were injured: And the Rudeness and Insolence of the Garrison-Soldiers she very much condemn'd.' And she sent several Letters to *Norris* and *Fenton* to the same purpose; whose Credulity *Tir-Oen* had made a most advantagious use of. The Queen found at length that *Wallop* and *Gardiner*, her Commissioners, managed things with less Prudence than was expected; so that they received from her a brisk Reprimand for having treated *Tir-Oen* and his Party, who were proclaim'd Rebels, with too much Distinction and Complaisance.

The Rebels folicit the K. of Spain's assistance.

Mean while Tir-Oen importun'd the King of Spain, by private Letters and Agents, to come to his Assistance; till at length one or two Messengers were dispatched to the Malecontents with private Instructions, with whom they struck up this Agreement, *viz.* 'That if the King of *Spain* would, within a certain time prefix'd, furnish them with an Army powerful enough to subdue the *English*, they would join their Forces with them; and in the interim, if he would supply them with Arms and Ammunition, they would not accept of any Terms of Peace whatsoever.'

These Contracts were subscribed by *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams* and others; but *Tir-Oen* was too politick to sign them, tho' no doubt he gave an implicit Consent. The Letters which the King of *Spain* sent him, full of mighty Promises, he dispatched away to the Lord-Deputy, as an Argument of his sincere Loyalty to his Prince: But fully depending on some Assistance from *Spain*, he at the same time revoked his submissive Recantation, and fell back from his Promise made to *Norris*. This the General took very ill, and roundly charg'd him for having gull'd him with fair and specious Pretences. But *Tir-Oen* being a Person that knew very well how to shift the Scene, when the Truce was just ready to expire, came to a new Capitulation with *Norris* and *Fenton*, which was confirm'd on both sides, and Hostages given. They, between them, procur'd a Pardon for *Tir-Oen* and his Accomplices in the County of *Tir-Oen*; which being put off for some time, by reason the Lawyers could not agree upon a Form, he made his use of the Delay, and protracted it for two Months, as being doubtful whether he should accept the Pardon or not, unless the Rebels in *Connaught* were likewise comprehended in the same. He did however accept it at last, and seem'd very well pleas'd therewith, often protesting, that it was more acceptable to him than the Letters-Patents which convey'd to him the Title of Earl. But for all this he refused to swear Allegiance, or to renounce upon Oath any foreign Assistance.

Tir-Oen imparts Letters from the King of Spain and imposes on Norris.

Tir-Oen receives his Pardon.

L. Deputy routs O-Madon, and Norris the Rebels in Connaught.

Whilst General *Norris* was making these Terms with *Tir-Oen*, the Lord Deputy was on the pursuit of *O-Maden*, who had rais'd a new Commotion, and laid Siege to his Castle of *Clobon-O Maden*, the Garrison being summon'd to surrender, made a rude answer, *That they would never deliver the Fort, were there as many Lord Deputies as single Persons in the Place.* But within a few Days they storm'd the Castle, and put every Man to the Sword.

Norris and *Fenton* march'd forthwith into *Connaught*, and had much ado to bring the Rebels to any Terms of Agreement, for they were outragiously bent against *Bingham*, and so made it their whole Business to form Delays, and at last clapt up a Peace not likely to be very long liv'd, and perhaps all this by *Tir-Oen*'s Advice. For he began to equivocate and give some dark Hints, 'That he suspected some foul Play was used toward him, because the Lord Deputy and Sir *John Norris* were so ill agreed, and in regard the Proposals for Peace offer'd to the Lord-Deputy were so contemptuously rejected: In that the Lord Deputy seem'd likewise resolv'd on War, and had received Recruits of Horse from *England*, and detained the King of *Spain*'s Letters already mentioned: As also, that the Marshal, his profess'd Enemy, was just return'd out of *England* with fresh Instructions.' Hereupon he sent his Russians abroad and began to waste and pillage the Country all about. But not long after, being vexed at what he had done, and hearing there was a probability of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, he was likewise for making a Virtue of Necessity, and as peaceably inclined as any one could wish. I am quite tir'd with pursuing him through all his Shifts and Devices: In short, upon the appearance of the least Danger from *England*, nothing was so cringing and submissive; so that by a mock shew of Repentance he always chous'd the *English*, till he had got into Shelter, and the Forces rais'd against him were dismiss'd. Nor is it to be wonder'd that he was so often believed and pardoned, when 'tis considered what slothful and mercenary Commanders did then abound in *Ireland*, besides the unseasonable good Husbandry of the *English* Council, and the Queen's natural Clemency, who always desired that the Robberies and Outrages of the Malecontents (for the Name of a War they did not deserve) might be suppress'd, if possible, without Bloodshed. *But how false and dissembling a Wretch he was, the following Particulars will easily discover.*

Tir-Oen prevaricates.

They encourage the Rebels in Munster.

The very same Month that he receiv'd the Instrument of his Pardon, did he, together with *O-Donel*, *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams*, and *Tribus Clan-Shees*, send private Letters to the Gentry in *Munster*, putting them in Hopes, and promising their utmost Assistance with Oaths and Imprecations, That if they would join their Forces with them in the Defence of the Catholick Religion, there should no Peace be concluded with the *English*, but all the Confederates should be therein comprehended.

Soon after, he incited *Feagh Mac-Hugh* to revive a Rebellion in *Leimster*, which had been totally suppressed, after he had petitioned for his Pardon, and was now just ready to receive it. He immediately seiz'd on the Fort near *Ballencore*, and razed it to the Ground: After which he committed several Outrages in the County of *Leimster*, tho' the Lord Deputy went in pursuit of him. He likewise supported *Peter* and *James Butler*, Nephews to the Earl of *Ormond*, who were then up in Arms: But this was carried on with all the Privacy imaginable.

He rebels again.

Winter now coming on, he could no longer conceal those treacherous Principles which he had thus long masked under a profound Dissimulation; for, in opposition to the Articles of the late Treaty, he publickly forbad the conveyance of Provisions to the Garrison in *Armagh*, and from an Ambush, prepared for that purpose, slew several Soldiers that were employed in carrying Victuals, or fetching Wood; and he himself made such a furious Attack upon the Garrison, that thirty

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thirty of them were ſlain. *Henry Oge*, *Man-Shan's* Son-in-law, he ſent out to ſet the Villages on fire, and plunder the Country about the River *Boyne*, and attempted to take the Caſtle of *Carlingford* by Stratagem.

Theſe Diſorders the Lord Deputy and Council fairly expoſtulated; and deſired him withal, that if he had any regard for the Safety of his Hoſtages, or was willing to prevent the being proclaimed a Traitor once more, he would make no more Aſſaults upon the Priſon, nor hinder the conveyance of Proviſions to it. His Anſwer was, 'That he, for his part, had kept the Agreement; but that *Feagh Mac-Hugh* was ill treated by the Lord Deputy, contrary to his Promiſe, at leaſt, if not to Articles in Form; and that *Oen Mac-Collo* had been baſely ſlain by the Garriſon at *Kellas*. Theſe Proceedings had made him the more jealous what might be the Fate of himſelf and his Friends.' He deſired therefore, that in order to a full and final Compoſition, a new Conference might be appointed with General *Norris* or the Lord Deputy. Which Requeſt whilſt they held in Debate, he permitted *Armagh* to be reliev'd. But *O-Donel* in the mean while was wholly intent upon Spoil and Plunder in the Province of *Connaught*; and at length the Conference, with the Hopes of which *Norris* had pleaſed himſelf, was quite ſhifted off and laid aſide.

Feagh-Mac-Hugh ſlain.

In the mean while the Lord Deputy ſpared no Pains to apprehend *Mac-Hugh*, till at laſt the Rebels being routed and put to flight with a conſiderable Slaughter, Colonel *Milburn* took him as he was endeavouring to ſecure his Retreat; and after giving him ſeveral Wounds, cut off his Head, and ſent it to *Dublin*, to the great Joy of that City, ſome little time before the Lord-Deputy reſign'd his Patent. About the ſame time was *George Butler's* Head ſent to the Lord Deputy by *Thomas Lea*, and his Brother *Peter* was taken by his Uncle the Earl of *Ormond*, and hang'd, though he was the immediate Heir of that Family.

In the midſt of theſe Commotions in *Ireland*, *Albert*, Cardinal and Archduke of *Auſtria*, who was made Governor of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, did on a ſudden afford matter to divert the Queen's Thoughts from the Affairs of *Ireland*; for he was no ſooner inveſted in this new Charge, than he got together the *Spaniſh* Forces, as if with a deſign to raiſe the Siege of *La-Fere*, a Town of *Picardy*, whereas he moſt unexpectedly marched to the Siege of *Calais*, where the very firſt day he took the Caſtle of *Newenham*, and made himſelf Maſter of the Port.

Calais beſieged by the Archduke of *Auſtria*.

As ſoon as the Queen was inform'd of this Siege by ſome Meſſengers from *France*, whoſe Fears interpreted their Errand, ſhe order'd ſome Forces to be raiſed the very ſame day, being *Sunday*, during Divine Service, in order to aſſiſt the *French* King and ſecure her own Kingdoms, for ſhe thought there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that when her Neighbour's Houſe was on Fire, her own might poſſibly feel the force of the Flame. This Army, which was rais'd at ſo ſhort a warning, *Eſſex* had the Command of; but before they took Shipping, there was certain Intelligence brought, that both the Town and Caſtle were in the *Spaniards* Hands; for the Archduke having batter'd the Walls, and much impair'd them by the conſtant playing of his great Guns, (which were heard as far as *Greenwich*) the Townſmen retir'd into the Caſtle, which was eaſily taken in a few days, and a great number of the *French* cut off; whereupon the *Engliſh* Army was immediately disbanded, and the *French* King furniſh'd with ſome Moneys on Security given by the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Sancy*.

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'Twas not long before a larger and better Army was rais'd in *England*, wherein ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen offer'd themſelves to ſerve as Voluntiers; for the Report ſpread and gather'd more and more, that the King of *Spain* was making his utmoſt Efforts againſt *England* and *Ireland*, being, without doubt, encouraged by his Succeſs on *Calais*, which was but a very ſhort cut from *England*; beſides that *Drake* and *Hawkins's* Voyage had foully miſcarried, and the *Iriſh* ſolicited hard for Succours out of *Spain*; the Queen thought it the beſt courſe, in order to divert or ſcatter this growing Tempeſt, to attack the Enemy in his own Ports: And to that purpoſe, a Fleet was equipp'd, conſiſting of 150 Ships, 17 whereof were capital Ships, and 22 more were ſent to act in conjunction from the States of the *Low-Countries*; the reſt were Tenders and ſmall Veſſels. In this Fleet were reckon'd 6360 Soldiers in Pay, 1000 Voluntiers, and 6772 Seamen, beſides *Dutchmen*. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord-Admiral of *England*, who had expended vaſt Sums from their own private Purſe, upon this Expedition, were appointed Commanders in Chief, and to ſhare the Power between them, with the Character of Generals; the Lord-Admiral however being to have the principal Authority at Sea, and the Lord *Eſſex* at Land. And they had likewiſe join'd with them theſe following Perſons to aſſiſt at a Council of War, *viz.* The Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Lord-Admiral commanded the firſt, the ſecond the Lord *Eſſex*, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and the fourth Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The Officers of the Army were theſe, *viz.* Sir *Francis Vere* Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Wingfield* Quarter-Maſter-General, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance, Sir *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant-Major: The Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *C[illegible]ſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Edward Wingfield* Captain of the Voluntiers, and *Anthony Aſhley* Secretary of the Council of War, whoſe Buſineſs was to keep a Regiſter of their Councils, and the Arguments uſed, and to record the ſeveral Actions and Attempts that ſhould be form'd.

A Fleet prepared againſt *Spain*.

Commanders at Sea.

At Land.

The Queen gave the Generals the following Inſtructions:

'To make a ſtrict Enquiry into the Quantity of Proviſions that were laid up in the *Spaniſh* Ships or Warehouſes, to be made uſe of againſt *England* and *Ireland*, or ſent to *Calais*; and to do what they could to intercept or deſtroy it, as alſo the Enemies Ships, ſo far as might be done without running too great a Riſque on their own ſide: For, *as ſhe often uſed to ſay*, ſhe had much rather her Men ſhould be reſerv'd for the Defence of their own Country, than puſh'd upon the common Hazards of War, where little was to be got either of Honour or Advantage. That what Towns ſoever they took, they ſhould ſpare the Women, and thoſe that were very Young, or elſe Decrepit, and put none to the Sword, but ſuch as made Oppoſition. That the Spoil and Plunder ſhould be kept ſafe to make good the Expences of the War, and to reward thoſe that acted bravely. That the Gentlemen of the Council, ſhould faithfully deliver their Advices and Opinions, without dividing into Sides and Parties; and that the Plurality of Votes ſhould always determine it. That when they had deſtroy'd what Ships or Proviſions they could belonging to the Enemy, they ſhould ſend out ſome Men of War to intercept the *Indian* Caracks, if they receiv'd

1582. Ann. 25. ' miſſioners at *York*, how injuriouſly I was dealt withal, they were preſently beſieged by your Forces in the Caſtle of *Edinborough*, and * two of the chief of 'em were miſerably bereav'd of their Lives; one by Poiſon, the other by the Gallows. And this, after I had, at your Requeſt, caus'd them more than once to lay down their Arms, in hopes of Peace, which God knows whether my Adverſaries ever intended.

* Lidington and Grange.

' From that time forward I determined with myſelf to try whether I could by my Patience mitigate others Rigor, by bearing quietly all things which ſhould be inflicted on a Captive-Queen: yet have I now for this whole Year been quite debarr'd from all intercourſe with my Son, either by Letters or Meſſengers; that ſo, if it were poſſible, the Son might be rent and divided from his Mother, by a ſad and woful Alienation of Affections.

' Conditions of Peace and Concord to be made betwixt us I have often propounded. At *Chateſworth*, eleven Years ſince, with your Commiſſioners, and with yourſelf by the Ambaſſadors of the moſt Chriſtian King and my own, and the laſt Winter with *Beale*, have I dealt therein ſincerely. But theſe Conditions have been always rejected, Delays ſought and interpoſed, my Actions and Endeavours miſconſtrued, and the ſincere Affections of my Mind ſtill condemn'd. And of my long Patience I have reap'd no other Fruit, than that by a certain Preſcription it grew to a Cuſtom, that I was every day more roughly handled than other. Theſe things verily I am no longer able to endure: and howſoever it fall out, if I die, I will make known the Authors of my Death; and if I live, I ſhall, I hope, cauſe all wicked Contrivances and Calumnies againſt me to ceaſe, that I may paſs the reſt of my Life in greater Quiet and Tranquility.

' Wherefore, to take away all Miſunderſtandings betwixt us, let the Teſtimonies of the *Spaniards* that were lately taken Priſoners in *Ireland*, be produc'd againſt me; let the Examination of the Jeſuits be brought forth; let every Man have liberty to accuſe me publickly; ſo as I in like manner may have liberty allow'd me to defend myſelf, and not be condemn'd unheard. The baſeſt Malefactors and Priſoners are allowed their Defenſe, and their Accuſers brought before them Face to Face. And why am not I ſo dealt withal, who am an anointed Queen, in Blood moſt nearly ally'd to you, and next to you the lawful Heir to the Crown? And this laſt is what above all vexes and troubles my Adverſaries, who labour to ſet us two at Variance. Alas! there is no Reaſon this ſhould trouble them. I call God and my own Honour to witneſs, that I have for this long time thought of no other Kingdom but that of Heaven. Yet are you bound in Conſcience, and obliged both in regard of your Duty and Juſtice, not to prejudice my Son's undoubted Title after my death, nor to further the ſecret Contrivances of thoſe, who, both in *England* and *Scotland*, labour tooth and nail the Deſtruction of me and my Son; as is more than too apparent, by the Carriage of your Meſſengers in *Scotland*, who have behaved themſelves ſeditiouſly enough, (unknown to you, no doubt, tho' *Huntington* has buſily beſtirr'd himſelf therein).

' Is this Reaſon, that I, who am a Mother, ſhould be prohibited, not only to adviſe my oppreſs'd Son, but ſo much as to underſtand in what Condition he is? Had thoſe Meſſengers been ſent for my Son's Good, haply, if they had taken my Advice along with them, they might have been more welcome to him for my ſake; certainly you had obliged me the more cloſely to you. Neither was there any Reaſon why you ſhould ſo carefully conceal their Sending, or quite take from me at that time all Uſe of my Liberty. But, to ſpeak freely, I beſeech you to employ no more ſuch Miniſters in *Scottiſh* Matters. For tho' † *Cary* (I think) would undertake nothing unbeſeeming himſelf and his Honour; yet can I promiſe myſelf no Good of *Huntington*, by reaſon of his bad Behaviour towards me. 1582. Ann. 25.

† Lord Hunſdon.

' Therefore I do earneſtly intreat you, by the near Kindred that is betwixt us, to have a ſerious Care in my Son's Safety, to intermeddle no more in *Scottiſh* matters, without acquainting me or the *French* King; and to eſteem thoſe for no better than Traitors, who detain my Son in Cuſtody, and conſtrain him, againſt his Will, to do what they liſt. In brief, I beſeech you by the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt our Redeemer, that I may now, after ſo many Years Reſtraint, be reſtored to my Liberty upon reaſonable Conditions, and may, for the ſmall Remainder of my Life, refreſh my decay'd Body, ſomewhere out of *England*, after ſo long Grief and Languiſhing in Priſon. So ſhall you oblige me and mine, and eſpecially my Son, to you for ever. And this I will never ceaſe to beg of you with all Earneſtneſs, till you grant it me: and that which moves me ſo earneſtly to crave it, is the afflicted State of my Body and Health. Take Order therefore, that I may hereafter be more courteouſly uſed; otherwiſe, in plain terms, I ſhall not be able to endure it: and put me not off to any other Doom or Sentence than your own. Whatſoever hereafter ſhall befal me, Good or Ill, I ſhall take it to come from yourſelf alone. Vouchſafe me this Favour, that I may underſtand your Mind from yourſelf, either by a ſhort Letter, or by the *French* Ambaſſador. I cannot reſt ſatisfy'd with thoſe things which the Earl of *Shrewsbury* tells me, conſidering that they are alter'd every day. When I wrote of late to your Council, you wiſh'd me to acquaint yourſelf only with my Buſineſs. (But there was no reaſon for you to grant them ſo large an Authority over me, to trouble and afflict me). Yet I cannot but fear that ſome of them who are my Adverſaries have procur'd this, leſt the reſt, when they ſhould have heard my juſt Complaints, ſhould oppoſe them, in regard as well of your Honour, as of their own Duty towards you. Now it remains that I make this ſpecial Requeſt to you, that my Mind being taken up with the Thoughts of another Life, I may have ſome Reverend Catholick Prieſt allow'd me, who may direct me in my Religion, for my Soul's Health. This laſt Office is not to be deny'd to the pooreſt Wretches of the meaneſt Condition. To foreign Princes Ambaſſadors you allow the Exerciſe of their Religion, and I freely granted it to my Subjects of a different Religion. If this be deny'd me, (I hope) I ſhall be excuſed before God, but my Adverſaries (I fear) will not eſcape unpuniſh'd. Certainly it will be a Precedent for other Princes of Chriſtendom to uſe the like Severity towards their Subjects of a different Religion, if this Rigor be ſhew'd to me, who am an abſolute Princeſs, and your neareſt Kinſwoman. For ſo I am, and ſo I ſhall be as long as I live, whether my Adverſaries will or no, and tho' they be never ſo ill pleas'd and ſatisfy'd at it. To have my Houſhold increas'd I deſire not, but I am neceſſitated to deſire you that I may have two Waiting-Women allow'd me, whom I ſhall have need of in this my weak Condition: and let not my Enemies ſatisfy their Malice

' and

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'and Cruelty, in hindring me of so small a Courtesie. Whereas I am privately accused by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that, contrary to what I promised to *Beale*, I have dealt with my Son, about conveying my Title in *Scotland* to him, without your Privity; I beseech you, believe not *Beale*'s Suggestions: I promis'd nothing but on certain Conditions, to which I am not at all ty'd, unless those on your part be perform'd by you. Since that time I have receiv'd no Answer, and a deep Silence has ensu'd touching those Matters; but the Practices and Contrivances in *Scotland*, to the Destruction of me and my Son, have been continued. This so long a Silence I could not construe any thing else but a flat Denial, which I signify'd to you and your Council by Letters. What the *French* King and his Mother imparted to me, I have truly and ingenuously acquainted you withal, and ask'd your Counsel in it; but I have not heard so much as a Word from you. To submit my self to your Advice touching my Affairs and my Country, before I knew what manner of Advice it would be, I never intended; for this might seem to be a piece of extreme Folly. How my Adversaries in *Scotland* triumph over me and my Captive Son, is not unknown to you. For my part, I have attempted nothing there which may prejudice you: what I have done has been for procuring a solid Peace in that Kingdom; whereof, sure, I should have as great a Care as your Council; for I am far more interess'd therein than they. I desired with all my heart to gratify my Son, by confirming to him the Title of King, and to bury all Discords in Oblivion. Is this to snatch away the Diadem from my Son? But my Adversaries, and the Adversaries of my Family, would not have it confirm'd to him. This they envy him, whilst they carry a Witness against themselves in their own Breast, and by reason of their guilty Conscience, mistrust their own Condition.

'Let not these, and others my Adversaries, so far blind your Eyes, as that while you live and see it, they bring your nearest Kindred to their Graves, and undermine both Crowns: for to that purpose certainly do they carry on their wicked Practices against me, against my Son, and perhaps against your self too. Can it be any Advantage or Credit to you, that by their means I and my Son, and you and I our selves, are so long deprived of one another? Recal your self to your innate Mildness and Lenity, resume your natural Disposition, and, as you are a Princess, soften your Spirit, and dispose it to lay aside all Displeasure towards me a Princess so nearly related to you in Blood, and so loving to you; that these Matters being compounded betwixt us, I may the more quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not ascend up to God: To whose Majesty I offer up my daily Prayers, beseeching him, that these my just Complaints and woful Lamentations may now at length find Regard with you. At *Sheffeild, Nov.* 8. 1582.

Subscribed,

Vôtre tres desolée plus proche Parente, & affectionée Sœur,

MARIE R.

That is,

'Your most disconsolate nearest Kinswoman, and affectionate Sister,

MARY Queen.

The Six and twentieth Year of her Reign.

1583. Ann. 26.

With this Letter Queen *Elizabeth* was variously affected, and (having first permitted *Mota-Fenellon* the *French* Ambassador, to go with *Davison* her own Ambassador into *Scotland*, watching the Time on purpose that he might at unawares meet *Lenox*, as he return'd out of *Scotland*; and having her self after graciously receiv'd the said *Lenox*, and gently blamed him for the Errors he had committed in *Scotish* Matters) sent *Robert Beale*, Clerk of the Council, a morose, ill-temper'd Man, to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her roundly about these Letters of Complaint, and, together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat with her about her Liberty, in regard she had very lately by other Letters earnestly requested, that, upon Security given to Queen *Elizabeth*, she might at length enjoy the same, and be associated with her Son, in the Government of *Scotland*.

Lenox returns to *France* by *England*.

Concerning these things a serious Consultation was holden in the Council-Chamber of *England*; and most of the Council were satisfy'd that she might be set at Liberty upon these Conditions: 'If she and her Son would promise to attempt nothing which might be prejudicial to Queen *Elizabeth*, or the Realm of *England*. If she would acknowledge that whatever was done by her Husband *Francis* II. King of *France*, against Queen *Elizabeth*, was done against her Will, and would utterly disclaim the same as unjust; confirm the Treaty of *Edinborough*, and condemn all unfair Attempts ever since, by ingenuously renouncing them. If she would be bound to contrive or act nothing, directly or indirectly, against the Government of the Kingdom of *England*, in either Ecclesiastical or Civil Matters, but oppose all such as should any ways attempt the same, as publick Enemies. If she would forbear to claim any Right to the Kingdom of *England*, during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life; and afterwards be content to refer the Title of Succession to the Judgment of the Parliament of *England*. If (to the end there might be no place left for Prevarication, and that she might not hereafter alledge, that she condescended to these Conditions, being a Prisoner, and constrain'd thereto, she would not only swear to these Conditions her self, but would also procure the Estates of *Scotland* to confirm them by publick Authority, and the King to ratify them by Oath and Writing, and Hostages to be given for the Performance of them. As for her being join'd with her Son in the Government, it was not thought meet that the Queen of *England* should be concern'd with it: but this they referr'd to the King of *Scots* himself, and the Estates of *Scotland*. And if they were so associated together, they should be dealt withal jointly about the League; if not, severally.

Consultation about setting the Queen of *Scots* at liberty.

Upon what Conditions.

These things were deliberated and consulted of, but without Success; for the *Scots* of the *English* Faction utterly rejected the Conditions, crying out, that some *Scots*, which were mortal Enemies to the *English* Nation, were, by the Advice of the Queen of *Scots*, call'd home out of *France*; and that *Holt* an *Englishman*, of the Society of *Jesus*, was sent privately into *Scotland*, to contrive a way for invading *England*.

Scots of the *English* Faction oppose it.

There was now much striving in *Scotland* betwixt *Mota-Fenellon* and *Maninguille* the *French* Ambassadors, and *Bowes* and *Davison* Ambassadors of *England*, which of them should by deeper Insinuation allure the King's Mind to the Love of their Nation, and who should draw most Men to their Party. Whilst they diligently countermined

English & *French* court the King of *Scots*.

one

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'any Intelligence of their coming.' Having given these Orders, her Majesty appointed a Form of Prayer to be used every day in all the Ships; to implore the divine Blessing upon all their Designs and Undertakings.

There were some that objected against this Expedition; that 'twas not fit to hazard so many Ships or Men therein, lest the *Spaniards*, who let slip no Opportunity, should take advantage of their Absence, and reflecting upon the bad Success of *Drake* and *Hawkins*, be encouraged either to make a Descent on *England*, or should prove too hard for the *English* Fleet, and so put the Nation in Danger that way.

Fleet sets sail. However, the Fleet sail'd from *Plymouth*, in the beginning of *June*, and was put back again the first day with contrary Winds: But the next day, the Wind coming fair, they bore away to the West; and order'd things so well, as to pass the Coasts of *Portugal* undiscovered; For, had they been observ'd, or made any Attempts in the hithermost Parts of *Spain* or *Portugal*, the Alarm must needs have been taken, and the Project, in a great measure, defeated. Their Design was (tho' very few were privy to it) upon *Cales*, so famed by the Poets, for being the Sun's Bed-chamber; and esteem'd, by the ancient Geographers, the utmost Boundary of the Earth. 'Tis at this time a famous Mart, easily defended, and having great Advantages to annoy the Enemy: And this was the Place of Rendevous, appointed by the sealed Instructions deliver'd to every particular Captain, and which they were not to open till they were past Cape *S. Vincent*, (unless they happened to be parted from the Fleet, by bad Weather) and which they were to throw overboard, in case of Danger from the Enemy. Over against Cape *S. Vincent* they met an *Irish* Vessel, the Master of which inform'd them that they came from *Cales*, and that they were under no Apprehensions there, nor had heard any Account of a Fleet from *England*: That there were no Forces in the Island, besides a small Garrison, and that there were several Galleons, Gallies and Men of War in the Harbour; besides a great many Merchant-men, that had taken in their Loading for the *Indies*.

Arrives at *Cales*. On *Sunday* the 20th of *June*, they came to an Anchor betimes in the Morning, near S. *Sebastian*'s Chappel on the West-side of the Island, *Essex*, full of Fire and Ambition, thought it proper to land the Forces out of hand; but *Raleigh*, and particularly the Lord-Admiral were of another Mind; as indeed he was ever an Enemy to precipitant Councils, and over-hasty Measures. However, being press'd very hard, he consented that some should make Experiment, whether there was any landing there or not: But 'twas all to no purpose, the Sea dashed with that Fury and Violence against the Shoar. 'Twas then proposed by *Essex*, that they should forthwith attach the Men of War, the Galleons, and Merchant-men, that lay in the Bay very close to one another; but this Advice would not go down with the rest, because the Ships lay under the Cannon of the Forts, from whence they might expect a very warm Reception, as well as from the Ships and the 15 Gallies; should they make that Attempt.

An Attempt to land, but in vain.

The next day, upon the coming in of the Tide, the *Spanish* Men of War sheered off to the *Puntal*, and the Merchant-ships got in towards *Port-Real*: The *English* weigh'd Anchor, and took their Station, where they were furiously batter'd on the one side from the great Guns of the Fort *S. Philip*, and from the Gallies on the other. And now a Resolution was form'd to attack the *Spanish* Ships; at which *Essex* was so pleased, that he threw up his Hat for Joy: This Charge was committed to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Robert Cross*, and some other Commanders of the smaller Vessels; for the Water being at low ebb, 'twas not thought proper to hazard the taller Ships upon the Shelves and Sands, in a Channel that was both narrow and very shallow besides. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, according to the Measures resolv'd on, did therefore place himself in the midst of the Channel, and directed the Stem of the *Wast-spight*, the Ship in which he was, against the *Spanish* Men of War; which thereupon fell back. The Lord Marshal *Vere* fired on the Gallies, briskly from the *Rainbow*; but they being under the Protection of the Town, returned him a very rough Compliment from their Fore-deck, till *Essex* came in to his Relief; for then they made away as fast as they could, and kept along the Shoar, till they got to Bridge *Suaco*, which joins the Island to the main Land; and there they were hoisted up with an Engine, and so got away to Sea; except only one or two, which were prevented by Sir *John Wingfield* in the *Vanguard*. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Men of War lay at Anchor at the *Puntal*, and bestowed several Broad-sides upon the *English*, which could not hitherto get near them, by reason of the low Water; but now, upon the coming of the Flood, bore down briskly upon them. *Essex* immediately ventur'd into the midst of the Fight; as did also the Admiral and his Son. In the *Miranora* they fought stoutly, from break of day till noon; and then the *Spaniards* perceiving their Galleons were miserably shatter'd, and a great many Men kill'd, resolv'd to fire their Ships, or run them on ground. A great many Seamen for fear threw themselves overboard; some of which were taken, others drowned, and some got ashoar; and several the Admiral pity'd and spared, as they cryed Quarter, and swam for their Lives. The *Spanish* Admiral, called the *S. Philip*, Burnt and

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a Ship of 1500 Tuns, was burnt, thro' a *Moor's* taken. setting the Gun-powder on fire; and one or two more, which were near her, took Fire and shar'd the same Fate. The *S. Matthew*, thro' the Care of the Lord-Admiral, was saved and taken; as also was the *S. Andrew*, by the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Gerard*.

As soon as this Engagement was over, *Essex* landed 800 Men at *Puntal*, about a League from Men land. the City; and immediately after Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, were sent to break down the Bridge and the Engine, which had secured the Escape of the Gallies, to prevent any Access from the Island to the Continent: This was carefully and throughly performed, whilst *Essex* himself placed his Men in good Order, and marched away with all speed to the City; together with the Earl of *Sussex*, *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, *William Herbert* Son to the E. of *Worcester*, *Bourke* an *Irishman*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Thomas Germin*, *Christopher Heyden*, *Alexander Ratcliff*, and some others of the highest Quality. At first the *Spanish* Horse shew'd themselves about half a Mile from the Town, and then retreated: Annon there appeared a greater Number; whereupon *Essex* ordered his Men to retreat in good Order, and to return and charge the Enemy, when they had drawn them a little farther from the Town; which they did so effectually, that they put them to flight, and pursued 'em so close, that they had much ado to get into the Town, and secure the Gate. The Earl got upon a new Work which had been lately raised near the Gate, from whence he discover'd an Entrance into the Town; but so steep, that a Man must leap down a Pike's

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a Pike's Length. However, *Evans*, the Earl of *Suffex's* Lieutenant, began the Experiment, and was followed by *Arthur Savage*, Captain of the Earls Company, who carry'd the red Flag; *Samuel Bagnal*, and feveral others. In the mean while, Sir *Francis Vere*, the Field-Marfhal, forced open the Gate, and brake in, with the Earl of *Effex* himfelf: And now began a brisk Skirmifh in the Streets; which having maintained for half an hour, the *Englifh* forced their Way to the Market-place, where they were pelted with Showers of Stones from the Tops of the Houfes, which are flat-roofed in that Place. Here was Sir *John Wingfield* fhot in the Head, and afterwards died of his Wound; who in the firft Engagement had killed a *Spanifh* Commander, and was wounded himfelf, tho' not fo bad, but that he appear'd at the Head of his Men, till the Fight was renew'd in this place. Several others were wounded, and among them *Samuel Bagnal*, who had receiv'd eight Wounds; and *Arthur Savage*, who was all over Blood, receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood. At the very fame Inftant, the Lord-Admiral, with the Lord *Tho. Howard*, Sir *William Paget*, *Raleigh*, Sir *Rob. Southwell. Rich. Levifon*, *Phil. Woodhoufe*, *Robert Mansfield*, and the Seamen came up brifkly and entered the Town, Sir *Edward Hobby* carrying the Colours before them. The *Spaniards* now gave over the Fight, and retired into the Caftle and Town-houfe. The latter was immediately furrendered; and the other the next day after, upon the following Terms: *That the Citizens fhould have the Liberty to depart with their wearing Cloaths; and all the reft to go as Booty to the Soldiers: That 520000 Ducats fhould be laid down for their Ranfome, and 40 of their principal Citizens fent to* England *as Hoftages till the fame was pay'd.* Shortly after, 'twas order'd by Proclamation, that no Violence fhould be offer'd to the *Spaniards*; and the Women, Churchmen and Citizens were conveyed to *Porto-Santa-Maria.*

They take the Town.

& Caftle.

In the mean while, *Raleigh* was ordered, with thofe Ships, which were fmall enough to pafs the Channel, to fet Fire on the Merchant-men that were withdrawn to *Port-Real*; but an Offer was made of two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this the Lord-Admiral would by no means clofe with; for he faid, he was fent to deftroy the Shipping, not to ranfome them for Money. Whilft this Matter was under Debate, the Duke of *Medina-Sidonia* ordered the Ships to be fet on Fire, after the Goods were unladen, with which they were freighted; which was done to the great Damage of the Merchants. They found a vaft Quantity of Ammunition in the Town, and not a fmall Sum of Money, confidering that every Man feiz'd what he could lay Hands on. It has been made appear by Perfons of Judgment, that the *Spaniard's* Lofs on this occafion, in Shipping, Money, and Provifions, amounted to above 20 Millions of Ducats. There was not loft one *Englifhman* of Note except Sir *John Wingfield*, who was honourably inter'd, in a military way, in the great Church of the Town.

The Merchant-men fired.

There were about 60 Gentlemen, who ferv'd in this Expedition, knighted for their Valour, *viz. Robert* Earl of *Effex*, Count *Lodowick* of *Naffau*, Don *Chriftophoro*, a *Portuguefe*, King *Antonio's* Son, Sir *William Herbert*, *Bourk* an *Irifhman*, *William Howard*, Son to the Lord-Admiral, *Robert Dudley*, *George Devereux*, *Henry Nevill*, *Edwin Rich*, *Richard Levifon*, *Anthony Afhley*, *Henry Leonard*, *Horace Vere*, *Arthur Throckmorton*, *Miles Corbet*, *Edward Conway*, *Oliver Lambert*, *Anthony Cook*, *John Townfend*, *Chriftopher Heyden*, *Francis Popham*, *Philip Woodhoufe*, *Alexander Clifford*, *Maurice Barley*, *Charles Blunt*, *George Gifford*, *Robert Crofs*, *James Scudamore*, *Urian Leigh*, *John Lea*, *Richard Wefton*, *Richard Wainman*, *James Wotton*, *Richard Rudall*, *Robert Manfell*, *William Mounfon*, *John Bowes*, *Edward Bowes*, *Humphrey Druell*, *Amias Prefton*, *Robert Remington*, *Alexander Ratcliff*, *John Buck*, *John Morgan*, *John Aldridge*, *William Afhenden*, *Matthew Brown*, *Thomas Acton*, *Thomas Gates*, *John Stafford*, *Gillie Merrick*, *Thomas Smith*, *William Pooly*, *Thomas Palmer*, *John Lovel*, *John Gilbert*, *William Harvey*, *John Grey*, *John Van-duvenvoord*, *Melchior Lebben*, *Peter Redgemort*, and *Nicolas Medkerke.*

Knights made.

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After this an Agreement was made, for a mutual Exchange of Prifoners; and a Confultation was held, whether 'twas beft to hold *Cales* or quit it. *Effex* was of opinion, that the beft way was to keep it; becaufe it might prove a Thorn, as it were, in the *Spaniards* fides; and he undertook to defend it with 400 Men, and three Months Provifion. The reft were of another mind; for having pretty well furnifh'd their Pockets, their Thoughts and Inclinations began to travel homewards; fo that they would not allow him fo much as a fingle Ship, nor Provifions for one or two Months; whereupon he was forced to quit *Cales*, whether he would or not. However they firft plunder'd the Ifland, demolifhed the Forts, and burnt down feveral Houfes in the City. On the 5th of *July*, they got their Plunder together, and the whole Fleet failed from thence, not without this Compliment from the *Spaniards*; *That tho' the* Englifh *were Hereticks as to Religion, yet in other refpects, they were good Soldiers, and generoufly brave.* From thence they made for *Faro* in *Algarve*; from whence the Inhabitants were all fled with their Goods. There was a well-ftock'd Library left behind, which was of right the Lord *Effex's* Prize. Here the Enemy's Gallies, which before attended at fome diftance, began to come up; but the Lord-Admiral commanding them to be gone, they were glad to obey, and as they row'd off, gave the *Englifh* an hearty Farewel. At Cape *S. Vincent*, the Fleet was drove a great way to Sea, by a very boifterous Gale, which came up at North; and then a Council was held to confider, whether they fhould not fteer away for the *Azores*, and there wait for the *Indian* Caracks. The Earl of *Effex* made a Propofal, that the Land-forces, and thofe Veffels which were but flenderly provided, or had a great Number of fick Perfons in them, &c. might be fent home to *England*; and that himfelf, with two of her Majefty's Ships, and ten other Ships, might fail for the *Azores*; but this did not fquare with the Opinions of the reft, who made heavy Complaints of the Sicknefs of their Men, and the Scarcity of Victuals; fo that he found fcarce any to comply with his Motion, except the Lord *Howard* and the *Low-Countrymen*. When he found no good was to be done here, he prevail'd upon them, that every Man fhould deliver his Opinion in Writing; that fo no particular Perfon might bear the Blame; and at length he got them into the mind to go to the *Groyne*. But as it hapned, there was not a fingle Veffel to be feen there, or in the neighbouring Road at *Faroll*. When he prefs'd hard, that the Men fhould be landed, and an Attack made upon the *Groyne*, and would have had them cruize along the Shoar of *Gallicia*, and fet upon the Ships in the Ports of *S. Andreo* and *S. Sebaftian*; they would not give him fo much as the Hearing, but all of them made away for *England*, and left him, with a few Men, behind. He complain'd of the great Defects of this Expedition, and laid feveral Mifcarriages to the Charge of thofe, that compofed the Council of War. But they found an eafie way to acquit themfelves, and thought they had gain'd Reputation and Advantage enough, in having done the *Spaniard* fuch confiderable Damages, and in

They leave Cales.

They take Faro.

They return home.

carrying

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carrying off ſo rich a Booty, without ſo much as the Loſs of a ſingle Ship on their own ſide. If any thing was miſmanaged, it ſeemed to be this; That the chief Conduct of the whole Deſign was not lodged in the hands of a ſingle Perſon. However the Lord Admiral was conveniently enough join'd with *Eſſex*, were it but to qualifie the Fervours of his Youth and Ambition, and curb in the Exceſs of his Courage, by uniting Council to Action, and managing to advantage the Circumſtances of Time and Place, which are nice Parts in the Art and Diſcipline of War.

Though it may ſufficiently appear, by what has been already ſaid, how greatly advantagious this Expedition prov'd to the Queen and the Nation, and how much the *Spaniards* were Sufferers by it; yet I cannot think it altogether impertinent to mention what follows, from a brief Narrative of the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf.

'As to the Honour reſulting from this Expedition: The *Engliſh* did not wait the Iſſue of the 'King of *Spain*'s Threats and deſperate Deſigns 'upon *England*, as powerful a Prince as he was; 'but they did as good as make him a Challenge 'in his own Dominions, and beat and drove before them a Fleet of his, moſt compleatly 'equipped, not excepting his beſt and biggeſt 'Ships. Two of his Galleons they took and 'brought home with them; Fifteen Gallies they 'totally routed, with a very unequal Number of 'Ships, and ſet many of their Countrymen free, 'who were condemn'd to the Gallies; beſides 'that they releas'd ſeveral *Spaniards*, whom they 'had taken Priſoners, and receiv'd their hearty 'Thanks and Commendations for that Act of 'Clemency. Then again, they took the beſt 'fortified City in all *Spain*, with little or no 'Trouble, and ſtay'd in the Enemy's Country 'for thirteen days together. Then in reſpect of 'the Advantage ariſing from it; beſides thoſe 'two Galleons, already mention'd, which were 'an Addition of Force to the *Engliſh* Fleet, they 'brought home about 100 Braſs Guns, and a 'rich and valuable Booty beſides. The Seamen 'and Soldiers return'd home likewiſe with Spoil 'and Plunder enough to fluſh and animate them 'for another Expedition. And if we conſider 'the Damage done to the *Spaniard*; he loſt thirteen of his moſt ſerviceable Ships, forty *Indian* 'Merchant-men, and four others: There was 'likewiſe taken from him a vaſt Quantity of Ammunition, and his Stores of Proviſions both for 'Sea and Land-Service; inſomuch that 'tis next 'to an Impoſſibility he ſhould in ſome time appear again at Sea, with a Fleet fit to engage. 'Add to this, the cutting off all Opportunities 'of Traffick, for this year, at leaſt, between '*Old* and *New-Spain*. And we may think it alſo 'worth our Notice, that by this means the *Engliſh* have acquainted themſelves with the Weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* Sea-ports; and in conſequence, with how little Difficulty they may be 'taken.'

Sir *Fran. Vere* made Governor of *Briel*.

The Queen gave them a very courteous Reception at their Return, and beſtow'd many Thanks on thoſe of better Quality; eſpecially on *Eſſex* and the Lord-Admiral, in whoſe Commendations ſhe was very liberal. And having occaſion to pitch on ſome Perſon, qualify'd for the Government of *Briel*, a Port-town of great Conſequence, and delivered as a cautionary Security for Moneys ſhe had lent; upon the Lord *Sheffield*'s voluntary Reſignation of that Poſt; ſhe beſtow'd it upon Sir *Francis Vere*, an *Engliſh* Colonel in the Service of the States; as a Perſon every way accompliſh'd for ſo important a Truſt. And altho' ſome of the firſt Nobility would have got themſelves recommended to that Honour; and *Eſſex* himſelf oppoſed *Vere*; and others likewiſe were of opinion, that ſo honourable a Place would better ſuit one of higher Quality; yet the Queen was no Stranger to his Worth and Family, (he being Nephew to *John Vere*, the fifteenth Earl of *Oxford*) and having had Experience of his Loyalty and Courage, as well in the Inſtance of the *Spaniards* Defeat at *Rhinberke*, as his taking the Caſtles of *Littenhoven* and *Burick*, and recovering the Fort of *Zutphen*; after mature Deliberation and Advice, ſhe not only made choice of this Gentleman, but permitted him to hold his Command under the States; a Preferment which others were not looking out for; though ſhe was ready enough to acknowledge at the ſame time, that a Perſon who took the States Pay, was upon that account leſs fit to be entruſted with a Town, which the States had mortgaged to the Queen. This was a Proceeding which highly diſobliged the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had recommended others to the Place: But it rais'd in him a greater and more apparent Diſcontent, that Sir *Robert Cecil* was choſen Secretary in his Abſence; whereas he had ſome time before recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley*, on the ſcore of his great Wiſdom and Experience in the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and had run very high in his Commendations; but with ſo much Bitterneſs, and ſo little Reaſon, diſparaged *Cecil*, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean Opinion of *Eſſex*'s Recommendations) was the more inclinable to refuſe to make *Bodley* Secretary; neither would ſhe let the Lord-Treaſurer join him in Commiſſion with his Son; both which Honours were deſign'd him, till *Eſſex*, by too profuſe and laviſh Praiſes, had render'd him ſuſpected as a Creature of his own.

Eſſex diſpleas'd.

King of *Spain* prepares another Fleet againſt *England*.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain*, to regain the Credit he loſt at *Cales*, and recover his Damages in ſome meaſure, cauſ'd his Fleet to be repair'd at *Liſbon*, and call'd in Ships from all parts: He likewiſe furniſh'd out all the foreign Veſſels which were then in the *Spaniſh* Ports, and ſent ſome new-rais'd Forces, and a great Number of *Iriſh* Fugitives, to *Farol*; from whence they were order'd for *Ireland* and *England*: But a Storm ariſing (as the Report went) in the midſt of the Voyage, ſeveral of the Ships were ſplit upon the Rocks, ſome ſunk downright, and others were caſt away; ſo that the very Elements ſeem'd to be on the Queen's ſide, who had the News of her Enemies Fate, before ſhe receiv'd any Account of their Deſign. However, that ſhe might be the better provided againſt any Accidents, ſhe order'd that the Caſtles of *Sandsfort*, *Portland*, *Hurſt*, *Southſea*, *Calſhot*, *S. Andrews*, and *S. Maudites*, ſhould be new fortify'd, and furniſh'd with all Proviſions neceſſary for their Defence. And to tie the Knot faſter between *England* and *France*, a mutual League offenſive and defenſive, was ſign'd by her Majeſty and the *French* King, againſt *Spain*; through the Negotiation of the D. of *Bouillon* and *N. Harlay Sancy*. The Terms were as follows.

A great part caſt away.

A Treaty with *France*.

Articles thereof.

'The former Treaties ſhall be confirm'd, and 'remain in full Force, except ſuch Clauſes thereof, as ſhall be diſannul'd by the preſent Agreement. All Princes and States *ſhall be* invited 'into this League; whoſe Intereſt it is, to beware of the Growth of *Spain*. *An Army* ſhall 'be rais'd with all poſſible ſpeed *to* invade *Spain*. 'Neither the Queen of *England* nor the King of '*France* ſhall treat of any ſeparate Peace, but act 'always in Conjunction. Foraſmuch as the '*French* Dominions, that lie next the *Netherlands*, 'are at preſent annoy'd by the *Spaniards*, the Q. 'ſhall ſend 4000 Foot, to ſerve the King this 'Year, for the ſpace of ſix Months, in ſuch

'Places

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'Places as do not lie 50 Miles from the maritime 'Town of *Bologne.* They ſhall likewiſe ſerve as 'long in the Years following, if the Affairs of '*England* will conveniently permit; in which 'Particular the *French* King is to take her Maje-'ſty's Honour and Conſcience, for his Security. 'When the Rebellion in *Ireland* ſhall be happily 'extinguiſh'd, it ſhall be at the Queen's Plea-'ſure, whether the ſaid Succours of 4000 Men 'ſhall be augmented or not. The *Engliſh* ſhall 'be admitted into the King's Pay, from the Day 'of their Arrival in *France*; and continue ſo, till 'they leave the Kingdom. The Queen ſhall from 'time to time ſupply and keep up their Number. 'They ſhall receive their Pay monthly from the 'Queen's Officers, in her Coin. The *Engliſh* 'under the King's Service, ſhall ſubmit to the 'Orders and Puniſhments of his Officers; with 'this Reſerve however, that the *Engliſh* Com-'manders ſhall be preſent, and aſſiſt at their 'Trial. Should the Queen be invaded, and 'want the King's Aid, he ſhall be obliged to 'raiſe 4000 Foot in two days time, to be ſent 'into *England*, at his Charges; not to go above 'fifty Miles from the Sea-ſide; and to receive 'the Queen's Pay from the Day of their Arrival 'in *England*. The ſaid *French* Soldiers to be 'ſubject to the Queen's Officers, in the ſame 'manner as is already mention'd. The King 'likewiſe to keep up their Number full and 'compleat. They ſhall ſupply one another with 'all ſort of Ammunition and Proviſions, ſo far 'as they can without Prejudice to their reſpective 'Governments. They ſhall ſeverally defend the 'Merchants that are their Subjects, in both their 'Kingdoms reſpectively. The King ſhall not 'ſuffer the *Engliſh* to be diſturbed on the account 'of their Religion. The Captains and the com-'mon Soldiers Pay ſhall be annexed in a Sche-'dule.'

Not long after, another Treaty was enter'd into, wherein 'twas concluded, 'That for this 'Year, no more than 2000 *Engliſh* ſhould be ſent 'over, which ſhould ſerve only at *Bologne* and '*Monſtreuil*; unleſs the King himſelf ſhould come 'to *Picardy* in Perſon, &c.' The Queen took an Oath in her Chappel at *Greenwich*, to obſerve theſe Articles, which was done on the 20th of *Auguſt*, before *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Viſcount *Turenne*, and Marſhal of *France*: The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* gave the Oath, and a great many Noblemen aſſiſted at the Ceremony. In *September*, *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was ſent Ambaſſador into *France*, to be a Witneſs of the King's Oath there; as alſo to preſent Sir *Anthony Mildmay*, for her Majeſty's Ambaſſador in Ordinary, in the room of Sir *Henry Unton*, who died in *France*; and likewiſe to inveſt his Majeſty in the Order of *St. George*: Which being a Diſtinction principally intended for military Men, the Queen was willing to honour the Order in the Choice of a Prince, who had made himſelf ſo eminent for martial Bravery. And ſoon after, Sir *Thomas Baskerville* went over into *Picardy* with 2000 *Engliſh* Foot, according to the Articles of the laſt Agreement.

Treaty ſworn to on both ſides.

Whilſt theſe military Preparations were making, there were a Parcel of looſe Fellows, who went about the Kingdom, under the counterfeit Authority of the Queen's Purſuivants; with ſham Warrants and pretended Papers, under the Hands of the Queen's Council and Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; and ſearched the Houſes of Widows and Papiſts, taking away by Force their Plate, Jewels, and whatever they could find, that bore the Image of Chriſt, as unlawful Furniture. The travelling Expences allow'd to Men of that Character, they ſtrictly demanded; and defrauded ſeveral ignorant People of their Money, under colour of excuſing them from appearing before the Magiſtrate. Some of theſe Cheats were taken, and made to return their ſtoln Goods; and to reward their Project, forfeited their Ears to the Pillory, and were branded in the Forehead for Rogues and Impoſtors. This however could not totally ſuppreſs the villanous Exactions of theſe Men, till a Proclamation was made, 'That 'the Queen's Purſuivants ſhould never exact 'their Travelling-fees, till the Perſons ſum-'moned made their Appearance; and that they 'themſelves ſhould likewiſe appear with them 'before the Magiſtrate; which if they refuſed, 'the Party ſummon'd ſhould not be oblig'd to 'appear. If many happen'd to be cited by one 'and the ſame Warrant, to appear on the ſame 'Day, that the Purſuivants ſhould likewiſe at-'tend them. If the Perſon ſummon'd had any 'reaſon to ſuſpect the Purſuivant, he might have 'him brought before the next Juſtice of the Peace, 'in order to be examin'd, who and what he was. 'That the Perſons ſummon'd ſhould not, upon 'pain of Impriſonment, bribe off their Appear-'ance; and that the Purſuivants ſhould not take 'any Money on thoſe Conditions, upon the Pe-'nalty of forfeiting their Places, going to Pri-'ſon, and ſuffering ſuch other Puniſhments as 'the Law might inflict.'

Counterfeit Purſuivants puniſh'd.

This Year did *Thomas Arundel* of *Wardour* return into *England*; who being recommended by the Queen's Letters as her Kinſman, and having done ſignal Service in the War of *Hungary* againſt the *Turks* at *Gran*, was created by the Emperor's Letters-Patents, *Count of the Holy Empire, and all and every his Heirs and Deſcendants lawfully born of either Sex, or that ſhould hereafter be born in a perpetual Succeſſion, Counts and Counteſſes of the Holy Empire*: Which Title whoever enjoys, has (they 'ſay) theſe Privileges annex'd: 'That they have 'a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may 'purchaſe Lands in the Empire, raiſe Voluntiers 'to ſerve in the Army, and cannot be ſummon'd 'to take their Trials in any Court but the Im-'perial Chamber.'

Thomas Arundel made Count of the Empire.

After his Return, when this new Diſtinction had made him famous among the common People, there was a Query ſtarted, *Whether ſuch a Title, conferred by a foreign Prince upon the Queen's Subject, without her Cognizance, were to be allow'd of or not?* Some were of opinion, that the Rewards and Encouragements conferred upon any Perſons in regard to their Merit, were to be admitted, let them come from what Prince they will: 'For Virtue muſt needs ſtarve where Me-'rit and Worth are forced to go a begging: Be-'ſides, *Henry* III, readily acknowledged *Reginald* '*Mohun*'s Title as Earl of *Somerſet*, tho' he owed 'his Creation to the Apoſtolical Authority of the 'Pope. Moreover, *Henry* VIII, complimented '*Robert Curſon*, (who was made a Baron of the 'Empire by *Maximilian* I, on account of his 'Courage and Military Conduct) with the En-'rolment of his Title among the *Engliſh* Barons, 'and the Allowance of a Salary to ſupport it.' There were likewiſe ſeveral *Scotch* Gentlemen, whom the King of *France* had highly preferred for their good Service, *viz. Archibald Douglas* of *Wigton* was made Duke of *Tours*, and *John Stuart* Earl of *D'Evereux*. And the Kings of *Scotland* had always looked upon this as an Honour to their Nation.

But however the Barons of *England*, imagining that this would prove a prejudicial kind of Encroachment upon their Dignity, for them and their Heirs to ſubmit to a mere upſtart Title, which might continue in the Earl's Family for infinite Ages, took upon them to oppoſe it upon

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the following Grounds, *viz.* 'That such Marks 'of Distinction ought neither to be accepted by 'the Subject, nor allowed of by the Prince: 'That 'tis the Prince's Right alone to advance 'his own Subjects to Preferments of any kind, 'and cannot properly belong to any other what-'ever, according to that Saying of the Emperor '*Valerian*: *Let those Honours alone be esteemed va-'lid, which bear the Stamp of our Good-will and 'Authority.* For 'tis a Diminution to the Prince's 'Prerogative, and a Discouragement to the Sub-'jects Obedience, when they are allowed to re-'ceive Honours from foreign Potentates, inas-'much as the Person who receives the Title, 'seems to have made a tacit Contract with him 'that grants it: That such Advancements are a 'kind of Lures to draw away Subjects from their 'natural Fealty: That there lies an Action of 'Theft against any Man who shall put his Mark 'upon another Man's Sheep; and 'tis construed 'an Act of Fraud in him that shall strew Pro-'vender in the way to allure another Man's Lamb 'into his own Fold: That altho' Sovereign Princes 'are not tied up by these Laws, yet are they ob-'liged by a general Equity, and the common Voice 'of Nature: That in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, 'no Man could for that reason be a Denizen of 'that, and Free of another City at the same time; 'whereupon *Pomponius Atticus* declined the being 'made a Citizen of *Athens*, left he should there-'by forfeit his Privilege as a *Roman*: So in the 'States of *Venice* and *Genoa*, whoever receives 'any spiritual Promotion from the Pope, or tem-'poral Dignity from a Sovereign Prince, is exclu-'ded from publick Offices, as a Person interest-'ed, and therefore suspected. That however '*Henry* III, might be inclined through a natural 'Softness, or forced by the Iniquity of the Times, 'to allow *Mohun*'s Title of Earl, when imposed 'upon him by the Pope, in regard that his Fa-'ther, when the King and Kingdom lay under a 'common Censure of Excommunication, was pro-'secuted with severe Affronts and Indignities, 'and compelled to acknowledge himself a Vassal 'to the See of *Rome*, as he himself likewise, thro' 'mere Fear, suffer'd the Horse-Leeches of *Rome* 'to suck and drain the Wealth of *England*; yet 'nevertheless it appears from the publick Re-'cords, that *Mohun* was never acknowledged for 'an Earl: That *Henry* VIII, owned *Curson* as a 'Baron of *England*, purely to swallow up in that 'Title the frothy and insignificant one of Baron 'of the Holy Empire; but all this while he en-'joy'd no Vote in Parliament; then 'twas no 'wonder if the *Scots* received Honour from the '*French*, since the *Lilly-Tressure* in their Prince's 'Coat, speaks them to be under the Protection of 'the *French* Flower-de-luce.'

Apostolick Counts and Viscounts.

Others were of opinion, that an Earl of the Sacred Empire was but of equal Esteem with the Publick Notaries, and the common Counts and Viscounts of the *Lateran*, the Pope's Creatures; or that they held much the same Rank with the Doctors of Physick, Lawyers, Grammarians and Rhetoricians of the Royal Palace, who having been Professors of the Sciences in that Place for twenty Years, stile themselves, in Compliment to their Vanity, Counts-Palatine, whereas that is at present a first-rate Character, and signifies one who has a kind of Royal Jurisdiction in his own Courts, and an uncontrolable Prerogative in the point of Fiefs, Inheritances escheated, *&c.*

Counts-Palatine.

The Queen's Opinion.

The Queen being asked her Opinion in this Case, answer'd, *That there was a close Tie of Affection between the Prince and Subject; and that as chaste Wives should have no Glances but for their own Spouses, so should faithful Subjects keep their Eyes at home, and not gaze upon foreign Crowns: That she, for her part, did not care her Sheep should wear a Stranger's Mark, nor dance after the Whistle of every Foreigner.*

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Within the Compass of this Year, several Persons of Note and Distinction were summon'd to their great Change; and among the rest these Gentlemen of worthy Memory, *viz.* *John Puckering*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, who was himself a Person of exact Probity, though he had the ill Luck to lie under the Censures of the Clergy, by reason his Servants dealt so much in Simony, and the infamous Trade of selling Church-Preferments. His Place was supplied by *Thomas Egerton*, the Attorney-General, of whose fair and equal Deportment every one had conceived mighty Hopes and Expectations.

The death of Puckering, Lord-Keeper.

The next Person worthy to be taken notice of, was *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of *London*, a consummate Courtier, who endeavouring to smother the Cares of an unlucky Match in the Smoak of Tobacco, which he took to excess; and falling under the Queen's Displeasure, (who thought it enough for Bishops to be Fathers of the Church) between the Experiment and the Misfortune, lost his Life.

Fletcher.

Next follows *Henry Cary*, Lord *Hunsdon*, who was Lord-Chamberlain of the Queen's Houshold, Governor of *Berwick*, and Knight of the Garter. He was a Man of Spirit enough, but intemperately Cholerick. His Advancements he owed to the Relation he bore of Cousin-German to the Queen. He had a competent Estate, and never looked after a great one. His Title descended to his Son *George*, and the Office of Lord-Chamberlain to the Lord *Cobham*, who survived him but a few Months.

Hunsdon.

After him we must not forget Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married the Lord *Hunsdon*'s Sister, and lived for some time an Exile in *Germany* for the sake of the Gospel and a good Conscience. He was Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, then Captain of the Guard, and afterwards Treasurer of the Queen's Houshold, and made Knight of the Garter; after whose Decease the Treasurer's Place was conferred upon *Roger* Lord *North*, and the Comptroller's was given to Sir *Francis Knolles* his Son.

Knolles.

Towards the end of the Year the Nation lost likewise *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, the third Earl of the Family, and President of the Council in the North. He was a Person of a sweet and candid Temper, but wanted not a Warmth and Zeal for the Reformed Religion, and spent a great part of his Estate in the Support of those Ministers who were the forwardest Sticklers for the Simple and Primitive Purity of the Gospel. He was interred at *Ashby de la Zouch* in the County of *Leicester*; and upon his Decease, *Francis* Lord *Hastings*, his Nephew by his Brother *George*'s side, was advanced to his Honour and Title. Afterwards the Dignity of President of the Council for the North was conferred on *Matthew Hutton*, Archbishop of *York*, with all manner of Privileges thereto belonging, except only the Title of President.

Hastings.

Amidst these Gentlemen, I must take the Liberty to mention one of the other Sex, *viz.* *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby*, the only Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, by *Eleanor Brandon*, Niece to King *Henry* VIII. 'Tis remarkable of this Lady, that thro' an idle Mixture of Curiosity and Ambition, supported by sanguine Hopes and a credulous Fancy, she much u ed the Conversations of Necromancers and Figure-Flingers; upon which account she lost a great share in the Queen's Inclinations a little before her Death.

Countess of Derby.

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The Fortieth Year of her Reign.

Being engaged in the Purfuit of fomething more important, I muft leave it to the Pens of thofe who manage the Hiftory of the *Low-Countries*, to do right to the Courage and Bravery of Sir *Robert Sidney* and Sir *Francis Vere*, and to let the World know how bravely they behaved themfelves with their Auxiliary Forces the beginning of this Year, in the Battel of *Turnhoult* in *Brabant*, which was carried on under the happy Conduct of that Great Perfon *Maurice* of *Naffau*, and in which were flain 2000 *Neapolitans* and *Germans*, with their General, the Count *Varaxi*, &c. To proceed then:

The Battel of *Turnhoult*.

A new Fleet prepared againft *Spain*.

The Queen having Intelligence early in the Spring, that the *Spaniard* was preparing to make a new Defcent upon *Ireland* with the Remainder of their fhatter'd Fleet and a few Veffels they had in *Gallicia*: In order to prevent or divert the Defign, fhe got ready a fmall Fleet, confifting of ten of her own Men of War, and as many *Hollanders*. But this number being thought too fmall, it was afterwards augmented, and 5000 Men raifed, befides 1000 old Soldiers whom *Vere* had brought out of the *Netherlands*; fo that the Fleet was judged to confift of 120 Ships, whereof 17 were the Queen's, 43 were fmaller Men of War, and the reft Tenders and Victuallers. They were divided into three Squadrons; the firft commanded by the Earl of *Effex*, who was entrufted with the Management of the whole Expedition; the fecond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*; and the third was committed to Sir *Walter Raleigh*: *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy* commanded the Land-Forces under *Effex*; Sir *Francis Vere* was appointed Marfhal *De Camp*, Sir *George Carew* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Sir *Chriftopher Blunt* firft Colonel.

The Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwel*, and *Rich*, with feveral Knights and Perfons of Quality, lifted themfelves Voluntiers in this Expedition; and they fet fail from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *July*, making a fine fhow with their Plumes of Feathers and rich Accoutrements, (a Vanity which few Nations imitate the *Englifh* Soldiers in.) Two days after, every Ship received their fealed Inftructions relating to the Courfe they were to fteer, which was indeed to *Farol* and the *Groine*, to furprize the *Spanifh* Fleet in their Harbours, and to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at the *Azores*.

On what Defign.

This was, upon mature Advice, judged to be the beft Courfe for the Security of the Nation, as well as the furprizing the *Eaft* and *Weft-India* Fleet, which had but flender Convoys, as likewife for taking the *Azores*, a Port at which thofe rich Fleets do generally touch in their Return from the *Indies* to take in frefh Water: Befides, that by this means the Queen would have the entire Command of the Seas, and the *Spanifh* King, upon the lofs of his Fleet, be brought to more reafonable Terms of Peace, or elfe be obliged to make new Provifions for War, to his very great Detriment and Inconvenience. *Effex* was refolved (as he often declared himfelf) *Either to defeat this new Armada, which had threaten'd* England *for a Year together, or elfe to perifh in the Attempt, for his Country's fake.*

Driven back by a Storm.

They had not got above 40 Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were caught in a violent Storm, the Wind blowing hard at North-Weft, and rending their Sails and Rigging to pieces: It occafion'd likewife fo unufual a Darknefs, as hinder'd their Profpect on all fides, and that was feconded with terrible Peals of Thunder, fo that the Air and Water were in a moft troubled ftate, and fo continued for four Days together, infomuch that the Seamen were under a great Surprize, and fo were the Soldiers, for the Fleet was diffipated to that degree, that the feveral Ships had much ado to recover *Plymouth* and other Ports thereabouts. The Admiral was fo damag'd and batter'd, as to be render'd almoft unfit for Service; and fome of the Paffengers who were of nicer Conftitutions, were fo miferably diforder'd by the Sea-Phyfick, and fo afraid of the Force of the Elements, that they quitted the Service, and did not care to venture a fecond Experiment.

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When the Fleet had in fome meafure recruited itfelf after its double Lofs both as to Number and Strength, they attempted to fail again feveral times, but the Winds continued fo unfavourable, that they could not get out in a Month's time, fo that it look'd almoft as if the Heavens frown'd upon their Undertaking. By this time their Provifions were pretty well exhaufted, and there was no Supply to be had from the Eaftern Parts of *England* under a confiderable time; it was therefore thought advifeable to difcharge all the Land-Soldiers, except only the 1000 old Soldiers mention'd before, and to difmifs feveral of the leffer Veffels, fince there was no farther Defign upon the *Groine* or *Farol*. A Confultation was then held, whether 'twere beft to fail away to the *Azores*. And all fubfcribed to the Affirmative, except *Vere*, who faid, 'It would neither 'be for her Majefty's Honour nor Advantage: 'That 'twas highly improbable that fo few Ships 'and fuch flender Forces, fhould produce any 'Effects anfwerable to thefe Mens Expectation; 'and that 'twould be much eafier for the *Spaniards* to invade *England*, at a time when the 'Queen's principal Commanders, and part of her 'Navy, were out of the way.' Hereupon *Effex* and *Raleigh* rid Poft to confult the Queen upon the Matter: *Effex*, for his part, propofed great Things, anfwerable to the Complexion of his Spirit and Courage, if fo be he might be allow'd one half of the Fleet and Army to be at the beck of his Inclinations. But the Queen not thinking fit to grant that, he undertook to defeat the *Spanifh* Fleet in their Port of *Farol*, would her Majefty permit him to venture the thoufand old Soldiers, and thofe two Ships, the St. *Andrew* and St. *Matthew*, taken from the *Spaniard*, in purfuit of the Defign. He propofed to leave the reft of the Fleet without the Harbour, and to try the Hazard of the Engagement with fome few Ships which he fhould fingle from them. But neither would the Queen fubmit to this, unlefs with certain Limits and Reftrictions; fo that at laft the whole Matter was refign'd to their entire Conduct, with this Provifo, That they fhould take care, if poffible, to fet fire on the Ships in *Farol*-Harbour, and to intercept the *Indian* Fleet; and that, upon the whole, they fhould manage themfelves according to the Nature and Circumftances of every new Turn or Emergency.

Being returned again to *Plymouth*, they made fhift to get clear of the Port on the 17th of *Auguft*, though with a fcanty Wind; but before they got fight of the *Spanifh* Coafts, they were fcatter'd by another fevere Tempeft, in which the large Ship called the St. *Matthew*, having fpent her Main-Maft and Yards, fplit upon a Rock, and the St. *Andrew* was parted from the reft of the Fleet. The Remainder of the Fleet being in a little time got together again, failed in fight of *Afturia* and *Gallicia*, but very unadvifedly in the Judgment of fuch as knew beft; forafmuch as thofe pompous kind of Difcoveries had been of ill Confequence to *Drake* in his two laft Voyages to

Parted by another Storm.

to *America*, and had prejudiced *Norris* in his *Portugal*-Expedition: For an Enemy forewarn'd, is the better prepar'd for Defence.

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Raleigh left behind.

Not far from the *Land's-End*, the Croſs-yard of *Raleigh's* Ship was broken down by ſtreſs of Weather, which as he ſtaid to mend, the Fleet left him behind; and he happening afterwards to receive a falſe Intelligence, that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ſail'd from *Farol* towards the *Azores*, diſpatch'd a Pinnace to *Eſſex* upon a fruitleſs Errand, as it proved. Whilſt they were expecting *Raleigh*, a general Reſolution was taken to quit the Project of firing the Enemy's Ships in the Harbour as a thing impracticable, becauſe they had been already diſcover'd from the Shore. Wherefore they agreed to ſail directly for the *Azores*, every Squadron being allotted its proper Station.

They ſteer for the Azores.

Eſſex was to anchor at *Fyal*, *Howard* and *Vere* at *Gratioſa*, and *Raleigh* at *Rio*, who was by this time ſhaping his Courſe for the *Azores*, and after a long Compaſs fetch'd, recover'd the Fleet at the Iſle of *Flores*, whilſt ſome were apt to charge him with ſtraggling from it on purpoſe (perhaps with deſign to inflame *Eſſex* the more, who had already but indifferent Thoughts for him). However *Eſſex* ſeem'd to give him a very chearful Welcome, and excuſed his having ſent Letters to *England*, wherein he had repreſented him to his Diſadvantage. *Raleigh* being ſhort of Water, ventured to go aſhore, and take ſome in without leave; but ſcarce had he begun to fill his Casks, but he received Orders to follow *Eſſex* to *Fyal*. Thither he ſailed, and not finding *Eſſex* there, he narrowly obſerv'd the Harbour, and found the Inhabitants were ſecuring their Goods, and the Garriſon ready to intrench themſelves. He adviſed hereupon with the other Commanders, and they jointly agreed to attack the Place; and the Seamen were hot upon the Attempt, as being loth to quit a Booty which ſeemed juſt in their Teeth.

But Sir *Gilley Merrick*, a Creature of *Eſſex's*, mightily urged them to attempt nothing in the Abſence of *Eſſex*. They waited therefore his coming for four Days together, when *Raleigh*, wanting freſh Water, and being befriended by a fair Opportunity, was prompted on both ſides to land about four Miles from the Haven, in a very ſteep place, and at a time when the Sea ran high. He was however accompanied with theſe Voluntiers, *William Brake*, *William Harvey*, *Arthur George*, *John Scot*, *Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sidney*, *Henry Thinn*, *Charles Morgan*, *Walter Chute*, *Bret*, *Berry*, and other Officers. The *Spaniards* came down upon him, and made what Reſiſtance they could, but were ſoon put to flight. *Raleigh* being thus on ſhore, and having water'd his Ships, march'd forward to the Town through Ways very difficult and dangerous; and finding the Birds were fled, he ſeized the Neſt.

Raleigh lands at Fyal.

He takes the Town.

The next Day *Eſſex*, who had been roaming about in queſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, came to *Fyal*. Sir *Gilley Merrick* inform'd him what *Raleigh* had done; and inſinuated withal, that he had made this Attempt on purpoſe to rob him of the Glory of the Action. Which fair Tale, *Eſſex* was too ready to liſten to; his natural Ambition, join'd with his Jealouſy and Ill-will to *Raleigh*, having prejudic'd his Thoughts to receive the worſt Impreſſions againſt him. Others perſuaded *Eſſex* to call *Raleigh* before a Council of War, and diſmiſs him from the Service; and there wanted not ſome who were for having him executed, for daring to land his Men without the Admiral's leave, perſuading *Eſſex* at the ſame time, that he could not have had a fairer Occaſion of diſpatching his Adverſary out of the way, and which, if he miſſed, he might live to repent it. Hereupon *Sidney*, *Bret*, *Berry*, and others, who accompanied *Raleigh*, were caſhier'd and confin'd; *Raleigh* was ſent for, and every one view'd him with an eye of Diſpleaſure. *Eſſex* reproved him ſharply for having ſlighted his Authority, ran counter to the Diſcipline of the Navy, and ſo far diſobey'd thoſe Orders which were enjoin'd upon pain of Death, as to land his Men without the General's Command.

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He anſwer'd in his own Defence, 'That the 'Captains, Pilots, and others under Command, 'were bound by that Law, but not the three 'Generals, whereof himſelf was one: That he 'had expected his coming a great while, and 'would have done ſo longer, had not the Inhabitants of the Place denied him Water, which he 'wanted in that Extremity, that he was obliged 'to win it by the Sword.' The Lord *Tho. Howard* interpoſed in favour of *Raleigh*, that he might not be ſeverely treated, and perſuaded him withal to acknowledge his Fault; which he preſently did, and ſo himſelf and the caſhier'd Officers were received again into Favour. For *Eſſex* being of a Temper patient, and merciful enough as to the point of Injuries, was willing to bury theſe private Feuds and Diſcontents in the publick Safety. But they were rather occaſionally laid aſide, than totally forgot or ſuppreſſed, as afterwards appeared.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the *Spaniſh* Garriſon quitted the Fort near the Town, in which were found two *Engliſhmen* with their Throats cut. Some were ſent away to ſearch the Iſland, which they pillaged here and there, and ſo returned, without performing any great Feats; and a few Days after the Town was burnt down to the Ground, after they had carried off the Ordnance found there.

Gratioſa and Flores yield to Eſſex.

From thence they ſailed away to the Iſle of *Gratioſa*, the Inhabitants whereof threw themſelves on *Eſſex's* Mercy, as *Flores* had done, and ſo received Quarter. Here he reſolved to land, to take a View *of that delightful Iſland, and* to wait for the *India* Fleet. But being unfortunately diſſuaded from it by one *Grave* a *Pilot*, under the Pretence of its being no commodious Harbour for Ships, he ſailed from thence with his whole Fleet for St. *Michael's* Iſle, and commanded *Vere* and Sir *Nicolas Parker* to be upon the ſcout betwixt the Iſland of St. *George* and *Gratioſa*, the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *William Mounſon* to poſt themſelves on the Weſt of *Gratioſa*, and ſome others to wait at other Places. But ſo ſtrangely it happen'd, that the *Engliſh* had ſcarce been from *Gratioſa* above two Hours, before the *American* Fleet, conſiſting of 40 Sail, (7 whereof had Plate on board) arrived there, and having Intelligence that the *Engliſh* were not far off, made away directly for *Tercera*. At Midnight they fell in with *Mounſon's* Squadron, who gave the Fleet a Signal by firing ſome great Guns: They were heard a great way, and the Seamen were overjoy'd, and prepared themſelves very chearfully for an Engagement. *Mounſon*, *Southampton* and *Vere*, who were neareſt, gave them chaſe, but at ſome diſtance, becauſe they waited for more Ships to come up. In the mean while the Enemy's Fleet got to *Tercera* in good order, three Ships only being taken, which ſtraggled from the reſt: *Southampton* and *Vere* attempted to crowd into the Haven with great Boats at Midnight, and to cut the Cables of the neareſt Ships, that they might be forced to Sea by the Guſts which blew from the Shore. But the *Spaniards* keeping a very ſtrict Watch, that Project unhappily miſcarried. A Pinnace was therefore preſently ſent away to *Eſſex* at St. *Michael's*, to inform him what had paſſed, and that they would

under-

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Essex having in a day or two's time got his Fleet together, came and consulted with the other Commanders what Measures were to be taken. Some of the first Officers were for attacking the Town and Fleet, and thought it a very feasible Attempt; and *Essex* joined in the same Opinion. The Seamen thought otherwise, but however very readily offered their Service both by Sea and Land. But *Essex* himself and *Montjoy*, with some others, having afterwards taken a View of the Place, and finding that the Ships were drawn up closer under the Protection of the Forts, and that the Haven was secured by good Fortifications and a convenient Situation, with a strong Garrison, and several Guns mounted, and that the Wind was so contrary, that their Granadoes and Bombs could do them no service, they who were most forward in the Proposal, were the most backward in the Adventure. *Essex* therefore returned to *St. Michaels*, and came to Anchor before *Cividada*, after having first conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, *William Evers*, *William Brodon*, and *Henry Docwray*. The Soldiers being pleased with the Place, (as being the chief City of the Island) they had a Month's mind to plunder it; and the General himself, forgetting his Character, took a Boat, and sought for a convenient Place to land; but the Sea was too boisterous, and the Shores too well lined with Soldiers to encourage his Attempt. *Raleigh* was commanded to lie there with his Ships, and amuse the Enemy with the Apprehensions of his Landing, whilst *Essex* made a Descent in some other Place. He went at last to *Villa-Franca*, about six Miles off, a pretty neat Town, well stock'd with Merchandize, particularly Wine and Wood, and the Place he took without any considerable Opposition. He made here a stay of six Days, and the Soldiers found a tolerable Booty: But *Raleigh* expected his Return to *St. Michaels* with some Impatience.

English give up their design on the India Fleet.

Villa-Franca taken.

Much about this time they discover'd under sail an *Indian* Carack not far from *St. Michaels*, which she perceiving by a Signal given from a *Low-Country* Vessel, and finding her self hard beset by the Enemies Ships, ran her self aground under the Town, and got out her Cargo as fast as she could, after which she was set on fire, and kept burning for two Days together. Thus were the *English* so miserably defeated in their Hopes during all this War, that Fortune seemed to owe them a spight. And tho' nothing is more common than odd Changes and Turns of Fortune at Sea, yet the Disappointments of the *English* seemed to have been of their own creating, and their ill Success chiefly owing to a peevish Spirit among them, which studied to prevent or eclipse the Honour of any glorious Attempt. *Essex* now gave Orders, that all the Ships should, upon a Signal given, make ready to weigh Anchor and sail for *England* against the 9th of *October*, which is observed to be a Month of a very foul and tempestuous Weather. But three Days after there happen'd a violent Storm, the Wind at North, and dispersed the Ships to a great distance; and it had the same effect upon the *Spanish* Fleet, which had in the mean time quitted *Farol*, and had steered another Course, with great Designs and Preparations against *England*; so that both the *English* and *Spanish* Fleets quite lost sight of one another. The *English* lost not a single Ship, but, 'tis said, the *Spaniards* lost several of theirs, and had one driven by the Extremity of the Weather into *Dartmouth* Road, the Seamen and Soldiers being almost famish'd. The Crew confessed that the *Spaniards* Design was to seize upon some Port in *Cornwal*, as lying most convenient, by reason of its Situation upon the Mouth of the *British* Channel, both to receive Succours out of *Spain*, and to keep the *English* so closely employ'd in defending themselves at home, that they should not be at leisure to make any further Attempts upon *Spain* and the *West-Indies*. Thus did the Almighty, who determines the Events of War, keep these two Nations asunder, and baffle their Projects at a time when they were fully and desperately bent upon each other's Ruin. *Essex* returned to *England* about the end of *October* with no contemptible Booty; but his Ships were miserably batter'd and leaky through Badness of Weather.

A Carack burnt.

English Fleet returns home.

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Spanish Fleet design for Cornwal.

There were not a few Censures, and those very different ones, passed upon this Expedition, according as People were inclined in regard to *Essex*, or from an aversion to *Raleigh*. For the Queen's Favour, in which they had each a liberal share, happen'd to produce Effects strangely opposite; for it excited in the People a kind of Odium against *Raleigh*, which was fomented by a Jealousy they had of his Unfaithfulness to his Country; and it procured on the other side a mighty Veneration for *Essex*, which he took care to cherish by all the Artifices of Address, and they to improve through the high Opinion they had conceived of his great Qualifications. Most certain it is, that neither of these Gentlemen came short in any instance of Courage, Sagacity or Conduct; *But true Happiness is the Gift of God, and no Man can carve out his own Portion.* The Quarrels between these Gentlemen began now to appear more publick and fierce, each laying the Blame of the late Mismanagement upon the other.

Piques between Essex and Raleigh increased.

Essex was likewise very much offended, that Sir *Robert Cecil*, whom the Queen had the last Year made her Secretary, though in spite of his Endeavours to the contrary, should in his absence be created * Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*: For he had always stood in the way of his Advancement, as a Person who was an equal Match to himself in all points of Policy and good Management, and a great Friend of *Raleigh*'s into the Bargain.

* *This is mistaken for the Mastership of the Wards.*

He took it likewise very heinously, that *Charles Howard*, the Lord-Admiral, was advanced, during his absence, to be Earl of *Nottingham*, with this Character inserted in his Patent: *That by the Victory obtain'd* Ann. 1588, *he had secured the Kingdom of* England *from the Invasion of* Spain, *and other impendent Dangers; and did also, in conjunction with our dear Cousin* Robert *Earl of* Essex, *seize by force the Isle and strongly fortified City of* Cales *in the farthest part of* Spain; *and did likewise entirely rout and defeat another Fleet of the King of* Spain, *prepared in that Port against this Kingdom.* All this *Essex* conceived as a Diminution of that Honour which he thought to be the Right of his own peculiar Desert. And he looked on it moreover, as a Prejudice to himself, that the Lord-Admiral, who being then no more than a Baron, was therefore his Inferior, should now take Place of him under the Privilege of his new Title of Earl. For it was enacted in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, That the Lord-Great-Chamberlain of *England*, the Earl-Marshal, the Admiral, the Steward of the Queen's Houshold, should claim Precedency of all Persons of the same Degree. But the Queen, who always looked on *Essex*'s Merit through a magnifying Glass, that she might at once ease his Thoughts, and fortify his Reputation, by giving him the Precedency of the Admiral, though now advanced to an Earldom, was pleased to honour him with the Title of Earl-Marshal of *England*,

E. of Essex made Earl Marshal of England

land, which had been buried ever since the Death of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

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Polish Ambassador.

This Year arrived in *England Paul Dzialin*, Ambassador from the King of *Poland*, a Person of a right Polish Assurance, and who expressed in his own Deportment the Genius of his Country. Having had his Audience of the Queen, who expected to receive his Master's Thanks for the good Offices she had done him, in procuring a Peace for *Poland* from *Amurath* the *Turkish* Emperor; instead of that, he withdrew from her Majesty, as she sat in her Chair of State, attended with several Lords, a great many Paces backwards, with his Face still towards the Queen, till he had got to the lower end of the Room; (a Compliment which I suppose the *English* Courtiers were surpriz'd at) here he complained in a *Latin* Speech, deliver'd with some Vehemence, 'That the antient Privileges of the *Prussians* and *Polonians* who traded into *England*, were not only infringed, but that her Majesty had, contrary to the Law of Nations, prohibited their Commerce with the *Spaniards*, under which Pretence the *Polanders* Goods had been seized and sold: That the King of *Poland* could by no means brook this Treatment, as well, by reason of the Inconveniences which his Subjects suffer'd thereby, as of the near Alliance there was between himself and the King of *Spain*, and the House of *Austria*.' They demanded therefore Satisfaction for the Goods which had been arrested, and an Allowance of a free Trade into *Spain* from that time forward. If not, he declared that his Master, the King of *Poland*, would take a Course to assert himself, and vindicate his Subjects, as well as make them repent who had been the Abettors of this Injustice.

His Speech.

Queen's Answer.

The Queen made him a prompt and pertinent Answer, as a Check to his Confidence, much to this Effect: 'I confess I am under a Disappointment, for I find an Herald here in the Character of an Ambassador. The Speech you have made, is certainly an Original; for 'tis the first I have heard of the kind; and the Pertness of the Address I cannot help admiring at. But if your Commission extends thus far, (which I much doubt) I presume 'tis, because the King, your Master, is a young Man as well as a young Prince, elected and not born to the Crown of *Poland*; so that he does not rightly understand the Quality of these Negotiations, nor what has formerly passed betwixt us and his Predecessor. You, Sir, do indeed, for your part, appear to be better versed in Books than Politicks; for whereas you make so great a bustle in your Speech with the Law of Nations, you must know, that whilst Princes are engaged in a state of war, 'tis lawful for one Party to intercept the Forces and Succours sent to the other, and to prevent, as well as he can, any mischievous Consequence to himself. This I affirm to be agreeable both to the Law of Nature and Nations, and has been frequently practised, not by us alone, but also by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*, in their Wars with *Muscovy*. And whereas you lay such a mighty stress upon your Master's new Alliance with the House of *Austria*, you may remember that some of that House would have stopt the King's Passage to the Throne, and have wrested the Scepter of *Poland* out of his Hands. As for other things, I shall leave it to our Council to signify our Will and Pleasure.' After this Answer, her Majesty withdrew into her Privy-Chamber.

Dzialin, the better to excuse himself, at a Conference held with some of the Council, produced before them his Oration in Writing, and declar'd it was deliver'd him by *Thelitizky* Chancellor of *Sweden*, and drawn up by some others in his Absence, without the Knowledge of *Zamosky*.

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The Queen commanded her Privy-Chancellors, *Burleigh* Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and Sir *John Fortescue*, to acquaint *Dzialin* with the following Particulars, viz.

Privy-Council's Answer.

'That the Privileges of the Cities of *Prussia*, as well as the rest of the *Hans*-Towns, were justly alienated from them in the Reign of *Henry* VI; yet the Queen had granted them a Liberty of Trade in common with the *English*, and any greater Privilege she was not capable of allowing them, unless she should so far act the unnatural Mother, as to cherish other Peoples Children, and neglect her own: That to intercept Succours sent to the Enemy, was far from being against the Law of Nations, because the Law of Nature had instructed all Men to defend themselves; and that is a Law not wrote in Characters, but congenial to our very Beings: That those Towns were forbidden to relieve the Enemies of *England* with any Provisions, by these express Words contain'd in their Articles of Privilege: *It shall be lawful for the Merchants aforesaid, to carry, and cause to be carried, their Goods whithersoever they please, as well within our Kingdoms and Dominions as without, except to the Lands of our open and professed Enemies.* Moreover, That 'twas yet fresh in memory, how the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden* had seized and sold the Ships and Wares of the *English*, upon a bare Suspicion only, that they assisted the *Muscovite* with Provisions.'

Being demanded what he could answer hereunto? he reply'd, *That he had it not in his Orders to make any formal Answer, but to deliver the Substance of what was given him in Charge, and then to bring back an Answer.* After this he was courteously dismissed.

Merchant Adventurers forbidden to trade in Germany.

But those of the *Hans*-Towns interposed so effectually with the Emperor, that the *English* Merchants of the Company, term'd with us Adventurers, were prohibited all Traffick in *Germany*, because they practised their Trade, and sold their Wares there by the Laws of *England*, and not those of the Empire. When the Queen had applied to the Emperor by Sir *John Wroth*, and to the Princes of the Empire by *Stephen Lesure*, to have this Edict suspended, and Matters brought to a Composition, but without effect, she issued out a Proclamation in *London*, That the same Day the *English* were commanded to leave *Germany*, those of the *Hans*-Towns should be prohibited to trade or tarry in *London*, or any other Place within the Kingdom of *England*; and the Lord-Mayor of *London* was order'd to dispossess all those of the *Hans*-Towns, of their Abode in the City, call'd the *Stillyard*.

And those of the Hans-Towns in England.

Hereupon they called an Assembly of the *Hans*-Towns at *Lubeck*, to form an Association for preventing, by all possible means, the Trade of the *English* in *Germany* and *Poland*. To hinder which Project, *George Carew*, a Master in Chancery, was sent into *Prussia*, to inform the King and the Estates of *Poland*, and the Cities of *Prussia*, what was the Answer which had been given to *Dzialin*; and to acquaint him moreover, 'That her Majesty was graciously pleased to permit them the free Transportation of Wheat and all other Commodities into *Spain*, except Ammunition, &c. tho' by the Law of Nations, and the Civil Law, she might intercept any kind of Goods sent over to an Enemy: And that those of the *Hans*-Towns should enjoy their ancient

Carew sent into *Poland*.

'Pri-

1597. Ann. 40. 'Privileges in England, on Condition they would 'ask them as Favours conferr'd by the Bounty 'of the Kings of England, and not challenge 'them as legal Rights or formal Contracts. For 'Privileges conferr'd by the Courtesy of Princes 'upon their own Subjects, may be revok'd, and 'much more those bestow'd on meer Strangers, 'according as the state of the Times, the good 'of the Community, and other Reasons and 'Exigencies may advise and require. That the 'Hans-Towns had experimentally found this to 'be true in Denmark and Sweden, and in England 'too in the Reigns of Edward VI, and K. Philip 'and Q. Mary: That the Case of Kingdoms and 'private Cities is vastly different; and that Prin'ces are oblig'd to support and assert their Royal 'Dignity, and not encourage the Avarice of 'Merchants, lest they should grow to be an 'overmatch to crown'd Heads.'

His Negotiation with those of Dantzick. Carew so manag'd the matter with those of Dantzick, that they forbore sending any Commissioners to the Convention at Lubeck, or joining with the Hans-Towns of Germany. So that when he had done his Business here, he cross'd over into Sweden, where he met with the King of Poland, who lay at Stockburgh under great Difficulties through the means of his Uncle Charles. However, he could work no good effect upon him, for that the Laws of Poland had provided (as the King was pleas'd to urge himself) That the King thereof should not make any Contract or Treaty with Foreigners singly and by himself. This Answer he receiv'd by Letters open and unsealed, and some others which the Vice-Chancellor would have deliver'd to him sealed and made up, he refus'd to receive, because the Queen's Title in the Superscription was not full and entire, being very loth to allow the least Instance of Disregard to the Dignity of his Prince, which an Ambassador ought to assert above all things, and even to the nicest Punctilio. From thence he came back to Elbing, which owes a great part of its Beauty and Splendor, and the vast Confluence of People thither, purely to the Trade and Intercourse of the English. Here he had the good luck to compromise Matters in some measure between the Citizens of that Place and the English Factory. But these Things fell within the compass of the following Year, only I thought it convenient to insert them here, that I might not distract or draw off the Reader's Mind by starting too often out of the way.

Embassy from Denmark. This Year was Arnold Whitfield, Chancellor of the Realm, employ'd on an Embassy from Christian IV. King of Denmark, and he was attended by Christian Bernick, who brought back hither the Order of the Garter which had been presented by the Queen to Frederick the King's Father, and desir'd likewise, that the ancient Leagues between England and Denmark might be reviv'd, and that the Danes Goods might not be seiz'd at Sea. He complain'd, that the English, contrary to the Treaties, made use of the Fishery of Norway and Ireland, and offer'd his Master's Mediation towards settling a Peace between England and Spain.

Queen's Answer. She gave the Ambassadors a very honourable Reception, promised a Renewal of the former Treaties, and the Restoration of whatever Goods had been seiz'd, and engag'd likewise, on certain Terms, that no Seizure should be made for the future, and that the Fishing Trade should be regulated according to the Terms and Articles formerly agreed upon: But she thought it no way suitable to the Royal Dignity to make use of a Proxy in procuring Peace from the Spaniard, when the King of Spain himself was the first Aggressor, and when she was moreover so sufficiently secur'd in the Courage and Loyalty of her Subjects, as not to fear the Arms of any Prince whatever, much less would she condescend to ask it at a time, when he was engag'd in a bloody and barbarous War against her Ally and Confederate, the K. of France. For the Spaniards had now taken Amiens, the largest and strongest City of Picardy, by the contrivance of oversetting a Cart in the Gate, which was the Stratagem of Ferdinando Teglio, a Person of a small Stature, but adorn'd with a wise Head and a stout Heart; and this had oblig'd the King to ask a second Supply of 4000 Men. The Queen was ready to grant it, provided they should be under his Pay; for the Fleet, which was gone to the Leeward Islands, and her Army in Ireland, had pretty well drain'd her Exchequer. But he protested he was not able to pay them, and the better and sooner to gain his Point, advertis'd her Majesty by Reaux, That the Pope's Nuncio had made him some advantagious Overtures of Peace, and a full and absolute Restitution of all Places in France, except only Calice and Ardres, if he would totally abandon the Queen's Interest: And moreover, that his Subjects in general were inclin'd to embrace these Motions. (Amiens lost. 1597. Ann. 40.)

The Queen replied, 'That she could never 'believe that so great a Prince, and one who 'was so firmly engaged to her Interest, and so 'many ways oblig'd by her, as himself had al'ways acknowledg'd, and who had likewise gi'ven her the Security of a new Oath, would 'suffer himself, under any Pretence or Colour 'whatever, to dispense with Oaths so sacredly 'made, and so solemnly repeated, purely be'cause her own domestick Troubles and Disor'ders made her uncapable of paying him at pre'sent the Service he expected.' This was warmly expostulated with the King by Sir Anthony Mildmay, her Majesty's Residentiary. He was indeed a Gentleman of a true honest English Principle, and would now and then take the freedom to charge the French King's Council with Tricking and Legerdemain; and used to say, That they made a Property of the English, by shifting them off with trifling, loose and ambiguous Answers.

But forasmuch as several were of opinion, that the King of Spain's grand Design was to dissolve the Union and good Agreement between England and France, and by that means to gain the Advantage of an easier Descent upon England from Calais? the Queen thought it the most provident Course to send the French King a Supply under her own Pay, on condition he would lay the Scene of War either in Picardy or Bretaign, in order to remove the Enemy farther off; and that he would likewise add a greater number of his own Men, and assign the English a Place of Retreat; for otherwise she would by no means consent that the English should be sent abroad meerly to be knock'd on the Head, and furnish out a Slaughter house for the Convenience of the French. However she sent him a great Sum of Money; as Security for which, and his other Debts, he frankly offer'd the Town of Calais, provided the Queen would recover it out of the Enemies Hand, within such a time, at her own Expence, and with her own proper Forces: And the better to enable her for the regaining of it, he propounded Bologne as a Retreat, and a Magazine for her Forces, taking it for granted, that Amiens would comply upon easier Terms if the Enemies Forces were divided. But whilst these Matters were in agitation, Amiens was, after a long and difficult Siege, most happily reduc'd; a Piece of Service which he freely own'd, by some Letters dated in September, was greatly owing to the (Money sent to the French K. He recovers Amiens.)

1597. Ann. 40. the good Management of *Baskervil*, (who died during the Siege) and the Bravery of Sir *Arthur Savage*, another excellent Commander; together with the Valour of the *English*: And to make the *French* King's Happiness yet more compleat, the King of *Spain* being now oppress'd with the double Weight of Age and Business, grew the more inclinable to embrace a Peace: For, when he began to reflect, that the Foundation of his Government was supported rather upon the Pillars of a Popular Reputation than a real Strength; that he had not Money enough to oppose the Designs of the *English*, to carry on the *Low Country*-War, and at the same time to defend his late Conquests in *France*, and that he was now under a Declension of Years and Strength, his Son but young and unexperienc'd, and the *French* King a Prince fam'd for Military Skill and Courage, he judg'd it a more prudent Method to treat with the *French* King about a Peace, (who, through the Pope's Mediation, appear'd at that time not uninclinable thereto) than to leave his Son in the Government of a State miserably embroiled, and expos'd to so many powerful Enemies at once: And a Peace was afterwards consummated between them, to their mutual Satisfaction, as shall be made appear in its due place.

As soon as the Queen began to have Thoughts that this Treaty of Peace was on foot, she apprehending it might turn to the Disadvantage of *England*, resolv'd to provide against the worst Effects, by furnishing her Exchequer with Moneys, and securing the Love and Affections of her People.

A Parliament call'd. Having therefore summon'd the Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, she made several good and acceptable Laws; for restoring and making good any Damages committed upon Country-Farms, and punishing the Transgressors; for prohibiting the converting Arable Land into Pasture; against imbezelling any Goods or Lands bequeathed to the use of the Poor, (a Practice which was become the Scandal and Reproach of the present Age) concerning the erecting of Hospitals and Workhouses for the Poor, the Endowments of which not to exceed two hundred Pounds *per ann.* for preventing the Frauds of the Queen's Receivers, Collectors, *&c.* for the Relief of Soldiers and Seamen; for building Houses of Correction in every County for Rogues and Vagabonds, for punishing Extortion and Rapes; concerning the Deprivation of Popish Bishops in the first Years of the Queen's Reign, namely, 'That the said Deprivation was and should still 'be accounted legal and valid, and that the Bi-'shops substituted in their room, should be ad-'judged as lawfully created.' For passing these Laws, and restoring Religion to a better State, as well as for her Majesty's wise Administration, the Security of the Kingdom from the common Enemy, and the Defence of *Ireland*, the Relief of *France* and the *Netherlands*, the Parliament return'd the Queen a Joint-Compliment of Congratulation.

Subsidies granted. And, that there might be always a sufficient Fund at hand to answer the Exigencies, and provide for the Defence of the Nation, the Clergy made a voluntary Offer of three Subsidies; and the Laity humbly requested the Queen to accept of three whole Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths; and intreated her withal, (as they had done in the Year 1592.) not to advance this special Instance of their Bounty into a Precedent, unless upon some pressing Necessity of the like nature.

Lord La Ware restor'd. *Thomas* Lord *La-Ware* was, after the Death of his Father, called to attend at this Parliament; and he presented a Petition to the Queen, desiring that he might be restor'd to the ancient Privileges of his Family and Predecessors the Lords *La-Ware*. For his Father, having attempted to poison his Uncle the Lord *La-Ware*, in Expectation of his Estate, was, by Order of Parliament, in the Reign of *Edward* VI, excluded from any Estate or Honour, that might accrue to him from his Uncle's Death. The said *William* was, in Q. *Mary*'s Reign, condemn'd for Treason; and afterwards his Attainder taken off, as if he had never been arraign'd: But whereas, by reason of the former Sentence, he could not by Law enjoy the Honour of his Ancestors, he was, by the Queen's special Favour, created Lord *La-Ware*, by a new Patent; and as long as he liv'd, claim'd Precedency according to the Date of his Creation: The Queen refer'd the whole Matter to the Lords in Parliament; who finding that the former Sentence concern'd only the Person of *William*, and that his Children were no way involv'd in the same; and that the Attainder in Queen *Mary*'s Reign was no manner of Bar, because 'twas impossible for him to lose a Title which he never had; besides that he was afterwards fully and entirely restor'd, and the ancient Dignity no way extinct by the new Creation, but only laid aside in his Life-time, because he was not in Possession of it, when he receiv'd his new Patent: For all these Reasons, he was adjudg'd to hold the same Rank with his Predecessors, betwixt the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* and the Lord *Berkly*; wherein he was accordingly reinstated, with the usual Ceremonies.

And Tho. Howard. A Writ was likewise issu'd out, to summon *Thomas Howard*, the second Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and lately made Knight of the Garter, to pay his Attendance on this Parliament, under the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*. And because he was then indisposed, the Lord *Scroop* was conducted in his stead into the Upper House between two Barons, in his Parliament-Robes; himself carrying the Writ, and the principal King at Arms ushering him into the House: When the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal had publickly read the Writ, he was placed below all the rest of the Barons, tho' elsewhere the younger Sons of Dukes take place of Viscounts. For it appear'd by the Records of Parliament, that in the sixth Year of *Henry* VIII, when *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, being call'd to the Parliament, claim'd the Precedency of Earls, whether in sitting or walking; because he was the eldest Son of a Duke: It was then adjudg'd that he should sit in Parliament, according to the Order of his Creation; and in other Places enjoy the Dignity and Prerogative due to a Duke's eldest Son.

The Death of the Lord Cobham, and Marquess of Winchester. This Year died *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Knight of the Garter, Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, Constable of *Dover* Castle, Lord-Warden and Chancellor of the Cinque Ports; and left his Title and Estate to his Son *Henry*, whom he had by *Frances Newton*. As also *William Powlet*, the third Marquess of *Winchester*; a Person more eminent for his many and great Titles, and the ample Estate of his Family, than upon any other account. He left behind one Son only, born in Wedlock; *viz. William*, by *Ann Howard* of *Effingham*.

The Kingdom of *Ireland* being at this time involv'd in great Disorders, *Russel* was call'd home: for the whole Province of *Ulster* beyond *Dundalk*, and almost all *Connaught*, was up in Rebellion, except seven Garrison-Castles, *viz. Newry*, *Knockfergus*, *Carlingford*, *Green-Castle*, *Armagh*, *Dondrom*, and *Olderfleet*. *Thomas* Lord *Borough*, a Gentleman of fine Parts, was sent over Lord-Deputy in

Borough made L. Deputy of Ireland.

1597. Ann. 40. in his Room; but tho' he had Courage as well as good Sense, yet was he to seek in point of military Conduct. This Promotion of his was beside the general Expectation, especially Norris's, who, by reason of his Deserts and Abilities, had almost promis'd himself this Dignity: But when he saw, that through the Interest of the Court-Party, who were none of his Friends, and the Unsteadiness of those whom he thought such, his Corrival was now mounted above him, tho' he had no Reason to think himself much inferiour as to Quality, and knew that he was more than his Equal in respect to the Experience of warlike Affairs: And finding moreover, (to his greater Mortification) that he was continued still President of Munster; and being also much disturbed, that Tir-Oen had so often imposed upon him by his hypocritical Condescensions; he resented things so deeply, that after all his Conquests, he was overcome by the most effeminate of his Passions, which turned to a Distemper, and carryed him off in a little time. He was beyond all Dispute a Person of incomparable Worth, and as brave a Commander as any this Nation afforded at that time. He was second Son to Henry Lord Norris, by the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord Williams of Tame; and laid the Groundwork of his After-Experience in the Civil-Wars of France, under the Admiral Coligny. When he was but young, he had the Command of a Regiment in Ireland, under the Earl of Essex. He was Colonel of the English Troops in the Service of the States in the Low-Countries, Marshal of their Army under grave Hollack, President of Munster twelve Years, tho' he was much absent, and General of the English Forces in Bretaign. All which Places having discharged as it became his Character, he deserv'd the utmost that Fame could say, or his Country could do for him.

Death of Norris.

Tir-Oen desires a Truce.

Tir-Oen finding that Norris had almost quitted his Hopes; as low as his own were sunk upon this occasion, yet had he Craft enough to mind his main Chance, and court the new Lord-Deputy, by several Letters, to make a Truce with him, or (in the Irish Phrase) a Cessation of Arms. And in truth it appeared convenient enough to grant one for a Month; tho' the Lord Deputy was always of opinion, that such kind of Truces and Protections were pernicious to the Government. The Month being now expired, the Lord Deputy got his Forces together and marcht against the Rebels, which seemed to be a Circumstance of Credit and Advantage to him upon his entrance to his new Government; and after a doubtful Skirmish with them in the narrow and difficult Passes, he forced his Way through, and couragiously seized upon the Fort at Blackwater, newly fortified by the Rebels; and which was their last and securest Retreat, (the Bogs and Marshes only excepted) besides that it was an Avenue to the Country of Tir-Oen. And this Action was a plain demonstration how easily the Rebels might have been defeated, had there been any to venture upon a vigorous Onset or Pursuit. The very same Day, whilst the Lord-Deputy and his Army were returning God Thanks for their good Success, they were alarmed of a sudden by the appearance of the Enemies Forces from an Hill hard by. Henry Earl of Kildare marched immediately after them with a Troop of Horse, and some Gentlemen who serv'd as Voluntiers, and presently put them to Flight. However there were slain on the side of the English, Francis Vaughan, Brother to the Lord-Deputy's Lady; R. Turner, a stout Man, and Serjeant-Major; and two Foster-Brothers of the Earl of Kildare, for whose death he was so deeply concerned, that he followed them in a few Days after (it being remarkable, that the Affection of Foster-Brothers in Ireland, is of an extraordinary kind); there were besides a great many wounded, and among the rest Sir Thomas Waller, an eminent Soldier.

L. Deputy takes Blackwater.

E. of Kildare dies.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy had repaired the Fort, supported it with new Breast-Works, and brought his Army home; the Rebels being divided between Hope, Fear, and Shame, thought it the best way to lay close Siege to it; for it was a Place of great Consequence, for annoying them; and Tir-Oen looked on himself as absolutely ruined, if it were not recovered. He therefore closely begirt it on all sides, and the Lord-Deputy advanced once more to its Relief; being fully resolved to pierce farther into Ulster. But in the midst of his glorious Advances and Designs, it pleased God to call him off the Stage. His Death was much lamented by all good Men, but proved an Advantage to the Malecontents; for, had he lived, he had, in the opinion of all wise Men, quite defeated the Hopes of the Faction, and secured Ireland from those Hazards it fell into afterwards. The Rebels grew very outragious upon the News of the Lord Deputy's Death, and assaulted the Fort several times with great and violent Shouts; but were always repulsed with Loss, those that scaled the Walls being thrown down backwards and trodden under foot in the several Sallies of the besieged: Insomuch that they began now to despair of taking it by force, and took up another Resolution, to starve it out by degrees; perswading themselves, that there was but a few days Provision left in the Garrison, and that it would be obliged therefore to surrender, upon meer Necessity. But through the singular Bravery of the Governour Thomas Williams, it held out to Amazement, altho' they were reduced to the last Extremities; having no Horse left, and being forced to feed upon the Herbs growing upon the Bulwarks, so distressed a Condition were they in. The Army in Ireland was now, by the Queen's Order, committed to the Charge of the Earl of Ormond, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Care of the Government was delivered up to Adam Loftus Archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor; and to Sir Robert Gardiner; who were thereupon styled Justicers of Ireland; Sir Thomas Norris having enjoy'd that Title not above a Month. Tir-Oen makes a long Repetition of all his Grievances, in a Letter to the new Lieutenant, of which I have already given an exact Account, without omitting the least Circumstance, relating to the Sawciness and Misbehaviour of the Soldiers or Sheriffs. He made but very faint Excuses for the Breach of his Engagements with Norris; and the main Heads of Complaint were, That Feagh Mac-Hugh, an intimate Friend of his, was fooled out of his Life: That his Letters to her Majesty were intercepted, and that the Nobility and Commons laboured under most intolerable Taxes and Impositions. He added moreover, That he easily foresaw that the Estates of all the Lords in Ireland were going to be shar'd amongst the Gentlemen of the Gown and the Sword, the Lawyers and the Soldiers of England: Upon this he assisted the Sons of Feagh Mac-Hugh to raise new Commotions in Leinster; and at the same time presented a dissembling Scroll to the Lord-Lieutenant, humbly beseeching him to admit him into Favour, and promising to do all he could to deserve his good Opinion; tho' at the same time, 'twas notoriously known to all the World, that let his Pretences be what they will, his chief Design in stirring up this Rebellion, was to extirpate the English, and drive them out of Ireland.

A: does L. Deputy.

Ormond made Lieutenant-General.

Justicers of Ireland.

Tir-Oen submits.

The

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The One and Fortieth Year of her Reign.

French K. about a Peace with Spain.

In the midst of these Combustions in *Ireland*, there sprang up new Troubles from the *French* Quarters; for tho' the King of *France* had recover'd *Amiens*, yet being fatigued out with the Wars, the daily Importunities of his Subjects, and the Solicitations of the Pope, he gave the Queen to understand, by *Masy*, about the end of the last Year, That he had held some Conferences with the *Spanish* Ministers in relation to a Peace, but was resolv'd however not to make any farther Steps without her Consent and that of the Confederate States, because he had made with them a League Offensive and Defensive under those Restrictions. He therefore desir'd that some fit Persons might be dispatch'd from *England* and *Holland* to dispatch that Matter, and hear what Proposals were likely to be offer'd.

Commissioners sent to France.

The Queen, to satisfie his Christian Majesty, sent away into *France* her principal Secretary, Sir *Robert Cecil*, *John Herbert* Master of Requests, and *Thomas Wilks*, who died there presently after his landing. The States sent *Justin Nassau* and *John Oldenbarnevelt*, and at the same time some others into *England*, to dissuade the Queen from any Thoughts of a Peace. The *English* Envoys had these Instructions given them among others, 'To enquire out the Ground of these Proposals 'relating to a Peace, and what Progress was 'made therein; whether there were really and 'actually any such Overtures made, because the '*Spaniards* had prevaricated in the Treaty of *Borburgh*: As also what Security the Confederates 'were like to have if they consented to the 'Treaty: And to propose withal, (since the '*French* King had intimated, that this Treaty 'should proceed after the manner of that of *Cambray*, to restore every one their own) that *Calais* should be restor'd to the *English* for the Money owing by the *French* King, which was far 'more than so small a Town could fairly be valued at. There was also a Clause inserted, 'That they should come to no Resolutions without the consent of the States.'

The King was just now setting out for *Bretaign*, in order to reduce that Country; for the D. of *Mercœur* and the *Spaniards* held no good Correspondence, by reason he refused to deliver *Nants* into their Hands. *Cecil* travelled fast enough to overtake him at *Angiers*; and after the King had paid his Acknowledgements for the Queen's many Civilities, he spoke to this effect to her Ambassador:

French K. Speech to Cecil, &c.

'Tho' the Queen has enter'd on a War 'with *Spain*, which was begun upon honourable 'Grounds, and has been carried on with an answerable Success, yet unless she prosecutes it 'in a way different from the Measures hitherto 'taken, the longer Purse must of necessity carry 'it at the long run. For my own part, though 'I have a particular Inclination for the Field, 'as best suiting the nature of my Education, 'yet I consider too, that I am a King, and have 'a People under my Care and Protection, and 'therefore cannot but make a Conscience of exposing my Subjects to the Hazards and Difficulties of War; and I should think it a great 'Crime, for any private Ends of Ambition, to 'reject a Peace when offer'd, to the great Prejudice of my own Affairs, and the general Detriment of the Confederates, especially when 'otherwise it must cost a great expence of Blood, 'and bring upon me the Odium of neglecting 'my Subject's Safety.'

Cecil's Reply.

Cecil reply'd, 'That the Queen was no way 'uninclin'd to a Peace, since she had now made 'herself a sufficient Reparation, as to *Spain*, 'and had no other Concern upon her at present, 'than to secure her own and her Subjects Tranquillity.'

After this, he desired to learn upon what Terms the Proposals of Peace with *Spain* were offered, and what Methods must be taken, should the Confederate-States of the *Netherlands* refuse to comply with them?

King's Answer.

'The King own'd that the Queen had sufficiently incommoded the *Spaniard*; but that 'himself had been a Sufferer: That however the 'King of *Spain* was very cordial and sincere in 'his Motions of a Peace: That he would restore all the Places he had taken in *France*, not 'excepting *Calais* itself; and that he would in a 'little time so order the matter, that the King 'of *Spain* should accept a Peace upon reasonable 'Conditions, both with *England* and the Confederate States. *He farther declar'd publickly*, That 'if he did not close with these Offers of a Peace, 'his Kingdom must of necessity be embroiled with 'fresh Trouble; for he could discern already, 'that his Subjects were ripe for Mutiny, were 'they but thus provok'd.'

He makes a private Treaty.

During these Transactions, the *French* King minds his own Business, and claps up an underhand Peace with *Spain*, and the Articles were privately lodged in the Hands of the Archduke *Albert*, till a Commission came from *Spain* to make a perfect end of the Business. Which the Queen having some Intelligence of, expostulated the Matter with him. But he urged in his own Defence, the Delays used by the Queen, the great Necessity he was under, and the fair Opportunity which then presented itself; and seeming to have something else in his Thoughts, he referr'd the matter to his Council: To whom *Oldenbarnevelt* made the first Declaration, to this purpose:

Barnevelt his Speech to the Council of France.

'That the Condition of the States was, 'by God's Mercy and the Queen's Assistance, so 'happily settled, that they had been able hitherto not only to defend themselves, but to 'lend *France* some Assistance in her Troubles: 'That the *French* King had appear'd very pressing to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with them; and that they had very readily embraced it upon her Majesty's account, 'out of a firm hope that a general Peace would 'ensue from thence; and not dreaming in the 'least that so considerable a Prince would ever 'have entertain'd a Thought of receeding from 'the Treaty: That the States were not slighted 'and used at that contemptuous Rate, when the 'Kings of *England* and *France* had before now 'form'd the most sacred Alliances with them.' He then made out at large, how unweildy the Power of *Spain* must needs grow, and on consequence, how dangerous 'twould prove to the *French*, as well as their Neighbours, should the Confederate Provinces, which were so considerable for Wealth and Power, be reduced once more under their Government. He appealed to the Conscience of the King of *France*, whether he could in Honour discard their Interest, when he had espous'd it with so many repeated Oaths, and they had given him no manner of provocation to break with them? Then, for a Conclusion, he told them, (after many Reasons offer'd for their Non acceptance of a Peace with *Spain*) 'That some Kings indeed there had been, who 'had so high an esteem for Grandour and Prerogative, as to bear none at all to the most solemn Leagues and Obligations; but that the 'Consequence of such Proceedings had generally 'been fatal; for, where Princes have pasted with 'their Faith and Honour, 'tis next to impossible 'they should support themselves by meer Power.'

He

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He propos'd however these following Articles in the States behalf.

'That if the King would lay aside the Thoughts 'of a Peace, and undertake the Siege of *Calais*, 'they would at the same time attack some other 'Place at their own Expence, and so keep the 'Enemies Forces divided: That they would 'moreover advance Pay for 7000 Men towards 'carrying on the Siege of *Calais*, and furnish out '25 Men of War with all necessary Provision, on 'condition he would at the same time supply '3000 Horse, 6000 Foot, and 6 Pieces of Ord-'nance.'

These things the Chancellor of *France* own'd to be Propositions of Weight and Consequence, and promis'd to make the King acquainted with them, and that all due Civilities should be paid to the Confederates who had deserv'd so well at the *French* King's hands; but he replied withal, That *France*, which had been so long harrass'd with the Inconveniences of War, was in no Condition to reject the Offer of a Peace, but ought rather to court it with the utmost Application.

The States absolutely refusing all Proposals of Peace, Sir *Robert Cecil*, who was empower'd to negociate a general Treaty, could proceed no farther. But he went so far, as to make it appear to the Council, 'That the Queen had used 'no Delays, but dispatch'd them as soon as pos-'sible into *France* to transact about a Peace; nor 'did she refuse to assist the King, provided he 'would carry on the War against the common 'Enemy, in such a way, as might redound to 'the general Advantage of the Confederates. 'That the Necessity, which they took so much 'pains to amplify, was not so extremely urgent, 'since all *France*, except a Province or two, 'were reduc'd to their just Obedience and Sub-'jection. Then, in reference to the Opportu-'nity they were so loth to lose, he declar'd, 'That he did not much care to dispute with 'Persons who suffer'd their Word and Honesty 'to buckle to the Times and Occasions, and 'make Convenience the Measure of a Prince's 'Honour, as if Profit and Advantage were the 'only Standard they were to go by. He left it 'to their own Judgments, whether their Prince 'had made the Queen a suitable Requital for 'her Kindness, when she had referr'd herself to 'him as an Umpire in the Matter, and had of-'fer'd him a Supply of 6000 Men, if he appear'd 'more inclinable to carry on the War, than ac-'cept a Peace?' Upon the whole, he desir'd another Day to consider and canvass Matters; but that being refus'd, he intreated them to remind his Majesty of the solemn Vows and Obligations he had used in the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Presence, after the Treaty was concluded, and before, by several Letters subscribed by his own Hand. And he ventur'd to affirm, 'That the 'Queen had not receeded one Inch from the Ar-'ticles of the Treaty, but had rather exceeded 'her own Obligations; whereas the King of '*France* had stuck to nothing.' And hereupon he produced a Copy of the Treaty. He likewise recommended to their Consideration, the finding out some way to repay those vast Sums which had been borrowed of the Queen; for since she was thus abandon'd on a sudden, she was warned, tho' by an after-Prudence, to take care of the future, and not lavish her Favours on those who appear'd so unworthy of them. At length, both he and the rest were dismiss'd with smooth and mollifying Answers; and the King acknowledged the Queen's extraordinary Civilities, and promis'd not to be wanting in any returns of Gratitude she could expect.

Cecil's Speech to the French Council.

The Queen however was much dissatisfied by these Measures, and would now and then put his Majesty in mind, both by Letters, and her Secretary for the *French* Tongue, Sir *Tho. Edmunds*, how much he was concern'd, in regard to God, his Honour and Conscience, to make good his Compact, and not suffer himself to be cajoled by the Artifices of pernicious Counsellors; and among some graver Reflections, she thought it not amiss to intermix these stinging Expressions: 'That 'if there was such a Sin as that against the Holy 'Ghost, it must needs be Ingratitude: That if 'he obtain'd from *Spain* any honourable Condi-'tions of Peace, he might thank *England* for 'them: That he should not forsake an old Friend 'for fear the new one should not match him: 'That solemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were 'never design'd for Snares, unless by the worst 'of Men: That, as a Bundle of Twigs, the 'readiest way to ruin two Friends acting in 'Conjunction, was to dissolve the Union.' These Observations were too true to be any way acceptable to the *French* King, and he could find no way to answer them, but the Pretence of an absolute Necessity, which made him closely pursue the Peace till he brought it to a conclusion, fortunate enough for *France*; tho' in *England* the common People used the *French* King's Name as a Proverb to repreach Ingratitude.

But, to give him his due, he was very industrious to procure the same Terms for *England*, as a Salvo to his Reputation, and manag'd the Matter with the Archduke *Charles* to get a Truce agreed on for some Months. He endeavour'd likewise to persuade the Queen, That whereas he had hitherto been a Burden to her, he would be sure to be her Friend and Security now the Peace was establish'd, and would never abandon the Interest of a Sister to whom he had such high Obligations. And to say truth, he express'd an extraordinary Value and Regard for her, when the Peace was treated of at *Vervin* in *France*. For the *French* were particularly concern'd for her Honour, after the Dispute which happen'd there between the Commissioners, about Precedency, was made up.

Treaty of Vervin.

I have a few Words to offer relating to this Controversy, and hope the Digression may be pardon'd, when 'tis for the Interest of Posterity to have some light into the matter, which I have borrow'd from the Original sent under the Commissioners Hands to the Archduke. The *French* Agents peremptorily demanded the first Place, according to a Decree of *Pius* IV. The *Spanish* Commissioners would not abide by the Determination, as having been formerly rejected by their Prince; and as conceiving the right of Precedency belonged to them by the Laws of good Breeding, forasmuch as they were come into a Town within the *French* Dominions, which they would not have done, but in pure Respect to the Pope and the Legate his Representative. It was at length concluded by the Interposition of the Pope's Legate, that he himself should sit at the upper end of the Table, and the Pope's Nuncio next him on the right Hand; and then the *French* had their Choice, whether they would sit on the right Hand next the Nuncio, or else next the Legate on the left. They chose the left Hand, next the Legate: The Agents for *Spain* were very ready to accept the right Hand, as being the more honourable Place, and the Nuncio was not of their Number, and besides, they thought the King's Honour was by this means preserv'd to a Nicety: For if *Calgariton*, General of the *Franciscans* (a considerable Party in this Affair) had taken Place of them, and sat above them, next the Legate on the left Hand, whereas, like a modest

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modest *Franciscan* as he was, he placed himself at the lower end of the Board, over-against the Legate, they had resolv'd to declare in the open Assembly, that they knew the Place which was due to his Catholick Majesty, and would have preserv'd it, had they been his Delegates. But seeing they were appointed and commissioned by the Archduke, who would not presume to place himself on the level with his Christian Majesty, and were expresly stil'd the Archduke's Delegates in the Letters of Protection they receiv'd from the Christian King, they would willingly resign the Place to the *French*; for the King of *Spain*, to preserve his own Character, was so prudent to empower the Archduke to depute others in his Room, lest he should be driven upon an invidious Contest of Precedency, immediately with the *French* King himself.

As soon as the Business was compounded, and their Commissions open'd on both Sides, the *French* resented it very highly, that in the Archduke's there was not the least mention made of the Queen of *England*, whereas the Duke of *Savoy* was therein nominated. The answer was, That she was design'd to be comprehended with the Confederates. But this not satisfying the *French*, they said the Reason was, because she had always acted as an Enemy to *Spain*, and was at this very time annoying them with her Fleet. But neither did this content the *French*, till they had solemnly engag'd their Word, that the King of *Spain* should appoint some to treat with her Majesty, if there appear'd on her side any Inclination towards a Peace.

Character of *Hen.* IV. from *Jannin.*

But the Peace being now concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the *French* King, who had hitherto maintain'd the Reputation of a very Martial Prince, being now altogether intent upon Peace, did so highly advance the Honour and Glory of his Kingdom (which had hitherto been shock'd with the Storms and Convulsions of Civil War) by the defence and support of Religion, both the Catholick and Reform'd, as well as by the Encouragement of Learning, the revival of good Laws, the restoration of Traffick, and the adorning the Kingdom with fine and sumptuous Buildings, that he far exceeded the Character of his Predecessors, and obtain'd the Name of *Henry the Great.*

English debate about Peace with *Spain.*

The Queen being now oblig'd to have a more watchful Eye upon her Affairs at home, sent Sir *Francis Vere* over to the States, to learn whether they would concur with her in the forming a Treaty of Peace; or if not, what they would contribute towards supporting the War? She likewise began now to be in earnest with them about their paying back what Charges she had been at upon their account.

In the mean while, a very close Consultation pass'd in *England*, whether it would turn to the Kingdom's Account, or not, to admit a Peace with the *Spaniard*? They which were for the Peace, produc'd these Arguments to support their

Reasons for it.

Opinion: 'That besides the Pleasure and Convenience of Peace, 'twould moreover clear the '*English* of a foul Aspersion which lay upon 'em, 'That they were the general Incendiaries and 'Disturbers of *Christendom*, as if they placed their 'Security and Happiness in the Dangers and 'Misfortunes of other Men. That the Queen 'would be more secure from treasonable Plots 'and Attempts: That it would put an end to 'an expensive War with *Spain* and the Arch-'duke: That it would be a Means to extinguish 'the *Irish* Rebellion, when the Malecontents 'were quite stript of the hopes of Succours from '*Spain*: That there would be a free and open 'Trade, for which the Queen and the King-'dom would fare much better: That the Trade 'of *Spain*, which had formerly brought in such 'handsome Advantages to the *English* Merchants, 'would again be open'd to them, and their 'Grain fetch them good current Money: That 'the Emperor would revoke his Mandate against 'the *English* Merchants in *Germany*: It would be 'the best way to prevent all Broils and Commo-'tions at home, occasion'd commonly by fre-'quent and excessive Taxes and Pressing of Sol-'diers: The League of *Burgundy* would proba-'bly be renewed, and so there would be no 'ground of Apprehensions from the *French* Quar-'ter: *England* would enjoy a little Respite to 'provide and fortify herself against any future 'Emergence. It would likewise make for her 'Majesty's Honour, who upon the States offer-'ing to put themselves under her Royal Prote-'ction, *anno* 1585, declar'd publickly, and in 'Print, That she aim'd at nothing in the Relief 'of the *Netherlands*, but their Freedom, and the 'Security of *England*. If it appear'd at that time 'a wise and reasonable Resolution to Succour 'the *Netherlands*, and an act of Justice to wave 'the Honour of being their Stadt-holder, when ''twas offer'd purely to carry on the Charges of 'the War; it must now appear an Instance of 'the grossest Weakness to prosecute the War, 'upon a fair offer of Peace from *Spain*, and not 'the least shadow of a Proposal from those who 'find it their Interest to lengthen out the War. 'Besides, 'twere worth while to weigh these 'Points: Whether *England* be really able to 'maintain a War against *Spain*, in *Ireland*, in the '*Low-Countries*, and in other Places at the same 'time? And whether there were any Hopes, 'by continuing the War, to draw the *Spaniard* 'to any more convenient Terms of Peace than 'what were now offer'd? And this likewise 'was to be thought on more than once, since it 'is without all question, more convenient for 'the *English* to make an Offensive War, (it being 'a wretched Case to be put on the Defence of 'one's Country at home.) What Parts it were best 'to begin the War in: If on the Coasts of *Spain* 'or *Portugal*, 'twere indeed an easie matter to 'plunder the Sea-Ports in either Kingdom, but 'the Expence of keeping them, would eat up 'the Profit: If the Isles of the *Azores* were made 'the Seat of War; they might, 'tis true, be very 'probably reduc'd, and the *Spanish* King be great-'ly incommoded by that means, but were not 'to be preserv'd without too big an Expence: 'If *America*, they have Ships now in all those 'Ports, every way well furnish'd, and the Sea-'Coasts are provided with more and stronger 'Garrisons than before, and there is not a Grain 'of Gold, Silver or Pearl, but what must be got 'thro' the Fire: If in the *Low Countries*, 'twould 'be an Undertaking hardly practicable, consi-'dering that Country is so well stor'd with for-'tified Towns, and every one of them able to 'endure a long Siege. Nor was it possible that 'the States, tho' the *English* acted in conjunction 'with them, could do any more than defend 'themselves, till the *Spaniards* were quite drawn 'off to attend the War with *France*. And then, ''twas no true Politick Axiom, in the last place, '*That they who are able to stand out a War, may ob-'tain Peace on their own Terms; whereas they that 'cannot, must be contented to bear the brunt.*' It was farther urg'd, what Trouble the *Athenians* and others brought upon themselves, meerly for refusing the Offers of Peace. There were some likewise who alledg'd, (but it was rather from a personal Pique against the Men, than any real Dislike of their Cause) 'That the States, whatever 'pother they make about Religion and Property, 'do

1598. Ann.41. 'do in effect extirpate all Piety, by a general 'Toleration of all Perswasions, but Popery: 'Then for Liberty, 'twas but a Cloak for Advantage and Interest, which they most heartily promoted, by laying burdensome Imposts on 'Provisions, imbasing of Coin, and raising the 'Value when they pleas'd, and other Practices 'of the same sort; By these Tricks they make a 'shift to maintain the War on Foot, and enrich 'themselves by that which all but themselves are 'great Losers by. Besides this, they have erected 'so many Monopolies, that all Trade and 'Commerce is in their own Hands; and, like 'all true Sticklers for Democracy, they hate 'Monarchy at the bottom of their Hearts, and 'have extruded all their Nobility, except one or 'two Persons they make use of in their Wars. 'And 'tis clear as day-light, they mean nothing 'more nor less (a dangerous Precedent against 'crown'd Heads!) than to form themselves into 'Parties, in opposition to the House of *Austria*, 'as the *Helvetians* did formerly against the House 'of *Habspurgh*, to which the other is allied; and 'this they would willingly do at the Expence, 'not only of their own Lives, but those of the '*English*, *French* and *Scots*, who for the sake of a 'little publick Fame, are too ready to spend 'their Blood in other Men's Quarrels.'

Those who appear'd against the Peace, proceeded upon these Considerations: 'That the '*Spaniard* would hereby heap such a Mass of 'Treasure, that should he once have a mind to 'quarrel again, he would prove an Over-match 'for all his Neighbours. That a firm and lasting Peace was by no means to be expected 'from him, without a Dispensation from the 'Pope, when he so grosly trick'd us at *Bourburgh*, '*ann.* 1578, and is of this Opinion to boot, *That* '*Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. That 'tis 'impossible he should put up the Damages he 'has receiv'd, without attempting at one time 'or other to make Reprisals. If a Peace be concluded, the Queen must abandon the States of '*Holland* and *Zeland*, and so lose all the Money 'expended upon that War, or else deliver the 'Cautionary-Towns into the Enemies Hands: 'The first of which would be to her Damage; 'and the latter to her Discredit. The States, 'when she has once quitted their Interest, must 'of course come under the Subjection of *Spain*, 'which would gain thereby a vast Accession of 'Naval and Land-Forces to disturb *England*; 'besides that those Countries would be a very 'convenient Seat for carrying on a War against 'their Neighbours, and so confirming and settling a *Spanish* Monarchy; admitting the Difficulty of maintaining an offensive War in the '*Low-Countries*, the Uncertainty and Hazard of 'supporting it in the *Azores*, and the little Advantage of carrying it on in *Spain* or *Portugal*, 'and the very great Expence and Charge, be it 'in any of these Places; yet to have the Seat of 'War in *America*, must needs turn to a very gainful Account; for that vast Country is so thinly 'stockt with Inhabitants, and they live at such 'Distances, that they would find it very difficult 'to relieve one another: Were care taken therefore to land an *English* Army of 10000 Men in 'those Parts, there to continue, and follow 'planting, no doubt in the least of reducing *Carthagena* in *Golden-Castile*, *Panama*, and the River '*Chagre* which is navigable up thither, together 'with *Porto Bello*; and upon consequence, the 'Treasure which is transmitted through those 'Places into *Spain* from *Peru* and *Golden-Castile*, 'must needs be intercepted, or else detained in '*America*. This would be a Means to hinder the '*Spaniards* Trade, and lessen the King's Customs, 'to his unspeakable Inconvenience. Nor could 'there be any fear of the Natives, for they are 'great Cowards, and live in an effeminate Climate; and for the *Spaniards* who might possibly be sent thither, they would find themselves 'too much fatigu'd by their Voyage, and every 'way in too ill a case to dispossess old Soldiers 'of their Garrisons and places of Defence. And 'then there could be no fear of wanting Victuals, 'since that might be supplied as easily from *England* as 'tis convey'd from *Spain*. For as soon 'as it came to be known that they had settled 'themselves in those Parts, there would be 'enough from all Nations to furnish them with 'all Necessaries, for the *Europeans* desire nothing 'more than a free and open Commerce with '*America*. Objections against the *Hollanders* 'concerning Religion and Monopolies are meer 'Slanders, and the Inventions of such as bear 'no good-will to the Reformation; for the States 'do heartily espouse the true Religion, and assert it, together with their ancient Liberty, 'and differ in no Fundamental Point from the 'rest of the reform'd Churches, but agree in all 'Doctrines relating to Salvation. In things indifferent, and not so material, they do indeed 'grant a general Toleration, in compliance 'with the Condition of the Times, just as the 'primitive Church did; for it must be expected 'that some Cockles will grow amongst the 'Corn. As for other Matters, the Miscarriages 'of particular Men ought not to affect the whole 'Body, and the Community ought in all fair 'Construction to stand exempted from the Faults 'of any Individual. There were some Corruptions found among the very Apostles, and the 'Angels themselves were not without Blemish: 'We ought not therefore to bespatter a well-manag'd Government, nor discourage and cry 'down the good Husbandry of a free People, 'if they have stolen the Receipt from the rest of 'the World, how to thrive and grow rich upon 'War and publick Disorder.'

Against the Peace.

The Advocates for a Peace, endeavour'd to invalidate these Arguments by others here set down: 'That the Queen and the Confederates 'had as fair an Opportunity of laying up Money, 'while the Peace held, by which they might 'make as good a Provision for their own Defence, as the King of *Spain* could to annoy 'them: That there was good Reason to expect 'a firm and lasting Peace with *Spain*, since that 'Kingdom has suffer'd enough to reflect what ill 'Steps have been taken in the tyrannical Government of the *Low-Countries*, and by so doing, to correct that Error, by submitting to a 'Peace. There have been several Treaties of 'this nature formerly agreed to by the Dukes of '*Burgundy* and the Kings of *Castile*, the King of '*Spain*'s Predecessors, which had always been 'duly observ'd to the real Advantage of the *English* Nation. Suppose the King of *Spain*, to 'serve a Point of Interest, play'd a little fast 'and loose in the Business of *Bourburgh*; 'tis in 'our Power likewise to treat of a Peace with 'our Swords in our Hands. There are numerous Examples of Faith duly kept between Popish Princes and Hereticks, without the Pope's 'being made a Party in the Case; witness '*Charles* V. and his Successors, who preserv'd inviolably their Faith with the excommunicated 'Protestants of *Germany*, whom they esteemed 'Hereticks: As likewise *Francis* I. K. of *France*, 'who solemniz'd the Funeral of *Henry* VIII at '*Paris*, tho' the Pope had excommunicated him. 'And we may instance in *Henry* the present King 'of *France*, who after his Reconciliation to the 'Church of *Rome*, and his being adopted for her 'eldest

A Reply for Peace

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'eldeſt and deareſt Son, made a League offenſive and defenſive with the Queen of *England.* Beſides this, the Appetite of Revenge flags apace, the Power of Action decays. The Queen may very lawfully and fairly abandon the Cauſe of the States, ſince ſhe oblig'd herſelf to protect them no longer than they could procure from the *Spaniard* convenient Terms of Freedom and Security, which if they would now refuſe, ſhe is diſengag'd from lending 'em any farther Aſſiſtance. 'Twas neither a juſt nor reaſonable Demand on their ſide, That the Cautionary Towns ſhould be deliver'd into their Hands. 'Twould be eaſy to recover the Money lent out of the Queen's Purſe, upon account of the War, were but a Peace concluded. 'Twill require a conſiderable time to reduce the *Low-Countries* under Subjection, and Time may produce a thouſand things which at preſent are little dreamt of. But if they are reduc'd by a pacifick Treaty, they can never ſecure themſelves, but by ſecuring their Profit and Intereſt: But whatever became of them, *France* and *England*, whilſt they acted in Conjunction, would eaſily ballance *Spain*, and check any Exorbitance on that ſide. Publick Convenience would prove the firmeſt Ligament to keep the Treaty together. In ſum, the Reaſons for a Peace are deducible from the Law of Nature, which has made Self-preſervation one of her firſt and moſt forcible Dictates; and may be fetch'd alſo from the Law of Nations, which makes *the Peoples Safety the higheſt Law*: And the Chriſtian Law, which is the beſt and pureſt Reaſon, pleads hard againſt the Effuſion of human Blood, and for the Union of *Chriſtendom*, againſt *Pagans* and *Infidels*; whereas the Arguments for living in a State of War, (which one would think were effectually confuted by *Drake*'s ill Succeſs, whatever golden Dreams may poſſeſs thoſe whoſe Thoughts are rambling to *America*) theſe are meerly bottom'd upon human Wiſdom, and a politick kind of Providence and Foreſight as to ſome future Dangers: But ſure 'twere better to commit theſe Iſſues to the Conduct of a divine Wiſdom and Care, and in the mean time direct our Aims and Councils to the publick Good, and diſcharge an honeſt Conſcience at home, rather than be ſo intent upon Points which carry a bare Appearance of Convenience or Neceſſity.' Theſe were the Reaſonings and Debates on both ſides.

Burleigh declares for Peace.

Burleigh, the Lord-Treaſurer, upon the force of theſe Arguments, and in reſpect of certain great and neceſſary Advantages to enſue from thence, declar'd himſelf for Peace, as well knowing that the Iſſues of War were precarious, and the Expences great; beſides, that the Treaſure of *England* was much waſted, and the People apt enough to grow mutinous, if they found themſelves loaded with too heavy Impoſitions; that the common Sort had a natural Averſion to the Nobility, and that there was but little Hopes of any Aſſiſtance from the States; not to mention the Treachery of our own People at home, the little Dependance that was to be fix'd on our Neighbours, and the flowing and opulent State of *Spain*. So that, as he ſaid, *England* was like to reap no real Advantage by this War, but only a ſort of negative one, which amounts to little more than the Shadow of a Good.

Eſſex againſt it.

Eſſex labour'd hard againſt any Motions for Peace; and having been bred to the Sword, and gain'd ſome Reputation by it, he would by no means conſent to an Accommodation, but ſtiffly urg'd the Impoſſibility of making any honourable Treaty with *Spain*, or indeed any Terms, but what they would break, upon theſe and the like Suggeſtions: 'That the *Spaniards* were a ſubtle and enterprizing People, and very ambitious of extending their Empire; that they bore a moſt inveterate Averſion to *England*, and profeſs'd a Religion quite contrary to it; that the Pope's Diſpenſing Power was unlimited, and that Axiom generally eſpous'd, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*.'

These Arguments, and the Apprehenſion of future Dangers and Inconveniences, he much inſiſted on; inſomuch that the Lord-Treaſurer was provok'd to ſay, *that he ſeem'd intent upon nothing but Blood and Slaughter*. And after a very warm Debate upon this Point, he took out a Prayer-Book, and without uſing any Words, pointed to this Paſſage; *Men of Blood ſhall not live out half their days.*

Some however there were who approv'd *Eſſex*'s Meaſures, as conceiving he was principally concern'd for the Honour and Welfare of his Country. Others condemn'd him as a deſigning and ambitious Perſon, who was for advancing himſelf and his Creatures at any rate. To ſilence theſe Men, he wrote a formal kind of Defence; in which he exhibited what has been already mention'd, and diſcover'd withal, that *Anthony Rolſton*, an *Engliſh* Runagado, was ſome time before ſent into *England* by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and *Creſwel* the Jeſuit, under colour of concerting a Peace, but really and in fact, (as *Rolſton* afterwards confeſs'd) to diſcover the Queen's Military Strength, to embolden the Papiſts, and by Promiſes and Bribes to debauch ſome Perſons, eſpecially *Eſſex*, from their Duty and Allegiance.

There follow'd after this a pretty warm Diſpute, between the Queen and *Eſſex*, about the Matter of a Peace, and the choice of ſome fit and able Perſons to ſuperintend the Affairs of *Ireland*, at which none were preſent but the Lord-Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary, and *Windebank* Clerk of the Seal: For whereas the *Queen lookt* upon Sir *William Knolles*, *Uncle to Eſſex*, as the moſt proper Perſon for *that Charge*, and *Eſſex* contending on the other ſide, that Sir *Geo. Carew* would much better become that Poſt; (perhaps on purpoſe to get rid of him;) and when the Queen could by no means be perſuaded to approve his Choice; he quite forgot himſelf and his Duty, and turn'd his Back upon his Prince in a kind of Contempt. The Queen was not able to bear his Inſolence, and ſo beſtow'd on him a Box on the Ear, and bad him *go and be hang'd*. He immediately clapt his Hand on his Sword, and the Lord-Admiral ſtepping in between, he ſwore a great Oath, that he neither could nor would put up an Affront of that nature, nor would he have took it at the hands of *Henry* VIII, himſelf, and in a great Paſſion he immediately withdrew from Court. The Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal adviſ'd him in a ſerious and conſiderate Letter, to apply himſelf to the Queen for Pardon, alledging, that 'twas the beſt way to ſtoop to her Anger for the preſent, remembring that Paſſage of *Seneca*; *If the Law puniſhes a Guilty Perſon, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice; if one Innocent, he muſt yield to Fortune.* If he had given the Queen a juſt Offence, 'twas not in his power to make her Amends; whereas if ſhe had done *him* an Injury, he was oblig'd in Prudence, Duty and Religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had ſo many Obligations; for that there was a vaſt Difference between a Prince and a Subject. He ſent the Lord-Keeper his Anſwer in a long and paſſionate Letter, which his Friends did afterwards unadviſedly divulge; wherein he appeal'd from the Queen to God Almighty, in Expreſſions ſome-

His Inſolence to the Q.

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thing to this purpose; 'That there is no Tempest so boisterous as the Resentments of an angry Prince: That the Queen was of a flinty Temper: That he well enough knew what was due from him as a Subject, an Earl, and Grand-Marshal of *England*, but did not understand the Office of a Drudge or Porter: That to own himself a Criminal, was to injure Truth, and the Author of it, God Almighty: That his Body suffer'd in every Part of it, by that one Blow given him by his Prince: That 'twould be a Crime in him to serve a Queen who had given him so great an Affront. What! was it impossible for crown'd Heads to wrong, and so to stand accountable to their Subjects? Was any Power below of an unlimited Nature? And did not *Solomon* say, *That he is a Fool who laughs when he is stricken?* They only that are Gainers by the Miscarriages of Princes, were obliged to take the Indignities they offer'd; and those who suspected the Omnipotency of the Deity, might, if they pleased, place it in earthly Princes; for my part, *I have suffer'd so many and great Injuries, that I cannot but resent them from my very Heart.*'

Essex received again into Favour.

However, in a little time he became more pliant, received *his* Pardon, and was re-admitted *into the Queen's Favour, who* always thought it *a less Crime* to offend a Person, than to prosecute him with a perfect Hatred. However, his Friends were apt to date his Ruin from this unlucky Circumstance; having made this Remark, That Fortune seldom caresses a cast-off Favourite a second time; and Princes once disoblig'd, are seldom heartily reconciled.

The Death of Ld-Treasurer *Burleigh*.

In the midst of these Discontents died *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord-High-Treasurer of *England*, having exhausted himself with Study, and the necessary Fatigue of his Employment; so that growing old, and being troubled with the Gout, he requested the Queen's Leave to lay down his Place. Upon the Receipt of his Letter, she was pleased to pay him some Visits, and to support him with the most kind and encouraging Expressions. However he resign'd his Soul to God in a very few Days, after he had lived long enough to answer the Demands of Nature, and Reputation, and every thing but the Expectations of his Country. He left the World so fairly, that the greatest Enemy he had freely declar'd that he envied him nothing, but that his Sun went down with so much Lustre; whereas generally publick Ministers are not blessed with such calm and fortunate Periods.

His Character.

He was, without doubt, an extraordinary Person, so liberally furnish'd by Nature, (to say nothing of his Presence and Aspect, which had a commanding Sweetness in them) and so handsomely improv'd by Learning and Education, that he had few or no Superiors as to the several Qualifications of Probity and Prudence, Industry, Temperance and Justice. He had besides these Accomplishments, an easy and flowing Eloquence, which consisted not in a Pomp and Ostentation of Words, but in a Masculine Plainness and Significancy of Sense. He was Master of a Prudence form'd upon Experience, and regulated by Temper and Moderation; then for his Loyalty, 'twas true and would endure the Touch, and was only exceeded by his Piety, which indeed was eminently great. To sum up his Character in little; the Queen was blessed in so worthy a Minister, and the Kingdom indebted to his Memory for the happy Influence of his Ministry.

Birth.

Perhaps future Ages may be curious to know the Place of his Nativity, which was at *Bourn* in *Lincolnshire*, *Ann.* 1521. His Father was *Richard Cecil* of the Family of *Altegrennis*, which belong'd to King *Henry* the VIII's Wardrobe. His Mother's Name was *Jane*; she was an Heiress of the honourable Family of *Ekinton*, and of the *Walcots*.

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Education.

In his younger Days, he was a Student at St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, where at twenty Years of Age he married *Mary* the Sister of Sir *John Cheek*, a Gentleman of known Learning, and buried her in a Year or two; after which having studied the Law for a Year or two at *Grays-Inn* in *London*, he married *Mildred* the Daughter of Sir *Anthony Cook*, who was Preceptor to *Edward* VI. She was a Woman very well versed in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues.

Preferments.

Being admitted into the Duke of *Somerset's* Family, who was Protector of *England*, he was made his Master of Requests, being the first, as himself told me, who wore that Title in *England*: Shortly after, he was Secretary to King *Edward* VI, and received from him the Honour of Knighthood. Upon his opposing the pretended Conveyance of the Crown from the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, he got into Favour of the former, tho' he was in the Number of those that subscribed it; and his dexterous Management preferred him to a perfect Intimacy with Cardinal *Pool*, *Tonstal*, and Sir *William Peter*. But whereas he had a real and hearty Veneration for the Protestant Religion, (however he might humour the present Occasions) and finding the Road to Preferment lay quite another way, he made his Court to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who made use of him as a necessary Instrument whilst she was a private Person, and when she came to the Throne, advanced him to be her Secretary and a Privy-Counsellor, and after the Death of Sir *Thomas Parry*, made him Master of the Wards in the third Year of her Reign; which Office he discharged, as he did all others, like a good Husband for the Queen and the Wards, very modestly in respect to his private Advantages, and not unprofitably for his Followers and Dependants, tho' without the least Blemish upon his Integrity; so that the Queen did so far rely upon the Prudence of his Conduct, as in a manner to lay the whole Weight of the Government on his Shoulders. His great Interest with the Queen, and a plentiful Estate besides, drew upon him the Envy of some of the Nobility, which, he used to say, was sooner overcome by giving way, than making opposition against it. The Queen having had a thirteen Years Experience of his Prudence and Loyalty, was pleased to honour him with the Title of Baron *Burleigh*, and then to make him Lord-High-Treasurer of *England*: In which Post he considerably augmented the publick Purse, and his own private Estate, though he abhorred the base and corrupt Methods of scraping up Money; for indeed he seldom or never suffer'd any thing to be expended, but for her Majesty's Honour, the Security of the Nation, or the Support of some neighbouring Allies.

He had a strict Eye upon the Farmers of the Customs, but without Harshness or Pedantry. He used to say, *That he never cared to see the Treasury swell like a disorder'd Spleen, when the other Parts of the Commonwealth were in a Conjunction.* And he used all possible means (and with good Success) to enrich the Queen and the Kingdom by his Administration, it being a common Expression with him, *That nothing could be for the Advantage of a Prince, which makes any way against his Reputation.* Wherefore he would never suffer the Rents of Lands to be raised, nor the old Tenants to be put out. The same Method he observed as to his own private Estate, which he managed with that Discretion and Probity, that he never sued any Man, nor was sued himself. I shall forbear too lavish a Commendation of him;

him, but this I may venture to affirm with truth, 1598. That he was one of those few who lived and died *Ann.* 41. with a sound and large Reputation. Indeed he was in all respects so considerable a Person, that I agree with the Opinion of the Ancients, and conceive a silent Admiration of him to be the handsomest Character.

His Issue. He had by his first Wife, *Mary Cheek*, *Thomas* now Earl of *Exeter*, a Person remarkably bless'd in a numerous Issue. By his last Wife, *Mildred Coke*, he had *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, who succeeded him in his most honourable Employments, (an Happiness which is very rare and unusual) besides two Daughters, both of which he outlived, *viz.* *Anne* Countess of *Oxford*, who had three Daughters, *Elizabeth* Wife to *William* Earl of *Derby*, *Bridget* married to the Lord *Norris*, and *Susan* Wife to *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, as likewise *Elizabeth* married to *William Wentworth*, who had no Children. He made his Executors *Gabriel Goodman* Dean of *Winchester*, a very Reverend and Worthy Person; and *Thomas Bellot*, his Domestick Steward, to whom he left a large Sum to be distributed in charitable Uses, which was very faithfully performed.

Vid. 1595. The Lord *Burleigh's* strenuous Endeavours for a Peace, tho' they produc'd not the desir'd Effect, yet did they tend to pare off a great part of the Charge of the War: For when he lay sick, and almost past Recovery, the States sent over *John Duvenvoord* Admiral of *Holland*, *John Oldenbarnevelt*, Keeper of the Seals, *John Verke*, *John Hooting*, and *Andrew Hessel*; and join'd in the same Commission Sir *Nowel Carron*, their Agent in *England*, who being mightily for promoting the War, did in the Month of *August* hold a Conference with Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earl of *Essex*, the Admiral, *George* Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *William Knolles*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Commissioners appointed by the Queen, and subscrib'd to the following Articles: *That the Treaty made* Ann. 1585, *should be ratified and confirmed, excepting some Articles relating to the Civil Administration: That the Confederate-States should pay to the Queen* 800000 l. *of* English *Money*, viz. 30000 l. *yearly during the Continuance of the War, to be employ'd against the common Enemy, until* 400000 l. *were paid: And if a Peace were agreed on between the King of* Spain *and the Queen, there should be paid of the remaining Sum* 20000 l. *yearly till the* 800000 l. *were fully discharged: That* 1150 English *Soldiers who were in the Garrisons of* Flushing, Briel, *and the adjacent Ports, should be paid by the States: That they might have the Liberty to levy Men in* England *under* English *Officers, who should serve under their Pay: That if the* Spaniard *should make a Descent on the Isles of* Wight, Guernsey, Jersey *or* Silly, *the States should be obliged to assist the Queen with* 5000 *Foot, and* 500 *Horse: That if 'twas necessary to equip a Fleet in* England *to serve against* Spain, *they should provide an equal Number of Ships: That if any* English *Forces were sent over into* Flanders *or* Brabant, *they should provide and furnish out the same number of Men: As for the Money due to* Pallavicini, *the Queen should re-imburse herself from* Brabant *and* Flanders, *and the rest of the Provinces which were not within the Union.*

A new Treaty with the States.

Thus was the Queen eased of a vast Expence by this new Treaty, no less than a yearly one of 120000 *l. English*; and this by the provident Conduct of the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, and the Management of Sir *Thomas Bodley* and *George Gilpin*, who succeeded him in the Council of the States.

Bodley's Library. *Bodley*, being at present unengaged from Affairs of State, set himself a Task which would have suited the Character of a crown'd Head, I mean the Promotion and Encouragement of 1598. Learning: For he began to repair the Publick *Ann.* 41. Library at *Oxford*, and furnished it with new Books: 'Twas set up by *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, but thro' the Iniquity of the Times, was in the Reign of *Edward* VI, stript of all the Books; but he having made the choicest Collection from all Parts of the World of the most valuable Books, partly at his own Cost, and partly by Contributions from others, he first Stock'd, and afterwards left it so well Endow'd at his Death, that his Memory deserves to bear a very lasting Date amongst Men of Worth and Letters.

Whilst these Matters were treating of between An Embassy to Denmark. the *English* and the States, the Lord *Zouch*, and *Christopher Parkins* Doctor of Law, being sent to *Denmark* to congratulate the King upon his Marriage with the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Daughter, obtain'd with much ado the Re-imbursement of 30000 Dollars, for some Goods which the *Danes* had seized belonging to the *English* Merchants, to the value of 100000 Dollars, on pretence that the *English* had not acted justly and honestly in the Business of Customs. For it seems there were about this time several Disputes raised as to that Matter, and the Queen, suspecting that the King of *Denmark* acted more favourably by the *Spanish* than the *English*, could not forbear complaining, that the Customs were raised to an unreasonable Height; and he made Complaint on the other hand, that his Subjects were miserably abused and rifled by the *English* Pirates, and that the Council of *England* had a nearer Regard to the Avarice of some particular Merchants, than to the publick Welfare and Good of both Kingdoms.

About this time, *Philip* the second, King of Cardinal *Albert* married to the Infanta of *Spain*. *Spain* engaged Infanta *Isabella*, his Daughter, to Cardinal *Albert*, and gave her for her Portion the *Low-Country* Provinces, and the County of *Burgundy*. Whereupon the Cardinal, having in a solemn way sent back his Cap to *Rome*, and received a consecrated Sword from his Holiness, made all the haste he could to *Spain*. In the mean time, the King of *Spain* being above seventy Years of Age, took leave of this World in the end of *September*, and died much lamented for the Evenness of his Temper under all Events. He was a Prince of so wide and extensive an Authority, that there was no Impertinence in his Motto, *Sol mihi semper lucet*, i. e. *The Sun shines always upon me.* He was likewise a Prince of singular Conduct, through the Benefit of some of his Father's Maxims, which he had apply'd and improv'd by his own Experience; but he was generally unsuccessful in the Field; for being himself but of a weak Constitution, he was but slow in Action, and forced at last to depend on the Advice of others. By this means, *the* The three Keys of the Spanish Empire. *three Keys of the* Spanish *Empire*, for so his Father called *Guletta* in *Africa*, *Flushing* in the *Low-Countries*, and *Cales* in *Spain*, over which he was advised to have a watchful Eye, happen'd to be look'd after not so carefully as they should; for one of them was taken by the *Turks*, another by the Confederate-States of the *Low-Countries*, and the third seized upon by the *English*, to the irreparable Dishonour of so great a Prince: So that he had good Reason for advising his Son (as 'tis said he did) to make up the Differences with the *English* and the *Netherlanders*.

About this time returned home into *England* Earl of Cumberland returns. *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, who had some time before furnish'd out a Fleet of eleven Ships at his own proper Expence, in order to intercept the *Portugal* Caracks as they sail'd from the River *Tayo* to the *East-Indies*; but they hearing that

1598. Ann.41. that they lay busking about the Coasts of *Portugal*, staid so long in the River under the Protection of the Fort of St. *Julian*, which was furnished with an hundred great Guns, that they lost their Voyage for that Season. Whereupon he sailed away first for the *Canaries*, where he took and plunder'd the Isle and Town of *Lancerota*: From thence he steer'd for *Boriquen*, and landing his Men, dispos'd them into Order, and made an Attack on *Porto-Rico*; and when they had taken one or two of the Forts, he made himself Master of the Town with the Loss of not above thirty Men, tho' there were in the Town above 400 Soldiers, besides Inhabitants. This Place being for the Advantage of its Situation accounted by the *Spaniards* the Key of *America*, he resolved to make the Seat of War, and removed all the Inhabitants out of it, tho' they offer'd a plentiful Stock of rich Goods, besides Gold and Silver Plate in ransom for it: But shortly after the *English* were so wretchedly handled by the Bloody-Flux, and the Griping of the Guts, that in their forty Days stay there, 700 Men were swept away by these Distempers; so that he was forced to return home with more Honour than Booty, tho' he carried off above 60 Pieces of Brass Cannon: However he did a considerable Damage to the *Spaniard*, in hindring the Caracks from making their Voyage to the *Indies* for this Year, and the Return of the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet from *America*.

He takes *Lancerota* and *Porto Rico*.

Much about the same time was *Edward Squire* arraigned for Treason; a Man of no Family, and who had rose from a little Pettifogger to be an under Groom in the Queen's Stable, then entred a Soldier under *Drake* in his last Expedition, and being taken Prisoner and carried into *Spain*, commenced an Acquaintance with *Walpole* the Jesuit. *Walpole* got him into the Inquisition as an Heretick, where having suffer'd Hardships enough, he was easily persuaded to change his Religion, and often tamper'd with to distinguish his Zeal by doing something extraordinary for the sake of it. At length the Jesuit told him, after several Preambles, (as *Squire* himself confessed) That it would be a meritorious Piece of Service to kill the Earl of *Essex*, but a much nobler Act to take off the Queen, which he told him might be done without Noise or Danger, by poisoning the Pummel of the Queen's Saddle, upon which she was obliged to lay her Hand as she rode.

Squire tried for Treason.

Drawn in by *Walpole*.

When *Squire* had consented to this villainous Project, the Jesuit bound him up by several Vows, under pain of Damnation, to execute and conceal the Design. Thus having given his Instrument of Wickedness proper Instructions, and fed him with fine Promises of Saintship and Salvation, and given him his Blessing as an Earnest, he deliver'd him the Poison; and to prevent any Suspicion on the account of his being just returned from *Spain*, he contrived that he and another should be employed as Agents to redeem some *Spaniards* who were at that time Prisoners in *England*. Not long after he very artificially rubbed the Poison upon the Pummel of the Queen's Saddle, pretending to be busy about something else, and crying out, *God save the Queen*; but through God's Mercy the Poison took not its Effect. Mean while, to avoid all Suspicion, he lifted himself under the Earl of *Essex*, who intended for the *Azores*, and went out of *England* a Soldier in his own Ship; and there he besmear'd the Earl's Chair with the same Poison, but to as little Effect. After this he return'd into *England*, and lived secure, and without the least Apprehension that *Walpole*, his Confessor, would have turn'd Informer against him: But he being, it seems, very much nettled at the ill Success of his Enterprize, and suspecting that *Squire* had chous'd him for all his Vows and Engagements, bent himself wholly to Revenge; and it is most certain, that a Person was sent to *England* to impeach *Squire* for Treason in general Terms. Whereupon (the thing being of that Weight and Importance) *Squire* was examin'd, and at first denied the Fact; but being afterwards more closely tax'd upon certain Circumstances, and suspecting that his Confessor had proved a *Judas*, he freely confessed all that *Walpole* had contrived; that he had given his Consent, and how far he had proceeded, &c. However, both at the Bar and at the Gallows he protested, that tho' *Walpole* and others had persuaded him to the Fact, yet he entred upon it with the greatest Reluctancy. *Walpole*, or somebody for him, printed a Pamphlet, wherein he utterly denied the whole Sum and Substance of *Squire*'s Confession. However the Matter was, there were some *English* Runnagadoes that took mighty pains to work the Ruin of others, and to brand themselves with a perpetual Infamy: For I am concerned to say, that some of the Clergy had both espoused and broached this pestilent Doctrine, *That to take away the Lives of excommunicate Princes, was no more than weeding the Cockle out of the Lord's Field.*

There was about this time a Gang of dissolute and ill-principled Men, who seemed very well pleased with disturbing the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation: In order to which, they dispersed abroad several Reports (upon what Grounds I know not) that the King of *Scots* was a Favourer of the Catholick Religion, and but indifferently affected to her Majesty's Person and Interest; and to reconcile the more Credit to them, the Queen had presented her the Copy of a Letter to the Pope, written by the Queen's Secretary, a Person of slender Value and Credit, and subscribed by the King's Hand, which he had procured from him unawares. But the Queen, being not apt to be over credulous, slighted these Whimsies, as the fanciful Projects of some ill-designing Men, contrived on purpose to rob him of the Hearts of the Protestants, and present him with those of the Papists in their room. Nay, when one *Valentine Thomas*, a great *Debauchée*, and arraign'd for a certain Robbery, upon his Request to be permitted to offer something of great Consequence in the Queen's Ear, did in a private Audience acquaint her Majesty with the King of *Scots* Disaffaction to her Interest, so far was she from giving the least heed to such idle Rumours, that she looked on the Author thereof as a meer Slanderer and Incendiary employed to set the King of *Scots* and her at variance, or else having invented this Story to save his own Life. The Business she order'd to be smother'd up, and would not have *Thomas* executed, for fear of drawing any unhandsome Reflections upon the King; because Calumnies against crown'd Heads find too easy Credit with the Vulgar.

Reports against the King of *Scots*.

By *Valen. Thomas*.

Not credited.

In the midst of these Reports, the Queen sent the King these Heads of Reflection to entertain himself with, *viz. Whether there was any Prince who had it in his power to do him more Prejudice or Service than herself? Whether he had receiv'd greater Instances of Kindness and Generosity from any other? Whether he could think of any that had fewer Turns to serve upon him than herself, who desired nothing at his hands, more than to promote the Honour of Religion, and regard his own Interest and Concernment?* The latter part of the Advice he closely follow'd. For, to confute and lay asleep these kind of Forgeries, there were several Instruments

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Books written in the King's Favour.

ſtruments employ'd thro' all *England* and *Ireland*, to excite Peoples good Inclinations towards him, by ſaying very great things of his Steadineſs to Religion, and by applauding the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Clemency of his Adminiſtration. There were likewiſe ſeveral Books diſperſed to aſſert his Title to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, (which had been oppoſed by one *John Colvil*, an ungrateful *Scotchman*, tho' he ſoon after wrote his Recantation) as alſo to make out that his admiſſion to the Throne would be more commodious for both Kingdoms, than the ſetting up of any other Title, and that for theſe Reaſons: 'Becauſe his Title was founded upon the firmeſt 'Right; as he was a King already, becauſe it 'would enlarge the Kingdom of *England* by the 'addition of *Scotland*, a thing ſo much and often 'deſired; becauſe it would be a means to put an 'end to the Wars of *Ireland* and *Spain*; becauſe 'it would open a free Trade and Commerce; 'as he was moreover a Father of Children, 'which are the main Props and Supports of a 'Government; and had a Strength ſufficient to 'defend himſelf and his Subjects; and laſtly, 'becauſe he had the Love and Reſpect of all the 'Princes of *Chriſtendom*.' Others endeavour'd to ſhew at the ſame time the miſerable Ends of Uſurpers, and ſuch as adher'd to or aſſerted their Titles, particularly of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, who lifted *Edward* IV, into the Throne; and of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who put the Crown on *Richard* III's Head; and to urge the Queen to nominate and declare a Succeſſor, ſuch Expreſſions as theſe were ſcatter'd here and there in the abovemention'd Papers: 'That 'tis 'not in the power of Princes to rob their neareſt 'Kinſmen of the Crown: That Kingdoms are 'lineal Rights, and convey'd by Deſcent: That 'the native Rights of Children cannot be vacated by their Parents Act of Diſinheriting, nor 'transferr'd by Parliament to one more remote 'in Blood. Foraſmuch as God Almighty did not 'ſpare the *Iſraelites*, but gave them over for 'a Spoil, becauſe in contempt of the Houſe of '*David*, they made *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*, 'their King; it appear'd that the Alienation of 'a Crown from the next Succeſſor was repugnant to the Laws of God as well as Man. As 'thoſe who wait for the Reverſion of a Crown, 'ought to expect with Modeſty and Patience the 'determin'd Period of thoſe who poſſeſs it, let 'it be as long as Providence ſhall think fit; ſo 'are the preſent Poſſeſſors obliged to give their 'Succeſſors ſome kind of Aſſurances, that their 'Expectations are not precarious, left between 'fond and diſappointed Hopes on the one hand, 'and repeated Demands and Sollicitations on 'the other, both Parties happen to be tired 'out, and ſcarce to know which are to complain firſt.'

Baſilicon Doron, written by King *James*.

But theſe Books were nothing to one put out under the Title of *Baſilicon Doron*, and wrote by the King to his Son; deſcribing, in a moſt accurate Stile and Method, the Duty of a well-accompliſh'd Prince. 'Tis ſcarce credible how much this Piece made him reſpected and beloved, and how great Hopes and Expectations were hereupon conceived of him. Queen *Elizabeth*'s Opinion of this Matter I could never learn; but this I am aſſur'd of, that the general Method ſhe took to allay and qualify the Cares of her Crown, was to write or read ſomething every Day. She had ſome time before tranſlated *Saluſt de Bello Jugurthino*, and now ſhe was taken up in rendring into *Engliſh* the greateſt part of *Horace de Arte Poetica*, and a little Book of *Plutarch*'s *de Curioſitate*, and all under her own Hand; tho' at the ſame time the Rebellion in *Ireland* was grown to a formidable Height, as I ſhall make appear, when I have paid what is due to the Memory of thoſe Gentlemen of moſt Note who died this Year. They were but three in all, beſides the Lord-Treaſurer *Burleigh* already mention'd; but they were Perſons of that Learning and Worth, which the World has with great Juſtice repreſented them.

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The Death of Dr. *Stapleton*.

The firſt was Dr. *Thomas Stapleton*, born in *Suſſex*, and brought up in *New-College* in *Oxford*, and he was likewiſe Ordinary-Profeſſor of Divinity and Polemicks in the Univerſity of *Doway*; for in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign he went over to the *Netherlands*, out of the ſingular Zeal he bore to the Catholick Religion, where his publick Lectures and Writings got him a very great Reputation.

Dr. *Coſins*.

The next was *Richard Coſins*, a *Cambridge*-man, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the Arches, who purchaſed himſelf a conſiderable Name by the Piece he publiſhed in Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

Spenſer.

The laſt was *Edmund Spenſer*, born at *London*, and a Student in *Cambridge*, who had ſo happy a Genius for Poetry, that he outwent all the Poets before him, not excepting his Fellow-*Londoner*, *Chaucer* himſelf; but through a Fate common to that Fraternity, he was always poor, tho' he had been Secretary to the Lord *Grey*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. For he had ſcarce fix'd himſelf in his new Retirement, and had got a little Leiſure to purſue his Studies, but the Rebels rifled and threw him out of Houſe and Home, ſo that he return'd into *England* in a bare Condition, where he died not long after, and was interr'd in *Weſtminſter* not far from *Chaucer*, at the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Charge. His Hearſe was attended by the Gentlemen of his Faculty, who caſt into his Tomb ſome Funeral Elegies, and the Pens they were wrote with.

The Fort at *Blackwater* beſieged.

The Rebellion raged in *Ireland* this whole Year: For tho' *Tir-Oen* had procured his Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*, having begged and obtained it at the Earl of *Ormond*'s Hands by a well-diſſembled Submiſſion; yet did he ſurprize and ſeize on the Fort at *Blackwater*. The Lieutenant General of the Army (there being at preſent no Lord-Deputy) ſingled out ſome choice Troops, and ſent them to raiſe the Siege. They conſiſted of thirteen Companies of Foot, under Sir *Henry Bagnal*, *Tir-Oen*'s profeſſed Enemy. On the 14th of *Auguſt* they form'd themſelves into three Bodies, and march'd from the Camp near *Armagh*: The Van was led by the Marſhal himſelf and *Percy*, the main Body by *Cosby* and *Thomas-Maria Wingfield*, and the Rear was brought up by *Cuin* and *Billing*: The Horſe were under the Conduct of *Calliſthenes Brook*, *Charles Montacute*, and *Flemming*.

Engliſh routed by *Tir-Oen*.

They had ſcarcely march'd a Mile over ſome little Aſcents, and in ſcatter'd Parties, at too great a diſtance from one another, with a marſhy Plain on one hand, and Woods on the other, but *Tir-Oen*, out of the inveterate Spleen he bore againſt the Marſhal, attack'd his Party very briskly; and having ſlain him as he fought amongſt the thickeſt of his Enemies, ſoon ſurrounded and vanquiſhed that ſmall Body of Men with his unequal Number, whilſt in the mean time they were not obſerved by their Friends that followed behind, by reaſon of an Hill which was between them. At the ſame inſtant the Gunpowder took fire in the middle Battalion, and blew up and maimed ſeveral Perſons; and *Cosby*, who was ſent to rally the remaining part of the Vanguard, received a total Defeat. However, they were brought off by *Montacute*, tho' with great Difficulty and Danger. *Wingfield* returned with the

Rear

1598. Ann. 41. Rear to *Armagh*, as soon as he found the Powder began to fail; and thus did *Tir-Oen* triumph over his biggest Enemy, and the *English* Forces at the same time: 'Tis most certain, they never receiv'd a more absolute Defeat, since they first set Foot in *Ireland*; for there were slain 13 Stout Captains, and 1500 Common Soldiers, who were shamefully knock'd on the Head, as they were flying or skulking about the Fields: They that escap'd, blam'd the want of Experience in their Commanders, not any Defect of Courage in themselves (a very Modish Excuse, it seems, at that time): Nor, to say the Truth, were the Officers altogether excusable, especially for marching at that distance from their Ranks, (clean contrary to the Discipline of the Field,) and against an Enemy too, that always fight in Crouds, and Conquer by main Strength, rather than by Art, Conduct or Courage: Soon after, the Fort at *Blackwater* surrendred; the Garrison, who had held out to the utmost, and were now almost starv'd, despairing of any manner of Succour or Relief.

This Victory was of great Consequence to the Rebels, for it furnish'd them with Arms and Provisions, and got *Tir-Oen* such a mighty Name, all the Kingdom over, that he was look'd on as the Saviour of the Kingdom, and the Patron of the Common Liberty; and valued himself on that Score as highly as his greatest Flatterers could do. All *Munster* began now to revolt of a sudden, not so much, 'tis probable, from any great Hopes they had conceiv'd upon Occasion of the late Victory, as out of a rooted Enmity to the *English* Planters and Labourers; who had been settled upon the Forfeited Lands, after the Earl of *Desmond's* Rebellion, and in Expectation of being Protected at least, if the Success did not answer. For 'twas grown now a most pernicious Fashion in *Ireland*, for Rebels and Malefactors to be allow'd the purchasing of Protections, and Instruments of Indemnity, with the very Money which they had got together by Rapine and Plunder.

Munster revolts.

To promote and encourage this Defection *Tir-Oen* sent into *Munster Ouny-Mac-Rory*, *Og-more*, and *Tyrell*, (the latter an Englishman, but a mortal Enemy to his Country) with a 1000 Men to plunder and ravage the Country. Sir *Thomas Norris*, President of the Province, advanc'd against him with a pretty good Army, as far as *Kilmalock*, but perceiving that the Irishmen that serv'd under him, were projecting a Revolt, and that the new Planters from *England* could not furnish out above 200 Men, and those without proper Arms, he dispers'd his Forces and retir'd to *Cork*: Which the Rebels understanding, got together a Pack of Rascally Fellows, who flock'd in to them from all Parts, and began to waste and pillage the Country, and to set Fire on the Castles and Houses of the *English* Farmers all about, and to slay and murther all that came in their way; a Thing they could not so easily have done, had the first Undertakers of those Lands stock'd them with a full Number of Planters, and as well provided as their Contract had oblig'd them. The Rebels taking heart upon these Successes, proclaim'd *James Fitz-Thomas*, a most vitious and immoral Liver, but a Kinsman of the Earl of *Desmond's*, Heir of that Title and Dignity, but with this Limitation, that he should still be Vassal to *O-Neal*, *i. e.* to the Earl of *Tir-Oen*: He, it seems, was now so puffed up with his good Fortune, that he boasted of his Conquests, in a Letter to the King of *Spain*, and intreated him withal, that if there went about any Reports of his Transacting a Peace with the *English*, He would give no Credit to them, for he had hardned himself against any Propositions of that Kind, whatever Appearance of Convenience or Advantage they brought with them, as being fully resolv'd to keep his Word and Faith with the King of *Spain*. Nevertheless, he was at the same time, playing his old Game, and Treating by Letters and Messages full of Trick and Dissimulation, about a Surrender to the Lord Lieutenant; but the Conditions he requir'd were most unreasonable.

Munster wasted and plundered.

Sir *Richard Bingham* was now pitch'd on, as the Person most capable to tame the Insolence of the Grand Rebel; forasmuch as his Courage, and good Fortune had been already approv'd against the Malecontents in *Ireland*. He is now therefore sent back thither in the Quality of Marshal of *Ireland*, and General of *Leimster*, who had been, but a little while before, turn'd out of his Government of *Connaught*, (upon some Complaints made of his extream Severity) and sent for into *England*, and there imprison'd on that Account; but he died at *Dublin* soon after his Arrival: He was a Gentleman of an Ancient and Noted Family in *Dorsetshire*, but more Eminent for his Experience and Behaviour in the Camp, For he was a Soldier at St. *Quintin's*, at *Conquet* in *Bretaign*, in the *Hebrides*, at *Leith* in *Scotland*, in the Isle of *Candie* against the *Turks*, and likewise in *France* and the *Netherlands*; besides the good Services which I have already mention'd to have been perform'd by him in *Ireland*.

Sir *Rich. Bingham* sent again into *Ireland*.

His death.

The Fourty Second Year of her Reign. 1599.

The State of *Ireland* was at this Time, next to desperate; for the whole Nation almost was up in Arms, some pretended they were abus'd and ill treated by the Garrison-Soldiers; others, the great Fear they were in, from the several opposite Factions, which were now grown very prevalent: Some again were stirr'd up by the good Success of the Rebels, and others were provok'd, because they were left defenceless, and lay expos'd to the Robberies and Insults of Thieves and Villains: Some the Priests cajol'd into Mutiny, and some were led into it, through a false Report, spread about by the Head of the Faction, that the Queen was absolutely resolv'd to make a Conquest of *Ireland*, and to cut off, and destroy them Root and Branch.

The desperate Condition of *Ireland*.

'Twas therefore closely debated in *England*, who was the fittest Person to employ, in order to suppress this Rebellion. The Queen and most of the Council were for *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*: But the Earl of *Essex* dropt an Hint, that all the Experience *Montjoy* had, as to Martial Affairs, was owing to his having once had a Commission in the *Low-Countries*, and a Second time in *Bretaign*: That he was moreover a Person of a very slender Estate, and as narrow an Interest, and minded Books too much, to attend the Government: That *Ireland* requir'd a Person of the First Quality, and One, who being Considerable for Honour, Interest and Estate, might make himself acceptable to the Soldiers, upon which account, an old General would be the most suitable Deputy; which was a broad sign that he thought none so proper as himself: Hereupon the Queen resolv'd to make him Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army. This he slightly refus'd at first, and desir'd Her Majesty to think on some Abler Person, for a Charge of that Importance; Though at the same Time he had an Objection ready, against any Person she should have Named: Nay he carried himself at such Rate, as made his Adversaries believe he aim'd at nothing so much as the having an Army at his beck, and engaging the Soldiery to his Interest;

A Consultation about a Lord-Deputy.

The Earl of *Essex* privately seeks the Place.

But slightly refus'd it.

He is suspected of ambitious Designs.

1599. *Ann.* 42.

tereft; fo that fome Perfons, obferving the eagernefs and warmth of his Purfuits, were apprehenfive that he had fome dangerous Project in his Head, efpecially fince he treated the Queen with more Infolence than before, as if he had forgot the many Favours fhe had heap'd upon him: And to increafe the fufpicion, his Creatures began to make a great Noife about his Defcent, as if he was of the Royal Family of the *Scots*, by the Eldeft Daughter of *Alan* of *Galloway*, (who at the fame time was not of the Blood-Royal,) and Allied likewife to that of *England*, by *Cecily Bourchier* his Great-Grand-Mother, who was defcended from *Thomas* of *Woodftock*, the Youngeft Son of King *Edward* III, and alfo from *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*: Upon which account, they pretended that he had a fairer Title to the Crown of *England*, than any his Corrivals, whofe Pretenfions *Doleman* had overthrown (except only the *Infanta* of *Spain*'s Title) in a Book dedicated to the Earl of *Effex*: Nor was it enough, for them to cry up the Greatnefs of his Extraction, without running Extravagant Encomiums upon his Courage, his Prudence, his Piety, &c. Thefe Particulars were urg'd, to his difadvantage, with all poffible Malice and Application, by fuch as were very willing to get rid of him, fo that they were for lending a Spur to an Ambition, which rather wanted a Bridle, and fill'd his Head with fine Notions of a lafting Fame from Pofterity, and the prefent Love and Veneration of the People; They therefore intreated him to exprefs that Real and Affectionate Regard, he had ever born to his Country, by accepting this Honourable Employment, towards the Difcharge of which, they affur'd him of the utmoft Services that lay in their Power: But whilft thefe fmooth Tongu'd Adverfaries, were beftowing upon him fuch high and lofty Commendations, and raifing a mighty Expectation of him in the Minds of Men; They were in the mean time ufing all Arts to undermine him, as knowing well, that the vehemency of his fpirit would confpire with their endeavours to ruin and undo him, and that there was not any likelier Method to trip up the Heels of an afpiring Man, than to pufh him upon an Office he was altogether unfit for: To be fhort, as quick and penetrating a Perfon as he was, he either did not, or would not perceive the bottom of their Aims, as long as he thought no Employment too big for his grafp, and his Friends or Flatterers fupported him in that Opinion. Hereupon he was, to the general fatisfaction, made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, with an unlimited Commiffion to carry on, or make End of the War, as he fhould think fit, and he likewife extorted from the Queen, the farther Liberty of Pardoning Crimes of High Treafon, and if occafion were, to *Tir-Oen* himfelf: This was an Authority, which in all other Patents Granted to former Lord-Deputies, had been limited in thefe Words, *Treafons touching Our Perfon, Our Heirs and Succeffors excepted*: But it was a prudent Part in him, to fecure this Privilege, becaufe the Lawyers tell us, *That all manner of Rebellions touch the Perfon of the Prince*.

Effex made Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*.

He had an Army affign'd him, as large as he could wifh, and fuch an one as *Ireland* had not feen before, confifting of 16000 Foot, and 1300 Horfe; and it was afterwards made up 20000. Indeed he could defire nothing but what the officious Treachery of his Enemies was ready to procure for him; and the better to trepan this unfufpecting Gentleman, they took care to fet Spies upon every Action and Expreffion which pafs'd from him, and they were fure to fix fcurvy and ill-natur'd Gloffes upon whatever they obferv'd. His Inftructions (not to mention fuch as were lefs material, as the Conferring the Honour of Knighthood on none but Worthy Perfons, &c.) were chiefly to purfue the Ring-Leader of the Faction, *Tir-Oen*, and to hem him in if poffible, by placing Garrifons at *Lough-Foile* and *Balifhannon*: This was what himfelf had urg'd, as a very neceffary Point, and he had often charg'd the former Lord-Deputies and *Norris* with his neglect, alfo with protracting the War, by allowing fuch frequent Parleys with the Enemy. A Proclamation was difpatch'd into *Ireland* beforehand, Declaring: 'That the *Irifh* Rebels had fo long 'abus'd the Queen's Clemency, that fhe was 'now conftrain'd to make ufe of Her Power, 'to curb and fubdue them: But fhe was fo far 'from defigning to deftroy them, that fhe never 'admitted one Thought to that Purpofe, nor 'had fhe any Reafon for it; becaufe the much 'greater Part of the Nobility and Gentry, con- 'tinu'd firm to their Duty and Allegiance: As 'for thofe Rebels who fubmitted themfelves, 'She promis'd them Mercy, but as for thofe 'who continu'd obftinate, Death was what they 'ought to expect: To this Purpofe fhe had 'made choice of the Earl of *Effex*, as a proper 'Inftrument to difpenfe Pardon or Punifhment 'in Her Name: Forafmuch as his Conduct and 'Courage, his Fidelity and Prudence, had dif- 'cover'd themfelves upon feveral Occafions.'

An Army appointed him.

1599. *Ann.* 42.

A Proclamation fent into *Ireland*.

About the End of *March*, the Earl of *Effex* fet forward for *Ireland*, and was accompanied out of *London* with a fine Appearance of Nobility and Gentry, and the moft chearful Huzza's of the Common People: But the Weather happen'd to be Rainy, and a Storm of Thunder went before the Shower. The Wind prov'd contrary to him and obftructed his Paffage, but at laft he arriv'd fafe in *Ireland*; where having receiv'd the Sword, according to Form, he immediately made the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horfe, clean contrary to his Inftructions, and through the Perfuafions of fome of the Queen's Council there, who lov'd their own Intereft too well, he advanc'd his whole Army againft a contemptible Handful of Mutineers, in the Province of *Munfter*, and quite neglected the Grand Leader of the Rebellion, and all this without the Queen's Cognizance. He feiz'd on *Cahir-Caftle*, belonging to *Edmund Butler*, Baron of *Cahir*, which being incompafs'd by the River *Swire*, prov'd a convenient Harbour for the Rebels; And infus'd a ftrange Terrour into the Minds of the Inhabitants, by forcing the Rebels into the Woods and Thickets, and driving away vaft Herds of Cattle. However a Party of the *Englifh* were fhamefully defeated, through the Cowardice of fome, who were under the Command of *Henry Harrington*, the Principal of whom, he took care to punifh as they deferv'd. He did not return till the middle of *July*, by which time, his Men were harafs'd and weakn'd to fome Purpofe, and the Army in a moft pitiful Condition. Befides, the Earl himfelf was much diffatisfied at the Queen's having, in the mean time, beftow'd the advantagious Place of Mafter of the Wards, upon Sir *Robert Cecil*, whereas he had a mind to it himfelf. The Queen was as little pleas'd with *Effex*'s Conduct, through which fo many Men had been thrown away; and when fhe urg'd him to purfue *Tir-Oen*, who was then in *Ulfter*, He wrote Her word, that blame ought to lie on the *Irifh* Council, to whofe long and thorough Experience in the Affairs of that Country, he could not but readily fubfcribe; But he promis'd withal, to make the beft of his way for *Ulfter*. Upon the heels of this Exprefs he difpatch'd another, acquainting the Queen that he was oblig'd to march out of the way, to *Ophalie*, a Country near *Dublin*, to quell the *O-Conors O-Moils*, who were

The Earl of *Effex* fets forward for *Ireland*.

He leads his Army to *Munfter*.

A Party of *Englifh* defeated.

Effex difcontented.

1599. Ann. 42.

were up in Arms there; and these he suppress'd with very little Trouble.

Upon his Return he found his Army in so lamentable a Plight, that he was forc'd to press for a new Supply of Men, to attend his *Ulster* Expedition; and got the Hands of the *Irish* Council to favour his Demand: He was now fully resolv'd to turn his Forces upon *Tir-Oen*, and so order'd Sir *Coniers Clifford*, the Governour of *Connaught*, to march towards *Belick* with his Light-Horse, and so put the Rebels Forces into disorder, whilst he fell upon them in another Part; *Clifford* immediately dispatch'd away with 1500 Men, fatigu'd as they were with a long March, and slenderly provided with Powder, towards the *Curlew-Hills*, when having pass'd the greatest part of them, the Rebels attaqu'd them unawares, being led on by *O-Rork*, the Son of him who was hang'd, as was before noted: The *English* easily repuls'd them at first and continu'd their March; the Rebels follow'd them, and perceiving that their Powder fell short, they charg'd them afresh and put them to flight; for they were too much harass'd by their long March, to make any great opposition: *Clifford* himself, with Sir *Alexander Ratcliff* of *Ordsal*, and several old Soldiers beside, were slain upon the Spot.

Clifford slain.

In the mean time, the Recruits which the Lord-Deputy requir'd, were rais'd in *England*, and sent over; but in a very few Days, he sent the Queen Word, that nothing more could be done this Year, beside marching with 1300 Horse and 300 Foot to the Confines of *Ulster*.

Assoon as he had got thither, *Tir-Oen* shewed himself and his Men, at some distance, for a Day or two, upon the Hills, and then sent *Hagan* to desire a Parley with the Lord-Deputy. He refus'd it, and sent *Tir-Oen* word, that if he would he might speak with him the next Day, at the Head of his Army: There happen'd then a small Skirmish, and after 'twas over, an Horse-man belonging to *Tir-Oen*'s Party, cryed out as loud as he could, that the Earl had more a mind to a Parley than to fight, but did not intend however, that the Conference should be held between the two Armies.

Tir-Oen asks a Parley.

The next Day, as the Lord-Deputy was marching forward in good Order, *Hagan* met him, and acquainted him that *Tir-Oen* desir'd a Peace, and threw himself upon the Queen's Mercy, humbly desiring to be heard in the mean time, which if he would please to Grant, he would be sure to attend his Excellency at the Ford of a River, not far off, called *Balla Clinch*, lying near to *Louth*, the Principal Town of the County. The Lord-Deputy sent some Persons before, to take a View of the Place; they found *Tir-Oen* there, and he assur'd them, that though there was an high Tide at that time, yet they might very well hear one another cross the River, whereupon the Lord-Deputy came down alone, after having placed a Troop of Horse upon the next Hill: *Tir-Oen* rode his Horse up to the Belly, and saluted the Lord Deputy with great respect, who was on the opposite Bank; and they spent near an Hour in Conference, not one Person being admitted to hear them.

A Conference between him and the Lord-Deputy.

An Hour or two after, *Con*, the Base Son of *Tir-Oen*, followed the Lord-Deputy, and in his Father's Name, requested an Interview, and some Men of Quality on both sides to be present at it. The Lord-Deputy agreed to it, provided there were not above Six in Number. At the Day appointed, *Tir-Oen* appear'd at the Ford with his Brother *Cormack*, *Mac-Gennys*, *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Cowley*, *Henry Ovington*, and *O-Quine*; The Lord-Deputy came thither soon after with the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Constable*; All which Persons *Tir-Oen* saluted with very great Civility, and after the exchange of a very few Words, 'twas thought convenient that Commissioners should be appointed to treat of a Peace the next Day: And 'twas agreed between them, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, from Six Weeks to Six Weeks, and so on successively, to commence from that Day, and to continue till the First of *May*: However both Parties were to be at liberty to renew the War, upon giving Fourteen Days Notice, and if any of *Tir-Oen*'s Party, dissented from these Proposals, he left him altogether to the Management of the Lord-Deputy.

A Second Parley.

During these Transactions, the Letter, which I mention'd a little before, was deliver'd to the Queen by *Henry Cuff*; by which assoon as Her Majesty understood that the Earl had done just nothing in so long a Time, with so brave an Army, and at so vast an Expence, nor was like to perform any Thing considerable that Year, the Queen was much surpriz'd at it, and could not forbear blaming his Conduct, as rash and precipitant, beside the slight and disrespect he had shewn to Herself: However that was, she was heard to say, (upon what ground of suspicion I cannot determine) That *Essex* had something else in his Head, than to do much service to his Queen or Country, in that Government: Nevertheless she would not consent to recal him, (as some perswaded Her) as conceiving it a Piece of Folly indeed, to provoke him at a Time when he had the Sword in his Hand, considering She had once incens'd him already, and then invested him with a dangerous Authority: But She wrote to him and Her Council in *Ireland*, to this Effect: 'That She could not sufficiently admire, why the Lord-Deputy had lost so much Time, and fram'd so many Excuses and Delays, instead of doing some considerable Service against the Rebels, for that, when he was in *England*, he thought it most adviseable to attack *Tir-Oen* in the first place, and had made, several Promises in his Letters, that he would do so: She therefore demanded the Reason, why he had, contrary to his most deliberate Opinion, undertook those Expeditions in *Munster* and *Ophalie*, which had prov'd every way so detrimental, without acquainting Her with any part of the Design beforehand, whereas had she been consulted in the Case, she would have absolutely Countermanded it: If his Army was now shatter'd and weakn'd, why did he not pursue the Enemy, when it was in a sounder Condition? If it was not convenient in the Spring to carry the War into *Ulster*, certainly the Summer and Autumn were not to be neglected; for some time or other of the Year could not but answer his Design: The Queen at length foresaw, that the Nation was like to be drain'd and squeez'd by unreasonable Expences, and that she should be foully reflected on by Foreigners, for the bad Conduct of this War, and that whoever wrote the History of Her Reign, would transmit this Truth to After-Ages: That She, for her Part, had left nothing uneffected, for the preservation of Her Kingdom of *Ireland*; But that *Essex* on the contrary, had done all he could to lose it, unless the War were manag'd at another rate hereafter, than hitherto it had been: She therefore roundly charg'd both Him and the Council of that Kingdom, to take a more circumspect Care of the Government, and not to run into wild and preposterous Measures, upon the Bias of naughty and corrupt Counsels: She likewise commanded them to give Her an Account of the

The Q. disoblig'd by the L. Deputy.

Her Letter to him and the Council.

1599. Ann. 42. 'the State of the Kingdom from that time, and 'to provide against such mischievous Consequences for the future.'

The Lord-Deputy was much incens'd by these Letters, and could not well digest some other Matters with which the Queen had upbraided him to the quick; one of which was, That he had not, according to her Orders, displaced the Earl of *Southampton* from being General of the Horse: For, it seems, the Queen was offended at *Southampton* for marrying *Elizabeth Vernon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Essex*'s Aunt, without her Permission, which Men of Quality used to ask in such cases. But that which nettled him most of all was, the Queen's having made Sir *Robert Cecil* Master of the Wards, as I hinted before. He began for these Reasons to grow cloudy and discontented, and fell at last upon this unhappy and unwarrantable Project, to return into *England* with a select Party of Men, and there to endeavour the reducing his Adversaries under his Power by force of Arms; a Design which he perswaded himself he should find enough to assist him in, either out of Respect to him, or Fondness for Change and Innovation. But the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Christopher Blunt*, who had married his Mother, dissuaded him from this Attempt, as carrying the face of a barbarous, wicked and detestable Design.

Essex discontented.

Forms dangerous Designs.

Whether the Queen had any private Intelligence of this I cannot tell; but this is most certain, that upon a flying Report, which People appear'd willing enough to believe, of a *Spanish* Fleet's being prepar'd, there were 6000 well-disciplin'd Foot-Soldiers rais'd in *London*, 3000 of which were to guard the Queen's Person, and the rest to be ready upon any Emergency; and a greater Number was order'd to be levied in the Countries of the briskest and stoutest Fellows that could be found. The Command of the whole Army was given to *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-High-Admiral of *England*, with the Character of Commander in Chief; and his Commission extended as well to foreign Enemies, as Malecontents at home. But in a few Days these Forces were disbanded again.

Forces rais'd in England.

In a Month's time the Lord-Deputy came over to *England* in great haste, and when he was least thought of, being accompanied by some of his best Friends, *viz.* the Earl of *Southampton*, who was remov'd from being General of the Horse, the Baron of *Dunkellin*, Sir *Christopher St. Lawrence*, the Baron of *Houth*'s Son, Sir *Henry Danvers*, who was not yet recover'd from a desperate Wound he had receiv'd, Sir *Henry Docwray*, and some other Commanders, besides some other Gentlemen of his Houshold, who dispos'd of themselves several ways as soon as they arriv'd. The Earl went on to *Nonsuch* (where the Queen then was) with six Persons only in his Retinue, on purpose to acquaint her with the State of *Ireland*. The Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, one of his most inveterate Adversaries, overtook him on the Road, and pass'd by him without any Compliment. And whereas *Essex* was jealous lest he should do him some ill Office at Court, and Sir *Thomas Gerard* had requested him to the contrary, tho' to no purpose, *St. Lawrence* offer'd his Service to take him off by the way, and to dispatch the Secretary in the Court; but the Earl abhorr'd so base an Action, and would not agree to it. But made haste enough to present himself on his Knees before the Queen in her Privy-Chamber, early in the Morning, and when her Majesty least dreamt on him. She entertain'd him with some Marks of Grace and Favour, tho' not with that Freedom he used to find. She order'd him to his Apartment, and there to continue; for he had disobliged her before, and had now given her a fresh Provocation, by leaving *Ireland* without her permission, and for clapping up a Truce which might at any time be broken at fourteen Days warning; whereas he might have made an entire and final Composition with the Rebels, and was impower'd to give them a general Act of Indemnity.

Essex returns to England.

Visits the Queen.

When the Council demanded the Reasons of his making such a Truce, his Answer was, 'That *Tir-Oen* relied so much on his Forces, that he 'utterly rejected all Conditions of Peace, unless 'a general Amnesty were granted to all the 'Rebels, the *Irish* restor'd to their Estates, at 'that time possess'd by the *English*, and the free 'Exercise of the *Romish* Religion allow'd of all 'over the Kingdom.' And these Conditions he persuaded the Queen to agree to. But when every-body disapprov'd these Terms, as very unconscionable, and his sudden Return to *England* rais'd an universal Jealousy concerning him, which was increased by his Enemies at Court by all the Contrivances they could invent, the Queen thought fit to commit him to Custody; but made choice of the Lord-Keeper's House rather than any common Prison, that she might not tempt him to conclude himself an absolutely discarded Favourite. The Reason of his Confinement was the preventing any bad Influence which the corrupt Counsels of designing Men might have upon him, in reference to the drawing off his Duty and Allegiance yet farther. However he very much resented it, that so ill a Construction should be made of his returning into *England* with a small Number of his Friends; for I have seen a Writing under his Hand, wherein he had methodically rang'd all the Objections which he suppos'd would lie against him, *viz.* '*First*, That he had run counter to his Instructions, by delaying his Expedition into *Ulster*, 'whereby he had lost his Opportunity, and exhausted the Queen's Treasure and Forces in 'the wrong Place. Then, That he had made 'a Truce directly to the Advantage of the Rebels: And lastly, That he had left the Country in a very unsettled Posture, contrary to the 'Queen's Orders, and with a parcel of Swordsmen at his heels, which was not allowable.'

Excuses his Proceedings.

He is confin'd.

Under the foregoing Objections he subjoin'd these Answers, 'Before my leaving *Ireland*, I left 'all things relating to the War in the same State 'and Posture in which they appear at present, 'in every Province respectively; and since that 'time, *viz.* for the space of nine Months, there 'hath no Inconvenience ensued. There can't 'be tolerable Ground for suspecting those who 'attended me into *England*; for besides that they 'were very few, their own Occasions oblig'd ''em to a speedy Return, and not above six of ''em came along with him to Court. Now was 'it possible any Harm should be done by such 'an handful of Men? It would have been as 'easy for me to have acted Ill, as to design Honesty, when I had the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* under my Command, and a good Army 'at my beck. Had I entertain'd any Thoughts 'of Revenge, I had no need to call in the Assistance of others; for he that values not his 'own Life, has the Lives of other Men in his 'own Custody: But I am not to learn whose 'Maxim that was, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay.* 'Must then so much Credit be given to Calumny 'and Abuse, that my Return to *England* must 'needs render me a suspected Person, when I 'have spent my Blood and Sweat in my Prince's 'Service, and wasted my Estate for her, and 'ask'd her Majesty's Pardon on my Knees? Sure 'I am,

Copy of a Paper wrote by the Lord-Deputy.

1599. *Ann.*42.

'I am, these kind of Suspicions do not consist 'with either Justice or Charity, unless there 'were better Grounds for them, especially when 'taken up against Persons whose Principles and 'Quality seem to privilege them from such 'Disadvantages. Besides, ought I to fall under a 'Jealousy of this nature, who have lost a Father 'and Brother in the Service of my Country? I, 'who have served her Majesty the space of thir-'teen Years out of thirty three, and have for se-'ven of them been a Privy-Councellor? I, that 'have incurred and suffered the worst Effects of 'some Mens Spleen and Ill-nature, purely for 'supporting Religion, and ministring what I 'could to the Queen's Safety, which they envy 'at their very Hearts? It is for my constant Loy-'alty and good Services, that I stand the Mark 'of my Adversaries Malice and Revenge; and 'to such a degree, that I cannot promise myself 'any Security any where but in this Kingdom, 'and that no longer than it shall please God to 'preserve her Majesty's Life?'

He refuses to be rescued.

Nor was he single in these Complaints, but found a great many to second him, and some too that endeavour'd to rescue him by Force from his Confinement, which he still countermanded, as desirous to preserve the Reputation and Character of a good Subject. But to return to the Affairs of *Ireland*.

Tir-Oen breaks the Truce

The Truce agreed on for six Weeks was scarce expir'd the second time, when *Tir-Oen* got together his dispersed Forces, and prepared to give his Country new Troubles. Hereupon the Council of the Kingdom sent Sir *William Warren* Kt. to demand the Reasons of this Breach of Contract: He made answer in a haughty manner, 'That he had not broken the Articles, because 'he had given fourteen Days notice that he 'would renew the War; and he had just cause 'to do so, since he understood the Lord-Deputy, 'the Earl of *Essex*, on whom his hopes of Pardon 'and Protection entirely center'd, was kept in 'Custody in *England*: And as for the Council 'of *Ireland*, he should have no manner of Re-'gard to them for the future, since they had 'dealt so unfaithfully by him already: That he 'could not at present renew the Truce, if he 'would, for he had sent *O-Donel* into *Connaught*, 'and others of his Party into other Places.'

Distracted State of *Ireland*.

In the mean while, Reports were spread among the Rebels, (and we may venture to guess that *Tir-Oen* was their Author) that *England* would soon be involved in new Disorders; and as for *Ireland*, it began to abound more and more with lewd and desperate Fellows; and the Native *Irish* began to assert their primitive Liberty and ancient Heraldry.

Those *Englishmen* that were stanch and honest, were entirely disheartned when they perceived the Queen's Money had been employ'd to so little purpose, and they complain'd one against another, that they were shut out from publick Offices and Employments, as much as if they were absolute Foreigners. In the mean time, *Tir-Oen* made boasting Pretences of asserting Religion and publick Liberty; the Rebels and Malecontents he every where protected, and gave them both Countenance and Assistance; and to keep them fix'd and steady, he used all Endeavours to beat down the Authority of the *English* in *Ireland*, the King of *Spain* having raised both his Vanity and Expectation, by sending him lately some Supplies of Ammunition, Money, and Provisions.

The Pope's Present to *Tir-Oen*.

The Pope likewise furnish'd him with a large stock of Indulgences, besides mighty Promises, and a Phœnix-Plume for Earnest; perhaps because *Urban* III, had formerly sent a Coronet of Peacocks Feathers to *John* the Son of *Henry* II, when he was appointed Lord of *Ireland*.

In the mean time some disaffected Persons were very lavish in the Earl of *Essex*'s Commendations, and he was made not only the Theme of their Cabals, but by some the Eccho of their Pulpits too. There were likewise scandalous Libels dispersed by these Men, or some of the same Kidney, against her Majesty's Council, the Design being to wound her through their Sides, by insinuating, that they took little care of the Government, and altogether neglected the State of *Ireland*.

L. Keeper represents the Misconduct of the Lord-Deputy.

Hereupon, the Day after the End of *Michaelmas*-Term, when the Council met, as they used to do, in the Star-Chamber, the Lord-Keeper, after a short Premonition to the Nobility and Gentry to go down to their respective Seats in the Country, and maintain Hospitality among their Neighbours, and a Charge to such as were Justices of the Peace, to punish such as were the Breakers of it, and to restrain, as much as possible, the Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity: And after he had bestow'd a brisk Reprimand upon the Authors of scurrilous, abusive and dangerous Reports, he proceeded to declare how indefatigable her Majesty had been in promoting and recovering the Tranquillity of *Ireland*, how oddly and indirectly the Earl of *Essex* had managed himself in the Prosecution of the Rebels, and what unreasonable and (in respect to the Queen) dishonourable Terms he had made with *Tir-Oen*, who had hereupon took the Insolence to report, That he resolv'd in a little time to come over to *England*, and parcel out a good part of it for his own Share.

L. Treasurer seconds the Charge,

The Lord *Buckhurst*, who was made Lord-Treasurer in the Lord *Burleigh*'s room (after some sharp Reflections upon the infamous and barefac'd Libels that were abroad) represented, how brave and well-regulated an Army had been sent into *Ireland*, and how compleatly furnished with all manner of Provisions; and likewise, that her Majesty had expended upon this War in six Months time, the Sum of 600000 Pounds, all which the Earl of *Essex* must own to be true.

And L. Admiral,

The Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-Admiral, did likewise set forth, how the Queen had consulted Persons of the best Judgment and Experience, and who were very well acquainted with the State of *Ireland*, and were not to learn the Temper and Humour of the People of that Nation; and all these her Majesty had seriously advised with upon the Business of the Rebellion: That the major Part of them were of opinion, that *Ulster* was to be reduced in the very first place; that the Earl of *Essex* was of the same Mind, and had frequently said, *That the young Branches of the Faction did not so much want lopping, as the Root did to be pulled up*; but he was sorry to have occasion to say, that the Earl had acted clean contrary to his Sentiments. He affirmed moreover, that five of the Queen's Ships, which were sent into *Ulster* for present Service, lay six Months together in the Harbour to no purpose at all.

And the Secretary.

Secretary *Cecil* set forth, in the first place, her Majesty's extraordinary Care in the Defence and Security of her Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, by forcing the *French* out of *Scotland*, by protecting the reform'd Religion in *France* and the *Low-Countries*, and defending *Ireland* from the Insults both of the Pope and the King of *Spain*; and that with so happy Success, that for seven Years before, there had not appear'd one single Rebel in *Ireland*; and the Queen likewise from thence received greater Revenues than her Father King *Henry*, her Brother King *Edward*, or her Sister Queen *Mary*, had done before her. He proceeded

1599. Ann. 42. afterwards to recount at large, how powerful an Army the Lord-Deputy had under his Command, and what a scandalous Defeat *Harrington* and *Clifford* suffer'd: Then, to answer the Cavils of some who pretended, that as absolute as the Earl of *Essex*'s Commission was at first, yet 'twas afterwards retrench'd by private Orders from *England*, and other Instructions given that did not so well square with his own Sentiments; and that the Expedition into *Munster*, with the Neglect of *Tir-Oen*, were in compliance with the Advice of the Council of *Ireland*: He alledged, That his Authority was not any ways clipp'd or lessen'd, nor any new Orders given him, but what himself had approv'd and resolv'd on from the very beginning. For the Truth of which he appeal'd to the Earl of *Essex* himself, and produc'd those very Letters, wherein he endeavour'd to excuse his Miscarriage as to *Munster*: Whether he undertook that March in respect to his own Judgment, or that of the *Irish* Council, he must leave to God, the Searcher of Hearts, the said Council having given it under their Hands, that they were so far from persuading him to that Undertaking, that they did not in the least approve it: And whereas some Persons were for palliating his abrupt Return into *England*, he could not but own the Queen had, upon his earnest Request, given him leave to return upon any warrantable Occasion; but however, that she did afterwards expresly command him, upon his sending her an Account of the desperate Condition of *Ireland*, as he tender'd his Duty and Allegiance, not to return hither, till he had given her a satisfactory Account of what he had done in *Ulster*, and what Person he thought most proper to intrust with the Government in his absence. All these Directions he took not any notice of, but presumed to return into *England*, contrary to her Majesty's Command.

In the last place, he repeated the Articles which *Tir-Oen* insisted on, at a time when Success had bloated him up, of which I have already given some Account. He could not but lament the ill Conduct of that Affair, which Foreigners would not fail to turn to the Discredit of the *English* Nation, which had hitherto maintain'd so glorious a Character; besides the Dishonour it might reflect upon her Majesty, who had appeared so considerable in the Eyes of all the World: That this Procedure had moreover so flushed and encouraged the Rebels, that the next Day after the Earl of *Essex*'s Return to the Court of *England*, *Tir-Oen* could not forbear using this Expression, *That he did not question but he should in a little time see as surprizing a Change in* England *as any Age had produced, and that 'twould be his Turn then to appear there, and come in for a share with his Neighbours.*

What Reasons he had to support himself in such Hopes, or how he came to the Intelligence of what related to the Earl of *Essex*, in a few Hours time, he was not, as he said, able to conjecture. Thus much *Cecil*.

As for what was said by others then present, I need not take notice, since all their Declarations were much to the same purpose. 'Tis now time to take leave of the Earl of *Essex*, who being in the Lord-Keeper's Custody, began to center his Thoughts upon Things of a Divine and Heavenly Concernment; and by the pious and devout Strain of several Letters which he wrote to his Friends under that Confinement, one might perceive that his Mind was unhinged from earthly Pursuits, and had bid a solemn Adieu to all worldly Satisfactions.

In the mean time *Andreas* of *Austria*, Son by the Lady *Welsera* to the Cardinal and Archduke *Ferdinand*, the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Brother, and who acted as Vice-Governor of the *Low-Countries*, in the Absence of *Albert* of *Austria*, who was gone into *Spain* to concert Matters relating to his Marriage, employ'd *Charles Landfranck* and *Hieronymo Comano*, to negotiate a Peace between the Queen and *Philip* III, King of *Spain*. The Queen, for her part, shew'd no Aversion to it, provided the King of *Spain* would appoint a sufficient Commission to treat about it, and if the Confederate Provinces might some way find their Shares in it: For she sent back word, That she esteem'd it an unpardonable Crime to abandon them, or submit to Terms that might turn to their Prejudice, or her own Dishonour. However, this Proposal of a Treaty proved the occasion of some Jealousies and Misunderstandings between the States and the Queen, because there went about at the same time very confident Reports, that a new *Armada* was fitting out in *Spain*: But 'twas thought that this Blow was diverted by the *Holland* Fleet, which took the Isle and Castle of *Canary* much about that time, and likewise plunder'd the Isle of St. *Thomas*.

The Spaniard proposes Peace.

Nor were these Reports without Foundation; for there were several Gallies got ready in *Spain*, by the Directions of *Frederick Spinola*, a *Genoese*, who was Master of an Estate too big for a private Man: 'Twas he that persuaded the King of *Spain*, when he served him in the *Low-Countries*, to send some Gallies into *Flanders*. They were dispatched away under his Command, and cruizing along the Coasts of *France*, by the Advantage of those *Etesian* Winds, which in the Dog-Days blow generally from the N. W. in our Climate, they got into the Harbour of *Sluse* in *Flanders*, without being discover'd by the *English* and *Holland* Ships that lay ready to intercept them: For they went North about through the Channel; and whether they were driven by the Tide, or were not acquainted with those Parts, or were purely beholden to their Luck, it so happen'd, that they quite defeated the Hopes of the *English* and *Dutch* that waited for them. They were indeed strangely surprized at first at the Arrival of these Gallies, having found by Experience, in the Year 1545, when *Francis* I, attempted to no purpose the bringing of them thro' the Mediterranean to the Coasts of *England*, that the *British* Channel was too rough and boisterous to carry such flat-bottom'd Vessels. However, they became soon after formidable enough; for they were built by skilful Workmen, much in the Form of those Vessels which sailed as far as the *Azores* in the Year 1593, which was lookt on as a wonderful Performance. Indeed, they were able to endure a greater Sea than taller or bigger Ships; and were very serviceable in a Calm, being easily rowed about with Oars, as occasion required; whereas Vessels of greater Bulk, built at a great Expence, were good for nothing when the Wind fell, but to serve as Marks for the Enemies Shot.

Spanish Gallies brought into *Flanders*.

Much about this time, one *Hill* an *Englishman* was sent to the Queen from *Charles*, (intitled, *By the Grace of God, the Hereditary Prince of the* Swedes, *the* Goths *and* Vandals) to acquit him to her Majesty from some Aspersions he had fallen under, in being represented as an Abettor of Change and Innovation, and a Competitor with his Nephew *Sigismond*, King of *Poland*, for the Crown of *Sweden*. He requested her Majesty not to listen to such Reports, or the Authors of them, and to join her Endeavours with his for the Establishment of the true and orthodox Faith. The Queen vouchsafed him a publick Audience, and promptly answer'd him, 'That she heartily wish-' ed he might act faithfully by his Nephew, lest he,

Charles of *Sweden* endeavours to clear himself to the Queen.

1599. Ann. 42. 'he committed an Offence againſt the Laws of 'Nature, Juſtice and Relation, and appear'd to 'regard his Duty rather from Complaiſance than 'Principle.'

The death of Mr. R. Hooker. This Year did *Richard Hooker* quit this Life for a better. He was born in *Devonſhire*, a County that has produced the chiefeſt Wits, and from thence he removed to *Corpus-Chriſti* College. He diſcharged all the Duties, and had all the Virtues of a good Divine, being a Perſon of moſt exemplary Modeſty, to which he added an exact Temperance, and had made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Parts of Learning; a Specimen of his good Senſe we have in his Books of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, which were written in *Engliſh*, but do very well deſerve a Tranſlation into a more univerſal Language.

1600. *The Three and Fortieth Year of her Reign.*

Doubtful Titles confirm'd. The Beginning of this Year the Queen employ'd about National Affairs; and that ſhe might not want Money under the vaſt Drain of it, which went to ſupport the *Iriſh* War, ſhe appointed Commiſſioners, for a certain Sum, to confirm ſuch of her Majeſty's Lands to the Poſſeſſors, as were of moſt doubtful Title: For, it ſeems, the Owners of them were miſerably peſter'd by a vexatious and chargeable ſort of Vermin, call'd *Concealers*. A Proclamation againſt exporting Gold and Silver. She likewiſe put out a Proclamation, commanding the Execution of thoſe Laws of *Edward* IV, *Richard* II, *Henry* IV, and ſome others, againſt the Exportation of Gold and Silver, either in Coin or Bullion; and ſhe ſeemed to be at preſent totally intent upon the Affairs of *Ireland*. Tir-Oen's Infolence. For *Tir-Oen* being ſtrangely elevated upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Return, behaved himſelf as if he had been the abſolute Monarch of that Kingdom; and that he might blow up the Flame which he had kindled in *Munſter* by his perſonal Appearance there, he made a Journey thither in the Depth of Winter, under pretence of a religious Viſit to a piece of our Saviour's Croſs, which is pretended to be kept at St. *Croſs*'s Monaſtery in *Tipperary*; and there he drew ſeveral Perſons in to ſhare in his Rebellion. He created *James Fitz-Thomas*, a Relation of *James* Earl of *Deſmond*, and already dubb'd an Earl by the Rebels, in good earneſt Earl of *Deſmond*; and advanced *Florence Mac-Carty* to the Title of *Mac-Carty-More*. Thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected, he obliged to deliver Hoſtages, and ſent a pack of Villains to rifle ſuch as were in the Queen's Intereſt, with *Mac-Guire* at the Head of them, who was one of the prime Actors in the Rebellion: *Maguire* and *St. Leger* ſlain. But he happening by chance to meet with Sir *Warren St. Leger* Knight, received his Death's Wound from the other's Lance, and ran him thro' with the ſame Weapon.

Deplorable State of *Ireland*. The Rebellion being now got to an Height too great to be ſuppreſſed by the Earl of *Ormond*, who was appointed General of the Army, and Sir *George Carew* Treaſurer, (both of them Lords-Juſtices of *Ireland*) the Queen, who was always ſucceſsful in her Choices, in the Depth of Winter, and contrary to the general Expectation, was pleaſed to ſend over *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy* into *Ireland* in Quality of Lord-Lieutenant, as judging him of a Temper as well qualified for Government as Duty. He arrived in *Ireland* in the Month of *February* with a ſmall Retinue, and without any Pomp or Buſtle, and found the Kingdom in a very declining and almoſt deſperate State; for *Tir-Oen* had gone the whole Iſland over without any Oppoſition, and paſſed as it were in Triumph from the remoteſt Part of *Ulſter* into *Munſter*, as I before obſerved. 'Twas a great Diſcouragement to all ſober Perſons, to obſerve the Government under ſo ſad a Declenſion, with ſcarce any Proſpect or Hope of Recovery; whilſt ill Men were pleaſed to find the Stream run in their own Channel, and expected to find their Account in the publick Diſorders; and there is no manner of queſtion but the Nobility ſtrove hard to revive their Liberty, which they complain'd had been ſo long dead and buried; and they were incited thereto by an Indulgence which Pope *Clement* VIII, ſent them (to uſe their own Phraſe) out of the Treaſury of the Church. The Pope encourages the Rebels by a Bull. Herein (to be as ſhort as I can) he beſtow'd, in the firſt place, great Commendations upon the Biſhops and Noblemen of *Ireland*, for having lent ſo powerful an Aſſiſtance to *James Giraldine* and *John* his Couſin-German, and lately alſo to his beloved Son *Hugh*, Prince *O-Neal*, Earl of *Tir-Oen*, Captain-General of the Catholick Army in *Ireland*; and then proceeds in words to this effect: 'We being willing to encourage 'you, your General and Soldiers in your Proceedings againſt the Hereticks, with all ſpiritual Bleſſings and Aſſiſtance, and that you may 'go on with the more Cheerfulneſs and Reſolution in aſſiſting the Expedition that is forming 'againſt them, to which we have been incited 'by the Example of our Predeceſſors, and relying 'upon the Mercy of Almighty God, and the Authority of his bleſſed Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; we, I ſay, do graciouſly grant and beſtow 'in the Name of God to all and every of you 'that ſhall follow your General *Hugh* Earl of '*Tir-Oen*, and his Army, in the Defence and 'Support of the Catholick Faith, and ſhall join 'themſelves with them in this Expedition, and 'aſſiſt them with their Advice and Friendſhip, 'Proviſion and Arms, with all things neceſſary 'to maintain the War, and by what other Services and Methods you are capable; and likewiſe to the ſaid *Hugh* our General, and all and 'every Soldier of his Army, upon the true and 'ſincere Repentance and Confeſſion of all reſpectively, and their Participation of the Holy 'Communion, full and plenary Pardon of all 'their Sins, in as ample a manner as was ever 'uſed to be granted by the Popes to ſuch as went 'to the Holy War againſt the *Turks*, for the Recovery of the Holy Land. Notwithſtanding, &c.

'*Given at* Rome *at* St. Peters *under the Seal* '*of the Fiſher, in the Ninth Year of our* '*Popedom.*

M. Veſtrius Barbianus.

L. Deputy marches againſt *Tir-Oen*. The Rebels, on purpoſe to terrify the new Lord-Deputy, were ſo preſumptuous as to ſound their Trumpets in the very Suburbs of *Dublin*: But he was not ſo eaſily daunted, being reſolv'd, if poſſible, to way-lay *Tir-Oen* as he return'd out of *Munſter*. Having therefore at a ſhort warning got together what Forces he could, (the ſtouteſt Men being then abſent in *Munſter* with the Earl of *Ormond*) he haſtned away into *Fereal*, to intercept and engage him: But *Tir-Oen* being inform'd of his Deſign, (for ſome of the Queen's Council were ſtill too much at his Devotion) prevented him by haſty Marches through difficult and unfrequented Roads. Upon the Lord-Deputy's Return to *Dublin*, he made it his chief Buſineſs to ſelect a Party of brave old Soldiers to ſhip away to *Lough-Foil* and *Baliſhannon*, near the Mouth of the Lake *Erne*, that ſo *Tir-Oen* might be ſhut in and ſurrounded on all Sides: He likewiſe took care to furniſh the Garriſons in *Leaſe* and *Ophalie* with freſh Supplies, which was a difficult and hazardous Undertaking, conſidering what a vaſt Number of Rebels were diſperſed thereabouts.

In

1600. Ann. 43.

In the Beginning of *May*, his Army advanced towards *Ulster*, on purpose to give the Rebels some Diversion on that side; whilst Sir *Henry Dockwray* settled a stronger Garrison at *Lough-Foil*, and Sir *Matthew Morgan* at *Balishanon*.

His March towards *Ulster*.

These two Persons arrived the same Month at *Culmo*, near the Mouth of *Lough-Foil*, with 4000 Foot and 200 Horse: Where having raised a Fort, and another at *Ellogh*, they came to *Derry*,

Derry fortified.

a small City in a Peninsula of not above forty Acres compass; on one side 'tis for a great way encompassed by a River, and on the other, the Marshy Ground and Bogs render it inaccessible: In this Place were left the Ruins of a Monastery, a Bishop's Palace, of two Churches, and an old Castle. Here they built a Magazine and Places for their Stores, of Oaken Planks, and fortified the Town with rough Stone, which they picked up from the Neighbourhood, and out of the Rubbish of decay'd Buildings; and their Lime they made of Shells burnt to Powder.

Tir-Oen repulsed.

Tir-Oen was in the mean time kept in play by the Lord-Deputy; and every Skirmish proved so unlucky to him, that Fortune seemed to have changed Sides, and to force him upon his old Shifts, to retreat among the Bogs and Marshes. The Lord-Deputy having fixed these Garrisons, returned in the middle of *June* to *Dublin*; and demanded from *England* some Recruits of Provisions, Men, and Arms, in order to furnish a Garrison in *Armagh*, more on this side, that the Rebels might be by that means the more closely straitned and blocked up. Mean while he advanced towards *Leafe*, the common Retreat of the *Leimster* Rebels, where among others of the lewd Gang, he slew *Ony-Mac-Rory-Og*, the Chief of the Family of *O-More*, a Man of a desperate and daring Spirit, and the chief Author of the late Commotions in *Munster*: He then proceeded to spoil their Country, and drove the Rebels into the Woods and Thickets; so that few or none of them could shew their Heads in those Parts. As soon as the new Recruits arrived from *England*, tho' he was extremely straitned both for Money and Provisions, and the Air began to grow very cold in that Climate, the Sun having

A second March into *Ulster*.

got beyond the *Æquinox*, he marched once more into *Ulster*, and went up the Streights of *Mogbery*, beyond *Dundalk*: This is looked on to be the most difficult and troublesome Pass, which Nature has made in that whole Kingdom, for it lies among Hills, Woods and Bogs, and all of them clog'd and barricado'd by the Rebels, with Ditches, Planks and Timber, and a sort of Pallisadoes, fill'd up with Stone and Turf, with great Art, and indefatigable Industry; beside which, the Waters were out, and made Travelling the more dangerous, by reason of some great and continued Rains, which had swollen the Rivers above their Banks. As soon as the Waters fell, the *English* manfully broke through all those Oppositions, and having put the Enemy to flight, and surmounted all Difficulties, the Lord-Deputy erected a Fort about eight Miles from *Armagh* (the Rebels having spoil'd and ransack'd all thereabouts): This he order'd to be call'd

Fort *Mount-Norris* built.

Mount-Norris, in memory of Sir *John Norris*, under whose Conduct he had learnt the Elements of War, and he made *Edward Blany*, a Person of good Courage and Resolution, Governour of it: By whose means the Malecontents in those Parts were afterwards severely punished, and at last totally suppressed: In his Return, he gave the Rebels a notable Defeat near *Carlingford*, where they had blocked up the Road; and several other Skirmishes passed, of which I shall take no notice. However there fell on the *English* Side, amongst a great many more, Dr. *Latware*, Chaplain to the Lord-Deputy, and his Secretary *Cranmer*, both of them Persons of great Learning, and upon that score, in singular Esteem with him.

1600. Ann. 43.

Leinster and Connaught [illegible]

The Lord-Deputy being now returned, and there happening something that made it necessary to defer Sir *Matthew Morgan*'s Expedition to *Balishanon* till another Opportunity, *Tir-Oen* and the rest of the Rebels, advanced their whole Strength against Sir *Henry Dockwray*, and between frequent Skirmishes, and fraudulent and base Practices, they put him very hard to it; but for all that, his Courage and Bravery carried him safe thro' all Difficulties, and he went so far as to spoil the little Country of *O-Caban*, thro' the Assistance of *Arthur O-Neal*, the Son of *Turlogh*; he seized likewise on *Dunalong* in view of *Tir-Oen*, and placed *John Bowles* over that Garrison: And not long after he took *Liffer-Castle*, (to the great Regret of *O-Donel*) by the help of *Neal-Garve* of the Family of the *O-Donels*, whom he won to his Interest, by giving him some hopes of the Lordship of *Tirconnel*, to which he laid an Hereditary Claim: About this time a *Spanish* Ship arrived at *Calebeg*, with Money and Arms, and the Rebels flock'd to her as fast as possible, in hopes of a good Booty, leaving those Parts to be taken and possessed by the *English* Garrisons: On the other hand the Lord-Deputy, to lose no time, enter'd into the Glins, or Valleys in *Leimster*, in the very midst of Winter, and reduced *Donel Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoli*, and the mutinous Clan of the *O-Tools*, of whom he received Hostages; he then advanced into *Fereal*, and drove *Tirell*, the best Soldier of this Rebel-Party, out of his Fastness (to use their own Term) that is, a marshy Place all over-run with Thorns and Briers; at last he got to *Ulster*, thro' many troublesome and winding Passages, and had the good Fortune to conquer still as he advanced.

Dockwray hard pressed by the Rebels.

Lord-Deputy arrives at *Ulster*.

The first Act he perform'd here, was to waste the County of *Ferney*, and kill the two Sons of *Evar Mac-Cowley*; after which, he sent Sir *Richard Morrison* to destroy the little Province of *Fues*. In *Brenny* he fix'd a Garrison, under the Government of Sir *Oliver Lambert*, and then moved away to *Drogheda*, and took into his Protection *Turlogh Mac-Henry*, a Grandee in *Fues*, *Evar Mac-Cowley*, *O-Hanlon*, who pretended himself to be Hereditary Standard-Bearer to the King in *Ulster*, together with several of the *O-Raleis*, and *Mac-Mahons*, who fell on their Knees, and tender'd him Hostages.

Sir *George Carew* does good Service in *Munster*.

Thus far did the Lord-Deputy *Montjoy* proceed the very first Year; and Sir *George Carew* made a Progress in *Munster*, equally successful, for he was lately made President of the Southern Province of *Ireland*; which was desperately harrass'd by a Rebellion, which the Titular Earl of *Desmond* had promoted through every Part of it: For in the first place, he so order'd the matter with the Commanders of the hired Troops from *Connaught*, (which they call *Bownies*) that when the Rebels had sent for them, he got *Dermitz O-Conar* out of the Country by a Wile, sent away *Redmund a-Burgh*, by giving some hopes of retrieving his ancient Estate, and dispatched *Tirell*, by alarming him with the Apprehension of being murder'd unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a Suspicion, he had before raised among the Rebels, by sham and counterfeit Letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another: After this, he and the Earl of *Twomond*, his constant and inseparable Friend and Assistant, marched against them, took the Titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the Rebels, and either seized, or took by Capitulation, the Castles of *Logher*, *Crome*, *Glan*, *Carickfoil*, *Corgrag*, *Rathmore*, and *Cabir*.

Several Castles taken.

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bir. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, whom he had made Governour of *Kerry*, subdued *Lixnaw*, Castle *Marny* and *Lisbuil*, and Sir *Francis Barkly* took *Glanemire*. Captain *Graam* pursued the Titular Earl so close, that he was forced to quit the Province; and several Rebels were frighted into Submission, by his good and happy Success and fled to the Queen's Mercy and Protection; and amongst the rest, *Florence Mac-Carty*, a true Master of the Art of Dissembling, as most of them proved themselves upon this Occasion; for it was discover'd that a great many of them, sent away Priests to *Rome* to ask his Holiness's Pardon, for this Tergiversation, (a Term they used for their not persisting Rebels) and requested a Dispensation for not appearing in open Arms, whilst Matters remain'd in the present Posture: To be brief, the President, who had found that Province so miserably out of order upon his Entrance in *April*, managed Things with that Conduct, that by *December*, all Things were in a quiet Posture, and not one single Fort stood out against the Queen.

A new Debate concerning a Peace with *Spain*.

Whilst these Things were carrying on in *Ireland*, there was a Consultation held in *England*, about a Peace with *Spain*, and it was grounded on the very same Reasons I mention'd *ann.* 1598. The Archduke *Albert*, had made a Motion this way not long before, upon his Return from *Spain* with his Lady the Infanta, when his Holiness presented him with a consecrated Sword. And altho' the Queen had utterly refused to engage in a Defensive League with the King of *Spain*, as well as to deliver up the Cautionary Towns, or prohibit a free Trade with *Holland* and *Zealand*; Articles which he much insisted upon, nor would She be brought to yield the Point of Precedency to *Spain*; yet did both He and the *French* King press for a Peace by repeated Embassies, and indeed the King of *Spain* was foremost in the Request; for he began now to affect a Peace, not only from Temper and Inclination, but by the Advice and Direction of his Council: He knew indeed very well, that his Father before him was extremely desirous of settling a Peace with *England*, after he had made one with *France*; that he might have the Glory of leaving his Kingdoms to his Son, at a time when they were in a settled State of Peace and Tranquillity; and he was likewise persuaded, that such a Treaty would prove to the Advantage of the Catholick Cause, and turn to his own Profit and Convenience. Without all doubt, they entertained mighty Hopes at *Rome* (as I found by a certain Piece, written there about that time) that this would occasion a more favourable Treatment of the Roman Catholicks in *England*, who would be permitted upon their Return, to exercise their Religion with more Freedom, and disperse it to better Advantage. It was thought moreover, that this would conduce as much to his Honour, as the having discover'd a New World did to that of his Predecessors, and that he should find the more Respect and Observance, from the Petty Princes about him, when they found him disengaged from the Incumbrances of War, so that he might then sit and act as the Umpire and Moderator of all *Europe*. Nay that he would likewise prove a Gainer hereby, for by this means, the Estates of *Holland* and *Zealand* would be the sooner brought to Reason, and the Money be spared, which went every Year to maintain his Forces in the *Netherlands*, and to bring home his *Indian* Fleets; which, provided they made a safe Return, must needs enrich the Kingdom of *Spain*: And beside this, the *English* would by degrees throw off their Care, as to Shipping and Navigation, when they found it brought them no Grist from *Spain*, and this might prove the way to take them napping, in a golden Slumber of Ease and Peace; when after a long Disuse, they had almost forgot the Trade and Business of War.

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Though the Queen was no way ignorant of all this, yet being of Opinion (upon serious Thoughts) that a Peace would tend much to her own Honour, and the Welfare of the Kingdom, she was contented to resign herself to the *French* King's Importunity, and left to him, the Appointment of the Time and Place for concluding the Treaty: For the Time, he determin'd the Month of *May*, and the Place nominated was *Bologne*, a Sea-Port in *France*, formerly called *Bononia*, and *Gessoriacum Navale*. And because there was some Reason to guess there would arise some Dispute about the Point of Precedency, there were certain Commissioners appointed, to enquire into the Matter; and they made an Observation, that in the Book concerning *the Ceremonies of the Court of* Rome, which (as the Canons observe) is the great Directress and Mistress of all the other Courts, the First Rank among Princes belongs to the King of *France*, the Second to the King of *England*, and the Third to the King of *Castile*; and that the *English* without Molestation, enjoy'd that Place in the General Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance*, *Sena*, and *Basil*, though in that of *Basil*, 'twas indeed unhandsomely contested by the Ambassador of *Castile*: Besides, the Kingdom of *Castile*, which is a Title the King of *Spain* values above all the rest, is but a young State, in comparison of *England*, and was an Earldom, not a Kingdom, till the Year 1017, and then the Prince had no solemn Inauguration: That amongst those Princes, who were stiled *High and Mighty*, the King of *England* was reckon'd the Third, and the King of *Spain* the Fourth; and that his Holiness, *Julius* III, had pronounced in Favour of *Henry* VII, King of *England*, against *Ferdinand* of *Castile*; that the Queen of *England*, was both in respect of Birth and Regal Dignity, above the King of *Spain*; and this was the very Argument, which the *Spaniards* made use of in the Council of *Basil*, against *Henry* VI, King of *England*: That, in short, the Lawyers have jointly resolved, *That a Precedency held Time out of mind, or by Immemorial Prescription, is to be looked on as a Fair and Uncontestable Claim.* They remarked farther, that whereas in the first Session of the Council of *Trent*, under *Paul* III, there appeared but one Ambassador to represent the Person of *Charles* V, both as Emperor and King of *Spain*, who in his Master's Right, took Place of the *French* King's Ambassador, the *Spaniards* have accordingly demanded this Priority ever since, as well in the Emperor's Right as the King of *Spain*'s, because it had never been disputed against them. At the same time, the *English* could not forbear taxing the *French* King's Ambassador with a Point of Indiscretion, for not withstanding it; and entring a publick Protest against the Emperor's Ambassador, should he presume to take the Precedency of the *French* King, in the Name of the King of *Spain*. They observed moreover, that the *Spaniards* demanded the Upperhand, in respect of the Largeness of their Dominions, and the Extent of their Prince's Sovereignty beyond that of others, besides that he had deserved so highly of the Church of *Rome*, and had taken Place of the *French* King, in the Council of *Trent* in *Pius Quartus*'s Time; though 'twas done indeed out of *Rule*: But enough of this.

A Treaty at *Bologne*.

Observations about Precedency of *England* and *Spain*.

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Commissioners appointed to treat of Peace.

On the Day appointed, there appear'd at *Bologne* these Commissioners for the Queen, *viz.* Sir *Henry Nevil*, her Majesty's Leiger in *France*; *John Herbert*, who was at this time made one of the Secretaries; *Robert Beal*, Secretary to the Council in the *North*; and Sir *Thomas Edmunds*, Secretary for the *French* Tongue. For the King of *Spain*, appear'd *Balthazar* Lord of *Zuniga*, *Fonseca*, one of the Privy-Council, and Ambassador in the *Netherlands*, and *Ferdinando Carillo*, Licentiate of the Order of St. *Jago*, the King's Sollicitor in *Castile*: The Archduke employ'd *John Richardot*, Seignior *de Barley*, Chief President of the Council, and *Lodowick Verreiken*, Auditor and Principal Secretary. The *English* had these Instructions amongst others; 'Above all things to 'take care of the Queen and Kingdom of *England*, 'and Welfare and Reputation of the Publick. 'That, in Point of Honour, they should by no 'means yield the Precedency to the King of '*Spain*, but challenge it rather in a discreet and 'sober way, for the Reasons already mention'd: 'That if the *Spanish* Commissioners would not 'submit, some middle Temper should be found, 'lest the *English* should be represented, as more 'concern'd for a Punctilio, than a Matter of '*Weight* and *Concernment*: They were to pro-'pose, for instance, the taking Place by turns, 'and the First to take his chance for it. Then, 'in regard to Publick Good and Advantage, they 'were to be extremely careful that the Trade of '*England* and the *United-Provinces* was not pre-'judiced by any unjust and fraudulent Practices: 'That the *English* should enjoy an open and free 'Trade into the *Indies*, forasmuch as the same 'Liberty was granted them in all the Dominions 'of *Charles* V, in the Treaty of 1541. In those 'Places at least, where the *Spaniards* have no 'Plantations, and with those *Indian* Princes who 'are not under their Government: That the '*Spaniards* should offer their Terms, because they 'had first propounded a Treaty: That as to Re-'bels and Fugitives, there should nothing be 'mention'd, (tho' according to the ancient Con-'tracts with *Burgundy*, they were to be expelled 'out of the Kingdoms of each Prince respective-'ly, and by that of *France* to be deliver'd on 'demand). But if the *Spanish* Commissioners 'should propose it, they should then declare, 'that none were entertain'd in *England* from the '*Netherlands*, but only Merchants and Trades-'men; whereas several of the *English* were sup-'ported with Pensions in the *Netherlands*, on pur-'pose to disturb and embroil the Government.'

Exceptions on both sides.

Having produced on both sides their Credentials, the *Spaniards* made an Exception against the Epithet of *Most Illustrious*, which in those on the Queen's Side, was inserted in the Archduke's Title, who borrowing his Descent, as they observ'd, from Sacred Emperors, and being Brother and Son-in-law to two Kings of *Spain*, and Husband to the Most Serene Infanta *Isabella*, eldest Daughter of *Spain*, was by all Princes dignified with the Title of *Most Serene*. The *English* then alledging, that an Archduke ought not to be on the Level with Crown'd Heads as to Character, and that no other Distinction was allowed in former Treaties to Archduke *Philip*, Father to *Charles* V, than that of *Most Illustrious*; the *Spaniards* replied, that 'twas no Wonder, if that Age presented the Archduke with no other Title than that of *Most Illustrious*; since in the very same Treaty, *Henry* VIII, himself, was stiled by no other. The *English*, on the other side, found these Flaws in the King's Commission: That there wanted a Form of Sub-delegation; that the Commission was confused, and made obscure by a Mixture of Commissioners; that 'twas sealed by the King's Privy Signet, whereas her Majesty's was under the Great Seal of *England*; and that there was a Clause missing, in reference to the King's obliging himself to ratify whatever should be concluded on. They made answer, That the Form of appointing Subdelegates, was comprized in these Words, *Par Tratar y Hazar Tratar*; that the Distinction of Privy and Great Seal was a thing not known in *Spain*, and that the King's Commission was subscribed by his own Hand in the Presence of his Secretary, and confirm'd under the Publick Seal of the King and Kingdom; and that all Ratifications run in this Form, *Estar y passar Estare y passare*.

English claim the Priority.

A few Days after, the Title of *Most Serene* being inserted in the *English* Credentials wherever the Archduke was mention'd, the *English* Commissioners, who till now had managed the Business with those of the Archduke purely by Letters and private Conferences, demanded a publick Meeting in order to a Treaty, and that the Precedency might be allow'd to her Majesty. The *Spaniards* being offended that the *English* had made the first Claim, as if 'twere true in such Cases what they use to say, *Le premier Demandeur êtoit le Vainqueur*; i. e. *That the Conquest belongs to the first Challenge*, made answer, 'That ''twas a strange and unprecedented thing for the 'Kings of *England* to be upon the same Foot with 'his Catholick Majesty.' The *English* replied, *That the Precedency of the Crown of* England *was known all the World over, and to be maintain'd upon good Grounds; and that the Queen's Leiger Ambassador ought to take place of a bare Delegate, as he had a double Power invested in him.* *Edmunds* alledged also, *That he had acquainted* Richardot *before the Conference, that the Queen would not give up the Point of Precedency; and when pressed for an Answer from him, he had nothing to say against it, but said,* 'He would give his Answer 'when they came to a Meeting; and that he did 'not think so small a Circumstance would put a 'stop to the Treaty.'

Spaniards dispute an Equality.

After this the Commissioners invited one another to private Debates at their several Apartments, on pretence that their Interviews would be less interrupted, but in reality to trick one another in point of Distinction and Priority: But this matter sunk likewise on both sides. And tho' the *Netherlanders* wrought hard to make the *Spaniards* more complying, yet they could never be brought to admit of an Equality between their Prince and the Queen of *England*, because he must then of course acknowledge the *French* King for his Superior, it being agreed on all hands, that the Kings of *England* have yielded the Precedency to those of *France*. However the *English* held fast to their first Resolution in asserting this ancient honourable Claim, and declar'd withal, that the *Spaniards* had no reason at all to take it ill, *because to use one's own Right, is no Injury to that of another Man*; nor could they assign any Reason why they should deny her Majesty at least a Parity of Honour, she being as absolute a Monarch as the King of *Spain*, and had as ample if not greater Power and Prerogative within her Dominions.

New Instructions to the *English*.

After this, *Edmunds* was sent back into *England*, and returned with these Directions: 'That 'if any Method were propounded to adjust the 'Point upon an Equality of Title, which should 'be no way prejudicial to the Queen, they 'should admit of it, without insisting too nicely 'upon their first Instruction: That a perpetual 'Peace should be establish'd between both Prin-'ces and their Successors, and that no mention 'should be made of a Truce: That Trade should

'be

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be reduced to the fame Foot it was upon *Ann.* 1565: That it fhould be folemnly agreed and fettled, that no Ships fhould be arrefted without the Confent of the Prince to whofe Subjects they belonged: That they fhould not upon any account grant the *Spanifh* Men of War the free ufe of the Queen's Ports: That if they went fo far as to deny a free Traffick in the *Indies*, the Matter fhould be connived at, juft as it was by the *French* in the Treaties of *Cambrefis* and *Vervin*: Every one therefore fhould be left to venture at his own Coft and Peril. For were a Reftraint of this kind allowed of, the Trade of the *Englifh* into thofe Parts would for the future be quite fhut up and foreftalled. They were likewife ordered to take no notice of the Rebels and Fugitives, according to the Examples of the *French* in the Treaties of *Blois* and *Vervin*. They fhould engage that the *Englifh* Garrifons in the cautionary Towns fhould act barely in Defence of thofe Places, without ferving in the Field againft the King of *Spain*. They were to declare moreover, that the Queen was fully refolved to preferve the Trade of her Subjects to the Archduke's Provinces, and yet not to recal the *Englifh* Soldiers, who were in the States Service, and under their Pay: That they fhould in the laft place accommodate every thing to the Circumftances of Time and Place, becaufe they fupply Men with better Expedients than they can otherwife apply to every Exigence and Occafion; and that they fhould have an Eye to the main Drift of the *Spaniards* in this Negotiation, whether 'twere only to amufe the Queen till they could get an Opportunity of invading *England* or *Ireland*, or elfe to win the *United Provinces* to their Party, and unhinge them from the *Englifh* Intereft.'

Archduke's Complaint.

Englifh reply.

In the mean time, the Archduke, who had his Head and Hands full of the War in *Flanders*, complain'd of the Queen's fending Recruits to the States, and preparing Ships for the *Indies*. The Commiffioners anfwer'd, That they were in the dark as to this; but fuppofing it true, 'twas no new Act of Hoftility, but a Continuation of what was begun before the Treaty, and was to be difpenfed with till the Confummation of a Peace. They retorted upon the King of *Spain*, his having furnifh'd the *Irifh* Rebels with Money and Arms; that he had receiv'd Hoftages from them, and promis'd them Supplies: That this was clear enough from his own Letters, which the Rebels fent the Queen to gain her Favour, and which, if they pleafed, were ready to be produced; and that this indeed was a new Encroachment, forafmuch as the King of *Spain*'s Father never ventured to relieve them, otherwife than privately and underhand.

Whilft thefe Things were under Debate, and both Sides began to fufpect that Peace was but a bare Pretence to cover other Defigns, the *Spanifh* Commiffioners declared, that his Catholick Majefty would by no means yield up the Priority, or fo much as admit of a Parity of Title, and therefore had exprefsly order'd them to break off the Treaty. The Archduke's and the Queen's Delegates were much concerned at this Refolution, and therefore to prevent an abfolute Breach, the *Englifh* propofed, That the Queftion of Precedency might be laid afide, and they permitted to treat with the Archduke's Delegates, by Letters, Conferences, or Meffages, as they before had done.

Treaty diffolv'd.

New Propofals, but in vain.

The *Spaniards* moved, That if they would agree to a Meeting to be had in *Holland*, and the States to affift at it, they would come to a Treaty in any place in *Holland* not under the Queen's Poffeffion: Or if they would confer in any Part of the *Spanifh* Dominions, they would entertain the *Englifh* with all the Refpect and Civility due to Strangers.

There was likewife a Motion ftarted, to have the Bufinefs put off for fixty Days, which would rather look like a Difcontinuance, than a final Diffolution of the Treaty; and in the mean time all Parties fhould apply themfelves to bring Matters to an Accommodation, if both Princes thought fit: But all this was to no purpofe, for immediately did the *Spanifh* and Archduke's Commiffioners haften home before they were looked for, and the Queen likewife called back hers, having firft made her publick Proteft: 'That fhe had done all that became a good Chriftian and a free Princefs, to fettle a firm and lafting Peace, to prevent the fhedding of any more Chriftian Blood: And tho' there were fcurvy and fufpicious Appearances of foul Play and unfincere Dealing, forafmuch as there were Supplies of late fent to the Rebels in *Ireland*, yet at their Requeft fhe did not refufe to fend Commiffioners to the Treaty: And fince fhe faw no Reafon to give the *Spaniard* the Upper-hand, as fhe had intimated to *Edmunds* before the Treaty, fhe had infifted upon an Equality; and if they would not fubmit to that, fhe was willing ftill to carry on the Matter by the Interchange of Meffages and Papers.' Thus, after three Months time, did the Treaty of *Bologne* dwindle into nothing.

The States Defigns on the Sea Towns in Flanders.

Mean while, the States having been fuccefsful beyond Expectation, were fo far from harbouring any Defires of Peace, that they were ftudying at the very inftant to poffefs themfelves of the Sea-Coaft of *Flanders*, the better to guard their Trade (*Spinola*'s Gallies being very bufy at Sea) as alfo to relieve *Oftend*, the only Town they had in *Flanders*, and which was begirt and hemm'd about with feveral Forts and Sconces raifed by the *Spaniards*. Thefe Projects appeared very feafible, the Enemies Affairs being in an ill Condition, and the old Soldiers at the fame time bent upon Mutiny or Revolt. Having therefore made up an Army of 14000 Foot and 3000 Horfe under the Command of *Maurice* of *Naffau*, and engaged the Chief of the States to act in conjunction with him, they refolved to land at *Oftend*; but the Wind being contrary, they difembark'd at low Tide at *Philippine*-Sconce in *Flanders*, by the Advantage of their flat-bottom'd Boats, wherein they got to Land at high Water; and their Landing put People into fuch a general Confternation, that the Garrifons furrender'd as faft as they approach'd them, not excepting the ftrong Fort of St. *Albertus* near *Oftend*; and on the 8th Day after, they waded over a fmall Ford, and got to *Newport* without any Difficulty. The next Day, juft as they were ready to fit down before it, the unexpected News was brought them, that the Archduke was marching towards them with 7000 Foot and a 1000 Horfe: For it feems he follow'd them clofely Night and Day, regain'd moft of the Sconces, defeated 800 *Scots* that were placed in the way to intercept his Paffage, and cut off their harraffed and ftraggled Troops almoft as far as *Newport*. Here the *Spaniards* thought convenient to make an Halt to recover *Albertus*'s Sconce, and to draw a Trench in order to cut off Supplies of Provifion from *Maurice*'s Army; but this was looked on as a cowardly Project by the Archduke, who was too much flufh'd with his good Fortune to liften to it. On the other hand, *Maurice* had difpofed all things for an Engagement: The Foot, which compofed the Van, he committed to the Conduct of Sir *Francis Vere*, (as he himfelf has

Newport attempted.

Archduke comes to relieve it.

1600. Ann. 43. given it us in his Commentaries) and the Horse was commanded by Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*: A Resolution was then taken up to repass the Ford as soon as the Tide served. *Vere* forbid his Men to strip themselves, assuring them, that in a little time they should either get better Clothes, or need none at all. He then sought out a Piece of Ground most convenient for the Battel, being a narrow Plain between the Sea and some Banks of Sand, which rose to a pretty Height to Landward as well as towards the Sea. The *English* were placed in the highest Part of these Hills, being not above 1500, with 2500 Musketeers of *Friesland*. *Maurice* now proposed whether 'twere better to advance forward against the Enemy, or wait for them in that Posture: And most were of opinion, 'twas the best way to march on, that being the likeliest Method to surprize the Enemy, and carry the Day; whereas by waiting their Approach, their own Party would be dishearten'd, and the Enemy take the Advantage, besides that, they would gain the Opportunity of better fortifying themselves, and of cutting off any Prospect of Provisions or Retreat. *Vere* was of a different Judgment, and thought that the Enemy's Army, which was raised in haste, could not possibly be in a Condition to hold out long in a Country which the War had left bare and unfurnish'd: That on their own Side, there was no Reason to fear a Scarcity, for they had Provision enough in their Ships, and an open Sea to convey what they wanted: That the Enemy being fatigued by the hot Weather, and a long March up and down steep and tiresome Hills, would be easily routed by fresh and unharrass'd Forces.

Grave Maurice approved of these Measures, and fix'd in the Place where he was, having appointed some Companies to prevent a Sally from the Garrison of *Newport*. He likewise order'd the Shipping to sheer off to a greater Distance, that his Men might grow bold upon Necessity, when they had lost the Hopes and Prospect of any Retreat. Then he began to dispose his Men into Order, and placed six Pieces of Cannon before the first Battalion. The Archduke had got by this time pretty near to *Newport*, and held an Hour or two's Debate, whether 'twere best to stay there, or give his Men some Refreshment, and wait the coming up of the Troops which were still behind; by which means he lost his Advantage both as to Time and Place. However he had conceived Hopes which made him advance with great Cheerfulness; and finding the Pass too narrow, by reason of the coming in of the Tide, for his Horse, which could now find no other way than by those sandy Hills, he dismiss'd a Prisoner on purpose, who was to alarm the Enemy, by crying that the *Scots* were all put to the Sword, and that the Archduke would not stand an Engagement; but his Mouth was soon stopt. *Vere*'s Advice was, to send out the Cavalry to stop the Enemy's Approach; but the General of the Horse, unwilling perhaps that *Vere* should reap the Glory of that Design, withstood it: The Cannon therefore was by *Vere*'s Orders drawn down upon them, and the Enemy receiving a speedy Defeat, retired to the Hills, and there waited for the coming up of their Foot, who marched along the Shore, and now and then plaid on *Maurice*'s Men with their great Guns, the Ships at the same time discharging upon them as the Tide came in. By this time they were obliged to double their Files, the Place was so narrow, and being put into some Disorder, they were forced to climb the Hills till they were almost spent. *Vere* took his Post on the top of the foremost Hill, that he might view the Enemy's Motions from above, and 500 *Spaniards* endeavouring to gain the Ascent in a confused and disorderly manner, the *Friesland* Musketeers receiv'd 'em with a Volley of Small-shot, and drove 'em back; after which there happen'd a kind of wild Skirmish, such as the unequal Risings and Descents of the Grounds thereabouts would admit of, the Sand being so loose and yielding, that they could not take any sure Footing. However, the Fight was briskly maintain'd by Supplies of fresh Troops on both Sides, each Party mounting the Hills by turns, and gaining a kind of alternate Conquest. *Vere*, whilst he acted the Part of a good Commander and Soldier, receiv'd a Wound in his Leg, and another in his Thigh some time after, both which he concealed for fear of discouraging his Men; and his Forces were so hard pressed, that they were forced to retreat under their Cannon by the Sea-shore, and he himself being forced to follow 'em, had his Horse shot under him, which fell and lay upon him, till Sir *Rob. Drury* and *Highham* helpt him up, and mounted him upon *Drury*'s Horse, and that at a time when the Enemy was just upon him. Just by the Cannon he found his Brother *Horace* with 300 Foot, and immediately order'd 'em to play upon the Enemy, who appear'd now in great Numbers upon the Shore. He commanded his own Troop of Horse and *Bale*'s to attack the Enemy, and *Horace Vere* to lie for a Reserve with his Foot. He beat the Enemy back to the Hills, and from thence they were repulsed with a Shower of Small-shot; and as soon as they saw *Maurice* advancing with the main Body, the Horse began to fly in Confusion, and the Foot follow'd them, and both were cut off in great Numbers. There were slain about 9000; and among the Prisoners were the Admiral of *Arragon*, *Vigilare*, *Sapena*, and many other Persons of considerable Quality. There were wounded the Archduke himself, after having discharged the Office of a brave General; the Duke *D'Aumale*, *Alphonso Dacales*, Aid-de-Camp; *Roderico Lasso*, and several others. But these Particulars I refer to those who shall give the World the History of the *Netherlands*. 'Tis sufficient for me to have made these short Remarks out of Sir *Francis Vere*'s own Commentaries, who has left us to make an Estimate of the *English* Courage from this Particular, That out of 1500 there were 800 slain and wounded, 8 Captains kill'd, and but two of the Commanders escaped unhurt. The *Spaniards* attributed this Defeat to the Number of the Enemy, which was double theirs, and pleaded the Fatigue of a long March, that the Sun was in their Faces, that the Wind blew the Dust in their Eyes, that the Ground was unequal, and in a word, that their own Horse behaved themselves like Cowards, and the *English* like good Soldiers. Among those who deserved the first Commendations, were the two Brothers, Sir *Francis* and *Horace Vere*, *Edward Cecil*, *Callisthenes Brook*, *Thomas Knolles*, *Daniel Vere*, *John Ogle*, *Toxley*, *Fairfax*, *Valvasour*, *Holcroft*, *Dennis*, *Tirril*, *Hammond*, *Sutton*, *Foster*, *Garnet*, *Morgan* and *Scot*.

1600. Ann. 43.

Battel of Newport.

Spaniards fly.

The *English* and *French* took up this whole Year and the last in making Complaints about Reprisals, which indeed through the frequent Piracies which were practis'd, became too common on both sides. But a Measure was at length propos'd towards an Agreement by Monsieur *Thumier* Boissie the *French* Ambassador, a Person of Sense and Gravity, to this effect, viz. 'That the Subjects 'of each Prince respectively should be taken into 'Protection, and permitted to follow their Traffick in a lawful manner, according to former 'Treaties: That sufficient Security should be 'demanded for Merchantmen, and other Vessels

A Treaty concerning Reprisals between French and English.

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'set out with Provisions for War and Reprisals, double to the Value of Provision in the Ship, and to the naked Value for these without Reprisals. That if the Officers of the Admiralty should either neglect to take Security, or accept what was not sufficient, they should be obliged to answer for all the Damages occasion'd thro' their Default. That Care should be taken of the Cost and Charges of the Merchants, and that their Causes should be dispatch'd, if possible, within six Months. That Judgments given in Actions brought at Civil Law, should from that time be duly executed against all Offenders. That the several Bails should answer the Penalty agreed on, but till Satisfaction were made to the Party injured. That upon the Refusal of Justice after 3 Months Request made by either Prince, or his or her Leiger Ambassador, it should be lawful to grant Reprisals on either side. That no kind of Arms or Ammunition should be transported into the King of *Spain*'s Dominions. That if any thing should be detained or seized by the King or Queen's Officers, without laying down the just Value, their Majesties should take care to make due Payment in convenient Time. That all Ships fitted out by the immediate Order of either Prince, or made use of by their Admirals in the publick Service, should be adjudged and taken for the King or Queen's Ships; and if any thing were done by them amiss, they should oblige themselves to make Reparation. That Reprisals should not be barely suspended, but absolutely revoked on both sides. That publick Proclamations should be made, not to suffer or permit any Dividend, Transportation or Alienation of Goods taken; and that no Man should purchase, receive or conceal them, unless they should be first adjudged to be lawful Prize by the Verdict of the Judge of the Admiralty. That no Pirates should be harbour'd in the Cities, Ports or Towns on either side, or permitted to lie at Anchor, but should be arrested and brought to Trial, and submitted to the Penalties of the Law, with Cost of Suit, and Interest. However, That every thing herein should be interpreted with this restrictive Proviso, That if any thing should be found contrary to former Treaties, nothing should be here construed in Derogation from them; but that due Care might be taken against Piracies, such as the Badness of the Times required, this should be lookt on meerly as a present and occasional Provision, till a more full and absolute Treaty could be form'd to the mutual Satisfaction of both Princes.'

Other Differences with the *French*.

There were likewise some Demurs started concerning the Imposition of some new Customs on the *English* Wares, contrary to the Treaty of *Blois*; as also about the deceitful and fraudulent making of *English* Cloths, to the great Disgrace and Scandal of the Nation. The Queen likewise made a modest Demand of what was formerly lent to the King; some part whereof he paid back with large and handsome Acknowledgments for the Favour.

Difference with the *Danes*.

But besides this Contest with *France*, there arose a new Dispute with the *Danes*, upon the Article of Trade, and the Privilege the *English* took of Fishing on the Coasts of *Norway*, and near *Iceland*, and that upon this Occasion; the King of *Denmark* being the last Year offended at this Practice, and the Piracies committed by the *English*, surprized and took some *Englishmen* belonging to *Hull*, as they were Fishing upon the *Norway* Coast, with some of his Men of War: Their Ships and Lading he order'd to be sold, to a considerable Value, and put the Seamen to the Torture, alledging that he had two Years ago signified his Mind in *England*, as to the Prohibition of the Fishing Trade, and that they must expect to be thus served, if they would presume to use it without his Leave. These Proceedings the Queen resented as Arbitrary, because there was no Hearing allow'd, and took them as so many Invasions upon her Person, her Subjects, and the ancient Treaties between them: She therefore interposed in favour of the *Hull* Men, in Letters dispatched by *Stephen Leise* and *Thomas Ferrar*: She own'd that *Whitfield* and *Bernick* had barely pretended that the *English* had incroach'd on the Fishery of *Norway* and *Iceland*, contrary to the Treaties, but had produced no Proof for what he said: She convinced him that several Privileges had been granted to the *English*, in this very respect, by the former Kings of *Norway*, before the Union of the Crown of *Denmark* to it, and that the same Grants were afterwards confirm'd by *John* and *Christiern*, Kings of *Denmark*. It being then objected, that by King *John*'s Agreement, the Patent for Fishing was to be renewed every seven Years; the Queen replied, that it had been discontinued for many Years, and that 'twas through the Neglect of the *Danes*, not the Default of the *English*; for till the Extrusion of King *Christiern*, *Ann.* 1521, that Septennial Licence had been still demanded by the *English*, and since that Time, 'twas never exacted by *Frederick* the King's Great Grandfather, nor his Grandfather *Christiern*, nor his Father *Frederick*: But the last of these Princes promised, in his Letters *Ann.* 1585, that if the *English* would forbear any Insolences and Abuses, they should enjoy the same Privileges they used to do, without suing for any new Grant; that upon this Account, the *English* were injuriously treated, because they had of late refused to ask a Licence from seven Years to seven Years, as they had formerly done, and that the ablest Lawyers had given their Opinions, that the Sea is free and publick by the Law of Nations, and ought not to be the Monopoly of any Prince whatever. In short, the Queen seemed desirous, either to have the Matter composed by proper Deputies on both sides, or else to refer it to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the King's Father-in-law, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*; and *Henry Julius* Duke of *Brunswick*, the King's Brother-in-law, as Umpires: but this the King would not consent to. And when the Matter could not be adjusted by either *Stephen Leise* and *Ferrar*, who were sent into *Denmark* on purpose, nor by *Crag*, a Person of good Learning, sent from thence into *England*, it was at length resolved on both sides, to send Delegates to *Embden*; the Queen sent thither *Richard Bancroft*, Bishop of *London*, *Christopher Parkins* and *John Swale*, Doctors of Law, to concert Measures with the *Danish* Commissioners: But the *English* being detain'd by contrary Winds, or prevented by some unlucky Mistake or other, from appearing at the Day prefix'd, the *Danes* were for getting home as fast as could be, on pretence that the Date of their Commission was expired; but some thought the Reason was the Scarcity of their Provisions, (for the *Danes* allow their Ambassadors a certain *Quantum* of Victuals, in the room of Money, that other Princes give) nor would they hearken to the Proposal made them, of desiring their Prince to extend the Date of their Commission: Hereupon the *English* complain'd that the *Danes* had no Design of renewing the State of Things, in reference to them, but were for exacting new Customs every Day at their Pleasure, upon their Vessels in *Oresund*-Key, for making Sale of their Effects by new Orders and Decrees, and resolv'd to stop their Fishery in the

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the free Northern Ocean, and their Paſſage that way into *Muſcovy*.

The *Eaſt-India* Company ſettled.

The Queen however was about this time pleaſed to erect an *Eaſt-India* Company, and to endow them with large Privileges, for the Improvement of Navigation, the Glory of the Kingdom, and the Increaſe of Trade; and they immediately ſent thither with three Ships, *James Lancaſter*, the Perſon whom we mention'd in the Year 1594, to have taken by his Courage *Fernambuck* in *Braſil*; and every Year ſince, they have diſpatch'd a Fleet thither, with an anſwerable Succeſs and Advantage; beſides, they have, to the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, placed Factories in *Surat*, in the Great *Mogul*'s Country, in *Maſlipatam*, *Bantam*, *Patane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Macaſſer*, and likewiſe in *Japan*, having obtain'd glorious Succeſſes, big enough to curb the Inſolence and Baſeneſs of their Adverſaries; but whether it be for the real Advantage of the Kingdom to have ſuch a Maſs of Money exported, and ſo many Men yearly loſt in the Voyage, I leave Poſterity, and wiſer Judges to determine.

The Pope's Briefs againſt the *Scots*.

Whilſt the Queen was labouring at this rate to enrich her Subjects, Pope *Clement* VIII, being ſenſible of her Declenſion in Years, and very deſirous to eſtabliſh the Intereſt of the Catholick Religion in *England*, ſent two Briefs (as they are call'd) into *England*, one to the Popiſh Clergy, and the other to the People, wherein he caution'd them, *Not to admit any Perſon, how near allied ſoever to the Crown, after the Queen's Death, unleſs he were not only inclin'd to tolerate the* Romiſh *Perſuaſion, but to advance and eſtabliſh it, to the utmoſt of his Power, and would oblige himſelf, as his Anceſtors had done, to perform the ſame upon Oath*: But theſe Briefs were kept very privately, and the Contents of them communicated but to a very few; but here was laid the firſt Platform of that Execrable Plot, the Powder-Treaſon: As the main Deſign of ſending theſe Briefs from *Rome*, was the Excluſion of King *James* from his Right of Succeſſion to the Throne of *England*, ſo were there private Attempts uſed in *Scotland*, by the Fraternity of the *Retivens*, to take away his Life; for their Breaſts glowed with Revenge, for the taking off their Father, the Earl *Gowry*, by Proceſs of Law, in the King's Minority; upon which Account, they got the King, to whom they had been much obliged, by a ſort of Stratagem into their Houſe, and there deſign'd like Villains to make him away, and doubtleſs they had done it, had not God Almighty, the Guardian of Princes, ſo ſupported the King, that by grappling with them, and through the timely Aſſiſtance of *John Ramſey* and *Thomas Areskin*, he turn'd their lewd Deſign to their own Deſtruction. For they were killed in the very Enterprize, and their Accomplices executed, their Eſtates being forfeited by Act of Parliament, their Houſes razed to the Ground, their Bodies quarter'd, and ſet upon Poles in ſeveral Towns, and All that bore the Name of *Retiven*, commanded to change their Sirname, that their very Memory might be extinct and loſt for ever: I hope I ſhall not be charged with an Indecency, in mentioning Extinction of Name, ſince other Writers have given a very large Account of it.

The Conſpiracy of the *Gowrys*.

Complaints of Scarcity of Corn.

Much about this time, there was a general Complaint of a ſad Scarcity of Corn in this Kingdom, occaſion'd partly by immoderate Rains about the end of the laſt Year, and partly by the Coldneſs of the following Spring, not to mention the engroſſing Spirit of ſome, who had got a Licence to tranſport great Quantities abroad, and made a great Gain thereby. The Populace, who generally turn more upon the Hinge of Opinion and Jealouſy, than a true Judgment, caſt a great deal of Dirt and Reproach upon the Lord-Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, for granting them a Licence; and theſe Aſperſions wrought ſo upon him, that he applied to her Majeſty, who clear'd him by publick Proclamation from this Charge, and caſt the Fault upon ſome private Huckſters, who were for making a Market; and withal, order'd thoſe that were moſt clamorous upon this Occaſion, to be ſeized and puniſhed: But they, being true as Steel to a Mobbiſh Principle, railed and grumbled the more, and privately taxed him with having acknowledged the Action.

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Eſſex repents himſelf.

The Earl of *Eſſex* had now lain ſix Months under the Lord-Keeper's Cuſtody, and his good Nature at length, with the Senſe of his Misfortune, and the Advice of his beſt Friends, particularly the Lord *Henry Howard* began to work in him a very ſerious Change of Sentiment, to put him upon removing his evil Counſellors, Sir *Gilly Merrick* and *Cuff*, and giving ſuch Demonſtrations of a patient, humble and modeſt Temper, as made his Friends conceive the beſt Expectations of him, and render'd him eſteem'd by all, and envied by his Adverſaries: The Queen moreover was ſo well reconciled by the Submiſſion of his Letters, that ſhe permitted him to go home to his own Houſe, under the Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Barkly*, and ſeveral times proteſted, that all ſhe did or deſign'd againſt him, was for his Reformation, not his Ruin.

Is brought before Commiſſioners.

But becauſe the common People made his Innocence the publick Theme and Subject of Diſcourſe, her Majeſty thought fit, to qualify all Suſpicions of a ſevere Treatment towards him, to give it out by Order of herſelf and Privy-Council, that he ſhould have a fair and publick Hearing, (not in the Star-Chamber, leſt it ſhould fall too heavy on his Purſe or Perſon) but in the Lord-Keeper's Houſe, before the Queen's Council, Four Earls, Two Barons, and Four Judges, and that ſome Judgment or Cenſure ſhould paſs upon him, but ſhort of an Impeachment or Charge of Treaſon: The chief Heads of the Indictment againſt him were theſe, 'That he had, contrary 'to his Orders, made the Earl of *Southampton*, 'General of his Horſe: That he had conferred 'upon ſo many, the Honour of Knighthood: 'That he had drawn his Forces into *Munſter*, 'inſtead of purſuing *Tir-Oen*, the Head of the 'Rebels: That he held a Conference with him, 'contrary to the Duty owning to her Majeſty's 'Royal Dignity, and the Character of a Lord-'Deputy, and in private too, which made it 'liable to the worſe Conſtruction.' All theſe Points were largely inſiſted on by the Queen's Council, who produced out of his own Letters, written above two Years before, and diſperſed up and down by ſome of his Followers, ſome abrupt Paſſages to this purpoſe: *That no Tempeſt was more violent, than the Reſentment of an inflam'd Prince: That the Queen's Heart was obdurate: That 'twas very poſſible for Princes to err, and wrong their Subjects: That he knew his Duty as a Subject, and his Privilege as Earl-Marſhal* of England, *&c.* From hence they concluded, 'That he repre-'ſented the Queen as a very paſſionate and ir-'rational Princeſs, and compar'd her to *Pharaoh*, 'on the ſcore of her Heart being *hardned*, and 'made her void of all Sincerity and Juſtice, ſo 'that, excepting a bare Allegiance, he ow'd her 'neither Thanks nor Service.' They likewiſe charged him with ſome Heads and Articles, taken out of a certain Book, dedicated to him, about the depoſing *Richard* II.

His Defence.

He then kneeled down upon one Knee before the Table, and thanked Almighty God for his great Mercies, and his Sovereign, for not ordering him an Hearing in the Star-Chamber, but

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that she had commanded that Cup to pass from him (to use his own Words) and had permitted him to be tried in a private House; he declar'd therefore, that he would not dispute his Case, or go about to excuse the Failings of his green and inconsiderate Years; he likewise protested, that he still kept himself a Loyal Subject, and neither had, nor would depart from his Allegiance so much as in Thought: In a word, he protested his Intention to have been sincerely honest, whatever Appearances might happen afterwards to the contrary, and that he now took a most hearty Farewel of this World: At this he shed Abundance of Tears, and the Company express'd their Satisfaction and Hopes of him in the same manner. However he could not forbear urging some Excuses on his own behalf, such as these: 'That he made *Southampton* General of the Horse, out of an honest, tho' mistaken Opinion that the Queen would approve his Choice, when she knew the Reasons he acted upon, which her Majesty having rejected, he immediately displaced him; that he had knighted so many, with design to keep the Gentlemen-Voluntiers firm to his Interest. That he advanced into *Munster* upon the ill-weigh'd Directions of the Council of *Ireland*; that *Ormond*, the principal Person of them, had paid for those Measures with the loss of his Sight, and Sir *William St. Leiger*, by the loss of his Life.' As he was going to proceed, the Lord-Keeper reminded him of his first Resolution, and advised him to stick to that, and betake himself to the Queen's Mercy, who did not design to have him impeached of Treason, but only taxed with the Breach of Orders, for 'twas but frivolous to pretend Obedience, when he had given so few Signs of it, so that if he went about to palliate his Fault, it might prove a means to lessen the Queen's gracious Intentions towards him; beside 'twas very absurd, to masque an express and formal Act of Disobedience, under the Pretext of a Loyal Inclination. 'Tis not very material to respect what was observ'd upon this Occasion, by others there present, since 'twas in a manner much the same with what was said then, or some time after, in the Star-Chamber. In fine, the Lord-Keeper pronounced his Sentence, *That he should be remov'd from the Council-Board, suspended from his Offices of Earl-Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and kept under Confinement during the Queen's Pleasure.* This Sentence was approved of by all the rest, and a great many entertain'd Hopes of his being again receiv'd into Favour, because the Queen had expresly order'd, that he should not be remov'd from being Master of the Horse, as if she design'd to employ him again, and that the Judgment awarded against him, should not be enter'd upon Record.

His Sentence.

There were some likewise, who observ'd the Temper of the Queen, and the Inclination of the Earl and his Enemies, with the usual Consequences in such Cases, that were apt to conclude much, in favour of the Earl, upon these probable Grounds: 'That the Queen being a Princess of a mild and intreatable Disposition, was not to seek *that the Throne was establish'd by Mercy*: That 'twas both in her Power and Inclination, to express Compassion, and thereby speak her self a wise Woman: That she would by no means provoke so considerable a Person, for fear of driving him to the last Extreme: That she would by no means consent to his Ruin, in respect to the Government, which would be so great a Loser by it; that her Majesty had hitherto form'd her Actions, upon the Model of a strict and regular Justice: That she had declar'd her Design to be the Earl's Reformation, and not his Ruin; and that the Word of a Prince was Sacred as an Oracle. That Princes, like God Almighty, act in Consistency, and without Contradiction: That moreover she was of *Mithridates*'s Temper, and hated those that trode on the Neck of Virtue, when abandon'd by Fortune. That the Queen was as constant in the Continuance, as discreet in the Disposal of her Favours. That there were Instances of Persons who had grosly offended her Majesty, and yet were not totally laid aside; particularly the Earl of *Sussex* had been impeach'd, as an Abettor of the Troubles in *Ireland*; the Duke of *Norfolk* had been accused by *Crofts* and *Sadleir*, for not obeying his Orders in the Siege of *Leith*; and the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, about a Book written by *Hales*, relating to the Succession: *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, *Henry* the Father of *Southampton*, and *Lumley*, were charged for holding private Correspondence with the Queen of *Scots*; *Crofts* for a secret Correspondence with the Prince of *Parma*; *Walsingham* for assisting *Gowry* in seizing the King of *Scots*; and the Earl of *Leicester* about some Mismanagement of his in the *Low-Countries*: But yet all these Persons were perfectly re-instated in the Queen's Favour: As for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who had joined themselves in a foreign Conspiracy to work the Ruin of their Country, and had in order thereto, appear'd in open Rebellion, they had justly paid for their Treason with their Lives; and the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Fate was equally just, because he had committed the same Fault twice, and attempted, contrary to his Promise and Oath, to marry the Queen of *Scots*, concealing in the mean time all the Designs she carried on Abroad, and assisting those *Scots* who were proclaimed Enemies to *England*; indeed the Queen of *Scots* herself fell under the same Character, (however she might be protected by the Prerogative of a crown'd Head) when she once took violent and irregular Courses to procure her Liberty, insomuch that the Queen and Kingdom's Safety were endanger'd thereby, and the State had no other way to secure it self. But now there was nothing of this nature objected against the Earl of *Essex*, whose Miscarriages both to the Queen and Council, had already been acquitted from the Imputation of treasonable Designs: That the Queen, on purpose as it were to keep his Hopes alive, had advanced none of his Enemies upon his Fall, tho' they had made their Suit, with all possible Application, for much higher Promotions.

The Queen of a mild and gentle Temper.

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'That the Earl had been singled out by the Queen, and distinguished while he was but young, by several signal Favours, on the score of his Quality, (being, at some distance, allied to the Blood Royal) and the Appearance of a very promising Virtue. That he had receiv'd, among other effects of her Displeasure, a Box on the Ear: That he had done his Country very eminent Services both at Home and Abroad: That there was not a Man in *England*, so happily furnished for a General, and who was so capable of managing a War, keeping off an Enemy, and gaining the Hearts of the People as himself; that therefore he was the properest Person to extinguish any Troubles that might arise, and keep the Government from Fermentation, nor did any Man deserve the Queen's Grace and Compassion more than himself. That all Persons would find themselves concern'd in the severe Treatment of a Person who had deserv'd so highly; that nothing could inspirit the Enemy more, than to see those Persons used ill, whose Merits rose higher than

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those of others, and whose Innocence had pass'd the common Vote. That what was formerly said of *Germanicus*, might be applied to him, *That his worst Enemies were his great Accomplishments:* that his bitterest Adversaries could lay nothing to his Charge, but that he acted in a Sphere above them. However, that they need not fear being admitted again into his Friendship, since he was, like *Pompey*, courteous to his Enemies, and easily reconciled upon Submission and good Behaviour: Besides, that his Adversaries did not agree among themselves, but were differently inclin'd as to his Case, so that, when he was some time ago to have been summon'd to an Appearance in the *Star-Chamber*, some of them were of Opinion, that he was to be proceeded against without Rigour and Severity. That the Secretary would not be brought to admit of any fraudulent Endeavours or foul Play against him: That his Adversaries durst not do all they had a mind to; besides, they were so prudent to consider that Affairs at Court do not always run in the same Channel, but that Love and Hatred, Jealousies and Suspicions, Favour and Rigour are acted by certain Springs, and depend on Changes and Periods, that we know little of. That no Man alive knows whether he shall be a Favourite, or cashier'd before the next Sun-setting: That they were sometimes obliged to offer their best Ministers as Victims to Fury and their own Reputation: Witness, *Empson, Dudley, Cromwel*, Cardinal *Woolsey*, &c. That just as Men find Princes to have acted by others, the same will their Case be, when their own Turn comes about. His Enemies ought therefore to take care, not to engage too far in this business, least they should hurt themselves most, at the long Run, besides the Inhumanity of adding Tears to the Afflicted; and that they should not exasperate the Queen, and raise groundless Jealousies in Her, in reference to a Person of that Figure; for tho' Men could not but wonder at such a Procedure, God who is a just Being, would not fail to protect such as were injuriously oppressed.'

Upon these Reasons, and others of the same nature, did several ground a Conjecture that *Essex* would once more be taken into Favour; and 'twas made a Point of Deliberation among them, how the Earl was to demean himself, during this Interim of Suspence, whether it was his best way to get himself dispatch'd on a * Free Embassy, and so travel abroad into some foreign Parts, till this Storm blew over, or else to retire within himself, and raise his Mind by the same gradual Movements, by which his Fortune had declin'd; or whether it were properest, to enter on a mix'd kind of Life, and so stand ready for whatever Fate should accost him. By this means it was possible, that his obscured Virtue might in time shine out, and recover from its Eclipse.

* *A kind of Voluntary Exile, or Avoidance of an Encounter.*

His pretended Humility.

In the mean time he appear'd, for his own part, extremely mortify'd with the Sense of his Condition, and declared both in his Discourses and Letters, that he had discarded all the Gayeties of Life, and drown'd his Ambition in his Tears, and that he had but one Request to make the Queen, viz. *That She would* (to use his own Word) *let her Servant depart in Peace*. The Queen was extremely pleased with this Deportment, and in a little time removed *Barkley* from him, under whose Custody he was, and left him at his own Liberty, to retire if he pleased into the Country; but she advised him however, to keep within the Eye of his own Discretion, and not on any account to venture to Court, or come near her Person.

After this Sentence was pass'd, *Cuff*, who had always persuaded the Earl to plead *not Guilty*, but to insist upon his Innocence, as the Safeguard of his Honour, began to charge him so bluntly for a faint-hearted and timorous Man, and was so very liberal in bestowing Reproaches upon all that persuaded him to the contrary, that *Essex* was disobliged at his Freedom, and ordered him to be cashier'd his Service; but *Merrick* his Steward, who was of *Cuff*'s Opinion, did not perform his Order, lest *Cuff* should be tempted to gratify his Revenge, by joining against his Master with the rest of his Enemies.

Cuff taxes *Essex* of Faint-heartedness.

His Message to the Queen.

The Earl was now at his Liberty, and being just upon going into the Country, he gave this Account of himself to her Majesty, by the Lord *Henry Howard*: '*That he kissed her Majesty's Hands, and the Rod she used in correcting him, but that he could never recover his usual Cheerfulness, till he was vouchsafed an Admission to that Presence, which had always influenced his Happiness, and in which he was sufficiently bless'd, as long as he moved within his Sphere: That he had now resolved to make amends for his Error, and to say with* Nebuchadnezzar, *Let my Dwelling be with the Beasts of the Field, to eat Grass as an Ox, and to be wet with the Dew of Heaven, till it shall please the Queen to restore my Understanding to me.*' The Queen was very much pleased with these Expressions, and replied, *That she heartily wished his Actions might prove of a piece with them: That he had tried her Patience a long while, and therefore she ought to take some time, to make proof of his Submissions: That her Father would never have pardon'd so much Obstinacy. But that she would not look back, for fear of incurring the Fate of* Lot's *Wife: That all is not Gold that glisters: That if the Furnace (of Affliction) produced such Effects, she should hereafter have the better Opinion of* Chymistry.

Her Answer.

Cuff's ill Advice to *Essex*.

As soon as *Cuff* got Admission to the Earl, he fill'd his Ears with the same pernicious Counsels as before; 'Telling him that he had ruin'd himself by his Confession: That he had incurred such a Disreputation thereby, as could hardly be conceived, and which he ought to make good again, tho' with the Price of his Blood: That the Lord *Henry Howard* and others, had appear'd his Friends in some trivial Points, on purpose to trepan him in matters of higher Importance, and to deliver him up as a Prey to his Enemies. That he could never hope to be so free a Person as he once was, unless he purchased his Liberty, by some very hazardous Exploit; that therefore he ought to undertake some great Action, to recover his Credit and Liberty; in his Friend's Defence, and the Protection of his Country from corrupt Ministers.' These Suggestions *Essex* very little regarded, being firmly persuaded, that he should once more creep into Favour, and obtain a new Grant for Farming the *Sweet Wines*, (for so they term all, but *French* and *Rhenish*) his Patent being almost out of Date, and he having been a considerable Gainer by it: The Queen gave him some Hopes of her Favour, by Messages and Letters; but in reference to the Farm, she sent him these short, but cutting Answers, '*That she must first learn the Value of it, and that Benefits were not to be bestow'd at random:*' At the same time she permitted the Perquisites thereof to go to others, saying, '*That an ungovernable Beast must be stinted in his Provender, that he may be the better managed:*' She likewise much applauded that Physical Aphorism; *That corrupt Bodies, the more they are pamper'd, the worse it is for them.*

Some tart Expressions of the Queen.

The Earl of *Essex* was touch'd with these Answers to the very quick, so that he suffer'd his Passion to steal the Reins from his Reason, and gave himself up to *Cuff* and some other warm Spirits, who did all they could to possess him,

that

1600. Ann. 43. that 'twas now apparent, the Queen, the Council, and his Enemies were resolved to crush him, and sink him into the Condition of a very Beggar, and if he once was forsaken by the Queen and his Money, he must expect to lose his Friends, and be loaded with the Scorn and Reproaches of his Enemies: Hereupon, the Earl of *Southampton* was call'd home out of the *Low-Countries*, a Consultation was held among some Divines at *Oxford*, the Subject of which I have not learnt, and the Earl returns to *London*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, being very much concern'd, that he had by his Advice involv'd the Earl in these Difficulties (for as I observ'd before, he had perswaded him to venture into *England* with a slender Retinue) and hearing that the Lord *Henry Howard* had labour'd to little purpose, in making up the Breach between him and his Adversaries, did now advise him to venture boldly into the Queen's Presence (as himself afterwards confess'd,) and gave him some Hints withal, that several Gentlemen were ready to secure him, both in his Access and Return. But the Earl's Answer was, *that he was held from that Attempt by a Scruple of Conscience, and that he must take the Judgment of some Divines upon that Point*; however he intimated to *Blunt*, not long after, by his Servant *Cuff*, that he would *speedily come* to some Resolution, and would be sure to acquaint him with it; he began now, to give free Access to all Comers, and *Merrick*, his Steward, kept open House for all Swordsmen, Malecontents, and broken Gentlemen, and admitted Buffoons and Parasites of all sorts: Some of the warmer Clergy set up popular Lectures, which the Tradesmen mightily frequented; and the Earl received daily Visits from his Sister the Lady *Rich*, who had lost the Queen's Favour for abusing her Husband's Bed: And whoever seem'd to disapprove these Measures, was censur'd as an avow'd Enemy to the Earl's Honour and Liberty.

He is hatching Sedition.

The Death of the Lord North.

In the very last Month of this Year, did *Roger* Lord *North* make an happy Exchange of this Life for a Better: he was Treasurer of the Queen's Houshold, and the Son of *Edward* Lord *North*: A Person of great Briskness and Vivacity, that had an Head and Heart fit for Service: I have mention'd him before in the Years 1587, and 1574. His Estate fell to his Grandson, *Dudley North*, whom his Son had by *Dorothy*, the Daughter and Heiress of *Valentine Dale*, a Gentleman well vers'd in the Civil Law. He was succeeded as Treasurer, by Sir *William Knolles*, whose Place of Comptroller of the Queen's Houshold, was conferred on Sir *Edward Wotton*, a very able and eminent Minister of State.

1601.

The Forty Fourth Year of her Reign.

Embassies from Morocco and Russia.

The Beginning of this Year, the Queen gave Audience to several Foreign Embassies: In the Southern Parts, Her Alliance was courted by *Hamet* King of *Morocco*; and *Boris Pheodorick* Emperor of *Russia*, address'd to her from the *North*, for the same Favour: She likewise gave an Honourable Entertainment to *Wolf-Gang-William*, Son of *Philip-Lodowick*, Count *Palatine*, Duke of *Zweibruck* and *Newburgh*, *Virginius Ursinus*, Duke of *Bracciano* in *Tuscany*, and the *Rohans*, two Brothers, in their Return from paying a Visit to the King of *Scots*, they being Descendants of *James* I, King of *Scots*. All these Noble Personages paid Her Majesty a pure Visit of Respect.

Essex drops some unfit Expressions.

Mean while the Earl of *Essex* lived retired, and gave himself up to the Service of God, the Conversation of his Friends, and the Devotion of the Church. However, he let fall some Expressions now and then, which shew'd how much he regretted the powerful Interest which his Enemies held in the Queen, and which indeed his Friends condemn'd as relishing too much of an indiscreet Resentment; and therefore advised him, as the Lord-Keeper had done before, 'not to neglect himself, his Friends, and his Country: That Persons otherwise at the greatest Variance, ought to unite for the Publick Good and Advantage: That he should by no means seek the Cure of his own Private Grievances, in those of the Publick: That he ought to submit to the present Exigence: That he should make the most submissive Applications for the Queen's Favour, who had been so generously kind to him, and not to lend his Enemies an Handle to insult:' But this Advice was quite thrown away, and receiv'd much such an Answer as the Lord-Keeper's had done, *viz*. 'That, where he expected Plenty, he met with an Hurrican; that if he was wanting to his Friends or his Country, 'twas long of others, not of himself: That the Queen had degraded him to the State of a private Man, and he could not fawn himself into an higher Post: That he had been unjustly confin'd: That Princes had but a limited Power, and were not infallible. That his Enemies had wounded him in every Pore of his Body: That their Insolence could not exceed his Constancy and Resolution: That let them look as big as they pleased, he would never be the Slave that should cringe to them.'

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The Queen incensed.

These Expressions coming to the Queen's Ear, strangely warp'd her Affections from him; but what she resented most, was the Affront he offer'd to the Make of her Person, for (to name but one Expression) he had declar'd, '*That she was now grown an old Woman, and was as crooked within, as without*.' This was a Wrong, which some Court-Ladies, whose Hopes and Intrigues he had formerly disappointed, took care to aggravate to the highest degree; so that she did as good as flatly deny him a Licence for Farming the Wines: This put his Spirit into a new Ferment, and to increase it more, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* drew upon his intimate Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, as he rode along the Streets; for which however he was by the Queen's Order committed to Custody, and his Enemies galled and fretted him one Day after another, with giving out base and unhandsome Insinuations.

Essex tampers with the King of Scots.

Hereupon, he laid himself open to ill Impressions, and went again upon the same clandestine Designs in which he had embark'd, when in *Ireland*, endeavouring to remove by Force his Enemies at Court. He was every Day putting some new Project on the Anvil, and there were enough to help him to form them into shape. He now made use of all the Arts of Popularity to gain the Croud, which he perceived were perfect Idolizers of his Virtue; and labour'd to curry Favour with the King of *Scots*, by respectful Letters, and Complaints of his Adversaries, tho' he was thought to have injur'd and disoblig'd him before. He was very particular in setting forth the Interest of his Adversaries, *viz*. That in the *West* of *England*, *Raleigh* was Governour of the Isle of *Jersey*, that in the *Eastern* Parts, the Lord *Cobham* was Lord-Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, the Lord *Burleigh* President of the *North*, and the Lord *Carew* President of *Munster* in the *South* of *Ireland*: That these were the most convenient Places for the *Spaniards* to land; that these Persons were every one of them well affected to the King of *Spain*, and at Secretary *Cecil's* Devotion, who together with the Lord-Treasurer *Buckhurst*, and the Lord-Admiral, one of whom had the Queen's Purse, and t'other her Navy, and both were *Cecil's* Creatures, steer'd the Helm of Go-

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vernment juſt as they pleaſed: He therefore practiſed with the King of *Scots* to ſend Ambaſſadors into *England*, to preſs a publick Declaration of his Title to the Succeſſion. He prepares a Scheme of Inſtructions for them; wherein he lays down ſeveral Proofs of the exorbitant Power of his Adverſaries, as likewiſe of their ill Affection to the King of *Scots*, and their great Reſpects for the Infanta.

I do not affirm, that all this was done with a Deſign to remove his Adverſaries, as Oppoſers of the Succeſſion, provided ſuch a Declaration were not made: However, as nothing works more on the Affections of Men, than a Shew at leaſt of Religion, the Earl endeavour'd to gain the Puritans, and their Preachers, to his Party, a ſort of People the Queen did not care for. He likewiſe courted Papiſts, by a ſeeming Commiſeration of their afflicted Condition: He hired up a parcel of Soldiers, and other Fellows of a deſperate Fortune and Courage, and placed them near his Houſe.

Essex courts the Puritans and Papiſts.

Mean while he made very few privy to his Deſign, therein following *Cuff*'s Advice, who had ſuggeſted to him, that he ought to have a Multitude at his Beck, but few of his Council: Theſe were the Earl of *Southampton*, whoſe Firmneſs he had made trial of; Sir *Charles Danvers*, a Perſon entirely devoted to *Southampton*, as being obliged to him for his Life; Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plimouth-Fort*; Sir *John Davis*, Surveyor of the Ordnance under him, and a moſt exquiſite Mathematician; and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*, a Man well vers'd both in the Cabinet and Camp, but one whom his Father had diſinherited for ſome Miſbehaviour towards him, unworthy of a Son to offer, or a Father to receive. This Juncto met frequently in *Drury*-Houſe, to avoid Suſpicion, and the Earl of *Eſſex* produced before them a Catalogue of ſuch Noblemen as he conceived beſt inclined to his Cauſe; it was reckoned to conſiſt of about 120 Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen of good Eſtates. He then adviſed them to deliberate among themſelves, Whether 'twere beſt firſt to ſeize on the Court, or on the *Tower* of *London*, or on both at once? And what Methods were to be taken with the City itſelf? They were all of opinion, that the beſt way was to aſſault the Court in the firſt place; and this was the Method they propoſed: Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* was with a choice Detachment to poſſeſs himſelf of the Palace-Gate, *Davis* was to ſeize the Hall, *Danvers* the Guard-Chamber, which was but ſlightly watch'd, and the Preſence-Chamber, and *Eſſex* was to ruſh in from the *Meuſe* (which were Stables belonging to the Court) with a ſelect Party at his Heels, and to beg the Queen on his Knees to remove his Adverſaries from her Preſence. 'Twas afterwards confeſs'd that he had reſolv'd to bring them upon their Trial, and then to call a Parliament, and make a Change in the Government.

His Counſellors.

The Court to be ſurpriz'd.

Whilſt the Party were expecting Ambaſſadors from *Scotland*, and a favourable Opportunity to advance theſe Projects to a Concluſion, the Jealouſies as to *Eſſex* were much increaſed, not only by reaſon of a much greater Confluence of People than ordinary, under the pretence of hearing Sermons at *Eſſex*'s Houſe, but becauſe the Preachers themſelves had let fall ſome Expreſſions, as if Kings themſelves ſtood accountable to the Superior Miniſters of the Realm. Hereupon, or elſe perhaps on ſome ſlight Intimations, *Robert Sackville*, the Lord Treaſurer's Son, gave the Earl a Viſit on the 7th of *February*, in a pretended way of Complaiſance, but really with a deſign to obſerve what Company he kept. The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſoon after ſent for by Sir *John* *Herbert*, one of the Secretaries of State, to appear before the Council then met at the Lord-Treaſurer's Houſe, in order to receive ſome Inſtructions as to the Management of that Liberty the Queen had given him; and at the ſame time a Note was privately deliver'd into his Hands, adviſing him to take care of himſelf. Hereupon the Earl ſuſpecting that ſomething had taken Air, and fearing a ſecond Confinement, excuſed his not appearing, on pretence of being at that time under ſome Indiſpoſition; for he was reſolved not to forfeit his Liberty but with his Life. Thus was this Contrivance quaſh'd, which had been four Months in agitation, and the Actors were forced by their Fears to enter upon new Meaſures.

Eſſex ſuſpected.

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He is ſent for to the Council.

Refuſes to appear.

Eſſex was under a ſtrange Perplexity, and ſent for ſome of his neareſt Friends, whom having inform'd of the Danger they were in of being forthwith order'd to Priſon, he conſulted with them, Whether it were better to ſurprize the Court directly, or to try the Inclinations of the City, and make uſe of their Aſſiſtance, or elſe to fly for it? Seize the Court they could not, for want of Men and Arms, and other Conveniences; beſides, they were told that the Guards were doubled: Moreover, 'twould carry a very foul Appearance of Treaſon againſt the Queen, to commit an Outrage upon her Palace. As they were debating the Point of the Citizens Affection, and the Unſteadineſs of Humour common to the Vulgar, in comes a Perſon, as if commiſſion'd on purpoſe, and makes large Tenders of Service and Aſſiſtance from the City, againſt all the Earl's Opponents. Wherewith *Eſſex* was ſo far inſpired, that he began to talk of the large Intereſt he had in the City; and to flatter himſelf from the popular Noiſes formerly beſtow'd on him, and the loud Complaints that went about againſt his Adverſaries, that he had a very powerful Party ready to aſſert his Cauſe, and protect his Fortune. He likewiſe believed the Reports of others, that Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Sheriff of the City, would be ready to ſtand by him with a Thouſand of the Train'd-Bands which he had under his Command.

He reſolved therefore, ſince Things were come to that paſs as to make Delay as dangerous as too much Speed, to go the next Day (which was *Sunday*) with 200 Gentlemen into the City, juſt before the Sermon was done at St. *Paul*'s, and there give the Aldermen and People the Reaſons of his coming, and crave their Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies; and if the City appear'd backward to eſpouſe his Cauſe, he determin'd to withdraw to ſome other Part of the Kingdom; but if they ſhewed any Inclination to aſſiſt him, then to make uſe of their Aſſiſtance in getting acceſs to her Majeſty.

All that Night Meſſengers were ſent up and down from *Eſſex*'s Houſe to give his Friends notice, that the Lord *Cobham* and *Raleigh* lay in wait for his Life. Hereupon the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton* came to him on *Sunday* the 8th of *February* betimes in the Morning, with the Lords *Sands*, *Parker*, Lord *Monteagle*, and about 300 Gentlemen more of good Quality; who were all receiv'd by him with great Civility. He told ſome of them, that he went in danger of his Life; that he was reſolved to go to the Queen and acquaint her with it, becauſe his Enemies had abuſed her Majeſty's Name to his Prejudice: Others he aſſured, that the City of *London* appeared for him, and that he would go thither and make uſe of their Aſſiſtance to bear down the Power of his Adverſaries.

In the mean while his Houſe was lock'd up, and not a Man ſuffer'd to go in or out, unleſs he

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he were very well known. But whereas Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* was permitted to wait on *Raleigh*, who had fent for him, and waited in a Boat for his coming, *Blunt* perfuaded him to feize on *Raleigh*. Some People do not ftick to fay, that *Gorges* did at this time difcover the whole Matter to *Raleigh*. However, 'tis certain that *Raleigh* advifed *Gorges* to take care he were not clapt up for being fo long abfent from his Government without leave; and that he likewife bid *Raleigh* look to himfelf, for that feveral Gentlemen were complotting againft him and fome others who were lookt upon to have abufed the Queen's Authority.

The Queen about this time order'd the Lord-Mayor of *London* to fee that the Citizens were all ready in their Houfes to execute fuch Orders as they fhould receive; and fhe fent the Lord-Keeper to the Earl of *Effex*, with the Earl of *Worcefter*, Sir *William Knolles* Comptroller of her Houfhold the Earl's Uncle, and *Popham* Lord Chief Juftice of *England*, to learn the meaning of this tumultuous Convention. They were with much ado let in at laft through the Wicket, and all their Servants kept out, except the Purfe-bearer with the Seal. The Court-yard was fill'd with a confus'd Rabble, and in the midft was *Effex* himfelf, with *Southampton*, and feveral others, who flock'd in upon this Occafion. The Lord-Keeper applied himfelf to *Effex*, and let him know, that he was fent with the other Gentlemen from the Queen, to underftand the Reafon of this unufual Concourfe; and if they had fuffer'd any Grievances, he promis'd them a fair and equitable Redrefs: *Effex* anfwer'd him in a louder Tone than ordinary; *That there was a Confpiracy againft his Life; that fome were employ'd to murder him in his Bed: That a great deal of Treachery had been ufed againft him; and that Letters had been counterfeited under his Hand and Seal: That they were met in defence of themfelves, and for his Security, fince all he could do or fuffer would not fatisfy his Adverfaries, unlefs they might have his Blood.* *Popham* fpoke fomething much to the fame effect as the Lord-Keeper had done; and promis'd, if he would fairly tell him what Attempts had been ufed againft him, to give the Queen an account of it, and procure him a fair and candid Hearing. *Southampton* complain'd, that the Lord *Grey* had drawn his Sword upon him: *But then*, replied *Popham*, *he was committed for it.* Then the Lord-Keeper preffing him once more to difcover his Grievances, (as privately as he pleafed) the Rabble intercepted him, crying out, *Let us be gone, they do but abufe your Patience: They defign nothing but to deftroy and abufe you; and in the mean while we lofe time.* The Lord-Keeper thought it now time to apply to the Throng, and bad them, upon their Allegiance, lay down their Arms.

Some of the Council fent to the Earl.

Mean while *Effex* retired into the Houfe, and the Lord-Keeper with the reft followed him, on purpofe to have fome Difcourfe with him in private, the Mob in the mean time muttering out fome Expreffions to this purpofe; *Cut their Throats, away with that Great Seal; clap 'em up in Cuftody.* When they had got into the inner Apartments, *Effex* order'd the Doors to be bolted upon 'em, and then told 'em, *That if they would have a little Patience, he would go and advife with the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs, and be back again in a very fhort time.*

He confines 'em.

Thus were thefe four Gentlemen of the Privy-Council confined and left in the Cuftody of Sir *John Davis*, *Francis Trefham*, and *Owen Salisbury*, an old Soldier, and one that neither wanted Courage nor Confidence, with a Guard of fome Musketeers.

Effex had forgot to provide Horfes, and to fecure the main Point, by reafon of this unlook'd-for Vifit from the Gentlemen of the Council; fo that he left his Houfe in hafte (Sir *Gilley Merrick* being appointed to defend it) with a fmall Party of 200 Men or thereabouts, all of them indeed lufty and able Fellows, but unfurnifh'd with proper Arms, the greateft part of them having their Cloaks caft over their Shoulders, and no other Weapons but their Swords by their Sides; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwel*, and other Gentlemen, join'd with them as they went along. As foon as he was got into the City, he cried out, *For the Queen, for the Queen; my Life is in danger.* And thus he went forward thro' the chief Streets of the City, directly to Sheriff *Smith*'s Houfe near *Fen-church*. The Citizens got together in a fort of Amazement, and *Effex* defired them to arm themfelves, or elfe they would be capable of doing him no good Service. However there was not a fingle Perfon in the whole City, tho' well difciplin'd, and very populous, that ventured to appear in his Intereft, not even thofe of the loweft Rank and Condition. For tho' the Citizens were, according to the Temper of the Vulgar, defirous enough of Change, yet their Wealth made them fomewhat cautious, and ready to exprefs their moft faithful Loyalty to the Queen. And to fay the truth, *Poverty is that which above all things prompts the* English *to Mutiny.* Having paffed thro' the greateft part of the City, he got at laft to the Sheriff's Houfe, in a great Difturbance, and in fuch a Sweat, that he was obliged to fhift himfelf.

He enters the City.

The Sheriff, whom he entirely depended on upon the uncertain Reports of others, immediately withdrew himfelf by a Back-door to the Lord-Mayor's Houfe. Mean while, *Thomas* Lord *Burleigh*, and *Dethick* Garter King at Arms, came into the City, and proclaim'd *Effex* and his Adherents Traitors, tho' they met with fome Oppofition. The fame Method was taken by the Earl of *Cumberland*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knight-Marfhal, in other Parts of the City. As foon as *Effex* underftood this, he got out of the Sheriff's Houfe as faft as he could in a dejected melancholy Condition, crying out, *That* England *was to be made over to the Infanta of* Spain, *and defiring the Citizens to take up Arms*, tho' to no purpofe. When he faw that no body was ready to engage in his Caufe, and that his own Party flunk away from him by degrees; and hearing withal, that the Lord-Admiral was advancing with a ftrong Party againft him, he began to grow defperate. He refolved therefore to return home, in hopes of obtaining the Queen's Favour by the means of the Lord-Keeper and the reft of the Council which he had confin'd in his Houfe. But when Sir *John Levifon*, who commanded a Party of Men at *Ludgate*, had refufed *Gorges* the Liberty of a free Paffage for *Effex*, *Gorges*, confulting his own Intereft, perfuaded the Earl to fend him to his Houfe to difcharge the Counfellors, and with them to intercede with the Queen for his Pardon, while there was yet fome Hope, and no Blood fpilt, and the Queen remaining in fome Sufpence as well as the Citizens. The Earl confented that the Lord-Chief-Juftice *Popham* fhould be releafed, and none elfe; but he refufing to accept of his Liberty, except the Lord-Keeper might enjoy the fame, *Gorges* difcharged them all, and went with them by Water to the Court.

Council releafed.

Mean while *Effex*, when he thought of returning home, found a Chain drawn crofs the Street near the Weft-Gate of St. *Paul*'s Church, and a Company of Pikemen and Musketeers placed againft him, by the Care of the Bifhop of *London*, and

1601. Ann. 44. A Skirmish near St. Paul's.

and under the Conduct of Sir *John Levison*. This was the first time that the Earl drew his Sword; and here he order'd *Blunt* to fight his way thorough, which he perform'd with great Resolution, and fell briskly upon *Waite*, a Person that *Leicester*, *Blunt*'s Rival, had formerly sent into *Holland* to murder him. *Waite* was slain, and *Blunt* himself wounded and taken Prisoner. There fell besides, Mr. *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman, much in favour with *Essex*, and two or three Citizens. The Earl being repulsed there, and his Hat shot thro', and several of his Party slinking away from him, he got to *Queen-Hithe*, with a few Friends that stood firm to him, and there he took Boats, and retired to his House.

Essex fortifies his House.

He was very angry to find the Council were discharged, and a great many of his Papers he threw into the Fire, *that they might not*, as he phrased it, *tell any Tales*: And now he began to prepare for his Defence. He had now laid aside all Hopes of receiving any Assistance from the City, and so began to make his own House as strong as he could. The Lord-Admiral immediately besieged it to Landward, and assigned several Posts to the Regiments of Horse and Foot, under the Command of the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others; the Admiral himself, with his Son the Lord *Effingham*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhope*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, seiz'd upon the Garden by the *Thames*-side. Being just ready to make an Assault, he sent *Sidney* to summon the Earl to surrender. *Southampton* asked, *Whom they were to yield to? Was it to their Adversaries? That were perfectly to court their own Fate; and if to the Queen, that were a plain Confession of their own Guilt.* However the Earl promised to yield, and appear before the Queen, if they would allow him Hostages for his Security; if not, 'twas, he said, the common Resolution to sell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could. The Lord-Admiral sent word by *Sidney*, *That Rebels were not to make their own Terms, nor any Hostages to be deliver'd to them*: But withal he let *Essex* know, *That he had that Respect for the Female Sex, as to permit the Countess, the Lady* Rich, *his Sister, and their Waiting-Gentlewomen, the Privilege of safe Conduct*, they having fill'd the Place with their Shrieks and Cries. This *Essex* took as a Favour, and only desired an Hour or two's time to strengthen the Place they were to pass by, which was likewise granted. Before the Hour was expired, *Essex* grew desperate, and resolved to fight his way out; and the Lord *Sands*, who had more Years over his Head than the rest, egg'd him on to it, by frequently repeating this Saying, *That the boldest Counsels are the safest; and that 'tis more commendable for Men of Honour to die by the Sword, than by the Ax or the Halter.*

He is summoned to surrender.

Nevertheless *Essex* could not easily determine himself, but began to entertain Thoughts of submitting, and gave notice, that upon such and such Terms he would yield up the Place. But the Lord-Admiral refusing to grant any Conditions, he said, *that his Intention was to accept, not to propose them*; but three Things however he requested the Grant of; *A civil Treatment for himself and his Friends*; which the Lord-Admiral engaged for: next, *A fair and impartial Hearing*; to which the Admiral answer'd, *that there was no reason to suspect the contrary*: and in the last place, he desired, *that one Mr.* Ashton, *a Clergyman, might be permitted to assist him in Prison, for the Benefit of his Soul*: the Lord-Admiral replied, *That he would use what Interest he had with the Queen, that all these things might be allowed him*: Then all the Noblemen immediately falling on their Knees,

He yields.

deliver'd up their Swords to the Admiral, and yielded up themselves at Ten of the Clock at Night. There were none kill'd besides *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two who were shot within-doors, and about as many of the Assailants without.

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They are committed to Custody.

Essex himself and *Southampton* were first conducted by the Admiral to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Palace at *Lambeth*: They were not sent directly to the *Tower*, because the Night was dark, and there was no passing thro' the Bridge. However they were soon removed from thence by Water to the *Tower*, by the Queen's Orders; and *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwel*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley*, were disposed of into other Boats; the rest were committed to the common Goals. Thus did twelve Hours time put an end to this Commotion; which some were pleased to call a Surmize or Misapprehension, others a Mistake: Those that judged more severely of the matter, term'd it Perverseness, and an impatient Thirst of Revenge; and they that spoke worst of it, gave it no harsher Name than that of an indiscreet Forwardness; and to this Day few there are that lookt upon it as a capital Offence.

The Fidelity of the City.

The next Day the Queen was pleased by publick Proclamation to commend the unshaken Loyalty of the City, in Terms very obliging and full of Acknowledgment; and advised them withal, to preserve carefully the publick Tranquillity, forasmuch as the Infection of this late Mutiny had spread itself too far: She warned them also, to keep a strict eye upon such as were suspected to be Favourers of Change and Innovation, and acted as publick Incendiaries, by seducing the Populace, or disparaging the Ministry.

On the 12th of *February*, *Thomas Lea* (a Kinsman of Sir *Henry Lea*'s, who had wore the Honour of the Garter) told Sir *Robert Crofts*, Captain of a Man of War, that 'twould be a glorious Enterprize for six brave mettled Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her to discharge *Essex*, *Southampton*, and the rest that were in Prison. He was a Man himself of great Assurance and Resolution, had commanded a Company in *Ireland*, was very intimate with *Tir-Oen*, and an absolute Creature of the Earl of *Essex*'s. This did *Crofts* immediately discover to the Council; insomuch that *Lea* was sought for, and found in the dusk of the Evening about the Door of the Queen's Privy-Chamber. He seemed very thoughtful, was extremely pale, and in a great Sweat, and frequently asked, *Whether her Majesty was ready to go to Supper?* And, *Whether the Council would be there?* In this Posture he was seiz'd and examin'd, the next Day had his Trial, and by *Croft*'s Evidence, and his own Confession, condemn'd and carry'd away to *Tyburn*, where he own'd that he had been indeed a great Offender; but as to this Design, was very innocent; and having moreover protested, that he had never entertain'd the least ill Thought against the Queen, he was there executed. And this, as the Times were, appear'd a very seasonable piece of Rigour.

Tho. Lea taken.

Executed.

Upon the 15th of this Month, there was an Order issued out, *That all Vagabonds should upon pain of Death, forthwith depart the City; with all notorious Frequenters of Ale-houses and Taverns, and such as ran about the Town, fetching and carrying Stories and Reports, and were prepared on all Occasions to disturb the publick Peace.*

About this time, some or other of the Conspiracy being brib'd with the Hopes of Life or some kind of Recompence, discover'd the whole Plot, as it was form'd in *Drury*-House; but who the Person was, I could never learn. This as soon

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Essex and Southampton arraigned. Hereupon *Essex* and *Southampton*, who imagin'd that Things had hitherto been kept in the dark, were on the 19th of *February* arraign'd in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord *Buckhurst* Lord-Treasurer of *England*, who was made upon this Occasion Lord-High-Steward of *England*; their Judges or Peers, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, *Sussex*, *Hartford* and *Lincoln*; the Lord Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*; the Barons of *Hunsdon*, *Delaware*, *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Windsor*, *Rich*, *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and *Howard* of *Walden*, who was at that time Constable of the *Tower* of *London*. Their Assistants were, *Popham*, Lord Chief-Justice of *England*; *Periam*, Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; *Gawdy*, *Fenner*, *Walmsley*, *Clerk* and *Kingsmill*.

The Names of the Peers being called over, *Essex* demanded, whether they had not the same Privilege with private Men, of excepting against some of their Peers. The Judges answer'd, That the Reputation and Character of the Peers of *England* was such, that they were not obliged to take their Oaths upon any Trials, nor did any Exception lie against them. After this they were joined in the same Impeachment of Treason,

Articles of the Charge. *viz.* 'That they had complotted to take away 'the Queen's Crown and Life, and consulted 'how to surprize her at her Palace; and that 'they had broken out into a publick Rebellion, 'by shutting up the Council of the Nation, and 'exciting the *Londoners* to Mutiny and Sedition, 'by false Stories and Reports, by assaulting the 'Queen's faithful Subjects in the publick Streets, 'and fortifying the Earl's House against the 'Queen's Forces.'

Being demanded, Whether they were Guilty or not guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge? They answer'd, *Not Guilty*; and put themselves, for their Trial, upon God and their Peers. *Essex* alledged, That he had done nothing but according to the Dictates of Nature, and the Laws

Open'd by Yelverton, of Self-defence. Then *Yelverton*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, open'd at large the Particulars of the Charge; and made out, That a bare Intention of Mischief against a crown'd Head, was High-Treason: He then drew a Comparison between *Essex* and *Cataline*; for as the latter got to his Party a medly of People of all sorts; so had the former entertain'd a mix'd Croud of Atheists, Papists, and even Stigmatiz'd Persons, in his Service. He upbraided him with the Abuse of those many Favours the Queen had conferred upon him, since she had been still loading him with fresh Honours and preferments, and began her Bounties to him when his Age was too green to plead either Merit or Service. He farther charged him for having abused and mismanaged his Trust and Preferments, by courting the Breath and Applause of the Soldiery, and cherishing an Ambition, which, like the Crocodile, grows in Bulk, as it advances in Years; and professed himself amazed at their pleading *Not Guilty*, when their Crimes were so notoriously known and publick.

And Coke. *Edward Coke*, the Queen's Attorney-General, proved out of *Fitz-Herbert*, a very eminent and famous Lawyer, That a mere Intentional Contrivance of Mischief against the Prince, was Treason, tho' not to be adjudged such, till it discover'd itself by some Overt Act, either in Expression or Fact. He argued upon this, That those Persons were construed to be Contrivers of the Prince's Ruin, who run into Commotions, get together a Multitude in Arms, refuse to separate and disjoin at the Command of their Superiors, or else endeavour to bring the City, the *Tower*, the Court, or the Prince himself into their Power: That the Earl could not borrow the least colour of Defence from the Law of Nature, because the Majesty of a Prince is too sacred a Thing to be made a Sacrifice to private Revenge. He then proceeded to a particular Enumeration of those Honours the Queen had bestowed on *Essex*; as for instance, her having made him Master of her Horse, admitted him to the Council-Board, constituted him Earl-Marshal of *England*, and Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and given him in a very little Compass of Time a round Sum of 30000 *l.* He likewise mention'd his imprisoning the Lords of the Privy-Council, and the Menaces used to put them in fear: He charged him with holding Correspondence with *Blunt*, *Danvers*, and *Davis*, Persons all Popishly affected; and made some Remark on their going to the City rather than the Court, since their Guilt, it seems, would not bear a nearer Approach to the Lustre of a crown'd Head, which is a Ray of the Deity. He also commended very highly the Confessions to be produced against them, because they were free, consistent, and ingenuous, and not extorted through Fear or Force. And after having summ'd up the main Substance of the Charge by way of Narrative, how he would have seized the Queen, and called a Parliament, he ended with this smart Observation; *That it were much to be wished that this* Robert *might be the last Earl of* Essex *of the Name, since he had ambitiously attempted to be* Robert *the First, King of* England.

To the whole of this Charge, *Essex* answer'd with a visible Briskness and Courage: 'That Rhetorick was the Talent or Trade of those, 'who valued themselves upon the Knack of 'pleading innocent Men out of their Lives: He 'therefore desired the Peers to form a Judgment 'upon the Reality of Things, not from the bare 'Pomp of Words: He protested his sincere Affection to the true Religion; and that he never 'look'd on *Davis* as Popishly affected, when he 'attended every day upon Divine Service: That 'in all the Clutter and Confusion made by the 'Rabble, he heard nothing like a Threatning 'utter'd against the Council: That for his part, 'he honoured and respected them as his particular Friends: That he was forced to shut them 'up, for fear of any ill Consequence from the 'Multitude; and that he was obliged to act as 'he did in his own Defence, having understood, 'not by idle Reports and uncertain Surmises, 'but by express and most undoubted Messages; 'That his Enemies had a Design of taking him 'off: That he had hitherto, and would hereafter preserve a most inviolable Loyalty to his 'Prince, (to whom he had such infinite Obligations) and be always firm to the Interest of his 'Country: That he had no other design but to 'cast himself at her Majesty's Feet, to acquaint 'her with his own Grievances, and the palpable 'Dangers which threaten'd his Country.'

Essex's Answer. Why he shut up the Privy Counsellors.

Popham, Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*, being sworn, and demanded what he could say relating to the Prisoners; laid before them the unworthy Usage which the Counsellors had received from them. The Earl made answer; 'That he had 'not the least ill Intention against those honourable Persons, but professed a most high

'Value

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'Value and Regard for them: That he had obſerv'd, that the Royal Orders were not ſufficient to keep his Friend, the Earl of *Southampton*, from being publickly inſulted, the Lord *Grey* having drawn his Sword upon him in the Street; for which reaſon he made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, to repel the Attacks of his Adverſaries in the ſame way they were offer'd: That he was however a good Subject to the Queen, and a true Friend to the Kingdom for all this; nor did he ſay thus much to preſerve a Life of which he was heartily weary, but purely for the ſake of his Aſſociates, who had both Integrity and Courage enough to do their Queen and Country good Service: That it plainly appear'd from hence, that ſome Miſchief was intended, that *Raleigh* had given *Gorges* an Hint to ſhun his Converſation, as he would a Veſſel juſt ready to ſplit. He complain'd, that Prieſts had been dealt with to accuſe him, and that his Hand had been counterfeited.' And true it was, that a certain Impoſtor had forg'd it on purpoſe to get Money, as we ſhall ſhew in its place.

Gorges's Evidence. Then was *Gorges*'s Evidence produced, *viz.* That *Eſſex* had reſolved to ſeize upon the Court, and call a Parliament, and that his laſt Hopes were placed in the *Londoners*; all which *Gorges* was ſent for from Priſon hard-by to teſtify to his Face. As ſoon as *Eſſex* ſaw him, upon the Suppoſition that he had made upon one Motive or other, a full Diſcovery of the Buſineſs, and came as a voluntary Witneſs againſt him (becauſe his Evidence was firſt produced) beſtowed upon him ſeveral ſmart and ſevere Reflections, and endeavoured to invalidate the Credit of his Evidence by the Paleneſs and Diſcompoſure of his Looks.

Now came on the Charge relating to the Conſultation held in *Drury-Houſe*, about ſeizing the Court and Tower into their hands. *Southampton* made a ſhort and modeſt Defence, and ask'd pardon for his Crime, which was purely owing to his Affection for the Earl of *Eſſex*; and after a Declaration of his ſtedfaſt Loyalty to the Queen, *Southampton's* Defence. he anſwer'd, 'That ſome Propoſals of that kind were made indeed, but nothing reſolved upon, the whole Matter being refer'd to *Eſſex*: That what was acted, was a thing quite different from the Matter of Debate, *viz.* Their going into the City, which was with no other Deſign than to facilitate *Eſſex*'s Acceſs to the Queen, there to make a perſonal Complaint of the Wrongs that were done him: That his Sword had not been drawn all that day: That he heard nothing of the Proclamation wherein they were declar'd Rebels: That he hinder'd as much as in him lay, the firing of any Shot from *Eſſex*'s Houſe. He then deſired that the Cauſe might be decided by Rules of Equity, not the Niceties and Quirks of the Law.' This *Attorney-General's Reply.* the Queen's Attorney call'd a colourable Evaſion, and demanded whether it were not Treaſon to ſeize upon the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy-Chamber, *&c.* hereby to get the Queen into their hands? *Southampton* calmly ask'd him, what he thought in his Conſcience they deſign'd to do with the Queen? The ſame, reply'd he, that *Henry* of *Lancaſter* did with *Richard* II. he went to the King, and fell on his Knees, pretending nothing but the Removal of his evil Counſellors; but when he had once got the King in his Clutches, he robbed him of his Crown and Life.

The Judges Aſſiſtants being ask'd by the Lords, whether the Conſultation in *Drury-Houſe* were Treaſon? They jointly agreed, that it was ſo, and that the Commotion in the City was the immediate Reſult of that Debate; for could they have raiſed Forces enough in the City, they would immediately have fallen upon the Court. 'Twas then demanded, whether this Cabal was form'd by *Eſſex*'s Means and Endeavours? And there were ſeveral Teſtimonies brought to prove, that the main Heads of this Conſultation were written with his own Hand; and that he threw ſome Papers into the Fire, that they might not (as his own Words were) tell any Tales. When he heard all this objected, which he imagin'd had hitherto been kept as a profound Secret, he ſaid, 'That the Hopes of Life and Pardon had drawn theſe kind of Confeſſions from ſome Men, and that he wiſh'd them an happy Enjoyment of their Lives, whereas his own was become a Burden to him: That *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*'s Attempts had drove him to a neceſſary Defence of himſelf; and that whatever Conſtruction the Law might put upon his Viſit to the City, 'twas a great Satisfaction to him, that his Conſcience did not tax him with the leaſt Thought of Diſloyalty to the Queen.' *Cobham* then roſe up, and declar'd, That he had *Cobham's Anſwer.* never born any Ill-will to *Eſſex*, but neither could he bring himſelf to approve his Ambition. To this *Eſſex* replied, 'That he would for all that have removed ſuch a baſe Informer from the Queen's Perſon, tho' at the Expence of his Right Hand.'

Bacon anſwers Eſſex's Accuſations. *Francis Bacon*, one of the Queen's Council at Law, endeavoured after this to weaken *Eſſex*'s Excuſe for his Rebellion, on pretence of a Plot laid for his Life, by an excellent Speech to this purpoſe: That *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*, were Gentlemen of that unqueſtion'd Worth and Probity, and Perſons withal of ſuch plentiful Eſtates, that they would never have brought the one or the other into Hazard by ſo baſe and diſhonourable an Action. He ſhew'd, that thoſe Fictions of a Plot upon his Life, were deſtroy'd by their own Inconſiſtency, foraſmuch as *Eſſex* never continued long in one Tale; but pretended ſometimes that he was to be murder'd in his Bed, then in a Boat, and laſtly by the Jeſuits; beſides the Vanity of his Suggeſtions, ſince, it ſeems, he had given out that the Kingdom of *England* was ſold to the King of *Spain*. He ſaid moreover, That 'twas a common thing for Rebels to attack Princes through the Sides of their Miniſters, and tax'd *Eſſex* for an Hypocrite, and one that had conceal'd the worſt Deſigns under the Mask of Religion. He reſembled him likewiſe to *Piſiſtratus* the *Athenian*, who cut and wounded his own Body, and made the People believe his Enemies had done it; whereby having procured himſelf a Guard of Soldiers, he reduced the Commonwealth under a State of Slavery. He was going to proceed, but *Eſſex* interrupted him, and put him in mind, That 'twas not ſo long ſince he had written an affectionate Letter to the Queen on his behalf, and againſt thoſe very Adverſaries he had been ſpeaking of. And this, 'tis true, he had done as a Friend, when he thought there was room to introduce *Eſſex* once more into the Queen's Favour. *Eſſex* rejoin'd, That he was inform'd that Secretary *Cecil* had once told the *Cecil tax'd by Eſſex.* Council, that the Infanta of *Spain* had as fair a Title to the Crown of *England* as any of her Competitors.

As ſoon as he had dropt the Word, in came *Cecil*, who lay perdue in a Room hard by, and beg'd the Lord-Steward upon his Knees to permit him to clear himſelf of ſo baſe and ſcandalous an Accuſation. Which being granted, he thus applied himſelf to *Eſſex*: *I confeſs, my Lord, you have a Flux of Wit to which I cannot pretend; and in point of Heraldry I muſt yield to your Lordſhip, for*

I am

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I am not a Peer of the first Rank; tho' I think I may call my self a Nobleman: And I will as freely own, that you are the better Soldier of the two. But still, I wear the Guard of Innocence; and in this Court I bear the Character of an honest Man, whilst you appear here as a publick Criminal; on which account I challenge you to name, if you dare, the Counsellor, to whom I said those Words. Essex refused this; upon which Cecil was ready to conclude it a Fiction of his own; which Essex however denied. Then Cecil turn'd to Southampton, saying, *I intreat you, Sir, by that Nearness and Intimacy, which has been between us from our Youth, as you are a Christian, and a Man of Honour, that you name the Person.* Southampton refer'd it to the honourable Board, whether he might, by the Rules of Honour and Decency, nominate the Person: They then judging it very reasonable that he should be named, Sir William Knolles, the Earl's Uncle, and Comptroller of the Queen's Houshold, was mention'd as the Man. He being, at Cecil's Request, sent for, came accordingly, and acknowledged, That he had heard Cecil say, about two Years since, that one Doleman had asserted the Infanta's Title to the Crown of England, in Print; and that this was all he could say. *But,* said Essex, *these Words were spoke to me with a quite different Air of Construction.* Then Cecil replied, 'The Odium, which your Lordship's Malice would endeavour to bring me under, with all the World, is purely owing to that peaceable Temper, whereby I have aim'd to promote the Good of my Country; and to your Lordship's Love of Fighting; as it turns to the account of some, whom you affect to have your Creatures. For this Reason it was, that you publish'd your Declaration against the Peace; and the same Motive has raised in you a Disaffection to all those who are Well-wishers to a Treaty; as if they were in the Interest of Spain. For my own part, I am so far from espousing the Infanta's Title, that I cannot, without great Disturbance of Thought, admit the Supposition of her being receiv'd here.'

Sir Will. Knolles appears in Court.

Whilst Knolles was expected, the Attorney charged Essex with having acted under a Disguise; for that, being himself a Protestant, he had promised Blunt a Toleration of the Romish Religion. This Essex deny'd, but own'd at the same time, that he knew Blunt to be a Papist, because he was educated under Allen, who was afterwards a Cardinal; and that he had heartily endeavour'd to make a Convert of him. He declar'd moreover, that he could never approve, that Christians should be persecuted for the Faith they professed.

Southampton once more excuses himself.

Southampton did now a second time urge in his own Defence, the great Respect he had for Essex, together with his Ignorance of the Laws; and cast himself, with a great deal of Submission, upon the Queen's Mercy, whom he acknowledged to be a most superlative Pattern of Goodness; and against whose Crown or Person he never had harbour'd one Thought amiss.

The assistant Judges being ask'd their Opinion concerning the Earl's repeated Protestations, that no Harm was design'd the Queen, were pleas'd to declare, *That whoever attempted to make himself so powerful, that the Prince should not be in a condition to oppose him; he was guilty of Rebellion; that in the Sense of the Law, every Man is interpreted to be a Rebel, who conspires against the King's Crown or Life; for a Rebel will never suffer a Prince to reign; lest he should afterwards call him to an account for a Traitor.* This they proved from the Imperial or Civil Law, which makes any Attempt against the Prince to be Treason; and also from the Reason of the Thing, because 'tis impossible, that he that has presumed to give Laws to his Prince, should ever submit to his Authority, or spare him his Life, in order to recover it. He produced likewise several Instances from the Chronicles of England, as of Edward II, and Richard II, who being once betray'd into the hands of their Subjects, were soon depos'd and murder'd. Sir John Levison, who stood by, did then give a full Account of the Scuffle, which I before mention'd to have happen'd near St. Paul's; after which, they proceeded to read the Confessions of the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Cromwel, and the Lord Sands.

Essex's Answers to several Objections.

The Earl of Essex began now to be more calm and moderate in his Answers; and said, That his Design was meerly to oppose violent Measures by Force; and that he would not have made so unadvised an Entrance into the City, had he not foreseen that his Life was in danger. Then Mr. Attorney-General insisted upon Lea's Plot, and some Irish Transactions; and charged him again with Ambition, Popery, and Atheism: All which he flatly deny'd, and said, he made no doubt, but to make so Christian an End, as would quickly clear him of all those Slanders. Bacon told him afterwards the Opinions of the Judges, and that they were both adjudg'd to be guilty of Treason; and he prov'd them uncapable of producing any Excuse for this Fact, because they refus'd to lay down their Arms, at the Lord-Keeper's Command, and when they had been publickly proclaim'd Traitors. Essex reply'd, that he saw no Herald, but an infamous sort of a Fellow, whom he should never have took for such an Officer: That had he intended any thing more, than to defend himself against his private Enemies, he would not have ventur'd abroad with such an inconsiderable Handful of Men, and those without Arms; for they had no other or better, than their Swords, Bayonets, and Pistols. Bacon reply'd, that this was a piece of Policy in him, since he depended on the Assistance of the City, and imagin'd no less, than that they would provide themselves and his Friends with Arms, upon his account: wherein he follow'd the Pattern of the Duke of Guise, who made his Entrance, not very long ago, with a very small Number, into the City of Paris; but gather'd such Numbers in his Progress, as to force the King himself out of the City. He concluded, that let the Herald be a Person of never so ill a Reputation, he was yet invested with the Queen's Authority. Soon after the two Earls were, by the Lord-Steward's Command, order'd to withdraw; and then the Lords quitted their Seats, and went aside to a Conference; and having held a Debate of about an Hour, they return'd to their Places, and by a general Vote found Essex and Southampton guilty of Treason. The Prisoners were then call'd again to the Bar, and the Clerk of the Crown acquainted them with the Sentence, according to Form; and ask'd them severally, if they had any thing to offer, why Judgment should not pass upon them: Essex requested the Peers to interpose with the Queen in favour of Southampton, who was capable of doing her Majesty good Service. *As for his own Life, he protest'd, he did not value it: That all his Desire was, to lay down his Life with the sincere Conscience of a good Christian, and a loyal Subject; whatever he might appear in the Sense of the Law: That he was loth however to be represented to the Queen as a Person that despised her Clemency, tho' he should not, he believ'd, make any cringing Submissions for it.* And you, Gentlemen, concluded he, *I most heartily intreat, that tho' you have condemned me at this Tribunal, you would acquit me in your Opinions, as one*

They are pronounced guilty.

Essex's Speech hereupon.

that

that never had any ill Intentions against my Prince. Southampton humbly implored the Queen's Mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him, and to urge on his behalf, what their Interest with her Majesty, and their own Consciences should dictate to them; again protesting, that he never harbour'd a Thought that was ill against the Queen. And this he did in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a Compassion in all who were then present.

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And Southampton's

The Lord-Steward did now make a very pathetick Speech, and advised *Essex* to implore the Queen's Mercy; after which he pronounced the Sentence of Death against them, in the usual Form, that they should be hang'd and quarter'd, &c. The Edge of the Ax, which was from them before, being now turn'd towards them, *Essex* said, *If her Majesty had pleased, this Body of mine might have done her better Service: However, I shall be glad, if it may prove serviceable to her any way.* He desired to have the Benefit of the Holy Sacrament before his Death; and that Mr. *Ashton*, a Clergyman, might assist him in his spiritual Concerns. He asked Pardon of the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*, for detaining them in Custody; and of the Lord *Morley*, and the Lord *La-Ware*, for bringing their Sons into Danger, who were unacquainted with the whole Matter. Then the Lord-Steward broke his Staff, and the Court broke up. I was present myself at these Proceedings, and have related them with all Fairness and Impartiality; and as succinctly as I could, without omitting any material Point, but what may have escaped my Notice.

Several others tried.

The next Day came on the Trials of Sir *Rob. Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edmond Bainham*, Knights, *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuffe* the Earl of *Essex*'s Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, the two Brothers *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orel* an old Soldier. They had no sooner held up their Hands, according to Custom; but a Letter came from the Queen, who had been inform'd by Sir *Fulke Grevil*, that most of them had been drawn in at unawares; commanding, that *Littleton*, who was then sick and past Recovery, together with *Orel*, and *Bainham* a Person of lewd Principles, and one that ridiculed the Laws, should be brought upon their Trials, and the rest remanded to Prison. *Bainham* and *Orel* pleaded Ignorance, and that their Adherence to the two Earls, was purely out of Respect and Complaisance. *Littleton*, being clearly cast by *Danvers*'s Evidence, could not deny but that he assisted at the Consultation: And when, among other Heads of his Indictment, he was charged with some ill Design, by reason of the great Number of Horses, and Quantity of Arms, he had then at his Inn: His Answer was, that he had an Estate able enough to keep a good Stock of Horses; and that he had always taken a particular Delight in Horses and Arms. When he receiv'd Sentence of Condemnation with the rest, he lifted up his Eyes, and only repeated these Words; *We praise thee, O God! We acknowledge thee to be the Lord!* Their Lives, however, were given them by the Queen. 'Tis said *Bainham* paid *Raleigh* for his Pardon. *Littleton* died soon after of his Disease; and *Orel* was kept in Prison for some time. *Essex*, in the mean while, was so disorder'd in his Thoughts, either from the Alarms of his Conscience, or the Impressions left upon him by the Minister; that he could think of nothing but Damnation, unless he discovered the whole Scene, and confessed who were his Accomplices. Hereupon he desired to speak with some of the chief of the Privy-Council, and with *Cecil* in particular. Accordingly

Their Lives spared.

the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Admiral, the Lord-Treasurer, and *Cecil*, went to him; and after he had asked the Lord-Keeper's Pardon for detaining him in Custody, and *Cecil*'s for accusing him in the matter of the Infanta; there was made on both sides a very fair and Christian Reconciliation. Then he told them, that the Queen could never be safe as long as he lived; and desired them, that he might suffer privately in the Tower. He very much blamed some of his Accomplices, as aiming at nothing less than the Ruin of their Country; and desired particularly to speak with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*. As soon as he saw them, he accosted *Cuffe* after this manner: *Be sure you ask Pardon of God and the Queen, and behave yourself so as to procure it. As for my own part, I have fixed my Thoughts upon a better World, and have resolved to deal sincerely before God and Man: And I must tell you plainly, that this Instance of Disloyalty is purely owing to your Advice.*

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Essex taxes Cuffe.

Cuffe was surprized at this, and in few Words, but to the purpose, charged the Earl with Weakness and Levity in betraying his best Friends; and this was all that he said.

Cuffe's Answer.

Essex impeached likewise, as privy to the Design, Sir *Henry Nevil*, a Person of Note, who was just going into *France*, in Quality of Ambassador, there to reside, in order to ratify the Treaty of *Blois*, and prevent any Outrages on either side: Whereupon he was countermanded, and ordered into the Custody of the Lord-Admiral. He discovered several more in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, and charged the Lord *Montjoy*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, as accessary to the Design; besides several more in *England*. But there being such a Number of them, and *Ireland* proving very happy under *Montjoy*'s Administration, the Queen was so prudent, to dissemble what she had heard as to this matter.

Essex discovers his Associates.

But still *Essex* thought a verbal Confession too little: and therefore being moved by the dismal Scene presented to his Conscience, by the Person whom he chose to guide it; he deliver'd the same in Writing under his own Hand, which his Enemies shewing to King *James* some time after, brought the Earl and his Friends into great Disesteem with that Prince.

On the 25th of *February*, (the Day appointed for his Execution) Dr. *Thomas Montford* and Dr. *Will. Barlow*, together with *Ashton*, the Minister of the Parish, were sent to him betimes in the Morning, to prepare him for Death: In the Presence of whom, he returned hearty Thanks to Almighty God, for disappointing those Designs of his, which would have proved so pernicious to the Government. He told them he had now taken a View of his Crime in its full Dimensions, and was deeply concerned, that he had endeavoured to put so fair a Face upon a foul Cause, at his Trial: He acknowledged the Queen's Goodness in permitting him the Benefit of a private Execution, to keep his Thoughts from that Discomposure, which the Noise of a Croud must needs have engaged them in; protesting withal, that he had learnt by a sad Experience, the dangerous Emptiness of popular Applauses. He own'd himself a corrupt Member, and fit to be lopt off from the Body of the Commonwealth; having attempted an Enterprize, which, like a publick Leprosy, had spread its Contagion far and near.

The Queen was, in the mean time, unresolved how he should be disposed of. On the one side, her former Esteem and Affection for him prompted her to some degree of Tenderness; and so she sent her Orders by Sir *Edward Cary*, to countermand his Execution: But then his Obstinacy

The Queen unresolved about him.

on

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on the other ſide, in refuſing to ask her Pardon, and in declaring openly, that his Life could never conſiſt with her Safety, did ſo far provoke her to uſe Rigour, that ſhe preſently after ſent freſh Orders, by *Darcy*, that he ſhould die.

He is led to Execution.

Accordingly he was conducted between the Divines, to a Scaffold ſet up in the Court-yard of the Tower of *London*; near to which ſat the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and the Lord *Compton*: There were likewiſe preſent ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and ſeveral Knights and Gentlemen. Among theſe was *Raleigh*, with a Deſign, if he may be believed, to anſwer for himſelf, ſhould *Eſſex* object any thing to him, at his Death. But ſome did not ſtick to expound the Meaning of his Preſence, in ſuch a barbarous Senſe, as if he came to feaſt his Eyes with the Tragedy of the Earl's Sufferings: But being adviſed not to preſs upon him at his Death, he retired farther off, and ſaw him executed out of the Armory.

As ſoon as the Earl came upon the Scaffold, he pulled off his Hat, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confeſſed that he had in his younger Years been guilty of many and great Sins; for which he put up his moſt ardent Prayers for God Almighty's Pardon, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt; and more particularly for this laſt Sin, which he branded with the Epithets of *bloody*, *crying*, and *contagious*; as having drawn ſo many Perſons in to offend their God, their Prince, and their Country. He then asked Forgiveneſs of the Queen and her Miniſters, and pray'd for her Majeſty's long Life and Proſperity; proteſting to the laſt, that he never intended the leaſt Violence to her Perſon: He gave God Thanks, that he never had been popiſhly affected, nor atheiſtically inclined; but had ever fixed his Hopes upon the ſole Merits of his Redeemer: He then pray'd God to fortify his Spirit againſt the Terrours of the laſt Enemy, and begged of the Spectators to join with him in a ſhort Ejaculation, which he utter'd with all the Signs of a ſerious and inward Devotion. After this the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveneſs, which he freely granted: Then having repeated the Apoſtle's Creed, he placed his Neck upon the Block, and having repeated the firſt Verſes of the 51ſt Pſalm, he ſaid, *In all Submiſſion and Obedience do I proſtrate myſelf to receive the Puniſhment I have deſerved: Have Mercy, O God, upon thy penitent Servant, for into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit.* Then was his Head taken off at the the third Blow, but the firſt deprived him of all Senſe and Motion.

Beheaded.

This was the fatal, but withal pious and Chriſtian End of *Robert D'Evereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, in the 34th Year of his Age; tho' the *French* Marſhal *Biron*, and ſome other lewd Perſons, did ridicule his Piety, as a way of dying fitter for a Gown-man, than a Soldier; as if a Chriſtian might not ſtartle at the Terrours of Hell, without forfeiting his Courage. However this ſpeaks his Father's Precaution to have had ſomething prophetical in it; he having warn'd his Son, upon his Death-bed, to take heed of the 36th Year of his Age: ſo that 'twas an Hint which appeared to be inſpired from above. But this we have taken notice of under *Ann.* 1576.

His Character and Family.

He was indeed a moſt accompliſhed Perſon, and had all thoſe good Qualities in Perfection, that become a Nobleman. His Family was not only great, but ancient; and borrowed its Surname from *Eureux*, a City in *Normandy*. His Eſtate and Barony he owed to his Marriage with *Cecily*, the Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whoſe Grandmother was Siſter to *Edward* IV, King of *England*, and her Great Grandmother Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, (Son of King *Edward* III,) by one of the Daughters of *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*. Hereupon the Title of Viſcount *Hereford* was conferred upon his Great Grandfather *Walter*, by King *Edward* VI, and that of Earl of *Eſſex* upon his Father, by Queen *Elizabeth*.

Education and Preferments.

This Gentleman, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, was bred up in his younger Years at *Cambridge*; where he devoted himſelf to the Study of Humanity and Religion, and being introduced to the Queen by his Father-in-law the Earl of *Leiceſter*, 'twas with ſome Difficulty he raiſed himſelf to the Condition of a Favourite, the Queen happening to have no great Reſpect for his Mother. But he had no ſooner wrought himſelf into her Majeſty's Eſteem, by a Deportment that ſeem'd to deſerve it; but ſhe was pleaſed to forgive him a Debt, which his Father owed to the Exchequer, made him Knight of the Garter, and advanced him to the Honour of a Privy-Counſellor, when he was ſcarce 23 Years of Age. He was ſeveral times appointed General of her Majeſty's Forces, though Fortune did not always ſmile upon him: (I do not pretend to fetch the Reaſon from Aſtrology, and place his ill Succeſſes upon the malign Aſpect of *Mars*, which happened to be in the Eleventh Houſe, at his Nativity.) However it was, the Queen heaped upon him freſh Honours and Favours every Day, and had a particular Value for him, becauſe he was a brave Soldier, and cut out for a Camp.

Great Favour with the Queen.

As ſoon as he had got a ſecure and real Intereſt in the Favour of his Royal Miſtreſs, he made it his buſineſs to outſtrip all Perſons, whether of his own or a ſuperior Rank; and this was a Quarrel which the more politick Courtiers had to him; eſpecially when he took upon him to diſparage all whoſe Actions were not of his own Square, and to brow-beat thoſe who had not the Advantage of the Royal Ear or Favour. Add to this, the Pains and Expence he was at to gain the Careſſes of the Vulgar, which are always precarious and ſhort-lived; and to recommend himſelf to the Army, which is equally fatal and hazardous. Nor was he excuſable in his Deportment to the Queen herſelf, whom he treated with a ſort of Inſolence, that ſeem'd to proceed rather from a Mind that wanted Ballaſt, than any real Pride in him; though it looked the more ungrateful, becauſe acted when he had more than once been reſtored to the Queen's Favour, and received freſh Inſtances of her Bounty.

Diſreſpectful Carriage to her.

However, this unhandſome Carriage, and a way which he had of skrewing (as it were) Favours from her, join'd with a Coldneſs and Diſreſpect towards her Perſon, and back'd by the ſly Management of ſome that wiſh'd him not well, fail'd not by degrees to leſſen, and at the long run to extinguiſh entirely the Queen's Affection for him.

Indeed he was a Perſon not rightly calculated for a Court, as being not eaſily brought to any mean Compliances. He was of a Temper that would readily kindle an Injury, but would not ſo eaſily forget one; and ſo far was he from being capable of diſſembling a Reſentment, that (as *Cuffe* uſed to complain to me) he carried his Paſſions in his Forehead, and the Friend or the Enemy were eaſily read in his Face.

His Wife and Children.

He married *Frances*, the Daughter of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, and Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Widow; a Match that the Queen did not approve, as being without her Conſent, and, as ſhe thought, beneath the Dignity of the *Eſſex* Family. He had by her one Son, named *Robert*, and two Daughters, *viz. Frances* and *Dorothy*: He had likewiſe another Son, whoſe Name was *Walter*, by one *Southwell*, a Miſtreſs of his.

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Others arraigned.

On the 15th of *March*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilley Merrick*, and *Cuffe*, took their Trials in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord-High-Admiral of *England*, the Lord *Hunsdon* Lord-Chamberlain, Secretary *Cecil*, Sir *John Fortescue* Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*, and some other Commissioners. They were impeached of the same Crimes with the Earl of *Essex*, *viz.* 'That they had plotted and 'contrived the Death of the Queen, by consulting to seize upon her Person, to raise a 'Rebellion in the City, &c.'

The three first proposed this Question, *Whether they might not own the first part of the Indictment, and plead* Not Guilty *to the other?* since they utterly denied any Plot or Conspiracy against the Person of the Queen. *Merrick* and *Cuffe* being taken from the Bar, the Judges declared, as they had done before, 'That whoever takes up Arms 'with an Intention to over-rule his Prince, or 'abridge the Royal Prerogative, he is guilty of 'a Plot upon the King's Crown and Life, and 'ought so to be adjudged.'

This they made out by some Precedents of People in the Country, who within the Memory of some lately alive, were condemned for a Rising in *Oxfordshire* and *Kent*. The *Kentish-men* rose in Arms to have an Augmentation of their Day-wages and Salary, and the other to get the Ditches and Fences removed from Pastures and inclosed Grounds. To this purpose several other Proofs were produced, shewing very plainly, that whoever went so far as to contrive the securing of his Prince's Person, would on consequence make as bold with his Life; because Insolence is inseparable from Conquest, and the Rage of the Multitude knows not how to pity or distinguish, especially when their own Safety is at stake.

Sir Christopher Blunt tried.

Blunt was tax'd from his own Confession, and that of the Earl of *Essex*, who had impeach'd him as a principal Abettor of the late Treason. As soon as he heard his Confession read, and saw it signed by *Essex*'s own Hand, he seemed very much startled at it, and desired to be allowed the Liberty of a Conference upon that Matter with the Lord-Admiral and *Cecil* in another Place: He then fetched a deep Sigh, and with his Eyes lifted up, used this Expression; *Thou, O GOD! knowest from what Designs I endeavoured to dissuade the Earl.* After this was read *Thomas Lea*'s Confession, a Person I have mention'd before: He acknowledged, that by *Blunt*'s Leave, who was General in the Wars of *Ireland*, he had sent to *Tir-Oen*, and was inform'd by the Messenger, that *Tir-Oen* should say, *That if the Earl of* Essex *would be ruled by him, he would make him the greatest Man in* England.

'Twas urged moreover, that *Lea* had said, That he knew that *Essex*, *Tir-Oen*, and *Blunt*, were all engaged in one Aim and Design, nor could *Blunt* himself deny, but that he had, by *Essex*'s Orders, given leave to *Lea* both to send and go in Person to *Tir-Oen*. There were likewise read several Papers, which were sent out of *Ireland*, tending to prove the Correspondence between *Essex* and *Tir-Oen*.

Danvers's Trial.

Then *Flemming*, the Queen's Sollicitor, applied himself to *Danvers*, and acquainted him, that 'twas the Sense of the Law, 'That if a Man 'shall join himself as an Associate with treasonable Persons, he is guilty of High-Treason, 'admitting he knew nothing of any Design to 'take up Arms against his Prince: And that '*Danvers* could not therefore, upon any account, 'appear innocent, when he had been convicted 'by his own and other Mens Confessions, as having been once himself of the treasonable Cabal.

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To this he answer'd no more, than that the Respect he had for the Earl of *Southampton* had in this Affair over-borne any Regard to his own Life and Estate: For, it seems, *Danvers* having been obliged to fly for killing a Man, *Southampton* first concealed, and then conveyed him into *France*, where he behaved himself commendably in the Field, till the Queen was pleased, after a great deal of Importunity, to grant him his Pardon.

Davis being condemn'd in his own Conscience, and cast by his own Confession, had not a single Word to say: And being charged with being Popishly affected, he could not deny but that his Tutor at *Oxford* had grounded him in the Principles of Popery, and that *Blunt* had confirmed him in the same whilst he was a Soldier in *Ireland*. At which perceiving that *Blunt* was a little moved, he soon satisfied him, by saying, that he was induced to approve of that Persuasion, not so much upon the Force of *Blunt*'s Arguments, as the Lustre and Integrity of his Life and Conversation.

Cuffe's.

Then were *Cuffe* and Sir *Gilley Merrick* brought to the Bar; and *Cuffe* was confronted with the Confessions of *Danvers*, the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Henry Nevil*. *Danvers* acknowledged that *Cuffe* had attended upon all the several Meetings, and had always advised to attack the Court. The Earl himself had declared before the Council, and given it under his Hand, that he had been the main Instrument that put him upon these disloyal Measures: And Sir *Henry Nevil* ingenuously confessed, (unless my Memory fails me, for I was then present, and heard his Confession read) That *Cuffe* told him at his Return out of *France*, that he must expect to be blamed for the Miscarriage of the Treaty of *Bologne*; that he made him several Visits afterwards, and persuaded him to come and pay the Earl one, which he did once afterwards: That after all this, when he was just ready to return to *France*, he desired him to go to *Drury*-House, and hear what Measures they were going upon; protesting withal, that nothing was to be there debated on, but what was for the Earl's Advantage and the publick Good, and which he might hear safely, without calling his Loyalty into question: That he requested him, in the last place, to be with the Earl when he seiz'd on the Court, and so discover'd to him the whole Design; which when *Nevil* disapprov'd of, as a very dangerous, lewd, and difficult Undertaking, and withal said pleasantly, *'Twas one of those Experiments which had never any Commendation till it was over.* *Cuffe* did all he could to extenuate the Hazard and Difficulty of it; assur'd him, that the Earl had the City of *London* and several of the Aldermen at his beck, and then applied that of *Lucan* to the Occasion:

——Arma Tenenti
Omnia dat, qui justa negat.

'He that the juster Claim of Power denies,
'Gives all that such an injur'd Power can seize.

Nor indeed was *Cuffe* able to deny one Syllable of all this.

Hereupon the Attorney-General began to argue with him in a Logical Method, and *Cuffe* managed himself so well in Mood and Figure, that *Cecil* could not forbear calling him a very subtle Sophister. But *Anderson*, the Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, being unable to keep his Temper, and telling them that they were both but indifferent Disputants, pressed him close with the

1601. Ann. 44. the Statute of Treason made in the Reign of Edward III. To be brief, Cuffe's Defence was chiefly made up of these two Pleas: 'That whereas he was impeach'd of Treason for being present in Essex-House on the Day of the Insurrection, by the same Logick might a Lion within a Grate undergo that Charge. That he had indeed lamented that whole Day the miserable Case of the Earl, which was all that he was concern'd in: That he used all the Persuasions he could with him to implore the Queen's Mercy. And then for the Consultation in Drury-House, 'twas with no better Propriety to be stil'd Treason, than an Embryo to be call'd a perfect Birth, forasmuch as it never took effect.'

In answer to this the Council pleaded; 'That he had no occasion at all to stay in Essex-House, and that every one had their Office assigned them; some were to defend the House, (and himself was one of that Number) others were to secure the City, and both Parties were to join in a mutual Assistance of one another. That in the point of Treason, there were no Accessaries, but every one was adjudged a Principal, and all guilty alike: That the Conference in Drury-House was a formal Treason of itself, because they consulted about taking off the Queen, and afterwards proceeded to put that Debate in execution.' In the last place, the Judges deliver'd it as the Sense of the Law, 'That if several Persons conspire against the Life of their Prince, and execute their Designs in different ways, yet is it adjudged to be one and the same Crime in all respectively, because they were all engaged in one and the same mischievous Design.'

These Answers of the Judges, together with the Confessions of Essex, Nevil, and Danvers, did fully invalidate whatever Cuffe could say for himself.

Merrick's. *Merrick* was indicted in the next place, 'For having invited by certain Letters his Brother Salisbury, Groine, and several other resolute Persons, to his Party; and for undertaking the Defence of Essex-House; for fortifying and holding it out against the Queen's Forces; for having procured the out-dated Tragedy of the Deposition of Richard II, to be publickly acted at his own Charge, for the Entertainment of the Conspirators.'

This the Lawyers construed as done by him with a Design to intimate, that they were now giving the Representation of a Scene upon the Stage, which was the next Day to be acted in reality upon the Person of the Queen. And the same Judgment they passed upon a Book which had been written some time before by one Hayward, a Man of Sense and Learning, and dedicated to the Earl of Essex, viz. 'That 'twas penn'd on purpose as a Copy and an Encouragement for deposing the Queen.' A dear Performance it proved to the Author, for the unseasonable Publication cost him a long Imprisonment, particularly one Expression in the Preface relating to the Earl; *That he was a Person of the most promising Hopes, and seemed reserved for very great Things.*

Merrick heard the whole Charge with a composed Bravery, and said no more but this; *That the Earl of* Essex *had been the occasion both of his Rise and his Ruin.*

Requests of Blunt, Danvers and Davis after Condemnation. They were every one of them found guilty of High-Treason by a Jury of 12 Men; and after Sentence of Death was pronounced, Blunt and Danvers requested, that they might be beheaded; (a Privilege allowed to Noblemen) and indeed they were both honourably descended: Danvers's Mother being the Daughter, and one of the Heiresses of Nevil Lord Latimer, by the Daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester; his Grandmother was the Lord Mordant's Daughter, and his Great-Grandmother of the Family of the Courtneys. The other was a Branch of the Blunts Family of Kidderminster, who were of the same House and Line with the Lords Montjoy. Davis desired to suffer the same way, tho' he was of a Quality inferior to them; if not, that he might not be quartered, but be allowed a Christian Burial.

Cuffe's Speech at his Execution. On the 13th of March were Merrick and Cuffe drawn to Tyburn, and the Substance of Cuffe's Speech at the Gallows was as follows: 'I am brought hither to pay my last Debt to Nature, and to suffer for Crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my Country; and as I cannot but discern the infinite Justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my Offences, so can I as little doubt but the Severity of my Punishment will make way for my Admission into the Embraces of his Mercy. We are exposed here as sad Spectacles and Instances of human Frailty; the Death we are to undergo carries a frightful Aspect, (for even the best of Men desire Life) besides that 'tis as full of Ignominy as Terrour: However 'tis the Portion of the best of Saints, with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ: Not that I would be thought by any one to depend on my own Merits, which I absolutely discard; but I place my entire Trust and Dependance in the Atonement of my Saviour's Blood. I am fully persuaded, that whoever feels a secret Consolation within himself, whilst he groans under the Infliction of any earthly Punishment, is chastised by God with a paternal Tenderness, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the Cause of my Death: There is no body here can possibly be ignorant what a wild Commotion was raised on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised Earl: I do here call God, his Angels, and my own Conscience to witness, that I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up on that whole Day within the House, where I spent the time in very melancholy Reflexions.' Here he was interrupted, and advised not to disguise the Truth by Distinctions, nor palliate his Crime by specious Pretences. Then he proceeded in these Words: 'I confess 'tis a Crime as black as Treason, for a Subject, who has lost his Prince's Favour, to force his way to the Royal Presence. For my own part, I never persuaded any Man to take up Arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned for being an Instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevil, into danger, and do most earnestly intreat his Pardon. And whereas I said, that One and Twenty Aldermen out of the Twenty Four were devoted to the Earl's Interest; I only meant, that they were his Friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open Rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his Devotions, which he managed with a great deal of Fervour; and then making a solemn Profession of his Creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the Executioner. He was a Person of admirable Learning and equal Wit, but of an unquiet and turbulent Spirit.

Merrick executed. After him, Sir Gilley Merrick suffer'd in the same way, and with a most undaunted Resolution; for, as if he were weary of living longer, he once or twice interrupted Cuffe, and advised him to spare a Discourse, which however rational, was not over seasonable, when he was taking

taking leave of the World. He clear'd the Lord
1601. *Montjoy* from having any Acquaintance with the
Ann. 44. Design, and intreated those Noblemen that stood by to interceed with the Queen, that there might not be any farther Proceedings against such as had unwarily espoused this unhappy Cause.

Danvers beheaded. Two Days after, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Charles Danvers*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. *Danvers*, notwithstanding he had offer'd 10000 *l.* for his Life, tho' under perpetual Confinement, yet bore his Death with a most Christian Clearness and Composure; having first craved God's Pardon and the Queen's, to whom he wish'd all Prosperity, as also the Lord *Grey*'s, who was there present, to whom he acknowledged he had been ill affected, not from any Injury he had suffer'd from him, but purely on the Earl of *Southampton*'s account, to whom the Lord *Grey* professed an absolute Enmity.

Blunt's Confession. As soon as *Blunt* was upon the Scaffold, he spake to the People to this effect: 'Tho' it may 'appear more proper to employ the present Juncture in craving Forgiveness of God for my Sins, 'than upon things foreign to that; yet since I 'am accused for having persuaded the Earl of '*Essex* to this great Crime, I will declare the 'Truth, as I hope for the Salvation of my Soul. ''Tis above three Years since I observ'd the 'Earl's Mind to be ruffled with Discontents, and 'many Motions of Ambition. In *Ireland*, whilst 'I was ill of my Wounds at the Castle of *Rheban*, 'as likewise at *Dublin* afterwards, he told me, '*That he resolved to send over his best Troops out* '*of* Ireland *to* Milford-Haven *in* South-Wales, '*to gain them entirely to his Interest; and when he* '*had gather'd more Forces, to march up to* London. 'I consider'd well of the matter, and endeavour'd 'to dissuade him from it, as a desperate Design, 'and one that would occasion the Effusion of a 'great deal of Blood. I cannot deny but I ad'vised him to get the Court into his Power, and 'so to make the most reasonable Conditions for 'himself: And tho 'tis very true, that in all our 'Debates we fully intended not to touch her 'Majesty's Person; yet had the Business suc'ceeded, I cannot say but it might have cost her 'Majesty her Life. After the Earl was absolutely 'discharged, he treated with me upon the same 'Subject at *Essex*-House, but fixed upon nothing. 'After which he sent for me out of the Country, 'not many Days before this treasonous Enter'prize was acted. As for other things, I have 'already made a particular Confession of them 'before the Right Honourable the Lord-Admiral, 'and the most worthy Secretary, to whom, I 'request you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to present my 'Respects, and I likewise ask Forgiveness of you 'all.' Then he looked up to Heaven, and begged of God, 'to preserve and defend the Queen. 'And thou, O GOD, continued he, forgive my 'evil Intentions and profligate Life. I desire 'you all to bear me witness that I die a Catho'lick, but such an one as relies solely and fully 'on the Merits of Christ's Death and Suffer'ings; and I also desire your Prayers for me.' Then he took leave of the Lord *Grey* and the Lord *Compton*, who were present; and having said a short Prayer to himself, he submitted his Neck to the Ax, with a Resolution worthy of him.

Thus was the Rebellion crush'd, the Tranquillity of the Government secur'd, and the rest of the Conspirators reduc'd by the Execution of the Earl of *Essex*, *Cuffe*, *Merrick*, *Danvers*, and *Blunt*. Those that had the best Purses were fined, but
The rest pardon'd. very few paid their Fines: The rest had their Lives spared, and enjoyed the Benefit of a free and gracious Indemnity: *Southampton*, and *Smith*
the Sheriff of *London*, were kept Prisoners in the 1601.
Tower: But *Smith* having been falsely accused, Ann. 44.
and put to a great deal of Trouble upon the Informations of some few, and *Essex*'s Credulity, was either by the Queen's Goodness, or on the score of his own Innocence, permitted to be bail'd out of Prison.

On the 8th of *July* was Sir *Henry Nevil* brought *Nevil's* Charge and Defence.
before some of the Queen's Judges and the Privy-Council at *York*-House, and charged 'with hav'ing attended upon the Consultation in *Drury*-'House: That he had not discover'd the De'signs which were in agitation; and that he 'had communicated to *Essex* the private Trans'actions relating to his Embassy in *France*.' He confessed, 'That at the Earl's Request he had gi'ven him a Journal of what had pass'd during his 'Administration: That he was present only at 'one Meeting: That he had always laugh'd at 'their Projects as so many Chimera's, and con'sider'd them as the Dreams of a crazy Brain; 'That he was afraid to reveal any thing that '*Essex* and Persons of his Figure were concern'd 'in, for he hated the Character of an Informer, 'and was in great hopes they would change 'these wild and indiscreet Measures, for better 'and more sober Resolutions, since as yet no'thing had been determin'd or fix'd on; or else, 'that he might take a fairer Opportunity, and 'less suspected, for disclosing their Purposes, after 'he had got again into *France*.' However, he Sentenc'd to the *Tower*.
was by the common Vote of them all order'd to the Tower, and briskly reprimanded, as one that deserv'd the Severity of the Law.

There was a Verdict likewise about this time *John Danvers*, a notable Cheat, punish'd.
passed in the Star-Chamber, which having a relation to the present Cause, ought not therefore to be omitted in this place. I took notice before of the Earl's having complain'd that some Letters of his had been counterfeited. There was an Inquiry made into this Business, and it produced a very remarkable Discovery. The Countess of *Essex* apprehending that in Times so troublesome, neither her Husband nor herself were free from Danger, concealed some particular Letters which she had received from him, in a certain Cabinet, which she committed to the Care of one Mrs. *Rihove* a *Dutchwoman*: She hid them somewhere in her House; but by chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, found and read them over; and observing there was something in them which might affect the Earl's Safety, and provoke the Queen, he got them transcribed by one who was very dexterous in the Imitation of Hands and Characters: And just upon the Countess's lying in, he told her, That he would most certainly deliver them into the Hands of the Earl's Adversaries, unless she would immediately give him 3000 *l.* The Countess, to avoid the Hazard, paid him down directly the Sum of 1170 *l.* which as large as it was, procured her only the bare Copies; the Impostor, it seems, having a Design to put off the Originals at a round rate to the Earl's Adversaries. He was for this Cheat condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, fined 3000 *l.* whereof 2000 was adjudged to the Countess, and to have his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Inscription, *A most notorious Impostor*.

Not long before this, the *Scotch* Ambassadors, the Earls of *Mar* and *Kinloss* (whom I observed before to have come something of the latest) were introduced to the Queen, and after a Compliment of Congratulation, upon the happy Prevention of the Effects of this Rebellion, they had some Discourse with her Majesty upon the Business of *Valentine Thomas*'s escaping condign Punishment, and the Fraud that was practised in

carrying

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carrying off two *Englishmen*, *William Evers* and *Ashfield*, from *Scotland*. They likewise demanded the Assignment of a certain Portion of Land in *England* for the King's Use: The Answer given them was; 'That their Gratulatory Address was 'very acceptable, and that the Queen wished 'the *Scotch* might never transcribe so bad a 'Copy; or if such a Commotion should happen, 'that one Day might put an end to it, as it had 'done to this: That *Valentine Thomas* was par'don'd on purpose to prevent the opening of a 'closed Wound; forasmuch as a Slander, be it 'never so false and ill-grounded, finds *Credit* and '*Countenance* easily enough with bad Men: That '*Evers* had render'd himself suspected of ill De'signs, by his flat Denials and false Protestations: 'That *Ashfield* was a Man of pernicious Principles, 'and had trick'd the Warden of the *March*, and 'got a Licence to travel into *Scotland*; and that 'the Warden had paid him in his own Coin, and 'fetch'd him back again: That to harbour the 'seditious Subjects of another Prince, was the 'same thing with raising Troubles and Commo'tions at home. As to the Assignment of such 'a Portion of Land, the Queen said, she had 'given a sufficient Answer before; however she 'condescended to advance a yearly Augmenta'tion of 2000*l.* as long as the King maintain'd 'a firm Alliance with her, and did not listen 'to the Suggestions of such as valued their own 'peculiar above the publick Concernment.'

Queen's Answer to the *Scotch* Ambassadors.

Privateers built in *England*.

The *Spanish* Gallies lying at *Sluis*, did at this time infest the Coast of *Kent*, but more especially the *Holland* and *Zealand* Ports; insomuch that the Queen built several Privateers, and mann'd them with Persons freed from the several Jails; and the *Londoners* contributed very liberally to the Design, tho', as it happen'd, to little purpose. However, to free themselves from any Apprehensions on the score of these Gallies, the *Confederate Provinces* were so careful as to send an Army once more into *Flanders*, to seize the Sconces about *Ostend*, and so ravage the Country round about with the more Freedom; besides that they would by that means secure Contributions from those Parts, get the Sea-Port Towns of *Flanders* under their Power, and prevent the Enemies Gallies from receiving any Harbour or Protection thereabouts: And the better to conceal their Design, and divert the Enemy, they thought convenient to send *Grave Maurice* at the same time into *Gelderland* to besiege *Rhynberck*. They acquainted the Queen herewith by Sir *Fr. Vere*, and desired her to permit 4000 Men to be raised in *England*, and transported at their Charge; to which the Queen gave her Consent. But before *Vere* was returned out of *England*, *Maurice* was marched towards *Berk*, and the Archduke *Albert* had besieged *Ostend*; insomuch that the States were now obliged to go upon new Measures, and endeavour rather to preserve *Ostend*, than to take any of the *Spanish* Forts: In order to which they conferred on *Vere* the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without* Ostend; and gave him an absolute Authority and Commission. From *Berck* they sent for twenty Companies of *English*; but *Grave Maurice* having already begun the Siege, and expecting the Enemy would attack him, sent but eight Companies, under the Command of Sir *Horace Vere*, and that with some Reluctancy. Sir *Francis Vere*, relying on their Promise, that the rest should follow soon after, and that he should have a sufficient Recruit of Provisions, arrived in *July* at *Ostend* by Night, over against the old Town, in a Place that lay much exposed to the Enemies Shot, they having just before his coming, blocked up the Haven: And 'twas not long after that Sir *Edward Cecil*, as young a Soldier as he was, ventured upon a bold Exploit, and relieved the Besieged with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition.

Archduke *Albert* besieges *Ostend*.

Ostend, which was within a very late Remembrance no better than a poor Fishing-Town, was, at the beginning of the Troubles in the *Low-Countries*, first pallisadoed, and then strengthned with a Garrison, and fortified with many Works, as affording a very commodious Haven: By which means Sir *John Conway*, and after him Sir *John Norris*, did so annoy *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* was forced to lay Siege to it, tho' to little purpose. *La Motte* attempted it by Stratagem, but was beaten off with considerable loss, and the Archduke *Albert* surrounded it with 17 Sconces; but the Garrisons to be maintained in these proving no less burdensome to *Flanders* than the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient for the *Spanish* Gallies, and likely to spoil the Navigation of the *Zelanders* and *English*, the *Spaniards* resolved to get it into their Hands at any rate; and the States were as resolutely bent to defend and preserve it; and to say truth, this Age cannot afford an Instance of a Siege so bravely carried on, and so stoutly opposed; there was never more Men killed on the like occasion, nor any Service that continued so long: But I shall not stand to give you a second Journal of the Siege, which is to be had in Print; it shall suffice to glance a little on the following Particulars.

Ostend describ'd.

Spaniards attempt it several ways.

Sir *Francis Vere*, finding his Forces considerably diminish'd by frequent Sallies from the Town, when it had now been besieged for five Months, besides the Damage done by the Enemies Shot, and the Sickness which raged in the Place, and tha Sea having at the same time swallowed up one part of the old Town, their Provision likewise growing short, and the Winds proving so contrary, as to give them no hope of any Supplies which had often been demanded; and he being moreover informed, that the Enemy design'd to make a general Assault upon the Town, desired to capitulate with the Archduke about Conditions for a Surrender; and Hostages being exchanged on both Sides, Commissioners were sent to manage this Affair. But General *Vere* had no other Intention but to spin out the time, and feed them with the hopes of a Surrender, till some fresh Recruits were sent in to him; so that he dismissed the Commissioners with baffled Expectations, and excused himself by that military Axiom; *That to impose upon an Enemy, has a mixture in it of Pleasure and Convenience, as well as Equity.* He used likewise a sharp piece of Raillery with them, and said, *He hoped they would excuse him if he should find himself obliged to play the same Game a second time; since he could not in Honour act otherwise, when he had received the Supplies he wanted, and all other Necessaries.* The Archduke was touch'd to the Quick at this Procedure, and taxed *Vere* as a Person that was like to gain a Conquest by Craft sooner than Courage; and fourteen Days after, he plaid 18 great Pieces of Cannon upon the Counterscarps for the whole Day; in the Evening he forced 2000 old Soldiers to make an Assault upon the old Town at Low-water, and sent some Troops of Horse after them to press them forward: But General *Vere*, who appear'd with his Brother Sir *Horace* in Places of greatest Danger, with a select Party, bravely beat them off three several times. Those that were to make the Attack upon the East-side of the Town, came something too late, but retired seasonably upon the coming in of the Tide, though not without some Damage. They who were appointed to attack the Fort *Helmont*, and another called the *Hedge-Hog*, with the *English* For-

Briskly assaulted.

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Fortification, made a shift to gain them with little Trouble, the Soldiers being called off to the Defence of other Places; but they were soon obliged to quit them again: Two thousand were dispatched to an Avenue on the West, called the *Gullet*, and made themselves Masters of an Half-Moon which was abandon'd; but they were soon dislodged from thence, and several of them perished, whilst to avoid drowning, they fled away in Confusion: There were planted on the West-Gate nine Pieces of Cannon, which continually discharged such terrible Showers of Chain-shot and Pieces of Iron, with other destructive Materials, on those who stormed the Western Bulwark and the Sand-Hill, that they fell in great Numbers; and the Tide happening to flow in upon them in the midst of the Assault, they were struck with such a Consternation, that they threw away their Arms, Ladders, and Draw-Bridges, and left themselves to the Fury of the Waves, and the Swords of the Enemies, who were ready to sally out upon them. The Archduke was not so far discouraged by this terrible Slaughter of his Men, but he still continued the Siege, tho' with poor hopes of gaining the Town, since he was neither capable of cutting off Supplies from it, nor of springing any Mines, by reason there were so many Works and Rampires round the Town. But *Vere*, having now repaired those Parts which were batter'd and damag'd, was call'd away by the States, who thought good to change the Governor, and sent fresh Recruits every five Months; and so he was succeeded by *Frederick Dorp*: And both he, and those who came after him, defended the Town for three Years and about an hundred Days, against all that the Enemy, or rather the Sea, could do, to oppose them. It had been happy for the Soldiers if the Sea had broke in and swallowed it up; for this Place proved the common Grave (tho' indeed a most glorious Monument at the same time) to the best Soldiers in the *Low-Countries, Spain, France, England, Scotland*, and *Italy*, whilst they fought all the while for a meer barren and fruitless Plot of Ground. But this Account is more proper for the History of the *Netherlands*. However it will not misbecome our *English* Annals to insert the Names of such as died at, or else bravely maintain'd this long Siege, and by that means recommended their Names to Posterity: Among the last we are obliged to take particular notice of the two *Veres*, Sir *Edward Cecil*, and Sir *John Ogle*; and among the former, the most considerable Persons were Sir *Charles Fairfax* Kt. Colonel *Lawrence, Dutton*, and *Drake*, Serjeant-Major *Carpenter, Holcroft, Jeffery Dutton, Grevil, Wilford, Humphreys, Drake, Broughton, Herbert, Frost, Maddison, Gerard, Butler, Rogers, Dennis*, and *Conigrave*, all Captains. Nor ought we to omit the mention of *John Carew* of *Antony*, a young *Cornish* Gentleman, who having his Arm shot off in a Salley, and carried a great distance from him, took it up as if he felt no Pain; and whilst his Fellows were bemoaning the Disaster, brought it in his other Hand into the Town, and shewed it to the Surgeon, with this Expression; *Look, here is the Hand which but to day at Dinner-time serv'd the Occasions of the whole Body.*

Bravely defended.

Governor changed.

English slain at this Siege.

Fr. King comes to *Calais*.

This Siege brought the *French* King to *Calais*, from whence is the shortest Passage to *England*, in order to secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom; which the Queen no sooner heard of, but she sent Sir *Thomas Edmunds* to pay him a Visit of Congratulation. He, in return of her Complaisance, sent Marshal *Biron*, with *D'Arverne, D'Aumont*, and several other Noblemen, into *England*. The Queen happening at that time to take the Country Air at *Basing*, welcom'd them into the Kingdom, and gave them so favourable and gracious a Reception, that they went as high as possible in the Commendations both of her Eloquence and Generosity.

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But forasmuch as certain *French* Writers have mention'd, that the Queen shewed to *Biron* and the other Gentlemen the Earl of *Essex*'s Skull in her Closet; or, as others affirm, fixed upon a Pole, it must needs be a Story as ridiculous as false, since that was interred with his Body. 'Tis certain indeed, that in some Discourses with the Marshal, she taxed *Essex* as highly ungrateful, and no less obstinate and indiscreet, for not asking her Pardon: And she took occasion from thence to express her Desires, that the *French* King would rather use in time such a sort of Rigour mixed with Mercy, than such a Clemency as might prove fatal to his Government, whenever he had occasion to demand the Lives of Traitors, who fought for nothing but publick Change and Disorder.

Queen's Discourse with Biron.

And this Advice might have awed *Biron* out of those desperate Designs he was at this very time forming against his Prince, had he not been under the Power of a strong Infatuation: But he was so blinded by the Fate which pursued him, that in a very few Months he suffer'd the same Punishment that *Essex* had done before him.

The Queen, upon her Return from her Progress, held a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein, among other things, several good Laws were made for the Relief of the Poor, and of maimed and disabled Soldiers and Seamen; against fraudulent Guardians and Trustees, the Cheats and Impositions of Clothiers, and the Robberies and Outrages committed upon the Borders of the Kingdom towards *Scotland*. But whereas great Complaints were made in the Lower House, relating to the Engrossing Practice, (for it seems there were some who under the colour of publick Good, but in reality to the great Damage of the Kingdom, had got the Queen's Letters-Patents, for the sole Privilege and Liberty of vending some particular Sorts of Wares) the Queen therefore, to forestal them, published a Proclamation, declaring those Grants to be null and void, and also left them to be tried at common Law: A Method which was so acceptable to the Lower House, that Eighty of that Body were appointed to wait upon her Majesty with their humble Thanks, which the Speaker was to present in the Name of them all. She received them very graciously, and gave her Answer in the following Speech.

A Parliament called.

Several good Laws made.

Gentlemen,

Queen's Speech.

I owe you my best Thanks and Acknowledgments for your Respects towards me, not only for your good Inclination, but those clear and publick Expressions thereof, which have discovered themselves in retrieving me from a Mistake into which I have been betray'd, not so much by the Fault of my Will, as the Error of my Judgment. This had unavoidably drawn a Blemish upon me, (who account the Safety of my People my chief Happiness) had you not made me acquainted with the Practices of these lewd Harpies and Horse-leeches. I would sooner lose my Heart or Hand, than that either should consent to allow such Privileges to Engrossers, as may turn to the Detriment of my People. I am not so blinded with the Lustre of a Crown, as to let the Scale of Justice be weighed down by that of an Arbitrary Power. The gay Title of Prince may deceive such as know nothing of the Secret of Governing, as a gilded Pill may impose upon the Patient: But I am not one of those unwary Princes; for I am very sensible that I ought to govern for the publick Good, and not to regard my own Particular; and that I stand accountable to another

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another and greater Tribunal: I account myself very happy, that by God's Assistance I have hitherto enjoy'd so prosperous a Government in all respects; and that he has blessed me with such Subjects, for whom I could be contented to lay down my Crown and Life: I must intreat you, that let others be guilty of what Faults or Misdemeanors soever, they may not thro' any Misrepresentation be laid at my door. I hope the Evidence of a good Conscience will in all respects bear me out. You cannot be ignorant that the Servants of Princes have too often an eye to their own Advantage; that their Faults are often concealed from their Notice, and that they cannot, if they would, inspect all things, when the Weight and Business of a whole Kingdom lies on their Shoulders.

The Death of the E. of *Pembroke.*

About the beginning of this Year died *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Son of *William*, who was created Knight of the Garter, *an.* 1574, and made President of the Council in the Marches of *Wales* upon the Death of his Father-in-law, Sir *Henry Sidney*: By whose Daughter, *Mary* by name, a Lady much addicted to Poetry and other pleasant Studies, he had *William*, the present Earl of *Pembroke*, who succeeded to his Father's Title; *Philip* now Earl of *Montgomery*, and *Anne*, who died whilst she was very young.

L. *Norris.*

About the same time departed likewise *Henry* Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, who was by K. *Henry* VIII, restored to his Estate, after his Father was put to Death, with some strict Conditions relating to the Estate of his Grandmother, who was one of the Heirs of Viscount *Lovel*; but he was more firmly settled in it by Queen *Elizabeth*, who was pleased to make him a Baron upon his Discharge of an Embassy into *France*, with great Commendations for his good Managery. He had by *Mary*, his Wife, one of the Heiresses of *John* Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, (who in *Henry* VIII's Reign was Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, and a Privy-Counsellor to Queen *Mary*, and very much in her Favour) a Race of Children that proved Men of extraordinary Spirit and Courage, *viz. William*, his eldest Son, Marshal of *Berwick*, who died in *Ireland*, and left behind him his Son *Francis*, who enjoy'd the Title of his Grandfather: *John*, whom I have frequently mention'd; *Thomas* President of *Munster*, and for some time Lord-Justice of *Ireland*, who died of a slight Wound for want of due Care: *Henry*, who died about the same time by the very same Disaster; and *Edward*, the Governour of *Ostend*, who was the only Son that survived his Parents.

L. *Willoughby.*

Within a few Days after him died *Peregrine Berty*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Governour of *Berwick*, who had passed thro' all the Offices of a Commander both in the *Low-Countries* and *France* with great Commendations: *Robert*, his Son by the Lady *Mary*, Sister to *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, succeeded him both in Honour and Estate.

'Tis now convenient to turn our Prospect towards the Affairs of *Ireland*. About this time there was issued out a Proclamation pursuant to an Act made in *Henry* VII's Reign, forbidding the carrying any *English* Money into *Ireland*, because the Rebels secured a great part of what went over to buy up Arms and Ammunition; or else the Merchants transported it from thence into foreign Parts, to the great Detriment of *England*; 'twas therefore taken into Consideration, the altering the *Irish* Coin, by mixing with it some Alloy of Brass, forasmuch as the War there drained this Kingdom of an annual Sum of

Consultation about the *Irish* Coin.

160000*l.* Sterling. By this means some were of opinion, 'That the Expences of the War might 'be lessen'd: That all the good Money might 'be drawn out of *Ireland* into *England* by Bills of 'Exchange, and on consequence the Rebels lose 'their Trade with Foreigners, when the good 'Money failed, which must needs weaken them 'very much.' Others maintain'd the contrary, 'That this Alteration of the Coin would turn 'to the Queen's Dishonour, and the Detriment 'of the Kingdom: That the good Money could 'not be drawn out of *Ireland* without a vast Expence to the Queen: That should there be a 'new Coin in *England*, the Profit arising thereby would not balance the Charge of bringing 'the old Money over; and the Profit would be 'less, were it coin'd in *Ireland*, where they must 'be forced to set up a Mint at vast Charges, and 'hire Workmen at excessive Rates: Nor would 'this in the least prevent the Rebels Correspondence with Foreigners, as long as there was 'any Silver in new Coin, and the Merchant 'knew the way to separate it, since 'tis much 'the same to him whether he receives one Piece 'of Coin or three of the same Value; and that 'it was to be feared the Soldiers would mutiny 'upon this account, forasmuch as their Pay 'would be considerably lessen'd.'

Altered quickly.

But *Buckhurst*, the Lord-Treasurer, a Person well versed in Affairs of this kind, got the Queen's Leave, upon pleading a Necessity, which generally governs the present Occasion, for altering the Money for a certain time, and then reducing it to its old Standard. The Queen herself was averse to this Motion, saying often, *That it would reflect upon herself, and disoblige her Army.* However the Soldiers continued quiet and in good order, an Happiness peculiar to the Queen, who had a way of Commanding by a Power mixed with great Love and Tenderness for her People. But without doubt it proved a very great Prejudice to the Army; and whether it turned to her Majesty's Advantage or not, I cannot tell. However it could not but fetch in a vast Gain to the Pay-masters and Officers of the Treasury; and perhaps it owed its Contrivance to the Avarice of that sort of Men, which is usually very ingenious where any thing is to be got.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy was informed of this Resolution, he got his Forces together early in the Spring, to prevent Mutiny, or any other ill Effects of Idleness; and before they could be well formed into a regular Body, he marched with those he had ready, to *Moghery*; where he kept them closely employed: for he ordered the Trees to be cut down, and a Passage made thro' a thick Wood, and there he built a Fort. He then drove the *Mac-Genises* out of *Lecale*, when they had possessed themselves of it, and took in all the Rebels Castles, as far as *Armagh*, into which City he also put a strong Garrison: And so great Advances did he make this Summer, that he removed *Tir-Oen* from *Blackwater*, where he had very commodiously encamp'd himself. Mean while, *John O-Dogherti* being dead in *Tirconnel*, the Lord-Deputy declared his Son to be his Heir, because his Father held his Estate according to the Laws of *England*; and he deliver'd it into the Hands of *Hugh Boy* and *Phelim Reaugh*, his Guardians, who were entrusted with the Care of his Education: *O-Neal Garve* was mightily nettled at this, and presently seized upon the young Gentleman's Estate, as pretending a rightful Claim thereto; as if he imagin'd himself the sole Proprietor of the Lands of *Tirconnel*, and all the People in it. And he very much stomach'd the Lord-Deputy's being of a contrary Opinion, though he had resolved to carry himself impartially on both sides. However Sir *Henry Docwray* gave *O-Neal Garve* such fine Words and fair Promises, that he got him over to the *English* Party; and to find him some Work, he fell upon *Mac-Swine Fanagh*, a principal Man among the Rebels, and carried off a rich Booty, which he nevertheless

Docwray routs *Mac Swines.*

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vertheless restored to him, upon his Submission, taking the Oath, and Delivery of Hostages: But upon his revolting a second time, he hung him up in Effigy, and after having spoiled his Country, drove him to that Extremity, that he gave Hostages once more, and continued ever after a peaceable Subject. After this he wasted a small Country in *Tir-Oen*, called *Slewgh-Art*, a Place full of Woods and Bogs, and about fifteen Miles in length, by the Direction of *Neal Garve*. He then took *Derry*-Castle, and put Garrisons into *Newton* and *Aimogh*.

Takes the Castle of Derry,

The Lord-Deputy, upon his Return to *Black-water*, sent for him; but for want of Necessaries, and the Enemy having blocked up all the Ways, he was not able to get to him. Whereupon the Deputy advised him, not without some Appearance of Resentment, to repair this Neglect, by some Service that might make amends for it; which indeed he failed not to do, upon the first handsome Occasion: For, being informed by *Neal Garve*, that the Soldiers were drawn out of *Tir-Connell*, to march against the Lord-Deputy; and that the Monastery of *Donnegal*, near *Balishanon*, had none but a few religious Persons in it, he sent him thither with 500 *English*, who with great Ease made themselves Masters of the Place. *O-Donel*, upon the Lord-Deputy's Return, marched with all his Forces to *Donnegal*, who had furnished themselves with burning Firebrands to destroy the *English*. There were 30 Days spent in resolutely maintaining the Siege, and there was as much Noise and Shouting, as if they had got an absolute Victory; for it happen'd, that the Monastery took Fire, and was burnt down in the Night, but yet did the *English* maintain themselves with great Resolution.

and Donnegal.

Reports of the Spaniards Design on Munster.

Whilst Matters went on with good Success in these Parts, the Lord-Deputy received several Letters of Information, and built on a much more certain Foundation, than some Reports he had heard before of the same kind, that the *Spaniards* were making for *Munster*. Hereupon he was obliged to drop his Design, and to think of securing *Ireland* from a foreign Invasion, rather than the Effects of an intestine War. But however, to prevent the Loss of what he had already gained, he first fortified the Garrisons in *Ulster*, and then made the best of his way to *Munster*, having with him only two Cornets of Horse, the Infantry being order'd to follow with their Commanders. *Tir-Oen* and *O-Donel* did likewise hasten thither as fast as they could, by secret and unknown ways, having now broken up the Siege of *Donnegal*: Upon which Sir *H. Docwray* march'd immediately by Land, and relieved the Garrison of *Donnegal*. He placed two Companies in *Asherow*, under the Command of *Edward Diggs*, who took *Balishanon* in a little time; a Place which they principally aim'd at: And he was now pretty even with the *Irish*, for their Treachery in betraying *Newton* and the Castle of *Derry*.

Balishanon taken.

The War being now transplanted into *Munster*, the Series both of Time and Fact obliges me to pursue the Scene. *Tir-Oen* and the Rebels of *Munster* had, by their Emissaries, *Matthew Oviedo* a *Spaniard*, nominated by his Holiness for Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Clonfort*, the Bishop of *Killaloe*, and one *Archer* a Jesuit, got the King of *Spain*'s Promise, that Succours should be sent to the Rebels in *Munster*, under the Conduct of Don *Juan d'Aquila*; a full Assurance having been given, that all *Munster* should revolt, and that the titular Earl of *Desmond*, and *Florence Mac-Carty*, should bring in a considerable Number to their Assistance. In the mean time the President, Sir *George Carew*, to prevent this, immediately impeach'd the said titular Earl, whom

Earl of Desmond taken.

he had lately seized in a private Place; where being forsaken of all his Friends, he had very advantageously conceal'd himself. This he did, because should he have died without a Trial, his Estate could not have been forfeited by the common Law without an Act of Parliament. After he was condemned of Treason, he declar'd, That he took up Arms for the Restoration of Popery, and the Estate of his Ancestors; and that he was incited thereto by the Insults of the newly-arriv'd *English*, the late Exactions put upon arable Lands, and the way used in *England* of trying by a Jury of twelve Men; besides, that he was buoy'd up, with the Expectation of Supplies from *Spain* which by the Archbishop's account he knew were ready to arrive, he having been sent into *Spain* in *February*: Besides, that the same was confirm'd by *Florence Mac-Carty*: The President likewise discovered, that there had passed a Conference between *Tir-Oen*, the said Archbishop, and others, about the most convenient Place where the *Spaniards* might land in *Ireland*; and that they had jointly resolved that *Munster* was the most proper Part of the Kingdom for that Design, tho' they could not agree as to the particular Port: Some thought it the best way to seize first upon *Limerick*, as lying near to *Connaught* and *Leimster*, and not very far from *Ulster*, and therefore very conveniently situated for joining their Forces; besides that 'twas remote enough from *England* to prevent any Alarm from the *English* Fleet. However, *Donat Mac-Cormack* affirm'd, That *Florence Mac-Carty* did for good Reasons give the Preference to *Cork*, as being a more convenient Haven, and a City weaker, and so less defensible; so that the *Spaniards* might from thence directly make an Attack upon *Barry*, *Roch*, *Cormach*, *Mac-Dermont*, and *Mac-Carty Reogh*, who stood firm to the Government; and either draw them to their Party, or else seize upon their Estates. Hereupon the President judged it upon all accounts the best way to surprize *Florence*, though he had formerly granted him Letters of Protection, and an Act of Indemnity for his Life: And having secured *him*, after many Attempts of his to escape, he sent him with *Desmond* into *England*; by reason he had wronged a certain Creditor, contrary to the Purport of his Protection: And being now at length most certainly informed of an Invasion from *Spain*, which he could not make either the Lord-Deputy or the Council in *England* believe: He order'd Provisions and Necessaries to be brought from all Parts into *Cork*, convened an Assembly of the Province there, and seized on some seditious and suspected Persons, to prevent any Mischief that they might occasion. He took Hostages from others, and managed Matters with that Conduct and Circumspection, that the Town was supplied with Provisions, to hold out a Siege of several Months. He likewise received a seasonable Supply of 2000 Men from *England*.

As is Florence Macarty.

The President having, in the midst of *September*, received a most certain Account of the *Spaniards* being under Sail, did immediately give the Lord-Deputy notice of it; who being arrived at *Kilkenny*, sent for the President thither: He therefore appointed *Charles Wilmot* Governor of *Cork*, and then hasten'd away to the Lord-Deputy. They immediately held a Consultation, whether the Lord-Deputy, who was attended but with a small Retinue, and had no Life-Guard, should return back, or stay at *Kilkenny*, till his Forces were got together. Some thought it best for him to return, and that it was not consistent with the Grandour of a Lord-Deputy, to go forward with so poor a Train: The President was very positive in the contrary Opi-

L. Deputy inform'd of the Spaniards coming.

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nion, *viz.* 'That he could neither stay there, 'nor return, without being taxed as timorous 'and faint-hearted; as well as hazarding the 'Defection of the whole Province: And that 'Niceties and Punctilio's are to be dispensed 'with, where the Safety of a Kingdom lyes at 'Stake. 'Twas requisite therefore he should ad-'vance forward, and use his Authority, as Lord-'Deputy, against such as were inclinable to re-'volt; who would not only in all Probability 'remain more fixed to their Duty, when over-'awed by the Lord-Deputy's Presence, who had 'been so famous for his happy Successes; but 'would most certainly revolt, should he return 'back. Some were of opinion, That the best 'way was, for the Lord-Deputy to march for-'ward, as far as *Clonmel* on the Edge of the Pro-'vince, and not venture farther, till his Forces 'arrived.' But the President offering him a Guard of 200 Horse, and assuring him that *Cork* was plentifully furnished with all Necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of Chearfulness.

Spaniards arrive in Ireland.

In the mean while, the *Spanish* Fleet, which could not reach *Cork* Haven, by reason the Wind slacken'd, enter'd the Mouth of *Kinsale* Harbour on the 23d of *September*, and landed their Forces. Whereupon Sir *Richard Percy*, who commanded the Town with 150 Men, being not strong enough to oppose them, immediately retreated, according to his Instructions, with his Men, to *Cork*. The *Spaniards* finding the Gates open, enter'd with 35 Colours flying, and were congratulated by the Inhabitants; the Mayor going before them with his Staff, and performing the Office of a Quarter-Master in assigning 'em their several Quarters. The President order'd all the Cattle and Beasts for Service, that were on this side the River *Averley*, to be driven away; and sent *Flower* with 400 Foot with light Arms, to spoil the Country all about: And he likewise found it requisite to augment his Army, by listing every where a great Number of Citizens and Townsmen; not that they were likely to do much Service, but as they would serve for Hostages; besides the Apprehensions, that whilst they lay at home, and had nothing to do, they might through their great Fondness for Popery, or their natural Respects for the *Spaniards*, whose Descendents they affect to be thought, be induced to revolt, and deliver up the several Towns to the Enemy.

President's Care of things.

Don *Juan d'Aquila*, who was General of the *Spaniards*, with the Character of *The Catholick King's Captain or Superintendant-General in the Holy War, for the Preservation of the Faith in* Ireland, put out some Manifesto's; wherein he endeavour'd to possess the People, *That Queen* Elizabeth *was, by several Censures of the Bishop of* Rome, *deprived of her Crown: That her Subjects were absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance; and that the* Spaniards *were come to deliver* Ireland *from the Power of Satan.* For after this rate he expressed himself, and the Humour took so well, as to procure the Coming in of a great many loose Fellows to his Party. The Lord-Deputy having gather'd together what Forces he could from all Parts, immediately fell upon the Siege of *Kingsale*: And having disposed of his Army all about it, he judged it of absolute Necessity to take *Kincurran*, a Castle upon the Haven, and near the Town, wherein were placed 150 *Spaniards*; because of its being so convenient for defending the *English* Fleet, as well as annoying the *Spaniards*, if they should be obliged to return. This Place was soon forced by the President to surrender upon Discretion; for being made Lieutenant-General of the Army, he forthwith moun-

Kincurran-Castle taken.

ted his great Guns, and repulsed the *Spaniards* both by Sea and Land, who came to relieve it.

Much about the same time was the Haven blocked up by the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Richard Levison*, who was sent from *England* with two or three of the Queen's Ships, to hinder them from bringing Succours to it: And the *English* began to shoot briskly into the Town from their great Cannon, and besieged it more closely and vigorously than before. Notwithstanding, the Briskness of their Attacks was something abated, in regard *Levison* was forced to draw off his Seamen and make Sail against 2000 *Spaniards*, who were landed at *Bere-Haven, Baltimore*, and *Castlehaven*; five of whose Ships he sunk.

Some Spanish Ships sunk.

The President was at the same time dispatch'd from the Camp, with some Troops, to prevent *O-Donell*'s joining with these new Succours from *Spain*; but the Ground being hard frozen, he got by Night, and through some By-paths to the *Spaniards*. And 'twas not long after, that *Tir-Oen* himself, with *O-Rork, Reimund Burk, Mac-Mahon, Randal Mac-Surley, Tirell* Baron of *Killey*, and some others of the principal Men among the Rebels, appear'd in view: With whom *Alphonso O-Campo* having join'd the *Spaniards*, that were just landed, (both Parties together making up 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse,) they were big with the Thoughts of an assured Victory; because their Troops were more in Number, and their Men fresher and less fatigued, and every way furnish'd with all Necessaries. Whereas the *English* were miserably harrassed with a Winter's Siege, their Provisions short, and their Horses almost spent with hard Service and slack Provender.

Tir-Oen joins the Spaniards.

The Lord-Deputy carried on the Siege amidst all those Disadvantages, with wonderful Vigour and Resolution, and strengthned his Camp with new Works. On the 21st of *September*, *Tir-Oen* appeared with his Forces upon an Hill; and having fixed his Camp there, he shewed himself likewise the Day following. The next Night, the *Spaniards* made a Sally from the Town, and the *Irish* endeavour'd to possess themselves of it; but they were both repulsed. On the 23d of *December*, some Letters were intercepted from *d'Aquila* to *Tir-Oen*, wherein he desires that the *Spaniards* who were newly arrived, might be put into the Town, and an Assault be made on both sides at once, upon the *English* Camp. The same Night, when the Moon was just rising, the Lord-Deputy order'd Sir *Henry Poer* to make a Detachment of eight Companies of old Soldiers, and to dispose them in order of Battle, on the West-side of the Camp. Sir *Henry Greames*, who was upon the Scout that Night with a Party of Horse, gave the Lord-Deputy notice, very early in the Morning, that the Rebels would certainly advance; because he observed so many Matches lighted in their Camp. Hereupon a general Alarm was forthwith sounded, and Troops dispatch'd away to all those Posts, where there was any Access to the Town. The Lord-Deputy, with the President, and the Marshal Sir *Rich. Wingfield*, marched towards the Centry, and by Sir *Oliver Lambert*'s Advice, look'd out an advantagious Place to receive the Enemy: There were sent thither the Regiments of Sir *Henry Folliot* and Sir *Oliver St. John*, with 600 Marines under the Command of Sir *Richard Levison*. *Tir-Oen*, who had design'd, as afterwards it appear'd, to conduct the *Spaniards* and 800 *Irish*, by the Favour of the Night, into *Kingsale*, at break of Day discover'd the Marshal and Sir *H. Danvers*, with their Troops of Horse, and *Poer* at the Foot of the Hill, with his Regiment of Foot: Being therefore baulked of his Design, he made an Halt, and soon after made his Hautboys sound a Retreat.

d'Aquila's Letters intercepted.

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Rebels retreat, and are pursu'd.

As ſoon as the Lord-Deputy received an Account that they retreated in Confuſion, he gave Orders to purſue them, and marched himſelf at the Head of his Troops, the better to obſerve their Retreat: But there happen'd to ariſe ſo thick a Fog and ſo violent a Rain, that for ſome time they loſt ſight of them; but ſoon after the Weather cleared up, and he could diſcover that they made a very precipitant Retreat in three large Bodies, and were cover'd by their Horſe: He therefore reſolved to engage them, and ſent back the Preſident with three Cornets of Horſe, to prevent the *Spaniards* ſallying out of the Town if they ſhould attempt it. The Lord-Deputy purſued them ſo briſkly, that he forced them to make an Halt on the ſide of a large marſhy Bog, at which they could not come but they muſt paſs a Fort: But the Horſe which guarded it being defeated by the Bravery of the Marſhal and the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, the *Engliſh* made a reſolute Attack upon the Enemies Horſe; and being joined by Sir *William Godolphin*, who commanded the Lord-Deputy's Wing, Sir *Henry Danvers*, *Minſham*, *Taffe*, *Fleming*, and Sir *John Berkley* Major-General, they renewed the Aſſault with that Vigour, as to put the Enemy's Horſe to flight. It was not thought adviſeable to purſue them, but they rather choſe to rally their Forces and break in upon the main Body of the Enemy's Army, which was in ſo great a Conſternation, that they eaſily made their way through it. Mean while, *Tirel* with his Forces, and the *Spaniards*, kept their Ground, and the Lord Deputy brought up his Rear againſt them; and that he might ſhew himſelf an active Soldier as well as an expert General, he charged them with three Companies of Sir *Oliver St. John's*, under the Command of *Roe*, and gave them ſuch an Overthrow, that they made a confuſed Retreat to the *Iriſh*, who immediately abandoned them to the Swords of the Lord Deputy's Troops of Horſe, under the Command of Sir *Henry Godolphin*, which made a prodigious Slaughter of them. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the reſt, fled away as faſt as they could, ſome one way, and ſome another, every one throwing down his Arms, and ſhifting for himſelf. Don *Alphonſo O-Campo* was taken Priſoner, with three *Spaniſh* Commanders, and ſix *Enſigns; there were 1200 Men killed, and nine Colours taken, whereof ſix belonged to the *Spaniards*. The *Engliſh* loſt but few, but had a great many wounded, and among the reſt, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *William Godolphin* and *Crofts*; ſo very cheap, and yet ſo conſiderable a Victory was this to the *Engliſh*.

A great Battel on Dec. 21.

* *Alferez.*

The Lord-Deputy having order'd the Retreat to be ſounded, and Thanks to be return'd to God, over the Bodies of the Slain, conferred the Honour of Knighthood on the Earl of *Clan-Richard* for his Courage and Service, and return'd to the Camp with Acclamations of Joy and Triumph, finding it ſafe and no way diſorder'd: For the *Spaniards* in the Town, perceiving that all Poſts were well mann'd and ſecur'd, and had found by Experience, that all their Sallies had turn'd to their own Diſadvantage, were under a diſmal kind of Perplexity and Suſpence: And the *Engliſh* happen'd, as before, to have Fortune ſtill on their ſide; for the Wind ſtood in a Quarter that would not ſuffer the Reports of the Guns to be heard in the Town.

The good Effects of this Victory.

This Victory was glorious in itſelf, and conſiderable in its Conſequences upon many accounts; for *Ireland*, which was in a reeling kind of Poſture, and lean'd towards a Defection, was by this means reduc'd; the *Spaniards* were driven out of *Ireland*, the Head of the Rebellion, *Tir-Oen*, was forced into his uſual Places of Retreat in *Ulſter*; *O-Donel* was forced to fly into *Spain*, and the reſt of the Rebels were broken and diſperſed: Beſides which, the Queen's Authority was revived, the Inſolence of diſorderly Perſons curbed and reſtrained, Men of better Principles recovered from their Fears, and a perfect and laſting Peace was ſettled afterwards in all Parts of the Iſland. 1601. *Ann.* 44.

The next Day the Lord-Deputy commanded *Joſias Bodley*, the Surveyor of the Works, who had managed his Employment with great Bravery and Diligence during the Fight, to finiſh the Mount which was begun, and to carry on the Trenches nearer the Town: This was ſix Days a doing.

Mean while, *D'Aquila* ſent a Letter by a Trumpet to the Lord-Deputy, and deſired him to ſend ſome Perſons of Character into the Town, in order to a Capitulation: Sir *William Godolphin* was pitched on for this purpoſe; to whom *D'Aquila* ſignified, 'That he had found 'the Lord-Deputy an honourable, tho' a moſt 'inveterate Enemy: That the *Iriſh* were Weak, 'Uncourteous, and, he was afraid, Falſe and 'Treacherous: That his Catholick Majeſty had 'ſent him to the Aſſiſtance of two Earls, but he 'much queſtion'd if any ſuch were in being, 'ſince a ſingle Skirmiſh had drove one of them 'into *Spain*, and the other into the *North*; ſo 'that he could hear no News of either: He was 'therefore willing to treat of a Peace which 'might be advantagious to the *Engliſh*, provided 'it turned not to the Detriment of *Spain*, tho' 'he wanted nothing to maintain the Siege, and 'every Day expected freſh Succours to enable 'him to effect the Deſigns he came upon.'

Spaniards deſire to parley.

To be ſhort, after a ſmall Conference, the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh*, who were both heartily weary of the Siege, agreed to the following Articles:

Articles of Capitulation.

'That the *Spaniards* ſhould deliver up *Kingſale* 'to the Lord-Deputy, with the Forts and Caſtles 'at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Caſtle-Haven*: 'That they ſhould march out with their Wives, 'Goods, and Colours flying: That the *Engliſh* 'ſhould ſupply them with Ships at a reaſonable 'Rate, to tranſport them, at two Voyages, into '*Spain*: That *D'Aquila* ſhould depart laſt: That 'they ſhould not act in a hoſtile manner againſt 'the Queen of *England*, till they were landed 'in *Spain*; and if in their Return they touched 'at any *Engliſh* Port, they ſhould be well and 'civilly treated: That if they lighted on any '*Engliſh* Veſſels, they ſhould not be moleſted: 'That ſo long as they were obliged to tarry in '*Ireland* for a Wind, they ſhould have what was 'neceſſary for their Money, and no Affronts nor 'Injuries offer'd to them; and for the Ships which 'were to tranſport them, Security ſhould be given, by the Delivery of three Hoſtages, ſuch 'as the Lord-Deputy ſhould approve of.'

The Forty Fifth Year of her Reign. 1602.

Spaniards deliver up the Forts, &c.

Theſe Articles being on the ſecond of *January* drawn up in Writing, and ſworn to on both Sides, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity of good Weather, and ſet ſail from *Ireland*, their Forces being very much diminiſhed; and the *Iriſh* were very much diſturbed, that they had by Agreement ſurrender'd to the *Engliſh* all the Forts and Caſtles, with the Defence and Security of which they had been intruſted. But juſt as they were going to ſurrender *Dunboy*, *O-Suillivant Beare*, who had given them Charge of it, ſeized upon it of a ſudden, made it very ſtrong, and by his Letters perſuaded the *Spaniards* to return again. But the Preſident, for fear the Poſſeſſion of ſo

Except Dunboy.

convenient

1602. Ann. 45. convenient an Harbour should prove an Occasion of reviving the War, hastned thither by Sea, by reason the Land-Passage was very difficult, prevented *Tirel*, who was ready with some hired Forces to hinder his landing; and after a bloody Siege, he took the Fort, razed it to the Ground, and by that means cut off the *Spaniards*, whose Return was expected thither.

Rebels reduced. Nevertheless *Eugenius O-Hegan*, whom the Pope had design'd for the Bishoprick of *Ross*, by supplying them with Money, and feeding them with the Expectation of fresh Succours from *Spain*, did so far fix the Minds of such as waver'd in their Resolutions, that they still persisted in their Rebellion. But *Wilmot*, Governor in *Kerry*, and the two Brothers, *Roger* and *Gawin Harvey*, seized on their Castles in *Carbury*, and by driving away their Cattle, and putting many of them to the Sword, reduced them to better Order by Force. The President himself seized on *Cormac Mac-Dermot* by Surprize, who was a great Man in *Muskery*, and was supported by many Adherents. He was accused as an Abettor of Disturbances, and committed to Custody: But when he saw his Country ruined, his Castles seized on by the *English* (*Wilmot* having upon his Escape taken *Muckron*, his best Seat, as it was by chance all on fire) and his Son being a Prisoner in *England*, his Wife in *Cork*, and himself under a double Hazard both of Life and Fortune, he submitted himself, and begged Pardon, which was granted upon his producing Security for his good Behaviour.

Mean while, *Samuel Bagnal* put *Tirel* to flight, being lately arrived in *Muskery* with his Band of hireling Vagabonds, and seized upon his Castles, forced him away into the Mountains of *Dermond*. *Wilmot* did at the same time so warmly pursue the Knight of *Kerry* and his Associates, that they implor'd his Pardon and Protection in the most lamentable Tone imaginable. *Tirel* being pursued by the Lord *Barry* and *Wilmot*, got by some blind Ways into *Leimster*. Not long after, *William-a-Burgh* and *Suillivant Bear*, being surrounded with Fear and Difficulties, left *Bear* and *Bantrey* without any Defence, to the Arms of the *English*. On the other side, Captain *Taffe*, who was sent out by the President, hotly pursued *Eugenius Mac-Carty* and *Donat Keogh* in *Carbery*, and slew the Bishop, *Eugenius O-Hegan*, as he was fighting in the Croud with a Sword in one Hand, and a Breviary in t'other.

Bishop *O-Heghan* slain.

Altho' *Ireland* was now clear of the *Spaniards*, the Queen however, having a tender Regard to her Peoples Safety, sent out a Fleet of eight Ships from the Royal Navy, with some others of lesser Burden, to the Coasts of *Spain*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Mounson*, on purpose to divert the *Spaniards* from the Thoughts of a new Attempt upon *Ireland*. *Levison* set sail on the 19th of *March*, and *Mounson* followed him, having made a stay of some few Days, tho' to no purpose, to take the *Low-Country* Ships along with him. Mean while *Levison* fell upon a Fleet of 38 *Spanish* Vessels, with Plate in them from *America*, and attacked them with his small Squadron, but without effect. When *Mounson* came in with the rest of the Navy, they spoiled all the Trade on the Coast of *Portugal*. At length they had Intelligence that a vast Carack of 1600 Tuns, and richly laden from the *East-Indies*, was arrived at *Sesimbria* in *Portugal* near *Cape-Spichel*; and that there were eleven Gallies there at anchor, eight of them belonging to *Spain*, and assigned to *Frederick Spinola* for the *Low-Country* Service, and the other three were *Portuguese* Ships. *Sesimbria* is a small City situate upon a Bay within the Road, built with Stone and fortified with a Castle and twelve great Guns: The Carack lay just under the Fort, and the Gallies on the West-side the Road under a Rock, with their Stems foremost, and had each of them five Guns mounted, so that no Assault could be made without eminent Danger, by reason the Castle, the Carack and Gallies were all so well provided. However, Sir *Richard Levison*, by the Seamens Consent, was resolutely bent upon making an Assault, and to set the Carack on fire, if they could not take her.

Spanish Plate-Fleet attack'd, but in vain.

1602. Ann. 45.

A Carack and Gallies set on in the Port of *Sesimbria*.

The next Day therefore, having the advantage of a gentle Breeze, he, according to Agreement, set up a Flag on the Admiral's Main-Top, and *Mounson* put up another (as is usual at Sea) in the Vice-Admiral's Fore-Top; and entring not long after with five of the Queen's Ships into the Road, they came to anchor just over against the Gallies, and played upon them with their Guns so furiously, that after seven Hours the Marquess of *Sancta Cruce* retired with the *Portuguese* Gallies under his Command; but seing *Spinola* did not follow him, he returned again. But the Gallies being unable to stand the Brunt, endeavoured every one to provide for themselves by flight; two of them were taken and burnt; and there was found in them a great store of Powder design'd for the *Netherlands*; the rest being torn and batter'd, and most of the Slaves killed, with a great deal of Difficulty reached the Mouth of the River *Tayo*. *Mounson* was just preparing to set fire to the great Carack, but *Levison* prevented him, and advertised the Captain, by *Sewall* an old Seaman, That the Gallies he depended on were put to flight, and two of them taken; that he was now Master of the Road, and the Castle itself was not able to stand the Force of the *English* Ships; and how then should his Carack? If therefore they refused a good Treatment when 'twas offer'd them, they were like to be handled with the utmost Severity. The Captain desired some Gentlemen to be sent to him, with whom he might make Conditions at large. *Mounson* was the Man, and the *Spaniards* insisted on these Terms: 'That all the Persons in the Carack '(for 300 Gentlemen came on board on purpose 'to defend her) should depart safely with their 'Arms; that their Flag should not be taken 'down; that the Ship and Guns should remain 'to the King's Use, and that all the Lading 'should fall to the *English*.' *Mounson* consented that they should all be dismissed within three Days, but would by no means permit that the *Spanish* Flag should be hoisted in the sight of the *English*, except at the Ship's Stern; nor would he agree that the Ship should go to the King of *Spain*: But after a long Dispute, it was agreed, 'That the *Portuguese* should be dismissed in two 'Days time, and suffer'd to go with unlighted 'Matches, that their Flag should be levelled; 'that the Ship, together with the Guns and Lading, should fairly be deliver'd up just as it 'was, and that in the mean time no Guns should 'be fired upon the *English* from the Castle.' All the Persons were sent out of the Carack the same Night, except the Captain and some others, who were put ashore early the next Morning. The same Day the Prize was carried out of the Road, and the *English* taking the advantage of a fair Gale, brought her home, her Cargo being computed, according to the *Portuguese* Account, at a Million of Ducats, and their Loss in the Enterprize no more than five common Seamen.

Two Gallies taken.

A Parley with the Carack.

Taken.

Mounson was sent back with some Ships to the Coasts of *Spain*, where he staid till the midst of Winter, to keep them from making any new Descent upon *Ireland*. Whilst he was making the best of his way for *Spain*, *Frederick Spinola* entred on

1602. Ann. 45.

on the 23d of *September* into the *British* Channel, and kept along the *French* Shore with six Gallies, which made their Escape at *Sesimbria*, designing to get with them into some Port of *Flanders*: Sir *Robert Mansel* waited for him with two or three Men of War, and four *Hollanders* were likewise cruizing on the Road. The *Spaniards* first discover'd two of the *Hollanders* Ships, and resolved to set upon them; but happening to spy one of the Queen's Ships not far off, they shifted their Oars, and stood the remaining part of the Day, hoping by the Advantage of the Night to gain their intended Port. *Mansel*, with the two *Dutchmen* and his own Ships, gave them chace from eight in the Morning till Sunset. When Night came on, the Gallies alter'd their Course for the *English* Shore, and came so near it, that some of the Slaves got off their Fetters, leapt overboard, and swam to Land; and before they were aware they fell into a Place where one of the Queen's Ships and the *Hollanders* lay at anchor. Hereupon *Mansel* taking it for granted that the Gallies must needs fall in with those Ships; in order to make them keep their Course with the more Assurance, steer'd a little out of the way on purpose to get between the Gallies and the Coast of *Flanders*.

English chace the Spanish Gallies.

They fall in with the Queen's Ships unawares.

The Queen's Ship they lighted upon was called the *Answer*. *Broadgate*, the Captain of her, who had prepared to fight, upon the Report of the Guns, which he heard at a distance, bestowed upon them 38 Shot, and the *Hollanders* gave them as warm a Salute. The Gallies did not fire so much as one Gun, but got away by the help of their Oars; and failing at random, one of them, in the Night-time, fell in with *Mansel*; he discharged all his Guns at her, and shot down her Main-Mast; and upon hearing a lamentable Cry, made up and offer'd her Quarter by an Interpreter. The other five Gallies came afterwards to her Assistance, at which he let fly a Broad-side, but what Execution it did could not be discover'd, tho' the Night was not so dark as usual. After this there was not the least Noise of shooting heard, till an *Holland* Vessel fell foul upon a Galley call'd the *Lucera* or *Phosphorus*, took away her Rudder, and so disabled her, that she sunk immediately after with almost all the Persons that were in her. Another *Dutch* Ship falling foul by chance of the Galley call'd *Padilla*, split her in pieces, and but narrowly escaped the same Disaster herself. Another of the Gallies was cast away thro' the Carelessness of the Sailors, in its way towards *Calais*. Two more of them put into *Newport*: *Spinola* himself, in the Admiral, escaped into *Dunkirk* with a very valuable Cargo; and after he had refitted the three Gallies, he carried them to *Scluis*, and the Year following was kill'd with a Cannon-shot in a Sea-fight with the *Hollanders*, leaving the Character of a very brave Person behind him.

Gallies defeated.

The Death of Spinola.

We have before took notice that the Commission of the Bishop of *London*, *Christopher Perkins*, and *John Swale*, whom the Queen dispatch'd to *Embden*, *Ann.* 1600, had no effect. The Queen therefore sent away to *Breme* these following Persons upon the same Errand, *viz. Ralph L. Euers*, Sir *John Herbert* Under-Secretary, *Daniel Dun* Doctor of Law, and one of the Masters of Requests, and *Stephen Lesier* was join'd as an Assistant to them. The King of *Denmark* sent *Manderope Presberg*, *Arnold Whitfield* Chancellor of *Denmark*, and *Jonas Carisius* Doctor of Law. The *English* complain'd, That they were debarred the Freedom of Navigation into *Muscovy* by the Northern Channel, and the Liberty of Fishing upon the Coasts and Islands of that Country; and that they were obliged to pay extravagant Impositions meerly for their Passage thro' the *Sound*: They demanded therefore, 'That the ancient 'Treaties between *Henry* VII, King of *England*, 'and *John* King of *Denmark*, *Ann.* 1490, might 'be revived and put in use; that the precarious 'and exorbitant Demands of new Customs might 'be taken off or remedied, and a fix'd Rate set 'down in Writing, with some stated and certain Laws about Sales and Forfeitures; that 'their Ships might not be detain'd in the *Sound*, 'longer than was necessary; that the Grievances 'of private Persons might be heard and redress'd; 'and that no Ammunition might be transported 'into *Spain*.'

A Treaty with the Danes.

Hereupon it was debated on both Sides, 'Whether Princes might lawfully raise their Customs 'as they pleased, contrary to former Treaties? 'Whether this was not against the Laws of Equity, admitting it had been practised; since 'all Customs ought to be founded upon a just 'and equitable Bottom? Whether what has 'been determin'd upon mature and serious Deliberation, and for some time allowed and tolerated on both Sides, can be render'd void and 'null, without a direct Infringement of the 'Power and Prerogative of those Princes who 'establish'd the same at first? Whether those 'Customs impos'd upon the *Danes*, *&c.* by the '*English* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, for Wares 'imported and exported, were not more reasonable than those which the *Danes* exacted for 'Passage only; they pretending to demand as 'their bare Fee, for securing the Sailors, a Rose-'Noble of every Ship, one Piece in the hundred 'Lastage? Whether Customs are demandable 'for Passage only, since they are paid no where 'else but for the Landing and Sale of Goods? 'Whether the Northern Channel be not free 'for the *English* to fish in, as well as the Islands 'and Coasts thereof? and, Whether they may 'not sail through it into *Muscovy*, the Sea being 'open to every body, and an Element that is no 'more in the power of Princes, than the Air it 'self, according to that Expression of the Emperor *Antoninus*; *I am Master indeed of the Continent, but the Sea is under the Disposal of the Law; let therefore the Law of* Rhodes *determine the Matter?* Whether, upon this account, it 'was not against the Law of Nations, to usurp 'such a Dominion over the Sea, seeing Princes 'have no Right at all but in those Seas that lie 'near their own Territories, and that no farther 'than to secure their Trade from Pirates and 'Enemies? Besides that, the Kings of *England* 'never prohibited Fishing and Navigation in the '*Irish* Seas between *England* and *Ireland*, though 'they are equally Proprietors of the Coasts on 'both Sides, as the King of *Denmark* is of *Norway* and *Iceland*, who yet pretends to this Royalty upon no other Claim but that. But if 'Payments are to be demanded from the *English* 'for Passage, the Queen may as reasonably lay 'as high Imposts upon the *Danes*, that trade 'into her Dominions.'

Queries propounded.

Hereupon the *Danes* offer'd, 'That since his 'Majesty's Father did, upon the Queen's account, allow that Privilege of Navigation, tho' 'considerably to his own Damage and Inconvenience, the *English* Merchants might think it 'worth while to re-purchase that Liberty, during 'the Queen's Life, at the Cost of 200 * Rose-'Nobles *per An.* That the Goods taken on both 'Sides should be restored in a fair and just Proportion.' Then did they proceed to great Remonstrances and Complaints as to the *English* Pirates, alledging, 'That altho' it was hardly possible to stop the Insolence of Pirates in Times 'of

The Danes Proposals.

* *A Piece of Money of about* 16 s. 8 d.

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'of War, yet their might be Punishments inflicted severe enough to restrain them; at least there ought to be Reprisals granted for the recovery of Damages, because Princes are very much concern'd to see that their Subjects receive no Detriment: That the *English* need not complain that any Ammunition was transported into *Spain*, since the *Danes* furnish'd them with so small a Quantity, that the *Spaniards* reap'd very little Benefit or Service from it.'

When these Things had been canvass'd on both Sides for two Months, and several Papers deliver'd in to the said effect, the *Danes* told the *English* all of a sudden, That they had no power to review or re-inforce the old Treaties, to take off or abate the Duties and Customs, or to grant the liberty of Fishing in the *Iceland* or *Norway-Seas*, without his Majesty's special Licence and Authority, and upon certain Terms and Conditions; and withal, they forbad the *English* to fish at the Islands of *Faroe*, (which was most admir'd at of any thing) and that on the same Penalty they had been debar'd the said Liberty upon heretofore.

A new Inhibition of the Danes.

The *English* on the other side, protested against this Inhibition as null and void, as also against any other Declaration that they should make contrary to the plain and express tenour of the Treaties. And when they could come to no other Conclusion but this, That the Points in debate should be refer'd to their several Princes respectively, and the *Danes* promised to interceed effectually with their King to publish the Rates in his Toll-Books, in order to make appear the certainty of his Numbers, Weights and Measures; and that they should not be alter'd at will, contrary to the Rates set down in those Books, which were also to be lodg'd in the Hands of the Custom-House-Officers; And that as to the Point of Forfeitures, no Goods should be seiz'd but what were conceal'd or unmark'd. The *English* Commissioners express'd themselves satisfied with the *Danes* Promises, and the whole Business was put off till another time, with a reserve still of all Rights, Dues and Demands to the Queen of *England*, her Realm and Subjects.

Jesuits and secular-Priests quarrel.

Whilst these Things lay in dispute between the two Crowns, the Popish Ecclesiasticks in *England* were at Daggers drawing among themselves; for the Jesuits and secular Priests began to bespatter one another in virulent Pamphlets, and dipt their Tongues and Pens in the bitterest Venom. The secular Priests were in a mighty Pet that *Blackwel*, formerly a Student in *Oxford*, of *Trinity-Colledge*, and an absolute Creature of *Garnet's*, who was Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, was made Superintendant over them, and therefore they made bold to disclaim his Authority. On this account, he first strip'd 'em of their *Faculties*, (as they are term'd) and not long after, upon their Appeal to the Pope, procur'd a Breve for declaring them *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks*. But they got clear of this Censure, and that by the Verdict of the whole University of *Paris*. After which they put out several Books, in which they extoll'd the Queen very highly for having treated the Catholicks with great Gentleness and Candor from the very beginning of her Reign.

They made it appear, 'That in the eleven first Years of her Reign, not one Papist was call'd into Question on the score of Conscience or Religion; and that in the space of ten Years compleat after the Publication of *Pius* V's Bull, against her, and the Popish Rebellion, there were not above 12 Priests put to Death, some of whom were convicted of Treason, till the Year 1580, the time when the Jesuits had their first footing in *England*.' Then they prov'd at large, 'That their impious Desings and Practices against the Government put all things into Confusion, prov'd very Prejudicial to the Catholick Interest, and occasion'd the making several severe Acts against the Papists. However, That in the ten Years following, there were not above 50 Priests executed, and 55 more banish'd, (so Merciful was the Queen) though she might have Prosecuted 'em according to Law: That since then there had been *English* Seminaries erected in *Spain*, by the Management of *Parsons*, an *English* Jesuit; and that there were sent from thence, every Year, a stock of overgrown and mischievous Priests: That this *Parsons* persuaded the King of *Spain* to a new Invasion of *England* and *Ireland*: That he had printed a Book to assert the *Infanta's* Title to the Crown of *England*, and demanded an Oath of the Students of those Seminaries respectively, to maintain the same. That *Holt*, another Jesuit, incited *Hesket* to raise a Rebellion, and tamper'd with *Cullen*, *York* and *Williams* to murder the Queen: And that *Walpool*, a Jesuit, persuaded one *Squire* to attempt the same by Poison; insomuch that the Queen, who was of opinion that Conscience was a free Principle, and ought not to be forc'd, was oblig'd to use Severity against this sort of Men, that she might not expose her own and the Kingdom's Safety.'

Parsons, whom they nicknam'd *Cowbuck*, was tax'd for a Bastard; a Fellow sprung from the Lees of the People, a Man of turbulent and seditious Principles, a Sycophant, a prevaricating Hypocrite, a Government-Broker, and what not.

They write against the Queen.

The Libels publish'd by the Jesuits against the Queen they tax'd as false, and charg'd the Authors with Treason against God and her Majesty. They moreover maintain'd with great strength of Argument, that Fire and Sword are no fit Instruments to propagate Religion, which ought to be maintain'd by a Spirit of Mildness and Gentleness. In the last place, they desir'd the *English* Catholicks to send no more of their Children to be bred up in the *English* Seminaries, where they were like to have no other Principles infus'd into 'em, but those of Treason and Rebellion.

Amidst these Heats and Contentions, which with what design soever they were carried on, the Bishop of *London* took care to improve and cherish with all the Art imaginable: The Privy-Council easily perceiv'd, that the Jesuits and the greater part of the Seculars, had this private Aim, to draw off the Queen's Subjects from their Obedience, and to excite the People to maintain the Popish Religion by force. The Queen did therefore issue out a Proclamation, commanding the Jesuits, and secular Priests their Adherents, immediately to depart the Land; and those of the more indifferent and moderate Party, to be gone in two Months, unless they would take the Oaths of Allegiance. And that neither they, nor any of their Order should return into *England*, on pain of suffering the utmost Penalties of the Laws.

A Proclamation against the Jesuits and Seculars.

And without doubt there was a kind of Providence in the publishing of this Order, since it prevented a notorious Villainy at that time upon the Anvil: For, whilst these things were in agitation, *Thomas Winter*, (as he afterwards confess'd himself) and *Tesmund* a Jesuit, were sent over into *Spain* by the Directions of some of them, where they carried on very dangerous Designs, relating to the Murder of the Queen, and the Exclusion of *James* King of

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Scots from his Rightful Claim to the Crown of *England*.

And while these Attempts were forging in *England*, the mutinous Soldiers in the *Netherlands* were up in Arms against the Archduke, and several in *France* against the King; so that all the Princes together seem'd to lie under the Influence of some ill Planet.

Biron beheaded in France. In *France* the Duke *de Biron* lost his Head, for carrying on a dangerous and wicked Design against his Country, and throwing out some provoking Expressions against the King. I know not the Particulars of his Confession; but great Discoveries he made, and amongst others, something that so ruffled the Duke of *Bovillon*, that when he was commanded to appear before the King, he refus'd it; but apprehending the King's Displeasure, and the great Interest of his Adversaries at Court, he retir'd into *Germany*. Hereupon the King complain'd of him very heartily to Queen *Elizabeth*, 'As if he thought his Marriage with *Mary* of *Florence* unlawful, the Pope's Dispensation good for nothing, and on consequence, his Son a Bastard: That he had design'd the Reversion of the Crown for the Prince of *Conde*, aim'd at the Destruction of all the Catholicks of the first Quality, and conspired to betray the *Spaniards* for a Price to the *United Provinces*: That he refus'd to be tried by the Parliament of *Paris*, and had made his Appeal to the Chamber at *Chastres*, which could pretend to no manner of Cognisance in such Matters; and had excepted against his Accusers, which is not allowable in cases of High-Treason: That these were but Tricks and Stratagems to evade a Trial, and lift himself into the Regal Authority; and that he therefore ask'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice, what was best to be done upon this Occasion.'

French King's complaint to Queen Elizabeth.

Her Answer. She return'd him Answer by her Residentiary Ambassador in *France*, 'That she was much concern'd to hear these Things; but took it withal for a great Honour to be intrusted with Matters of that high Concernment. She commended at the same time his Evenness of Temper, in hearkning rather to the Advices of his Friends at such a Juncture, than to the Suggestions of a private Person.' As for the Advice he was pleas'd to ask, her Answer was, 'That if the Proofs against him were as evident as the Impeachment was scandalous, he would do well to proceed against him according to Law; but till Matters of Fact were clearly made out, it would be unsafe for her to direct any thing, for fear of offending God, her Conscience, or an innocent Person; lest, however, she should happen to disoblige the King, should he entertain a Thought that she was not duly concern'd for his Safety. She thought therefore that Silence was the best Argument in so doubtful a Point. However, she intreated the King to consult his own Reason and Conscience as closely as might be, and to examin well the Evidences and Confessions, whereby they came from Persons of Credit and Probity, and free from all suspicion of Bribery and Corruption, forasmuch as no Man stands free from the Attacks of Malice and Slander. And she insinuated at the same time, That bare Allegations are but slender Proofs to influence the Conscience of an unbyass'd Judge against a Person of so fair a Character for Virtue. That the Crimes objected, till farther Proof, were much too black and heinous to be with any colour or shew of Probability imputed to a Person of his Character. For, who would believe that a Person of so sober and religious an Education, and who had shewn himself so stanch a Loyalist to the King, and so true a Friend to his Country, in all the Difficulties which had attended both, could ever have harbour'd such vile Designs against his Sovereign, a Prince of that singular Desert; or that he should ever join with a Cabal of Persons of broken Fortunes and Estates, between whom and himself there did not appear the least conformity of Temper or Interest, Religion or Principle, and from whom he could expect nothing but Baseness and Falsehood? That it was to be fear'd the *Spaniards* had the chief hand in these Suggestions, on purpose to imbroil the *French* once more in the Inconveniencies of a civil War.'

The King heard all this with great Dissatisfaction, and thereupon let fall Expressions to this purpose: *That the Queen thought better of* Bouillon *than he deserv'd; that he was one of the principal Abettors of the* Earl *of* Essex's *design upon the Queen and her Privy-Council; and that when he charged him therewith, he was not able to deny it, but gave him a Smile instead of an Answer.* The Crimes charg'd upon him, he affirm'd most solemnly to be really true, and reckon'd the several Favours he had confer'd upon him, *viz.* 'That he had made him one of the Houshold, contriv'd an advantagious Match for him with an Heiress of the House of *Bouillon*, gave him the possession of *Sedan*, made him one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, and advanc'd him to the Honour of a Marshal and a Duke: That he was very lately resolv'd to have shew'd him Mercy, if he would have ask'd for it: But since he scorn'd to ask Pardon, and the Guilt of his Conscience had driven him out of the Kingdom, he had no reason to shew him any farther Favour. He added moreover, That he had interpos'd with the Queen in favour of the Earl of *Essex*, in an Instance not unlike this, but had desisted when he found his Crime was so notorious.'

The King's Reply.

The Ambassador replied, *That the Queen entertain'd a good Opinion of the Duke chiefly for these Reasons*: 'Because he had hitherto, upon all Occasions, signaliz'd his Courage and good Affection to his Prince and Country: That she should be sorry to find any Truth in the Matters he stood charg'd with, as in the Earl of *Essex*'s case she had done; and, if so, she should have an absolute Detestation for him. And as for the Advice she presum'd to give, it was purely owing to the Regard she had for the King's Safety, which she tender'd no otherwise than her own.'

Queen's Answer.

But, if any Credit may be given to the *French* Writers, and the more exact Observers among the *English*, *Biron*, *Bouillon* and some others, who thought that they had secur'd the King's Crown and Dignity at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, when they saw him shew more Favour and Countenance to those who but lately plotted his Ruin, and admit them to his Cabinet before others, as if they had been Men of the greatest Desert and best confirm'd Principles, and would wipe off their past Crimes by their future good Behaviour; and observing likewise, that the Stream of all Preferments ran in their Channel, and that they were intrusted with those very Governments, which in the late Confusions they had seiz'd upon; they could not forbear shewing some Disgust, when they found themselves suspected, as it were, for Traitors: And thereupon, as well as upon some other Accounts, imagining they had deserv'd a much better Treatment at his hands, they began to contrive together how to intail their Governments upon themselves and their Heirs. And when they could not compass their Intentions by fair

means

1602. Ann. 45. means, they grew more daring and insolent than profess'd Enemies: For some of them were not asham'd to asperse the King, in a most virulent manner, in some Letters sent by them to the Queen; not only as an ungrateful Person, but also as a weak Prince, and a Coward; and that his way of Conquests was not by real Bravery, but meer Bribes and Promises. The Queen notwithstanding, having a great Concern for the King's Honour and Security, and withal a compassionate Sense of the frequent, dangerous and sudden Revolts of the *French*, fail'd not to cry him up as the great Preserver and Restorer of the almost-wither'd Monarchy of *France*.

I have mention'd these Passages in respect to the Memory and Merit of the Queen's judicious and prudent Advices to this Prince, her constant Friendship to an old Ally, and one who was once of the same Religion as well as Interest, and her prudent Management and Instructions for the Advantage of them both. About the same time she sent some Succours to *Geneva*, the Nursery of the Reformation; which was at present assaulted by Stratagem and Force, by the Duke of *Savoy*; the Bishops and People all over *England* contributing very bountifully towards its Relief.

Death of Dr. *Nowel*. This Year died in the Month of *February*, at a very great Age, *Alexander Nowel*, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of St. *Paul's*, who in Queen *Mary*'s Reign liv'd an Exile in *Germany*, for the sake of his Religion; which, after his Return he strenuously asserted by his Sermons and other learn'd Discourses. He gave 200*l. per an.* to *Brazen-Nose*-College in *Oxford*; where he had his Education, for the Maintenance of 13 Students; and was in his whole Life a shining Pattern of Sobriety and Vertue. He was succeeded by *John Overal*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, and a Person of extraordinary Learning; he being recommended very highly to the Queen, by Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who was a mighty Favourer of learned Men.

I must now look back, and take a View of what was transacted in *Ireland* this Year. After the *Spaniards* were driven thence, *Ter-Oen* fled as fast as his Fear carry'd him, cross the Country, to recover his Lurking-places in *Ulster*, and had a great many Men swept away, by the Floods and Swelling of the Tides, occasion'd by the Winter-Rains: And he now began to give up his Hopes, and to fill himself with the most dismal Apprehensions; for an ill Conscience would allow him no Peace, but made him afraid of his own Shadow; insomuch that he was every day looking out for new Places to abscond in, and quitted his Shelter, as soon as he had attain'd it.

Tir-Oen in great Perplexity.

The Lord Deputy, to refresh his Soldiers, who were miserably harrass'd, put them into Winter-Quarters; and having dispos'd Things in *Munster*, return'd to *Dublin*. As soon as the sharp Weather was over, he return'd again by easy Marches, to infuse the greater Terror, with a good Army, into *Ulster*; designing, as he had done before, to surround the Rebels there, by erecting Forts, and placing Garrisons about 'em to trepan and hem them in: He transported his Army over *Black-water* by Flotes of Timber fastned together; and finding a Ford, not before discover'd, beneath the old Fort, he built a Sconce there, which he call'd by his own Christian Name, *Charlemount*. *Tir-Oen* being alarm'd hereat, set fire to his own House at *Dun-gannon*: The Lord-Deputy march'd forward, and as soon as Sir *Henry Docwray* join'd him with his Forces from *Lough-Foil*, he sent Detachments into all the Country, cut down the standing Corn, set Fire to the Villages and Houses, and drove away the Cattle all about.

L. Deputy builds Fort *Charlemount*.

1602. Ann. 45. The Forts in *Lough-Crew*, *Lough-Reah*, and *Moberlecow*, (where Sir *John Berkley*, a Gentleman of good Courage, was shot) were deliver'd up to the Lord-Deputy, who placed a Fort, and a Garrison in it, at *Lough-Eaugh*, or *Lough-Sidney*, which he call'd *Montjoy*, from his own Title, and made Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Knight, Governour thereof; who, on the score of his great Courage and Desert, did afterwards succeed the Lord-Deputy.

He sent Sir *Henry Docwray* back to *Derry*, and he took *O-Cahan* into favour, after he had surrender'd a great part of his Territory to the Queen's Use; on condition he might hold the rest by Letters-Patents. Then, by the Lord-Deputy's Orders, he wasted *Omye*, and made a prodigious Slaughter; driving away *Cormack-Mac-Baron*'s Cattle, tho' with some Hazard to himself. After this he was call'd back by the Lord-Deputy; and when he had taken the Castle of *Agar*, was sent home to his own Charge, and with him Sir *Henry Folliot*, whom he made Governour of *Balishanon*; first with the Limitation of his Deputy, but not long after with a full and plenary Authority, (contrary to all Expectation) the *English* very much admiring that he was preferr'd before *Docwray*, who was the Instrument of reducing *Balishanon* at the first. At the same time (to the equal Surprize of the *Irish*) he took into his Protection *Roderick O-Donel*, a notorious Rebel, and let alone *Neal Garve*, who had hitherto stood firm to the *English*, and was so provoked by the Neglect, that in a moody Humour he took upon him the Title of *O-Donel*, (which prov'd fatal to him) and began to tyrannize over the People, and exact from them that Oath, which was the Queen's proper Right.

Docwray plagues the Rebels.

Neal-Garve takes the Title of *O-donel*.

Just before the Close of the Year, Sir *Arthur Chichester* and Sir *Henry Docwray* resolv'd to attack *Tir-Oen* on all sides, who was then skulking in the woody Valleys: But all the Avenues and Passages were so miry, the March so troublesome, by reason of the Thickness of the Trees; and withal, the Weather was so foul, and the Scouts so false, that they were forced to desist from their Design. But in conclusion, the Garrisons which were settled up and down by the Lord-Deputy, did so annoy and disturb the Rebels, by frequent and repeated Attacks, and the several Marches and Countermarches which they made; that finding themselves begirt and surrounded on all sides, and reduced every day to greater Extremities; and that they were forced likewise to skulk and hide, like a parcel of Wild-Beasts, in the Woods and Thickets; a great number of them began to change Sides, as their Fortune had done before them; and strove who should be foremost in submitting themselves, tho' with what Caution they could, to the Lord Deputy: They complain'd withal, that *Tir Oen* had exposed the Nation to Ruin, purely to cherish a private Disgust; and that this War was carry'd on, to answer his Ends or Interest; but would be sure to prove of the worst Consequence to every body else. Those who submitted were more favourably treated by the Lord-Deputy; whilst, contrary to his Promise, he took but little Notice of such as adhered faithfully to the Queen's Interest: But perhaps he thought it necessary, to give some Respite to a languishing Government, rather than by an over hasty Cure occasion its Wounds to bleed afresh. Nor was *Tir-Oen* in the least ignorant, that his bad Fortune had drawn off his Adherents, and diminish'd his Forces: So that being tired out with his ill Successes, he resolv'd to prevent farther Mischief, out of a Principle of Self preservation, consistent enough with the greatest Courage:

Several of the Rebels submit.

He

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Tir-Oen craves Pardon. *'Tis granted on Condition.*

He therefore ply'd the Queen and the Lord Deputy with submissive Letters; humbly imploring Pardon for his great Offences; and gave withal, such pregnant Evidences of his Sorrow and Concern for what was past, that the Queen empowred the Lord-Deputy to receive him into Favour, provided he would ask it upon his Knees, with the same Submissiveness he had express'd in his Letters.

1603.

The Six and fortieth Year of her Reign.

Tir-Oen had no sooner receiv'd Information hereof, but he earnestly press'd the Dispatch of the Business, by the Application of *Arthur Mac-Baron*, his Brother, and some others. And, after several Denials, at last, upon Promise that he would submit his Life and Estate entirely to the Queen's Mercy, the Lord-Deputy permitted him to come to *Millefont*, having by some of his Friends been inform'd of the Queen's Indisposition, which was the more dangerous, because of her advanc'd Age. Hither he came as fast as he could, with one or two more in his Company; and being admitted into the Presence-Chamber, (where the Lord-Deputy sat in a Chair of State, with a great many Swordsmen about him) he fell on his Knees, at the very Threshold, with a down-cast Aspect, and in an Habit as abject and careless. After he had for some time continued in that Posture, the Lord-Deputy made a Sign to him to come nearer: He got up accordingly, and making a few nearer Approaches, fell once more upon his Knees, and spoke to this purpose: 'I acknowledge my Sin against God, and my Offence against my most gracious Queen and Sovereign; to whose Royal Clemency I entirely refer myself, and give up my Life and Fortune to her Majesty's Disposal. And as I have been sensible of her Goodness formerly, and have at present felt the Influence of her Power, so I humbly intreat her to make me in some degree the Subject of her Royal Compassion, that I may stand as a Monument of her Clemency to future Ages: I have yet before me time enough, and do not want either Strength or Resolution to expiate my Fault, by some good Service for the future.' As he was going on, and making some Complaints of the Injuries he had receiv'd through the Ill-will of some particular Persons, the Lord-Deputy interrupted him, and said, That there was no Colour to be used for an Offence like his: And after he had spoken a very little more to him, with a Brow of Authority, (which is a Soldier's best Rhetorick) he order'd him to withdraw; and the next day he brought him with him to *Dublin*, designing to bring him over to the Queen, that she might dispose of him at her Pleasure.

Tir-Oen absolutely submits.

Rebellion suppress'd.

Thus was *Tir-Oen's* Rebellion happily extinguish'd, the eighth Year after it broke out; thro' the Queen's better Fortune, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord-Deputy, who was afterwards created, by King *James*, Earl of *Devonshire*. It commenced at first upon personal Disgusts, with a little Touch of Ambition at the bottom: It was fomented and kept up by the Neglect and Stingyness of *England*: It ran all over *Ireland*, on the Pretence of restoring Popery, and the Prospect of unbounded Liberty: It got Strength by the Weakness and Credulity of some, and the private Countenance of others, that were in place; and gain'd more Ground by one or two fortunate Successes, back'd by the *Spaniard's* Gold and Forces, and the Pope's Indulgences. It was protracted and spun out by the ill tim'd Emulations of the *English*, the lodging of the Government in two Hands, and the Avarice of the old Soldiers, who made the War a kind of Trade: To which we may add, the subtile Stratagems of *Tir-Oen*, his feign'd Submissions and treacherous Capitulations, the Protections granted to Offenders, the Difficulty and Straitness of the Roads and Passages; and, in the last place, the desperate Temper of the *Irish*, who trusted more to the Swiftness of their Heels, than the Strength of ther Hands.

Rise and Growth of it.

Queen falls sick at Windsor.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoy'd a good Stock of Health, through her exact Temperance both as to Wine and Diet, (which she used to say was the noblest part of Physick) being in her climacterical Year, *viz.* the 70th Year of her Age; began to perceive in herself some Weakness and Decay of Health and Spirits, and the ill Weather increas'd her Indisposition; till on the last of *January*, which prov'd a very stormy day, she remov'd from *Westminster* to *Richmond*, to enjoy there the Remains of Life with more Freedom, and better Opportunities for the Service of God. She happen'd on that very day (whether from some Reflexions upon her Death, or Presages as to what might follow) to say to the Lord-Admiral, for whom she had a particular Respect, *My Throne has been held by Princes in the way of Succession, and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate Heir.* And the Courtiers made it their Observation, that the Queen was never more constant to the Service of the Chappel, than at present: They likewise report, that she then commanded the Ring in which she had been espoused in Form to her Kingdom, at her Coronation, and had never been took off before, to be filed from her Finger; because it was so grown into the Flesh, that it could not be got off any other way: And this was look'd on as a very melancholy Omen, and portending no less than a Dissolution of her Marriage with the State, which by that Emblem she had contracted. In the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Throat swell'd, but soon came down again: After that her Appetite went off by degrees, and she gave her self to a Melancholy, which by the Effects appear'd owing to a Cause as peculiar as powerful: Whether it was the Violence of her Distemper, or the Loss of *Essex*, (as his Friends flatter'd themselves) or that she had been over-persuaded to pardon *Tir-Oen*, after so vast an Expence in supporting the *Irish* War; or that she had heard some Rumours, or receiv'd some Intelligence from the *French* King, that many of the Nobility did, by private Letters, court and caress the K. of *Scots*, who was adored by them as the Rising Sun; whilst she was disregarded, as being just upon her Declension: This she seem'd to give too much Credit to, (as indeed both her Age and her Sex dispos'd her to be jealous) and perhaps there was Reason enough: For some of the Court-Nobility (not to mention the Ladies) most unhandsomely forsook her, when they had the least Reason to have done it; for the Queen was still the same, tho' the Courtiers were chang'd; and 'tis probable they withdrew their Respect, either because her Majesty was very antient, or they tired with the Length of her Reign, (for long Possession lessens the Value of the best things) or else perhaps they long'd for a Change, and grew out of Humour with the present times, in hopes of seeing finer Days hereafter; as if all past Favours were to be forgot, as being a Clog upon the Memory of ungrateful Persons. Nor is it impossible but this might be a kind of Court Stratagem to quarrel with the present Administration, on purpose to curry Favour with the Successor, out of a false Maxim, that the succeeding Prince takes a kind of Pleasure in the Disparagement of his Predecessor,

Her Coronation-Ring took off.

She grows melancholy.

1603. Ann. 46. ceffor. And in truth, this was a Courfe they purfued fo openly, that they fell at laft into Quarrels among themfelves; and fome were for fending for the Succeffor, whilft the Queen's Recovery was yet uncertain: infomuch that they feemed to have made him already a Prefent of their Affections, as much as could be done at that Diftance. Hereupon the Queen looked upon herfelf as an helplefs and abandon'd Perfon; and would, in an Excefs of Paffion, drop now and then an Expreffion to this purpofe: *They have now got me in a Yoak: I have no body left me that I can truft; and my Condition is the perfect Reverfe of what it was.* And to imbitter her Sorrows yet more, they perfuaded her that fhe had loft much of her Intereft in the Hearts of her People: Whereas they, having a natural kind of Grudge to thofe in Power, complain'd moft of all, that an exorbitant one was lodged in fome who were too near the Queen's Perfon, and indeed had almoft ftollen away her Prerogative; and that others perceiving the Queen's Decay, were making the beft Markets for themfelves, as is ufual in fuch Cafes.

Queen grows worfe. As foon as the Rumour was confirm'd that the Queen's Illnefs increafed upon her, and that fhe was now greatly averfe to Phyfick, as indeed fhe had ever appeared in her younger Days; 'tis hardly credible, with how forward a Zeal, all Ranks and Conditions of Men, Puritans, Papifts, and others, as they were led on by particular Views and Expectations, hafted away, at all Times and Hours, by Sea and Land, into *Scotland*, to pay their Adorations to the Rifing-Sun, the young King: whofe Pretenfions the Queen always favour'd at the bottom, though fhe was too prudent to lay open her Thoughts. And in truth, Perfons of all Degrees and Qualities feem'd to concur in the fame Sentiments, and had with great Satisfaction and Regard confider'd and look'd upon him as the undoubted Heir of the Crown: though at the fame time there went about fome falfe Reports of a Marriage of his Uncle's Daughter, the Lady *Arbella*; and the *French* Ambaffador did all he could to raife Commotions, left the two Kingdoms of *Britain*, *England* and *Scotland*, which were as yet divided, fhould come to an Union. In the beginning of *March* fhe was feized with a kind of Stupour or Heavinefs, join'd with a Pettifhnefs common enough to ancient Perfons: infomuch as fhe would frequently fit in a filent Pofture, and refrain from eating; as having fequefter'd herfelf for Thought and Meditation. She would admit of no Difcourfe, unlefs with the Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, who join'd with her in Prayer and other

Young King courted by all Parties.

Devotions, which fhe perform'd with great Fervour, till her Speech left her; and then fhe was very attentive to his Grace, whilft he pray'd by her. About this time the Lord-Admiral having acquainted the reft of the Council with what the Queen had told him in private, when fhe went laft from *Weftminfter*, in relation to her Succeffor; they all thought it convenient, that himfelf, with the Lord-Keeper and Secretary, fhould wait upon her Majefty, and acquaint her, that they were come in the Name of the reft, to learn her Pleafure, in reference to the Succeffion. The Queen anfwer'd, with a faint Voice: *That fhe had already declared, That as fhe had held a Regal Scepter, fo fhe defired no other than a Royal Succeffor.* And the Secretary requefting her to explain herfelf; *I would* (faid fhe) *have a King fucceed me, and who fhould that be, but my neareft Kinfman, the King of* Scots? The Archbifhop then advifing her to fix her Thoughts upon God; fhe reply'd, *That fhe did fo, nor did her Mind in the leaft wander from him.* When fhe could no longer exprefs her Piety any other way, fhe lift up her Eyes and Hands to her Maker, as a Token where her Thoughts were centred; and doubtlefs the Concern fhe was in at her Incapacity to fend up any other Prayers, did in God's account fupply the Place of an articulate Devotion; and gave apparent Signs of a devout and well-prepared Heart to the Standers-by. 1603. Ann. 46.

Queen declares her Succeffor.

She dies. On the 24th of *March*, being the Eve of the *Annunciation*, fhe enjoy'd a bleffed Remove from this World to a better; and refign'd that Breath into her Maker's Hands, which fhe had received on the Eve of the bleffed Virgin's Nativity. She took leave of her Crown and Life in fuch a way, that her Deceafe was the fame, which *Auguftus* wifh'd for, happy and peaceable; after a glorious Reign of 44 Years and 4 Months, and in the 70th Year of her Age: A Period never yet attain'd by any of the Kings of *England*.

King *James* proclaim'd. Her Lofs, which was very confiderable to the *Englifh* Nation, was in fome meafure compenfated by the mighty Hopes which were conceiv'd of her Succeffor King *James*; who was, not many Hours after, proclaimed KING, with the joyful Shouts and Acclamations of the People. However, 'tis not poffible, that any Succeffion of Times or Perfons fhould erafe the Memory of fo excellent a Princefs: The Reputation of her Vertues does ftill furvive, and cannot fail of defcending to Pofterity; fhe being *a Perfon, who* (to ufe her Succeffor's own Expreffion) *exceeded all the Princes fince* Auguftus's *Reign, in the Felicity and Prudence of her Adminiftration.*

F I N I S.

AN APPENDIX TO Queen Elizabeth's Life.

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen of England to give Aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Low-Countries.

Kings and Princes Sovereigns are to yield account of their Actions only to Almighty God, the King of Kings.

ALtho' Kings and Princes Sovereigns, owing their Homage and Service only to the Almighty God, the King of all Kings, are in that respect not bound to yield Account, or render the Reasons of their Actions to any other but to God, their only Sovereign Lord; and that amongst the most Ancient and Christian Monarchs, the same Lord God hath committed to us the Sovereignty of this Realm of *England*, and other our Dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majesty; yet we are, notwithstanding this our Prerogative, at this time especially, moved, for divers Reasons hereafter briefly remember'd, to publish not only to our own natural loving Subjects, but also to all others our Neighbours, especially to such Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subjects cause of Commerce with our Countries and People, what our Intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable Grounds we are moved to give Aid to our next Neighbours, the natural People of the *Low-Countries*, being by long Wars and Persecutions, of strong Nations there, lamentably afflicted, and in present Danger to be brought into a perpetual Servitude.

Natural Causes of ancient continual Traffick betwixt the People of *England* and them of the *Low-Countries*.

First, It is to be understood, (which percase is not perfectly known to a great number of Persons) that there hath been, time out of mind, even by the natural Situation of those *Low-Countries* and our Realm of *England*, one directly opposite to the other; and by reason of the ready crossing of the Seas, and multitudes of large and commodious Havens respectively on both sides, a continual Traffick and Commerce betwixt the People of *England*, and the natural People of these *Low-Countries*, and so continued in all ancient Times, when the several Provinces thereof, as *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by several Lords, and not united together, as of late Years they have been by Intermarriages, and at length by Concurrences of many and sundry Titles have also been reduced to be under the Government of their Lords that succeeded to the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, whereby there hath been in former Ages many special Alliances and Confederations, not only betwixt the Kings of *England*, our Progenitors, and the Lords of the said Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and their Adherents; but also betwixt the very natural Subjects of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgesses, and other Commonalties of the great Cities and Port-Towns of either Country reciprocally, by special Obligations and Stipulations under their Seals interchangeably, for Maintenance both of Commerce and Intercourse of Merchants, and also of special mutual Amity to be observed betwixt the People and Inhabitants of both Parties as well Ecclesiastical as Secular: And very express Provision in such Treaties contained for mutual Favours, Affections, and all other friendly Offices, to be used and prosecuted by the People of the one Nation towards the other. By which mutual Bonds, there hath continued perpetual Unions of the Peoples Hearts together, and so by way of continual Intercourses, from Age to Age, the same mutual Love hath been inviolably kept and exercised, as it had been by the Work of Nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, however the Kings and the Lords of the Countries sometimes (tho' very rarely) have been at difference, by sinister means of some other Princes, their Neighbours, envying the Felicity of these two Countries.

Confederations both betwixt the Kings of *England* and Lords of the *Low-Countries*, and also the Subjects of both Countries.

The People of both the Countries bound by special Obligations interchangeably for mutual Favours & friendly Offices.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, for the b twixt their Countries.

And for Maintenance and Testimony of these natural Unions of the People of these Kingdoms and Countries in perpetual Amity, there are extant sundry authentick Treaties and Transactions for mutual Commerce, Intercourse and strict Amity of ancient Times: As for Example, Some very solemnly accorded in the Times of *Hen.* VI, our Progenitor, and *Philip* II, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Inheritor to the County of *Flanders* by the Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, which was above 140 Years past, and the same also renewed by the noble Duke *Charles* his Son, Father to the King of *Spain*'s Grandmother, and Husband to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to our Great Grandfather King *Edward* IV, and after that, of new often-

oftentimes renewed by our most noble and sage Grandfather King *Henry* VII, and the Archduke *Philip*, Grandfather to the King of *Spain* now being; and in later Times, often renewed betwixt our Father of noble Memory King *Henry* VIII, and *Charles* V, Emperor of *Almaigne*, Father also to the present King of *Spain*.

Conventions for the Subjects of eitherside to shew mutual Favours one to the other.

In all which Treaties, Transactions and Confederations of Amity and mutual Commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in express Words, by Conventions, Concords and Conclusions, that the natural People and Subjects of either side, should shew mutual Favours and Duties one to the other, and should safely, freely and securely Commerce together in every their Countries, and so hath the same mutual and natural Concourse and Commerce been without Interruption continued in many Ages, far above the like Example of any other Countries in *Christendom*, to the Honour and Strength of the Princes, and to the singular great Benefit and Inriching of their People, until of late Years that the King of *Spain*, departing out of his *Low-Countries* into *Spain*, hath been (as it is to be thought) counselled by his Counsellors of *Spain*, to appoint *Spaniards*, Foreigners and Strangers of strange Blood, Men more exercised in Wars than in peaceable Government, and some of them notably delighted in Blood, as hath appeared by their Actions, to be the chiefest Governors of all his said *Low-Countries*, contrary to the ancient Laws and Customs thereof, having great plenty of noble, valiant and faithful Persons naturally born, and such as the Emperor *Charles*, and the King himself, had to their great Honours used in their Service, able to have been employed in the Rule of those Countries. But these *Spaniards*, being mere Strangers, having no natural Regard in their Government to the Maintenance of those Countries and People in their ancient and natural Manner of peaceable Living, as the most noble and wise Emperor *Charles*, yea, and as his Son King *Philip* himself had, whilst he remain'd in those Countries, and used the Counsels of the States and natural Nobility of the Countries, not violating the ancient Liberties of the Countries; but contrariwise, these *Spaniards* being exalted to absolute Government, by Ambition and for private Lucre, have violently broken the ancient Laws and Liberties of all the Countries, and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed and destroyed, without order of Law, within the space of a few Months, many of the most ancient and principal Persons of the natural Nobility that were most worthy of Government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruel Persecutions, the pretence thereof was for Maintenance of the *Romish* Religion, yet they spared not to deprive very many Catholicks and Ecclesiastical Persons of their Franchises and Privileges; and of the chiefest that were executed of the Nobility, none was in the whole Country more affected to that Religion than was the noble and valiant Count of *Egmond*, the very Glory of that Country; who neither for his singular Victories in the Service for the King of *Spain* can be forgotten in the true Histories, nor for the Cruelties used for his Destruction to be for ever lamented in the Hearts of the natural People of that Country. And farthermore, to bring these whole Countries in Servitude to *Spain*, these foreign Governors have by long intestine War, with multitudes of *Spaniards*, and with some few *Italians* and *Almains*, made the greater part of the said Countries (which with their Riches, by common Estimation, answer'd the Emperor *Charles* equal to his *Indies*) in a manner desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by Sword, Famine, and other cruel manners of Death, a great part of the natural People, and now the rich Towns and strong Places being desolate of their natural Inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with Force by the *Spaniards*.

Spaniards & Strangers lately appointed Governors in the Low-Countries, to the Violation of the Liberties of the Country.

The Destruction of the Nobility & the People of the Countries by the Spanish Government.

The lamentable violent Death of the Count of Egmond, the Glory of those Countries.

The rich Towns & Strengths with the Wealth thereof, possessed by the Spaniards.

All which pitiful Miseries and horrible Calamities of these most rich Countries and People, are of all their Neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient Time have been at frequent Discord with them, through natural Compassion very greatly pitied, which appear'd specially this present Year, when the *French* King pretended to have received them to his Protection, had not (as the States of the Country and their Deputies were answer'd) that certain, untimely and unlook'd-for Complot of the House of *Guise*, stir'd and maintain'd by Money out of *Spain*, disturb'd the good and general Peace of *France*, and thereby urged the King to forbear from the Resolution he had made, not only to aid the oppressed People of the *Low-Countries* against the *Spaniards*, but also to have accepted them as his own Subjects. But in very truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in *France* by the *French* King, who also hath oftentimes earnestly sollicited us as Queen of *England*, both by Message and Writing, to be careful of their Defence: Yet in respect that they were otherwise more streightly knit in ancient Friendship to this Realm than to any other Country, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more Cause and Grief generally, than of our Subjects of this our Realm of *England*, being their most ancient Allies and familiar Neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our Realm of *England* and these Countries have been by common Language of long time resembled and termed as Man and Wife. And for these urgent Causes, and many others, we have by many friendly Messages and Ambassadors, by many Letters and Writings to the said King of *Spain*, our Brother and Ally, declar'd our Compassion of this so evil and cruel Usage of his natural and loyal People by sundry his martial Governors, and other his Men of War, all Strangers to these his Countries. And farthermore, as a good loving Sister to him, and a natural good Neighbour to his *Low-Countries* and People, we have often, and often again, most friendly warned him, That if he did not otherwise by his Wisdom and Princely Clemency restrain the Tyranny of his Governors, and Cruelty of his Men of War, we feared that the People of his Countries should be forced, for safety of their Lives, and for continuance of their native Country in their former State of their Liberties, to seek the Protection of some other foreign Lord, or rather to yield themselves wholly to the Sovereignty of some mighty Prince, as by the ancient Laws of their Countries, and by special Privileges granted by some of the Lords and Dukes of the Countries to the People, they do pretend and affirm, that in such cases of general Injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their Privileges, they are free from their former Homages, and at liberty to make choice of any other Prince to be their Prince and Head. The proof whereof, by Examples past, is to be seen and read in the ancient Histories of divers Alterations, of the Lords and Ladies of the Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, and other Countries to them united by the States and People of the Countries, and that by some such Alteration, as the Stories do testify, *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his Title, from which the King of

Fr. King offers to have aided and received to his Subjection the oppressed People of the Low-Countries.

The Q. of England's continual friendly Advices to the K. of Spain for restraining of the Tyranny of his Governors.

of *Spain*'s Intereft is derived; but the farther Difcuffion hereof, we leave to the View of the Monuments and Records of the Countries. And now for the Purpofes to ftay them from yielding themfelves in any like fort to the Sovereignty of any other ftrange Prince, certain Years paft, upon the earneft Requeft of fundry of the greateft Perfons of Degree in thofe Countries, and moft obedient Subjects to the King, fuch as were the Duke of *Afcot*, and the Marquefs of *Havery*, yet living, and of fuch others as had principal Offices in thofe Countries in the time of the Emperor *Charles*, we yielded at their importunate Requefts, to grant them Prefts of Money, only to continue them as his Subjects, and to maintain themfelves in their juft Defence againft the Violence and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* their Oppreffors, thereby ftaying them from yielding their Subjection to any other Prince from the faid King of *Spain*: And during the time of that our Aid given to them, and their ftay in their Obedience to the K. of *Spain*, we did freely acquaint the fame King with our Actions, and did ftill continue our friendly Advices to him, to move him to command his Governors and Men of War, not to ufe fuch infolent Cruelties againft his People, as might make them to defpair of his Favours, and feek fome other Lord.

The Q. of England's Means ufed to ftay the States of the Low-Countries from yielding their Subjection to any other foreign Prince.

And in thefe kind of Perfuafions and Actions we continued many Years, not only for Compaffion of the miferable State of the Countries, but of a natural Difpofition to have the ancient Conditions of ftrait Amity and Commerce for our Kingdoms and People to continue with the States and the People of the faid Dukedom of *Burgundy* and the Appendants, and namely, with our next Neighbours the Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*. For we did manifeftly fee, if the Nation of *Spain* fhould make a Conqueft of thofe Countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themfelves there as they have done in *Naples* and other Countries, adding thereto the late Examples of the violent hoftile Enterprize of a Power of *Spaniards*, being fent within thefe few Years by the King of *Spain* and the Pope into our Realm of *Ireland*, with an intent manifeftly confeffed by the Captains, that thofe Numbers were fent aforehand to feize upon fome Strength there, to the intent with other greater Forces to purfue a Conqueft thereof; we did, we fay again, manifeftly fee in what Danger our Self, our Countries and People might fhortly be, if in convenient time we did not fpeedily otherwife regard to prevent or ftay the fame. And yet notwithftanding our faid often Requefts and Advices given to the King of *Spain*, manifeftly for his own Weal and Honour, we found him by his Council of *Spain* fo unwilling in any fort to incline to our friendly Counfel, that his Governors and Chieftains in his *Low-Countries* increafed their Cruelties towards his own afflicted People, and his Officers in *Spain* offer'd daily greater Injuries to ours, reforting thither for Traffick; yea, they of his Council in *Spain*, would not permit our exprefs Meffenger with our Letters to come to the King their Mafter's Prefence; a Matter very ftrange, and againft the Law of Nations.

The Enterprize of the Spaniards in Ireland fent by the K. of Spain and the Pope.

The Refufal of the Q.'s Meffenger and her Letters to the King of Spain.

And the caufe of this our writing and fending to the King, proceeded of Matter that was worthy to be known to the King, and not unmeet now alfo to be declared to the World, to fhew both our good Difpofition towards the King, in imparting to him our Griefs, and to let it appear how evil we have been ufed by his Minifters, as in fome part may appear by this that followeth. Altho' we could not have thefe many Years paft any of our Servants whom we fent at fundry times as our Ambaffadors to the King our good Brother as was meet, fuffer'd to continue there without many Injuries and Indignities offer'd to their Families, and divers times to their own Perfons by the greateft of his Counfellors, fo as they were conftrain'd to leave their Places, and fome expell'd, and in a fort banifh'd the Country, without caufe given by them, or notified to us; yet we, minding to continue very good Friendfhip with the King, as his good Sifter, did of long time and many Years give favourable Allowance of all that came as his Ambaffadors to us, faving only upon manifeft dangerous Practices attempted by two of them to trouble our State, whereof the one was *Girald Defpes*, a very turbulent-fpirited Perfon, and altogether unskilful and unapt to deal in Princes Affairs being in Amity, as at his return into *Spain* he was fo there alfo reputed; the other and laft was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whom we did accept and ufe with great Favour a long time, as was manifeftly feen in our Court, and we think cannot be denied by himfelf, but yet of late Years (we know not by what Direction) we found him [illegible] fecret great Favourer to fundry our evil-difpofed and feditious Subjects, not only to fuch as lurked in our Realm, but alfo to fuch as fled the fame, being notorioufly condemned as open Rebels and Traitors, with whom, by his Letters, Meffages, and fecret Counfels, he did in the end devife how with a power of Men, partly to come out of *Spain*, partly out of the *Low-Countries*, whereof he gave them great Comfort in the King's Name, an Invafion might be made into our Realm, fetting down in Writing the manner how the fame fhould be done, with what Number of Men and Ships, and upon what Coafts, Ports and Places of our Realm by fpecial Name, and who the Perfons fhould be in our Realm of no fmall Account, that fhould favour this Invafion, and take part with the Invaders, with many other Circumftances declaring his full fet Purpofe and Labours taken, to trouble us and our Realm very dangeroufly, as hath been moft clearly proved and confeffed by fuch as were in that Confederacy with him, whereof fome are fled and now do frequent his Company in *France*, and fome were taken, who confeffed at great length by writing the whole Courfe herein held by the faid Ambaffador, as was manifeftly of late time publifh'd to the World upon *Francis Throgmorton*'s, a principal Traitor's, Examination. And when we found manifeftly this Ambaffador fo dangerous an Inftrument, or rather a Head to a Rebellion and Invafion, and that for a Year or more together he never brought to us any Letter from the King his Mafter, notwithftanding our often requeft made to him, That he would by fome Letter from the King to us, let it appear, that it was the King's will that he fhould deal with us in his Mafter's Name in fundry things that he propounded to us as his Ambaffador, which we did judge to be contrary to the King his Mafter's will; we did finally caufe him to be charged with thefe dangerous Practices, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with many other Circumftances, we knew it, and therefore caufed him in very gentle fort to be content within fome reafonable time to depart out of our Realm, the rather for his own Safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our People; for the which we granted him favourable Conduct, both to the Sea and over the Sea; and thereupon we did fpeedily fend a Servant of ours into *Spain* with our Letters to the King, only to certify him of this Accident, and to make the whole matter apparent unto him; and this was the

The juft Caufes of difmiffing of Bernardin Mendoza out of England.

He is favourably licenced to depart the Realm.

the Meſſenger aforemention'd, that might not be ſuffer'd to deliver our Meſſage or our Letters to the King.

And beſides theſe Indignities, it is moſt manifeſt how his Miniſters alſo have both heretofore many times, and now lately practiſed here in *England* by means of certain Rebels, to have procur'd ſundry Invaſions of our Realm, by their Forces out of *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*. Very hard Recompences (we may ſay) for ſo many our good Offices. Hereupon we hope no reaſonable Perſon can blame us, if we have diſpoſed ourſelves to change this our former courſe, and more carefully to look to the Safety of our ſelf and our People: And finding our own Dangers indeed very great and imminent, we have been the more urgently provok'd to attempt and accelerate ſome good Remedy, for that beſides many other Advices given us both at home and from abroad, in due time to withſtand theſe Dangers, we have found the general Diſpoſition of all our own faithful People very ready in this caſe, and earneſt in offering to us both in Parliaments and otherwiſe, their Services with their Bodies and Blood, and their Aids with their Lands and Goods, to withſtand and prevent this preſent common Danger to our Realm and themſelves, evidently ſeen and feared by the ſubverting and rooting up of the ancient Nation of theſe *Low-Countries*, and by planting the *Spaniſh* Nation and Men of War, Enemies to our Countries, there ſo near unto us. And beſides theſe Occaſions and Conſiderations, we did alſo call to our Remembrance our former fortunate Proceeding by God's ſpecial Favour, in the beginning of our Reign, in remedying of a like Miſchief that was intended againſt us in *Scotland* by certain *Frenchmen*, who then were directed only by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, by colour of the Marriage of their Niece the Queen of *Scots* with the *Dolphin* of *France*, in like manner as the Offſprings of the ſaid Houſe have even now lately ſought to attain to the like inordinate Power in *France*; a matter of ſome Conſequence for ourſelves to conſider, altho' we hope the King our good Brother profeſſing ſincere Friendſhip towards us, as we profeſs the like to him, will moderate this aſpiring Greatneſs of that Houſe, that neither himſelf nor the Princes of his Blood be over-ruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect Friendſhip with the King and his Blood), be by the ſaid Houſe of *Guiſe* and their Faction diſquieted or diſturb'd in our Countries. But now to return to this like Example of *Scotland* aforeſaid, when the *French* had in like manner (as the *Spaniards* have now of long time attempted in the *Low-Countries*) ſought by force to have ſubdued the People there, and brought them into a Servitude to the Crown of *France*, and alſo by the ambitious Deſires of the ſaid Houſe of *Guiſe*, to have proceeded to a War by way of *Scotland*, for the Conqueſt of our Crown for their Niece the Queen of *Scots* (a matter moſt manifeſt to the common knowledge of the World); it pleaſed Almighty God, as it remaineth in good memory to our Honour and Comfort, to further our Intention and honourable and juſt Actions at that time in ſuch ſort, as by our aiding them of the Nation of *Scotland* being ſore oppreſſed with the *French*, and univerſally requiring our Aid, we procur'd to that Realm (though to our great Coſt) a full deliverance of the Force of Strangers and Danger of Servitude, and reſtored Peace to the whole Country, which hath continu'd there ever ſince many Years, ſaving that at ſome time of Partialities of certain of the Noblemen, as hath been uſual in that Country, in the minority of the young King there hath riſen ſome inward Troubles, which for the moſt part we have in favour of the King and his Governors uſed means to pacifie; ſo as at this day ſuch is the Quietneſs in *Scotland*, as the King our dear Brother and Couſin, by Name *James* VI, a Prince of great hope for many good Princely Reſpects, reigneth there in honour and love of his People, and in very good and perfect Amity with us and our Country. And ſo our Actions at that time came to ſo good Succeſs by the goodneſs of God, as both our own Realm and that of *Scotland* hath ever ſince remained in better Amity and Peace than can be remember'd theſe many hundred Years before, and yet nothing hereby done by us, nor any cauſe juſtly given, but that alſo the *French* Kings that have ſince ſucceeded, which have been three in number, and all Brethren, have made and concluded divers Treaties for good Peace with us, which preſently continue in force on both Parties, notwithſtanding our foreſaid Actions attempted for removing out of *Scotland* of the ſaid *French* Forces, ſo tranſported by the only Direction of the Houſe of *Guiſe*.

The Queen of *England*'s proceeding for the delivery of *Scotland* from the Servitude whereinto the Houſe of *Guiſe* meant to have brought it.

Scotland reſtor'd to the ancient Freedom, and ſo poſſeſſed by the preſent King, by means only of the Queen of *England*.

And therefore, to conclude for the Declaration of our preſent Intention at this time, we hope it ſhall of all Perſons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of ſuch as are not led by Partiality, that upon the often and continual lamentable Requeſts made to us by the univerſal States of the Countries of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelders*, and other Provinces with them united (being deſperate of the King of *Spain*'s Favours) for our Succours to be yielded to them, only for their Defence againſt the *Spaniards* and other Strangers, and therewith finding manifeſtly by our often and importunate Requeſts and Advices given to the King of *Spain*, no hope of Relief of theſe their Miſeries, but rather an increaſe thereof by daily conqueſts of their Towns and ſlaughter of their People; (though in very truth we cannot impute the increaſe of any late Cruelties to the Perſon of him that now hath the Title of General Governor, ſhewing his natural Diſpoſition more inclinable to Mercy and Clemency, than it ſeemeth he can direct the Hearts of the *Spaniards* under him to, that have been ſo long trained in ſhedding of Blood under the former *Spaniſh* Governors) and joining thereunto our own Danger at hand, by the Overthrow and Deſtruction of our Neighbours, and acceſs and planting of the great Forces of the *Spaniards* ſo near to our Countries, with precedent Arguments of many troubleſome Attempts againſt our Realm: We did therefore, by good Advice and after long deliberation, determine to ſend certain Companies of Soldiers to aid the natural People of thoſe Countries, only to defend them and their Towns from Sacking and Deſolation, and thereby to procure them Safety, to the honour of God, whom they deſire to ſerve ſincerely as Chriſtian People, according to his holy Word, and to enjoy their ancient Liberties for them and their Poſterity, and ſo conſequently to preſerve and continue the lawful and ancient Commerce betwixt our People and thoſe Countries and ours.

The concluſion of the Cauſes of ſending of certain Companies of *Engliſh* Soldiers to the defence of the oppreſſed People of the *Low-Countries*, and to withſtand the Attempts againſt this Realm.

Engliſh Power ſent only to defend.

And ſo we hope our Intention herein, and our ſubſequent Actions, will be, by God's Favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all Perſons, (ſaving of the Oppreſſors themſelves and their Partiſans) in that we mean not hereby, either for Ambition or Malice, (*the two Roots of all Injuſtice*) to make any particular Profit hereof to our ſelf or to our People, only deſiring at this time to obtain, by God's Favour, for the Countries, ' A deliverance of them from War by ' the *Spaniards* and Foreigners, with a reſtitution ' of

Three ſpecial Things reaſonably deſired by the Queen of *England*.

1. The end of Wars,

withrestitution of the *Low-Countries* to their ancient Liberties. 2. Surety from invasion of her own Realm. 3. And renewing of mutual Traffick between the Countries.

'of their ancient Liberties and Government by 'some Christian Peace; And thereby, a Surety 'for our selves and our Realm to be free from 'invading Neighbours; And our People to enjoy in those Countries their lawful Commerce 'and Intercourse of Friendship and Merchandize, according to the ancient Usage and 'Treaties of Intercourse made betwixt our Progenitors, and the Lords and Earls of those 'Countries, and betwixt our People and the 'People of those Countries.'

Causes of taking some Towns into her Majesty's Custody.

And tho' our farther Intention also is or may be to take into our Guard some few Towns upon the Sea-side next opposite to our Realm, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the Strangers, Enemies of the Country; yet therein considering we have no meaning at this time to take and restrain the same to our own proper Use, we hope that all Persons will think it agreeable with good Reason and princely Policy, that we should have the guard and use of some such Places for sure Access and Recess of our People and Soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with Victuals and other things requisite and necessary, whilst it shall be needful for them to continue in these Countries for the aiding thereof in these their great Calamities, Miseries and eminent Danger, and until the Countries may be deliver'd of such strange Forces as do now oppress them, and recover their ancient lawful Liberties and manner of Government to live in Peace as they have heretofore done, and do now most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the only very true ends of all our Actions now intended, howsoever malicious Tongues may utter their canker'd Conceits to the contrary, as at this day the World aboundeth with such blasphemous Reports in Writings and infamous Libels, as in no Age the Devil hath more abounded with notable Spirits replenished with all Wickedness to utter his Rage against Professors of Christian Religion. But thereof we leave the Revenge to God the searcher of Hearts, hoping that he, beholding the Sincerity of our Heart, will grant good Success to our Intentions, whereby a Christian Peace may ensue to his divine Honour, and Comfort to all them that love Peace truly, and will seek it sincerely.

An Addition to the DECLARATION, *Touching the Slanders published of her Majesty.*

AFter we had finish'd our *Declaration*, there came to our hands a Pamphlet written in *Italian*, printed at *Milan*, intitl'd, *Nuovo Adviso*, directed to the Archbishop of *Milan*, containing a Report of the Expugnation of *Antwerp* by the Prince of *Parma*: By the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable Crimes, no less hateful to the World than most repugnant and contrary to our own natural Inclination. The one, with Ingratitude towards the King of *Spain*, who (*as the Author saith*) saved our Life, being justly, by Sentence, adjudged to Death in our Sister's time. The other, that there were some Persons procur'd to be corrupted with great Promises, and that with our Intelligence, as the Reporter addeth in a Parenthesis in these Words (*as it was said*), that the Life of the Prince of *Parma* should be taken away. And for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible Lye, it is farther added in the said Pamphlet, That it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked Persons to Justice. Now, knowing how Men are maliciously bent in this declining Age of the World, both to judge, speak and write maliciously, falsely and irreverently of Princes; and holding nothing so dear unto us, as the conservations of our Reputation and Honour to be blameless; we found it very expedient, not to suffer two such horrible Imputations to pass under Silence, lest for lack of Answer it might argue a kind of Guiltiness, and did therefore think, that what might be alledg'd by us for our Justification in that behalf, might most aptly be join'd unto this former *Declaration* now to be publish'd, to lay open before the World the manner and ground of our Proceeding in the Causes of the *Low-Countries*.

And for answer of the first Point wherewith we are charged touching our Ingratitude towards the King of *Spain*, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late Sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways since, in like sort, to requite, as in our former *Declaration* by our Actions may appear; so do we utterly deny, as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our Life, as a Person by course of *Justice* sentenced unto Death, who ever carried our self towards our said Sister in dutiful sort, as our Loyalty was never called in question, much less any Sentence of Death pronounced against us: A matter such, as in respect of the ordinary course of Proceeding, as by process in *Law*, by place of Trial, by the *Judge that should* pronounce such Sentence, and other necessary Circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our Quality, as it could not but have been publickly known, if any such thing had been put in execution. This then being true, we leave to the World to judge how maliciously and injuriously the Author of the said Pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a Vice that of *all others we do* most hate and abhor. And therefore by the manifest untruth of this Imputation, Men not transported with Passion may easily discern what untruth is contain'd in the second, by the which we are charged to have been acquainted with an intended attempt against the Life of the said Prince. A matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded either of a misliking we had of his Person, or that the prosecution of the Wars into the *Low Countries* was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his Person: We could never learn that he hath at any time, by *Act* or *Speech*, done any thing that might *justly breed a mislike* in us towards him, much *less a hatred* against his Person in so high a degree, as to be either privy or assenting to the taking away of his Life: Besides, he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable Conceit, in respect of those singular rare Parts we always have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great Reputation, as any Man this day living carrieth of his Degree and Quality; and so have we always deliver'd out by Speech unto the World, when any Occasion hath been offer'd to make mention of him. Now, touching the Prosecution committed unto him of the Wars in the *Low Countries*, as all Men of Judgment know, that the taking away of his Life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall work any end of the said Prosecution; so is it manifestly known, that no Man hath dealt more Honourably than the said Prince, either in duly observing of his Promise, or extending Grace and Mercy where Merit and Desert hath craved

the fame; and therefore no greater Impiety by any could be wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to our felf (fo long as the King fhall continue the profecution of the Caufe in that forcible fort he now doth) than to be an Inftrument to take him away from thence by fuch violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious fort in the Charge committed unto him, than any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to fucceed after him.

Now therefore, how unlikely it is, that we, having neither caufe to miflike of his Perfon, nor that the profecution of the Wars fhould ceafe by lofs of him, fhould be either Author, or any way affenting to fo horrible a Fact, we refer to the Judgment of fuch as look into Caufes, not with the Eyes of their Affection, but do meafure and weigh things according to Honour and Reafon. Befides, it is likely if it had been true that we had been any way chargeable, (as the Author reporteth) the Confeffions of the Parties executed, (importing fuch matter as by him is alledg'd) would have been both produced and publifhed; for Malice leaveth nothing unfearchable, that may nourifh the Venom of that Humour.

The beft Courfe therefore that both we and all other Princes can hold in this unfortunate Age, that overfloweth with numbers of malignant Spirits, is, through the Grace and Goodnefs of Almighty God, to direct our courfe in fuch fort, as they may rather fhew their Wills through Malice, than with juft caufe by defert to fay ill, or deface Princes either by Speech or Writing; affuring ourfelves, that befides the Punifhment that fuch wicked and infamous Libellors fhall receive at the hands of the Almighty for depraving of Princes and lawful Magiftrates, who are God's Minifters, they both are and always fhall be thought by all good Men, unworthy to live upon the face of the Earth.

Given at Richmount *the firft of October* 1585, *and the* 27*th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, to be publifh'd.*

Vid. p. 401.

The Order of the Rites and Ceremonies ufed at the Confecration of the moft Reverend Father in Chrift Matthew Parker, *Archbifhop of* Canterbury, *in the Chappel at his Mannor of* Lambeth, *on* Sunday *the* 17*th of* December, 1559.

Imprimis, THE Chappel was hung towards the Eaft with Tapeftry, the Floor cover'd with red Cloth, and a Table for the Communion-Service was plac'd in the Eaftern part of the Chappel, on which was laid a Tapeftry Carpet and a Cufhion.

On the South-fide of the Eaftern-part of the Chappel were placed four Chairs for the four Bifhops appointed to confecrate the Archbifhop.

Before thefe Chairs was placed a Footftool cover'd with Tapeftry, and on it were laid Cufhions for the Bifhops to kneel on.

In like manner was a Chair and Footftool, with a Cufhion, plac'd on the North-fide of the Eaftern-part of the faid Chappel for the Archbifhop.

Every thing being thus prepar'd, about five or fix of the Clock in the Morning the Archbifhop came into the Chappel at the Weftern-Gate, in his fcarlet Robes, with his Hood on; before him were carried four Tapers, and with him came the four Bifhops appointed to affift at his Confecration, to wit, *William Barlow* late Bifhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, but now of *Chichefter*, *John Scory* late of *Chichefter*, but now Elect of *Hereford*, *Miles Coverdale* late Bifhop of *Exeter*, and *John Hodskinne* Suffragan of *Bedford*.* Which Bifhops having taken their feveral Seats according to their Order: The Morning Prayer was read with a diftinct Voice by *Andrew Pierfon* the Archbifhop's Chaplain; after Prayers the aforefaid *John Scory* went up to the Pulpit, and made an excellent Sermon on this Text; 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. *The Elders which are among you I exhort, who am alfo an Elder*, &c.

After Sermon the Archbifhop and the four Bifhops went out of the Chappel into the Veftry to prepare themfelves for the Communion, and very foon after return'd into the Chappel again by the Weftern-Door thus dreffed. The Archbifhop had on a Linnen Surplice. The Bifhop of *Chichefter* elect, who adminifter'd the Sacrament, had on a filk Cope, and he was affifted therein by two of the Archbifhop's Chaplains likewife with filk Copes on, *viz.* *Nicholas Bullingham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, and *Edmund Geft* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. The elect Bifhop of *Hereford* and the Suffragan of *Bedford* had Linnen Surplices on.

But *Miles Coverdale* wore nothing over his long Cloth Gown.

Being thus cloathed and provided, they proceeded to the Communion-Table; the Archbifhop being on his Knees at the lowermoft Step of the Chappel.

After the Gofpel was read, the aforefaid Bifhop elect of *Hereford*, Suffragan of *Bedford*, and *Miles Coverdale* brought the Archbifhop to the Bifhop of *Chichefter* elect, fitting near the Communion-Table in a Chair, and faid thus.

Moft Reverend Father in God, we prefent unto you this godly and well-learned Man to be Ordained and Confecrated an Archbifhop.

After they had thus faid, the Queen's Mandate for Confecrating him Archbifhop was produced and read by *Thomas Yale* Doctor of the Laws; then the Oath of Supremacy (appointed by Act of Parliament 1 *Eliz.*) was tender'd the Archbifhop; which after he had folemnly taken and fworn to upon the holy Evangelifts, the Bifhop of *Chichefter* elect mov'd the Congregation to pray, and then proceeded to fing the Litany, the Choir finging the Refponfes. Which being done, fome Queftions were ask'd the Archbifhop by the Bifhop of *Chichefter* elect; and after fome Prayers and Suffrages, according to the Form appointed by Authority of Parliament to be ufed on thefe Occafions, the Bifhops of *Chichefter*, *Hereford*, Suffragan of *Bedford*, and *Miles Coverdale* laying their Hands on the Archbifhop's Head, faid, *Receive the Holy Ghoft; and remember that thou ftir up the Grace of God, which is given thee by this Impofition of our Hands: For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Sobernefs.* When they had faid this, they deliver'd a Bible into the Archbifhop's Hands, faying thefe Words, *Give heed unto Reading, Exhortation, and Doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this Book. Be diligent in them, that the Increafe coming thereby may be manifeft unto all Men. Take heed unto thy felf, and to Doctrine, and be diligent in doing them; for by fo doing thou fhalt both fave thy felf, and them that hear thee, through Jefus Chrift our Lord.* When they had faid thus, the Bifhop of *Chichefter* went on to the remaining part of the Communion Service, (without putting a Crofier

into

into the Archbishop's Hand) and the Archbishop, the aforesaid Bishops, and several others, receiv'd the Communion together.

The Solemnity being thus over, the Archbishop, accompanied with the four Bishops who had consecrated him, went out at the North-Door of the Eastern-part of the Chappel, and soon after return'd through the same Door, with the said Bishops, in his Episcopal Habit, with his Rochet and other Robes, and about his Neck was a Tippet of fine Sables Furs. In the same manner were the Bishops of *Chichester* and *Hereford* cloathed in their Episcopal Habits; but *Coverdale* and the Suffragan of *Bedford* wore only their usual long Gowns. Then the Archbishop, going towards the Western-Gate of the Chappel, gave white Staves to *Thomas Doyle* his Steward, *John Baker* his Treasurer, and *John March* his Comptroller; by which Ceremony he confirm'd them in their said Employments,

All things being in the said manner finish'd in Order above describ'd, the Archbishop went out of the Chappel at the Western-Door; those of his Family and Relations of better Note and Quality going before, and the rest following after him.

All these things were done and perform'd in the Presence of the Reverend Fathers in Christ, *Edmund Gryndal* elect Bishop of *London*, *Rich. Cox* elect Bishop of *Ely*, *Edwin Sandes* elect Bishop of *Worcester*, *Anthony Huse* Esq; chief Register of the Province of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Argal* Register of the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Willet* and *John Incent* Publick-Notaries, and several others.

The Record from which this Account is translated is in the Registry of the See of *Canterbury*, and a Copy of it (found among Archbishop *Parker*'s MSS) in *Bennet-College*-Library in *Cambridge*, (of which College he had been Fellow and Master, and to which he left his Books and Papers) and the Letter, manner of Writing, and all other Circumstances, bring such Conviction that they are genuine, that the learned University of *Cambridge*, have given their solemn and unanimous Attestation to the Record, as the Reader may see annex'd to Mr. *Brown*'s Latin Sermons in Vindication of the Orders of the Church of *England*, intitl'd, *Concio ad Clerum habita coram Academia Cantabrigiensi, Junii* 11. 1687. *A Thomâ Brown*, &c. Printed at *Cambridge* 1688. And tho' this be a most evident Proof of this Consecration, since it is a Rule in the Law, *Instrumenta publica potiora sunt Testibus*, that *publick Deeds and Records are better Proof than Witnesses*; yet by the Providence of God, when the Story of the Nag's Head Ordination was trump'd up and maintain'd, in which time Mr. *Mason* wrote his excellent Book *De Ministerio Anglicano*, the Right Honourable *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham* was alive, who was present at the Consecration of Archbishop *Parker* at *Lambeth*, and bore witness to the truth of it; a Testimony worth that of an hundred *Neals*, on whose Report alone the Fable of the Nag's Head Ordination was rais'd, and whose only credit it has hitherto had for its support.

Nor was the Ordination of Archbishop *Parker* regularly perform'd with respect to the Place and Ceremonies used only, but likewise with regard to the Persons consecrating him, who had been duly ordain'd Bishops themselves before: These Persons were *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale* and the Suffragan of *Bedford*. As for *Barlow*, we are assur'd he was successively Bishop of St. *Asaph*, St. *Davids*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Chichester*, that he was acknowledg'd a Bishop by all Estates of Men in the Kingdom; that for his Temporalties he did Homage to the King; that he sat in Parliament among the Spiritual Lords; that he exercis'd the Jurisdiction of a Bishop, and (what was the worst Mark of all) that he alienated some of his Mannors to the Crown, tho' there be no particular Register by whom he was consecrated in *Henry* VIII's time, * more than in general, that he was made a Bishop in those Days. || *J. Scory* was consecrated Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Miles Coverdale* of *Exeter*. August 30. 1551, by *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Bishop of *London*, and *John* Suffragan of *Bedford*. * And *John Hodskinne* was consecrated Suffragan of *Bedford*, *Dec.* 9. 29 *Hen.* 8, by *John* Bishop of *London*, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Robert* Bishop of S. *Asaph*. All which puts the Canonical Succession of the Bishops of the Church of *England* beyond dispute.

*Register Cranmer, p. 179.

|| Ib. 334.

* Ib. 204.

Vid. p. 370.

The Answer of the Queen's Highness to the Petition propounded unto her by the Lower-House, concerning her Marriage. Friday, Feb. 10. 1558.

AS I have good cause, so do I give you all my hearty Thanks for the good Zeal and loving Care you seem to have, as well towards me, as to the whole Estate of your Country. Your Petition, I perceive, consisteth of three Parts, and my Answer to the same shall depend of two.

And to the first Part, I may say unto you, That from my Years of Understanding, sith I first had consideration of myself to be born a Servant of Almighty God, I happily chose this kind of Life in the which I yet live; which, I assure you, for mine own part, hath hitherto best contented my self, and I trust hath been most acceptable unto God; from the which, if either Ambition of high Estate offer'd to me in Marriage, by the pleasure and appointment of my Prince, (whereof I have some Record in this Presence, as you our Treasurer well know) or if eschewing the danger of mine Enemies, or the avoiding of the peril of Death, whose Messenger, or rather a continual Watchman, the Prince's Indignation was no little time daily before mine Eyes, (by whose means (although I know, or justly may suspect) yet I will not now utter, or if the whole cause were in my Sister herself, I will not now burthen her therewith, because I will not charge the dead) if any of these, I say, could have drawn or disswaded me from this kind of Life, I had not now remain'd in this Estate, wherein you see me. But so constant have I always continued in this Determination, although my Youth and Words may seem to some hardly to agree together, yet is it most true, that at this day I stand free from any other meaning, that either I have had in Times past, or have at this present; with which Trade of Life I am so throughly acquainted, that I trust God, who hath hitherto herein preserv'd and led me by the Hand, will not of his Goodness suffer me to go alone.

For the other part, the manner of your Petition I do well like, and take it in good part, because it is simple, and containeth no Limitation of Place or Person: If it had been otherwise, I must needs have misliked it very much, and thought it in you a very great Presumption, being unfitting and altogether unmeet for you to require them, that may command; or those to appoint, whose Parts are to desire; or such to

bind

bind and limit, whose Duties are to obey, or to take upon you to draw my Love to your Liking, or frame my Will according to your Fantasie: For a Guerdon constrain'd, and Gift freely given, can never agree together. Nevertheless, if any of you be insuspect, whensoever it may please God to incline my Heart to another kind of Life; you may well assure yourselves, my Meaning is not to determine any thing, wherewith the Realm may or shall have just Cause to be discontent. And therefore put that clean out of your Heart. For I assure you (what Credit my Assurance may have with you, I cannot tell, but what Credit it shall deserve to have, the Sequel shall declare) I will never in that matter conclude any thing, that shall be prejudicial to the Realm. For the Weal, Good and Safety whereof, I will never shun to spend my Life; and whomsoever it shall be my Chance to light upon, I trust he shall be such, as shall be as careful for the Realm, as you; I will not say as myself, because I cannot so certainly determine of any other, but by my Desire he shall be such as shall be as careful for the Preservation of the Realm and you, as myself. And albeit it might please Almighty God to continue me still in this Mind, to live out of the State of Marriage, yet is it not to be fear'd, but he will so work in my Heart, and in your Wisdom, as good Provision, by his Help, may be made, whereby the Realm shall not remain destitute of any Heir that may be a fit Governour, and peradventure more beneficial to the Realm, than such Offspring as may come of me: For though I be never so careful of your well-doing, and mind ever so to be, yet may my Issue grow out of kind, and become perhaps ungracious. And in the end, this shall be for me sufficient, that a Marble-Stone shall declare, that a Queen having reign'd such a time, lived and died a Virgin. And here I end, and take your coming to me in good part, and give unto all my hearty Thanks; more yet for your Zeal and good Meaning, than for your Petition.

And under her Majesty's Answer aforesaid, was subscribed in the same Hand, as followeth:

This copied out of a printed Copy, garnish'd with gilt Letters, given to the Honourable the Lady Stafford, *of her Majesty's Privy-Chamber, and written out by* Alex. Evesham, 1590.

By which Subscription, the Authentickness of this Copy doth sufficiently appear.

At the End of the Session April 10. 1563.
The Lord-Keeper said to Mr. Speaker,

— And touching your Request before this made to her (the Queen) for her Marriage and Succession, because it is of such Importance, whereby I doubted my own opening thereof; and therefore desired her Majesty, that her Meaning might be written, which she hath done and delivered to me to be read, as followeth:

Since there can be no duer Debt than Princes Words; which I would observe, therefore I answer to the same; thus it is. The two Petitions, which you made unto me, do contain two things; My Marriage, and Succession after me. For the first, if I had let slip too much time, or if my Strength had been decay'd, you might the better have spoke therein; or if any think I never meant to try that Life, they be deceived: but if I may hereafter bend my Mind thereunto, the rather for fulfilling your Request, I shall be therewith very well content.

For the second, the Greatness thereof maketh me to say and pray, that I may linger here in this Vale of Misery for your Comfort, wherein I have Witness of my Study and Travail, for your Surety; and I cannot with Nunc dimittis *end my Life, without I see some Foundation of your Surety, after my Grave-Stone.*

Vid. p. 399.

The Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to her Majesty, upon the two great Matters of Marriage and Succession, deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper, in Parliament, on November 5. 1556,

MOST humbly beseecheth your excellent Majesty, your faithful, loving and obedient Subjects, all your Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in Parliament in your Upper House; to be so much their good Lady and Sovereign, as according to your accustomed Benignity, to grant a gracious and favourable Hearing to their Petitions and Suits, which with all Humbleness and Obedience, they are come hither to present to your Majesty by my Mouth, in Matters very nearly and dearly touching your most royal Person, the imperial Crown of this your Realm, and universal Weal of the same; which Suits, for that they tend to the Surety and Preservation of these three things, your Person, Crown, and Realm, the dearest Jewel that my Lords have in the Earth; therefore they think themselves, for divers respects, greatly bound to make these Petitions; as first by their Duty to God, then by their Allegiance to your Highness, and lastly by the Faith they ought to bear to their natural Country. And like as, most gracious Sovereign, by these Bonds they should have been bound to make the like Petition, upon like occasion, to any Prince, that it should have pleas'd God to have appointed to reign over them; so they think themselves doubly bound to make the same to your Majesty, considering that besides the Bond before-mentioned, they stand also bound so to do, by the great and manifold Benefits they have and do receive daily at your Highness's Hands; which, shortly to speak, be as great as the Fruits of Peace, common Quiet and Justice can give: and this with great Care and Charge to yourself. And thus, my Lords diversly bound, as your Majesty hath heard, are now to open to your Highness their humble Petitions and Suits, consisting in two Points chiefly; which not sundrily, or the one without the other, but both jointly they desire your Highness to assent to: The former is, that it would please your Majesty to dispose yourself to marry, where it shall please you, with whom it shall please you, and as soon as it shall please you. The second, that some such Limitation might be made, how the imperial Crown of this Realm should remain, if God call your Highness without Heir of your Body, (which our Lord defend) so as these Lords and Nobles, and other your Subjects then living might sufficiently understand, to whom they should owe their Allegiance and Duty due to be done by Subjects; and that they might, by your Majesty's Licence, and with your Favour, treat and confer together this Parliament-time, for the well doing of this. The former of these two, which is your Marriage, they do in their Hearts most earnestly wish and pray, as a thing that must needs breed and bring great and singular Comfort to yourself, and unspeakable Joy and Gladness to all true *English* Hearts. But the second carrieth with it such Necessity, that without it they can-

not see how the Safety of your royal Person, the Preservation of your imperial Crown and Realm, shall be, or can be sufficiently and certainly provided for. Most gracious and sovereign Lady, the lamentable and pitiful State and Condition, wherein all your Nobles and Counsellors of late were, when it pleased God to lay his heavy Hand upon you, and the Amazedness that most Men of Understanding were by the Fruit of that Sickness brought into, is one Cause of this their Petition; the second, the Aptness and Opportunity of the Time, by reason of this Parliament, whereby both such Advice, Consideration and Consent, as is requisite in so great and weighty a Cause, may be better heard and used, than at any other time, when no Parliament is. The third, for that the assenting and performing of these Petitions, cannot, as they think, but breed great Terrour to our Enemies, and therefore must of necessity bring great Surety to your Person; and especially by Addition of such Laws, as may be join'd with this Limitation, for a certain and sure observing it, and preserving of your Majesty against all Practices and Chances. The fourth Cause, for that the like (as it is supposed) hath been done by divers of your noble Progenitors, both of old time and of late days, and also by other Princes your Neighbours, of the greatest Estate in *Europe*; and for that Experience hath taught, that Good hath come of it. The fifth, for that it appeareth by Histories, how that in times past, Persons inheritable to Crowns being Votaries and Religious, to avoid such Dangers as might have happen'd for Want of Succession to Kingdoms, have left their Vows and Monasteries, and taken themselves to Marriage, as *Constantia* a Nun, Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, marry'd after fifty Years of Age, to *Henry* VI. Emperour of that Name, and had Issue *Frederick* II; and likewise *Peter* of *Arragon*, being a Monk, marry'd, the better to establish and pacify that Kingdom. Again, *Antoninus Pius* is as much commended, for that not two Days before his Death, he said to his Council, *læto animo morior, quoniam filium vobis relinquo*. *Pyrrhus* is of all godly Men detested, for saying he would leave his Realm to him that had the sharpest Sword. What but Want of a Successor known, made an end of so great an Empire as *Alexander* the Great did leave at his Death? The sixth Cause is, for that my Lords do judge, the performing of this will breed such an universal Gladness in the Hearts of all your true and loving Subjects, that likely and probably you shall find them in all Commandments ready and glad to adventure their Goods, Lands and Lives in your Service, according to their bounden Duties; which of necessity must breed great Surety to your Majesty. The seventh Cause, because the not doing of this (if God should call your Highness without Heir of your Body, which God grant never be seen, if it be his Will) and yet your Majesty right well knoweth, that Princes and their Offspring, be they never so great, never so strong, never so like to live, be yet mortal, and subject every day, yea every Hour, to God's Call; my Lords think, this happening, and no Limitation made, cannot by their Judgments, but be the Occasion of very evident and great Danger and Peril to all Estates and Sorts of Men of this Realm, by the Factions, Seditions and intestine War, that will grow through Want of understanding to whom they should yield Allegiance and Duty; whereby much innocent Blood is most like to be shed, and many of those to lose their Lives, that now would gladly bestow them for your sake, in your Majesty's Service. The eighth, for that the not performing of this, the other happening, doth leave the Realm without Government, which is the greatest Danger that can happen to any Kingdom; for every Prince is *anima legis*, and so reputed in Law; and therefore upon the Death of Princes the Law dies; all the Offices of Justice, whereby the Laws are to be executed, do cease; all Writs and Commandments to call Parties to the Execution of Justice, do hang in suspense; all Commissions for the Peace, and for the Punishment of Offenders do determine, and lose their Force: whereby it followeth consequently, that Strength and Will must rule, and neither Law nor Reason, during such a Vacation and Inter-reign; wherein such an Incertainty of Succession is like to last so long, as it is to be feared (if God's Mercy be not the greater) that thereby we may become a Prey to Strangers, (which our Lord defend) or at least lose the great Honour and Estimation that long time hath pertained to us. And like as, most gracious Sovereign, my Lords have been moved for the worldly respect aforesaid, to make their humble Petitions to your Majesty; so by the Examples, Counsels, yea and Commandments, that they have heard out of the sacred Scriptures, and for Conscience sake they feel themselves constrain'd, and enforced to do the like. God, your Highness knoweth, by the Course of the Scriptures, hath declared Succession and having of Children to be one of the principal Benedictions in this Life; and on the contrary, he hath pronounced contrary-wise. And therefore *Abraham* pray'd to God for Issue, fearing that *Eliazar*, his Steward, should have been his Heir; and had Promise that Kings should proceed of his Body. *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, pray'd to God with Tears for Issue: And *Elizabeth* (whose Name your Majesty beareth) Mother to *John* the Baptist, was joyful when God had blessed her with Fruit, accounting herself thereby to be delivered from Reproach. And as this is a Blessing in private Houses, so is it much more in Kingdoms, as it plainly appeareth in the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*. Unto the Kingdom of *Judah*, containing but two Tribes or thereabouts, God gave lineal Succession by Descent of Kings, and therefore they continued a long time. The Kingdom of *Israel*, containing ten Tribes or thereabouts, often destitute of lawful Heirs, the one half of the People following the one, and the other half following the other, by Wars and Seditions weaken'd, came soon to Ruin, as plainly appeareth by the third and fourth Book of *Kings*. And again, in the time of the Judges, because there was no ordinary Succession, the People were oftentimes overcome, and carry'd into Captivity. Besides, it is plain by the Scriptures, that godly Governours, and Princes (as Fathers of their Countries) have always been careful to avoid the great Evil that might ensue, through Want of Limitation of Succession; therefore *Moses* did enjoin *Joshua* to be his Successor, and *David* his Son *Solomon*; whereby a Sedition was appeased, begotten by *Adonijah*: Of this there be many Examples. Farther, seeing it may be easily gather'd by Experience of all Ages past, that Civil Wars, Effusion of Christian Blood, and consequently Ruins of Kingdoms, do follow; where Realms be left, without a Certainty of Succession: And your Majesty is also inform'd of the same, and sued unto for Redress. If therefore now no sufficient Remedy should be by your Highness provided, that then it should be a dangerous Burden before God to your Majesty, and you were to yield a strict Account to God for the same; considering you are placed, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* saith, *in altissimo speculo* of this Common-wealth, and see the Sword coming,

and provide no remedy for the defence of it. Laftly, the Spirit of God pronounceth by the Mouth of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, That, *Whosoever maketh no due Provision for his Family, is in very great danger to Godward*; and alfo by the Mouth of St. *John*, That, *whosoever seeth but one Brother in necessity, and doth shut up the Bowels of Pity and Compassion from him hath not the Love of God remaining in him*: whereby it is plain and manifeft, how fearful a thing it were, if this whole Realm, containing fo many Families, were not in a perilous Cafe upon their Suit provided ... or if the Bowels of Mercy fhould be fhut up from fo many Thoufands, which every way were like to fall into moft extream Miferies, if God fhould call your Highnefs without certainty of Succeffion; which we pray to God may never happen. Moft Excellent Princefs, the places of Scripture containing the faid Threatnings, be fet forth with more fharp Words, than be here exprefs'd. Thus Moft Gracious Sovereign, your Lords and Nobles, both Spiritual and Temporal, have as briefly as they can, firft fhew'd to your Majefty, how diverfly they take themfelves bound, to make thefe their humble Petitions unto you: and then, what their Petitions be, and after that, what Reafons for Worldly Refpects, and what by the Scriptures and for Confcience fake, have mov'd them thus to do, which here upon their Knees, according to their Bounden Duty, they moft humbly and earneftly pray your Majefty to have Confideration of in time, and to give them fuch favourable and comfortable Anfwer to the fame, that fome good Effect and Conclufion may grow before the end of the Seffion of this Parliament, the uttermoft Day of their greateft hope, whereby this Common-Wealth, which your Highnefs found to be *Lateritia* as *Augustus* did his, and by your great Providence is now come to be *Marmorea*, fhall not for want of performing this, if God fhall call your Highnefs, without Heir of your Body, be in more dangerous Eftate and Condition, than ever it was that any Man can remember. True it is, that this Suit is made by my Lords, not without great hope of good Succefs, by reafon of the Experience that they have had of your bountiful Goodnefs fhew'd to them, and the reft of your Loving Subjects, divers and fundry ways, fince the beginning of your Reign, which they pray to God long to continue, to his Honour, with all Felicity.

Her Majefty's *Anfwer.*

SInce there can be no duer than a Prince's Word, to keep that unfpotted, for my part, as one that would be loth that the felf fame thing that keepeth Merchants Credit from craze, fhould be the Caufe that a Prince's Speech fhould merit blame, and fo their Honour quail; therefore I will an Anfwer give, and this it is: The two Petitions that you prefented me (which muft doubtlefs relate to the feveral parts of one and the fame Petition, viz. the Marriage and the Succeffion, and might not improperly be fo call'd tho' couch'd in one Body, and as the Words alfo following do in manner explain it) exprefs'd many Words, which contain'd in Sum thefe two Things, as of your Cares the greateft, my Marriage and my Succeffion. Of which two I think the laft beft to be touch'd, and of the other a filent Thought may ferve. For I thought it had been fo *defir'd*, as none other Trees Bloffom fhould have been minded, or ever any hope of any Fruit had been denied you. And yet by the way, if any here doubt that I am by Vow or Determination, bent never to trade in that kind of Life, put out that kind of Herefie; for your Belief is therein awry. For tho' I can think it beft for a private Woman, yet I do ftrive with myfelf not to think it meet for a Prince, and if I can bend my liking to your need, I will not refift fuch a Mind.

But to the laft, think not that you had needed this Defire, if I had feen a time fo fit, and it fo ripe to be denounced. The greatnefs of the Caufe, therefore, and need of your Returns, doth make me fay that which I think the wife may eafily ghefs, that as a fhort time, for fo long continuance, ought not to pafs by roat, as many tell their Tales, even fo, as Caufe by Conference with the Learned, fhall fhew me Matter worth the Utterance for your Behoof, fo fhall I more gladly purfue your Good, after my Days, than with all my Prayers, whilft I live, be means to linger my living Thread. And thus much more than I thought, will I add for your Comfort: I have good Record in this Place, that other means than you mention, have been thought of, perchance for your Good, as much as for my Surety no lefs, which if prefently and conveniently could have been executed, it had not been now deferr'd or overflipped. But I hope I fhall die in quiet with *Nunc Dimittis*; which cannot be, without that I fee fome Glimpfe of your following Surety, after my graved Bones.

Vid. p. 399.

The Queen's Speech at the Diffolution of the Parliament, on Thurfday *the 2d of* January, 1566.

MY Lords, and others the Commons of this Affembly, Altho' the Lord Keeper hath according to Order, very well anfwered in my Name, yet as a Periphrafis, I have a few words farther, to fpeak unto you: Notwithftanding I have not been ufed, nor love to do it, in fuch open Affemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembring that commonly a Prince's own Words be better printed in the hearers Memory, than thofe fpoken by Her Command, I mean to fay thus much unto you. I have in this Affembly found fo much Diffimulation, where I always profefs'd Plainnefs, that I marvel thereat, yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succeffion and Liberty, which they determin'd muft be either prefently granted, denied or deferr'd; in granting whereof, they had their defires, and denying and deferring thereof (thofe things being fo plaufable, as indeed to all Men they are) they thought to work me that Mifchief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pafs, which is the Hatred of my Commons. But alas! they began to pierce the Veffel before the Wine was fined, and began a thing not forfeeing the End, how by this means I have feen my Well-wifhers from my Enemies, and can, as me feemeth, very well divide the Houfe into four. Firft the Broachers and Workers thereof, who are in the greateft Faults; Secondly, the Speakers, who by eloquent Tales perfuaded others, are in the next Degree; Thirdly, the Agreers, who being fo light of Credit, that the Eloquence of the Tales fo overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto, than to their own Wits; And laftly, thofe that fate ftill mute, and meddl'd not therewith, but rather wonder'd, difallowing the matter; who in my opinion are moft to be excus'd. But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succeffion, wherein is all my Care, confidering I know my felf to be mortal? No, I warrant you: Or that I went about to break your Liberties? No; it never was in my Meaning, but to ftay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all things have their time; and although perhaps you may have after me, one better Learned, or Wifer; yet I affure you, none more careful over you: And therefore henceforth, whether I live to fee the like Affembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your Princes Patience, as you have now done mine

And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a *Lent* of *Christmas*) the most part of you may assure yourselves, that you depart in your Princes grace.

Vid. p. 442.

Reasons to prove the Queens Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with Severity, in the Case of the late Queen of Scots.

THE Word of GOD, which is the only Director of Consciences, and a certain Rule for all Estates and Offices, doth often and most earnestly teach, that godly Princes, or Magistrates, not only in Conscience safely may, but also in Duty towards God, ought severely and uprightly to administer Justice. For this is one of the principal Causes, for the which the Providence and Wisdom of God hath ordain'd Magistrates in Common-Wealths, that they might by Justice and Punishment, according to the greatness of the Offences, repress the Wickedness of Mankind, whereunto by Corruption of Nature they are inclin'd. The *Magistrate* (as St. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 12.) *is the Minister of God, and Revenger of Wrath towards him that hath done evil*, &c. And St. *Peter*, 1 *Peter* 2. *Be subject to the King as to the Chief, or to the under Rulers as sent of him* ad vindictam nocentium, *to the Punishment or Revengement* [*of*] *Offenders, and to the Praise of them that do well.*

If the Magistrate doth not this, God threatneth heavy Punishment: *When you were* (saith *Wisdom to* Princes, *Sap* 6.) *the Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not executed Judgement rightly, nor kept the Law, nor walked according to his Will; horrible therefore and right soon shall he appear unto you; for a hard Judgement shall they have that bare Rule.* Potentes potenter tormenta patientur. Now then if the Magistrate be the Minister of God, in his Name and Authority to punish the Wicked according to the measure of their Offences, and are threatned grievous Punishment if they do not; and on the other party, the late *Scottish* Queen hath offended in two highest Degrees, both concerning God's Religion, and the disinheriting and destruction of our Prince: We see not but her Majesty must needs offend in Conscience before God, if she do not punish her according to the measure of her Offence, in the highest Degree. Small punishment for great Offences, in respect of any Person, is Partiality and slack Justice, which God, above all things, in Judgment forbiddeth; *Consider not* (says God) *the Person of the Poor, nor honour the Countenance of the Rich*, Levit. 19.

It is not Good (saith *Solomon, Prov.* 18.) *to consider the Person of the Wicked, thereby to decline from the Judgement.* And *Jesus Sirach, Make no labour to be a Judge, except thou hast that Stoutness, that thou mayest mightily put down Wickedness: For if thou stand in Awe of the Mighty, thou canst not but fail in giving Sentence*, Eccl. 7.

Wherefore whether the late Queen of *Scots*, be Queen or Subject, be Stranger or Citizen, be Kin or not Kin, by God's Word, for so great Offences she should have the just deserv'd Punishment, and that in the highest degree.

The second Reason, when God by his just Providence doth commit any grievous Offender into the hands of the Prince or Magistrate, as to his Minister, to be punished, he ought to fear the heavy Displeasure of God, if by any colour he do omit the same. *Non enim hominis judicium est, sed Dei; & maledictus est, qui facit opus Domini fraudulenter aut negligenter:* For God often brings Sinners to punishment for other Offences than those that are known and appear to the World. And therefore hath he shew'd himself grievously displeas'd, when such, by colour of Mercy and Pity, have escap'd just Judgment.

Because *Saul* spared *Agag*, (1 *Reg.* 15.) although he were a King, God took, from the same *Saul*, his good Spirit, and transferr'd the Kingdom of *Israel* from him, and from his Heirs for ever.

When *Achab* spared *Benhadad* the King of *Syria*, by his unreasonable Clemency, though he were a great Prince, God will'd the Prophet to say unto him, *Because thou hast let escape out of thy Hands the Man that I would have to destroy, thy Life shall go for his life, and thy People for his People.*

In these Examples, great pretence might be made for Mercy, for sparing of them, and great reproach of Bloodiness and Cruelty in the contrary; but we see how God punished them.

The late Queen of *Scots* being a notorious Offender divers ways, both before she came into this Land and afterwards also, hath been by God's special and remarkable Providence, put into the Queen's Majesties hand to be punish'd, and that, far more notably than *Agag* and *Benhadad* were put into the hands of *Saul* and *Achab*; therefore it is greatly to be fear'd, if she escape as *Benhadad* did, under pretence of Mercy, and favourable dealing, that God's heavy Displeasure will for the same, light both upon the Prince and the Realm, as it did upon *Achab* and the *Israelites* shortly after. This Sentence of the Prophet (as it is for certain reported) was spoken to the Lord *James*, now Regent in *Scotland*, when with too much lenity he proceeded therein; it hath followed too true in him. The Lord turn it from our Gracious Sovereign.

The Third Reason: Every good Prince ought, by God's Commandment, to punish even with Death, all such as do seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship, unto Superstition and Idolatry. For that Offence God hath always most grievously punished, as committed against the first Table, *Deut.* 13. His Words are these: *If thy Brother the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter, or thy Wife that lieth within thy Bosom, or thy Friend which is as thy own Soul unto thee, shall entice thee, saying, let us go and serve strange Gods*, &c. *Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; thine Eye shall not pity him, neither shalt thou have Compassion on him, nor keep him secret, but cause him to be slain; thine own hand shall be first upon him to kill him*, &c. And afterwards addeth: *And all* Israel *shall fear to do any more any such Wickedness.*

The residue of that Chapter, afterwards containeth more grievous Matter, which we would wish all them to read, that in great Offences under the colour of Pity, are loth to have sharp Punishment used. Here you may perceive that God willeth his Magistrate not to spare either Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Wife, or Friend be he never so nigh, if he seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship; much less is an Enemy and Traitor to be spared: Yea, and he addeth the Cause, why he would have such sharp Punishment used in such Cases, *That Israel may fear to do the like.*

But the late Queen of *Scots*, hath not only sought and wrought, by all means she can, to seduce the People of God in this Realm, from true Religion, but is the only hope of all the Adversaries of God, throughout all *Europe*, and the Instrument whereby they trust to overcome the Gospel of *Christ* in all Countries. And therefore if she have not that Punishment, which God in this place aforemention'd, appointeth; it is of all Christian hearts to be feared, that God's just Plague will light both upon the Magistrates and Subjects; but that by our slackness and remiss Justice, we give occasion of the overthrow of God's Glory and Truth in his Church, mercifully restor'd unto us in those latter Days.

Con-

Euſeb. lib. 2. De Vita Conſtantini.

Conſtantinus Magnus cauſed *Licinius* to be put to death, being not his Subject but his Fellow Emperor, for that the ſaid *Licinius* laboured to ſubvert Chriſtian Religion. And the ſame *Conſtantinus*, is for the ſame in all Hiſtories highly commended. Much more ſhall it be lawful for the Queen's Majeſty to execute this Woman, who beſides the Subverſion of Religion, hath ſought the Life of the ſame our Gracious Sovereign.

The Fourth Reaſon: It is dangerous for any Perſon, being a Prince, both for his own State, as alſo for the Puniſhment which may come from God's hand, by ſlackneſs of Juſtice in great Offences, to give occaſion, by hope of Impunity, of the Increaſe of like Wickedneſs.

Joab being ſpared of *David* for murdering *Abner*, killed *Amaſa* alſo. Becauſe *Amnon* was winked at by his Father, for committing Rape and Inceſt with his own Siſter, *Abſalom*, under hope of like Impunity, was embolden'd to murder his Brother *Amnon*.

But look, I pray you, how grievouſly God puniſh'd that ſlack Juſtice of *David*, colour'd with a tender Heart towards his Children. Did he not ſuffer, yea and by his juſt Judgment raiſe one of his own Sons, towards whom he uſed that exceſſive Tenderneſs and Pity, to rebel againſt him, and drive him out of his own Kingdom. The late *Scottiſh* Queen hath heap'd up together all the Sins of the licentious Sons of *David*; Adulteries, Murders, Conſpiracies, Treaſons, and Blaſphemies againſt God alſo; and if ſhe eſcape with ſmall Puniſhment, her Majeſty in Conſcience ought, as alſo good and faithful Subjects to fear that God will reſerve her as an Inſtrument to put her from the Royal Seat of this Kingdom, and to plague the unthankful and naughty Subjects: *Quod omen ut Deus avertat precamur*. Shall we think that God will not plague it? Surely our Hearts do fear he will do it grievouſly.

The Fifth Reaſon: A Prince ought in Conſcience before God, by all means he can, to ſee to the Quietneſs, and Safety, and good Eſtate of that People, over which God hath appointed him Governour.

For in the Prophets, oftentimes under the Names of Paſtors and Watchmen, he threateneth great Puniſhment to Princes and Governours for the contrary; eſpecially in *Ezechiel*, 33, and 34. And ſignifieth, that if his People periſh, either in Soul or Body, by ſlackneſs in adminiſtring Juſtice, or by any other Miſgovernment, God will require their Blood at the Prince's hands, which Places, as they may be applied to Prophets and Teachers, ſo do they not exclude, but principally comprehend Kings and Magiſtrates, as *Hieronymus* noteth in *Ezechiel, ch.* 33. the Words of the Prophet are theſe, *viz. If the Watchmen ſee the Sword and blow not the Trumpet, ſo that the People is not warned; if the Sword come then, and take any Man from among them, the ſame ſhall be taken away in his own Sin from among them, but his Blood will I require at the Watchman's hands.*

And again, *Woe unto the Shepherds that deſtroy and ſcatter my Flock, ſaith the Lord, &c. You ſcatter and thruſt out of my Flock, and do not look upon them: Therefore will I viſit this Wickedneſs of your Imaginations, &c. Jer.* 23. By theſe and ſuch other Words in many Places, God ſignifieth, if his People periſh either in Body or Soul, by the ſlack or remiſs Government of them that are appointed Rulers over them, and as it were Shepherds and Herdmen to keep them from Danger, that he will require the Blood of his People at their hands.

But the late *Scottiſh* Queen with her Allies, by the pretended Title, and other wicked deviliſh, and traiterous Devices and Workings, is like to bring Confuſion to this Realm of *England*, and the People thereof, as evidently appeareth to all good and faithful Subjects. Therefore the Prince offendeth grievouſly before God, and is in danger of the Blood of God's People, if for the Safety of the ſame ſhe do not cut her off.

3. *Reg.* 2. *Solomon*, a wiſe and godly Prince, ſpared not his own Natural, yea and his elder Brother *Adonijah*, for ſuſpicion and likelihood of Treaſon, and for a Marriage propoſed only, but put him to death for the ſame, and that ſpeedily without Courſe of Judgment, leſt by Delay, Trouble and Danger might have enſued, not only to his own Perſon, being Prince and chief Miniſter of God in that Land, but alſo to that People, over which he had great Charge, and for Safety whereof in Conſcience he was bound to deal. He would have thought it a great Burden to his Conſcience, if by the ſparing of one Man's Life, were he never ſo nigh of Blood to him, he would have hazarded the Seat on which God had placed him, and the Blood of many Thouſands of his People, which by a Rebellion might have been ſpent.

But this Woman and her greatly deſired Huſband, as ſhe pretendeth, have put far more heinous matters in execution: Wherefore her Caſe ſtanding as it doth, there is no Scruple in Conſcience to proceed with Severity, but great danger in Conſcience for dealing too mildly, and contrary to the Order of Juſtice, making the Puniſhment leſs than the Offence, with the Danger of her Majeſty's own Perſon, the Hazard of the Realm, and Subverſion of God's Truth.

The Sixth Reaſon: It is dangerous for any Chriſtian Prince, and contrary to the Word of God, with colour of Mercy and Pity, to do that, whereby he ſhall diſcourage and kill the Hearts, not only of his own good Subjects and faithful Counſellors, but alſo of all other Nations faithfully profeſſing God's Religion and his true Worſhip, as may well appear in the Example of *David*.

David having this Infirmity of too much Pity and indulgency towards Offendors, which is not of any Prince to be follow'd, did forbid that his Traiterous Son *Abſolom* ſhould be ſlain; and when he was kill'd, effeminately he bewailed the ſame, to the diſcouraging of his People: but he was ſharply rebuked by *Joab*, his Counſellor, ſaying, *Thou haſt ſhamed this Day the Faces of thy Servants which have ſaved thy Life, and the life of thy Sons, &c. Thou loveſt thoſe that hate thee, and thou ſheweſt this day that thou paſſeſt not for thy Captains and thy Servants; and now I perceive if* Abſolom *had lived and we all had been ſlain, it would have pleaſed thee well.*

What Inconvenience was like to follow unto *David* by this doing, and what other good Direction may be taken out of this Hiſtory well conſidered, for brevity's ſake we leave to the Conſideration of Wiſe Princes and Governours. When *David* was ſo much moved with theſe Words that he was contented to take another Courſe, which turned both to the Comfort of his Subjects and his own benefit, the Application needeth not.

If *David* were moved thus to do to the comfort of his own Subjects only, and the abaſhing of his own private Rebels; how much more have we to deſire God to move the Queen's Majeſty, by the execution of this Lady, to glad the hearts of all true Chriſtians in *Europe*, and to abaſh and damp the Minds of the Enemies of God, and Friends of Antichriſt.

Object. It may be objected, that thus to proceed is not Honourable for the Queen's Majeſty.

Reſponſ. The Shadow of Honour (as may evidently appear) deceived upon the like occaſion, both King *Saul* in ſparing *Agag* King of *Amalek*, and King *Achab* in receiving to his Mercy King *Benhadad*, as it is in the Example in the ſecond Reaſon mentioned, who did pretend great Honour in ſaving a King, and thought Diſhonour in the contrary, that one

King ſhould kill another; but Man's Judgment and God's in ſuch Caſes are far diverſe; for indeed, execution of Juſtice upon any Perſon whatſoever, is, and ever hath been accounted Honourable.

Joſhua, a worthy Prince and Governour, put to death at one time Five Kings, and that, as might appear rudely, cauſing his Soldiers to ſet their Feet on their Necks and ſlay them, and willed them to be ſtout and not to fear to do it. *Joſhua*, 10.

We find alſo in Scriptures that in this Zeal of Juſtice two Wicked Queens, *Jezebel* and *Athalia*, both inferior in Miſchief to this late Queen, have been by God's Magiſtrates executed, and the ſame Execution commended in Scripture.

Object. It may be farther objected, that the Queen's Majeſty in ſo doing ſhould exceed the Limits and Bounds of Mercy and Clemency.

Reſp. Indeed, a Prince ſhould be merciful, but he ſhould be juſt alſo. It is ſaid, *Miſericordia & veritas cuſtodiunt regem*; but in the next Chapter it followeth, *Qui ſequitur juſtitiam & miſericordiam, inveniet vitam.* Prov. 20.

The Prince in Government muſt be like unto him who is not only amiable by Mercy, but terrible alſo by Juſtice, and therefore is call'd, *Miſericors & juſtus Dominus.*

Mercy oftentimes ſheweth itſelf in the Image of Juſtice; yea, and Juſtice in Scriptures is by God called Mercy, *Pſa.* 136. *Who ſmote* Egypt *with their firſt born, for his mercy endureth for ever.* In that *Pſalm* the Smiting of *Egypt* with terrible Plagues, the Deſtruction of *Pharaoh*, the Killing of great and mighty Kings are called the merciful Works of God, as indeed they were, but Mercy towards the People of God, and not towards the Enemies of God and his People.

Therefore, as the Queen's Majeſty indeed is merciful, ſo we muſt humbly deſire her, that ſhe will open her Mercy towards God's People and her good Subjects, in diſpatching thoſe Enemies that ſeek the Confuſion of God's Cauſe amongſt us, and of this noble Realm.

It may alſo be ſaid, that to ſpare one Perſon, being an Enemy, a Stranger, a profeſs'd Member of *Antichriſt*, and convicted of ſo many heinous Crimes, with the evident Peril of ſo many thouſands of Bodies and Souls of good and faithful Subjects, may juſtly be termed, *Crudelis miſericordia.*

Petiliano objiciente, Deum non delectari humano ſanguine: Reſpondet, legimus multos à famulo Dei Moiſe miſericorditer interfectos. Numquid crudelis effectus eſt, cum de monte deſcendens tot millia juberet occidi? Auguſt. contra literas Petiliani, lib. 2. c. 86.

Saul & Jehoſaphat reges fuerunt populi Dei, & dum miſericordiam iis quos Deus oderat præſtiterunt, Dei offenſam in opere pietatis incurrerunt; è contrario Phinehas filiique Levi gratiam Dei humanâ cæde & ſuorum parricidio meruerunt. Hierom.

The ſame *Hierom de origine animæ*, ſaith the like, ſparing of evil Perſons is *miſericors inobedientia.*

St. *Auguſtine* alſo ſaith, *ſicut eſt miſericordia puniens, eſt etiam crudelitas parcens.*

Object. But haply it may be that ſome may diſcredit theſe Reaſons by the Perſons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majeſty's mind, that we in perſuading her, reſpect our own danger and fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unſeemly and worthy ſharp Reproof in a Biſhop to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful Inclination.

Reſp. As touching the firſt Branch, ſurely we ſee not any great continuance of Danger likely to come unto us, more than to all good Subjects, while this State ſtandeth; and the State cannot lightly alter without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country.

Now, if our Danger be joined with the Danger of our gracious Sovereign and natural Country, we ſee not how we can be accounted godly Biſhops or faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we ſhould not cry and give Warning; or on the other ſide, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God and towards their Prince and Country, that will miſlike with us for ſo doing, and ſeek thereby to diſcredit us.

As touching the ſecond Branch, God forbid that we ſhould be Inſtruments to incenſe a merciful Prince to Cruelty and Bloodineſs; neither can we think well of them or judge that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Miniſter of God and Officer, do term Juſtice and right Puniſhment by the Name of Bloodineſs and Cruelty. God, I truſt, in time, ſhall open her Eyes to ſee and eſpy their cruel Purpoſes, under the Cloak of extolling Mercy.

When the Prince or Magiſtrate is ſlack in Puniſhing the ſinful and wicked, the Biſhop and Preacher is bound in Conſcience before God, to exhort him to more diligent and ſevere Dealing therein, leſt the Blood both of Prince and People be required at his Hands.

3. *Reg.* 20. May the Prophet be accounted cruel to excite *Ahab* to bloodineſs, which ſo ſharply rebuked him for his Clemency ſhewed towards *Benhadad?* May *Samuel* juſtly be named cruel, becauſe in like caſe he reproved *Saul* for ſparing the Life of King *Agag*, and killed the ſame *Agag* with his own Hands in the ſight of the Prince.

What ſhall we ſay of the Prophet *Elias*, ſhall we call him Cruel becauſe in the Zeal of Juſtice he killed all the falſe Prophets of *Baal?* Did not God approve his Fact with the miraculous ſending of abundance of Rain after three Years continual Drought? But to thoſe Men, I think, God himſelf and his Angels will ſeem cruel, and his Juſtice cruelty; that they under colour of Mercy might be ſpared until time will ſerve to ſatisfie their own cruel Hearts.

An Argument perſuading that the Queen's Majeſty ought to have in Conſcience a great Care of the Safety of her own Perſon.

EVery Prince being the Miniſter of God and a publick Perſon, ought by God's Word to have an eſpecial Care of his own Safety, more than a private Perſon; and chiefly when the caſe ſo ſtandeth, that ſafety of his Realm and Country, and the true Worſhipping of God by God's diſpoſition may ſeem to depend on him.

But now ſo it is in the Queen's Majeſty, therefore in Conſcience ought ſhe to have a ſingular Care of her ſafety, if not for herſelf ſake, yet at the leaſt for the furtherance of God's Cauſe and ſtay of her Country, to the maintenance whereof ſhe is bound before God.

Moſes wiſhed to be put out of the Book of Life for the ſafeguard of the People. *Exod.* 32.

Paul wiſh'd to be *Anathema* for his Brethren. *Rom.* 10.

Codrus and divers other Heathens gave away their Lives for the ſafety of their Countries. *Contrary-wiſe* we wiſh, and are humble Suitors, that it may pleaſe her Majeſty to preſerve her own Life, and to cut away the Dangers thereof, if not for her own Cauſe which happily her noble Courage doth ſmally regard, yet, at the leaſt-wiſe, for God's Cauſe, and for her faithful and loving Subjects, whoſe Life and good Eſtate dependeth on her.

Object. It may be objected, that her Majeſty repoſeth her Truſt and Confidence in the Providence of God, and therefore maketh light of all Attempts that her Enemies can work againſt her.

Reſp. Surely, it muſt needs be confeſſed, that the ſame proceedeth both of noble Courage, and of a ſtrong Faith and Truſt in God, and ought

indeed to be the Bulwark of Help and Comfort to all good and godly Princes; yet fo far as they feem not withal to tempt God by leaving that Diligence, and thofe ordinary Means whereby he ufeth to fave and deliver.

David knew himfelf to be anointed and appointed *Ifrael* by God himfelf, yet he did not rafhly caft himfelf into the Hands of *Saul* his Enemy.

Jehofaphat and *Hezechias* in their great Diftreffes, undoubtedly had their Truft and Confidence in God, but they ceafed not both to fhun and cut off all thofe things whereby Danger might grow, and to ufe all means whereby their Safety might be holpen.

It is alledged by Chrift, *Thou fhalt not tempt the Lord thy God*; but furely it might have been as fafe for Chrift without tempting God, to have caft himfelf down from the Pinacle of the Temple, as for the Queen's Majefty to fuffer in her Bofom a poifonous Serpent, that ceafeth not continually to thruft the Sting of her venomous Workings into her Majefty's Safety and Poffeffion of her Crown. It is well faid, *Principum Securitas paucorum vitâ redimenda eft.*

There are divers Hiftories, yea and Examples of late time, whereby it hath been declar'd, that the tempting Confidence of God's Providence, not fhunning evident occafion of Danger, hath fell out to the extream hurt of the Parties, and on fuch as have depended on them, which we think not meet to recite, left they fhould feem in this cafe *Ominofa*, as God for his great Mercies fake forbid that they fhould be.

Many Reafons, Authorities and Examples more befides this may be taken out of the holy Scriptures for confirmation of this Purpofe; but for tedioufnefs we thought good to omit them, and leave the refidue to God.

In the 20th Chapter of *Leviticus*, there is much like matter, and that in as earneft manner fet forth; neither can any in Confcience think that this Punifhment was here appointed by God fo grievous, only for thofe that then reduced the People of God to *Gentilifh* and *Heathenifh* Idolatry; for Idolatry and falfe Worfhip, by whomfoever it begun, tho' they bear the Name of the Church or of the People never fo much, it is a direct Offence againft the firft Table; and therefore in God's judgment worthy no lefs Punifhment; yea their Offence muft needs be more heinous in the fight of God, for that they have had greater opportunity to underftand God's true Worfhip.

Shall any Chriftian Man think that the Worfhip of God appointed in his Law being but the Figure, was more acceptable and pleafant to God than this his true Worfhip in the Faith of *JESUS*, according to the Gofpel of our Redemption? Or, that the violating of the fame, or feducing of his People from it, is in his judgment lefs difpleafing, or not fo grievoufly to be punifhed as was the breaking of his Law or feducing from it? Shall we think that the gathering a few Sticks on the Sabbath-day is to be punifhed by Death in a poor fimple Perfon? and the feeking to fubvert the Gofpel of Chrift, and to draw the People of God to that idolatrous Doctrine that teacheth to impute the Merit of Chrift's Blood and Paffion to wicked Mens Devices, yea to Stocks, Stones, to Sticks, to Water, to Bells, &c. fhall not be worthy the Punifhment of Death in a noble Perfon? God direct our Judgment otherways.

By thefe Words of God beforerecited, *Deut.* 13. it is be evident that God willed his Magiftrates to fpare neither Brother, nor Sifter, nor Daughter, nor Wife, nor Friend, though he were never fo nigh, if he fought to feduce the People of God from his true Worfhip; *how* much lefs is an Enemy, a Traitor and an Adulterer to be fpared?

An humble Petition to her Majefty, and the Reafons gather'd out of the Civil Law by certain appointed by Authority in Parliament, to prove that it ftandeth not only with Juftice, but alfo with the Queen's Majefty's Honour and Safety to proceed criminally againft the pretended Scotch *Queen.*

WE your Majefty's moft humble and faithful Subjects affembl'd in Parliament for Prefervation of your Royal Perfon and Eftate, do highly acknowledge the great Goodnefs of God that hath chofen and appointed fuch a Sovereign to Reign over us as never Subjects by any Record ever had a better; and therefore our hearty Prayers are daily, and ever fhall be, to Almighty God, long to preferve your moft excellent Majefty in all and moft perfect Felicity that ever Creature had or might have upon Earth. And whereas the higheft and chiefeft States are ever more envied of all fuch as be the worft and greateft Difturbers of God's Monarchy and his anointed Jurifdiction, we cannot but with care of Mind and force of our Bodies feek to redrefs whatfoever fhall be thought hurtful to your Majefty's fafe Quietnefs and moft bleffed Government.

A Queen of late time, and yet through her own Acts now juftly no Queen, a nigh Kinfwoman of your Majefty's, and yet a very unnatural Sifter, Lady *Mary Stuart*, late Queen of *Scots*, being driven through Violence and Force of others to take Harbour in your Majefty's Realm for the fafeguard of her Life, hath not only had your Majefty's moft gracious Protection, but alfo was faved within her own Realm, by your Majefty's Authority, from execution of Death for her moft horrible and unnatural Doings there, known throughout *Europe* to her perpetual Infamy and Shame for ever. And albeit upon her firft coming your Highnefs might both by Law and Juftice have dealt with her judicially for her Attempts made by Writing and otherwife againft the Crown and Dignity, and to the difherifon of your moft Royal Perfon for ever; yet your Majefty in confideration of her long dangerous Troubles in her own Realm, and in hope that fuch great Adverfities would have been good Leffons for her Amendment hereafter, hath not ufed her in any fuch manner as fhe hath deferv'd; but rather forgetting or forgiving after a fort her former Doings, hath dealt with her like a good and natural Sifter. All which notwithftanding, this unnatural Lady (being born out of kind as it fhould feem) hath altogether forgotten God and all Goodnefs, abufing herfelf as it appeareth moft treafonably againft your Majefty's Perfon and State, and feeking and devifing by all means poffible not only to deprive your Majefty of all earthly Dignities and Livings, but alfo of your natural Life; which thing is found by evident Proofs, and by the Judges of your Realm declar'd to be moft horrible and moft wicked Treafon that ever was wrought againft any Prince; for which her Doings your Majefty minding to touch her in Honour, efteemeth her Perfon unworthy of any Hope or Title, Pre-eminence or Dignity within this your Land, and therefore not feeking to deal with her according to her defert, is only contented to have her difabled as a Perfon not capable of Princely Honour. And thus your Majefty ufing this

courfe,

course, thinketh it the meetest way to establish yourself and to quiet your Dominions hereafter, taking away hereby the hope of such as do depend upon the pretended Title, and weakning the whole Strength of that Faction. And for farther assurance of your Majesty's Quietness, your Highness does not mislike to have grievous Pains of High-Treason laid upon all such as shall attempt and maintain her pretended Title by any manner of way.

Thus, as evil Men shall be kept back from intermedling in the maintenance of a Title, so may your Majesty's true and faithful Subjects be much emboldned to deal against this pretended Queen and her Adherents, when your Subjects shall see a Law set down for your avail, and your Enemies shall want Forces and wax weak thereby, and your true Subjects greatly hardned for all Offences. Moreover, if the said pretended Queen shall hereafter make any attempt of Treason, the Law so to run, that she should suffer Pains of Death without farther trouble of Parliament. And if any shall enterprize to deliver her out of Prison after her Disablement, either in Your Majesty's Life, or after the same, to be convicted immediately of High-Treason, and herself assenting thereunto to be likewise adjudged as a Traitor in Law. In all which Proceedings your Majesty thinketh to deal both safely and honourably, as well for yourself as for your State. For thereby it seemeth, that neither shall she, nor any for her hereafter, dare deal to do harm, but also all foreign Princes and Nations will think much Honour of such your merciful Proceedings. And lastly, whereas she hath fallen into your Hands from the Violence of others, and so as a Bird followed by a Hawk seeketh Succour at your Majesty's Feet, your Highness thinketh yourself bound in Honour, for that she is your Sister, and a Queen born, not to proceed farther, only to her Disablement, counting it a strong Work for your safety. These be the Reasons which in part may move your Majesty to take this course, as we do conceive; all which notwithstanding, if it might please your most excellent Majesty to suffer your poor and faithful Subjects to enter deeply upon good search of this cause, and by way of reply to make answer with proceeding by just Proofs for your Majesty's safety, we doubt not but with your Highness's favourable acceptance, all that which hitherto hath been utter'd is rather a declaration of that most mild and gracious Nature of yours, than any assurance for your Person and Estate at all.

Reasons answering the former Arguments.

May it therefore please your Majesty,

WHereas it is said, that it standeth to very good Purpose to proceed only in disabling the *Scotch* Queen for any Claim or Title to the Crown; we take it, by your Majesty's Favour, that such an especially disabling of the *Scottish* Queen, is in effect a special confirmation of a Right that she should have had, *Quia privatio præsupponit habitum.* And farther, we do take it for a known truth, that by the Laws and Statutes in this Land now in force, she is already disabled, and therefore it is to small purpose, *rem actam agere.* And for answer unto the Premises, we say farther, That neither shall this weaken others that are evil-minded, but rather strengthen them in their Mischief, and make them desperate where there is no other Remedy; and a Fire-brand once kindled, and finding apt matter to work upon, will hardly be quenched without a great hazard. Touching the grievous Pains laid upon those that shall deal, those will be little feared by the wicked, whom hope of Gain maketh more bold than such Pains do appal: Besides Nature given to this Nation and all others that are under the Moon, maketh Men oftentimes stir without cause, and as *Plato* saith, *Naturales sunt conversiones rerum pub.* Yet they that heretofore have born Armour as Traitors, [illegible] fearing the Law then in force, which [illegible] much restrain them as this or any Law [illegible] made can be able, being desperate, will [illegible] no Laws, especially such an Instrument living by whom all Attempts are to be wrought. Force overthroweth Justice till the cause of all Mischief, which is the hoped help, be clean taken away. And where it is said, that the making of a Law for her disabling emboldneth much your Subjects to deal against her: We answer, that no new Law needeth to encourage good and loyal Subjects against such a Person, who hath broken all the Laws of God and Nature, and is worthy to be out of your Majesty's Protection, because she seeketh still the Disturbance of this noble State, and using often her own Phrase, threatneth that she will stir Coals. Touching a new Law to be made against her, if she should attempt any Evil hereafter, the experience of her former Life is such that no Law has any force with her, that is fully minded to take her Advantage upon any apt Occasion offer'd. And to threaten her with Death if she should seem to make an escape hereafter, is such Advice, that she nothing feareth; for besides she was told at *Lough-Leaven,* there was no way but Death with her if she would not take her Imprisonment quietly, and live without seeking Liberty, she notwithstanding adventur'd herself with a young Fellow very dishonourably to get away in a Boat. And now since her coming into *England* she hath wrought divers ways to make an Escape, and employ'd the Heads of the chiefest Estates of your own disloyal Subjects for that purpose. Therefore menacing and but threatning Words of Law shall not keep her back from her malicious intent to subvert your Majesty, and to give a push for the Crown come of her what will. And likely it is that she may escape as well as be taken, for she neither wanteth Wit nor Cunning to make her way. And we have learned in matters of great Hazard to be well advised, and to take always that Order which may be the best. Now there will want no Traitors to be always ready to bring this her Device about, and to do what they can for her Liberty. And such as will not deal in small Matters, will adventure deep for a Kingdom, because the Reward is great when the Service is done. But your Majesty hath regard unto your Honour as much as to your Safety, and thinketh that in taking this course all Princes will speak well of your Highness. May it please your Majesty, we your good Subjects do well like of so honourable a meaning; but we would be loth to see that when you have such regard of Honour, you do thereby lose your State, and so your Life, Honour and All. For if it should fall out that the *Scottish* Queen escaped your Hands, (which *Christ* for his Mercies sake forbid) all good Princes would think great want of Judgment and Foresight, first in your Majesty, next in your Council, last of all in the whole Nation; and such a Grief it would be to your Majesty and Subjects, and to all other good Christian Princes throughout *Europe,* as none could be greater. Again such a matter of Comfort and Triumph it would be to the Adversaries, that

that they would account her Escape a miraculous Work of God, and that your Majesty had no Power, tho' Will to keep her safe: And when that day should come, wo be to all true Christians universally, for upon her do depend the chiefest Enemies of Religion, and to this Kingdom: May it please you therefore, most Gracious Queen, to be well advised, and to take sound Counsel when it is given, knowing this for a certain truth, That Evil foreseen and advisedly looked unto, doth ever the less harm: But still your Majesty, considering the great Trouble she hath had, and forgetting, or not greatly esteeming, what Troubles she hath brought unto your Realm, doth by a merciful respect of your most gracious Nature, rather bend to do Good to her, than seek Safeguard to your self. And seeing here your Sister, tho' unnatural, and also a Queen by Birth, altho' not worthy of Life, cannot but rather hazard your own Life, than deal with her according to her Deserts. This your Majesty's Nature being thus known, it behoveth all your good Subjects, most gracious Sovereign, to call and cry to God for his heavenly Assistance, that his Power may be given to you, next after the Advancement of his Glory, to seek assuredly your own Safety; which your Majesty cannot fully do by the means that hath hitherto been taken, or hereafter to be used: Therefore it would please your most excellent Majesty to give ear to the sound Reasons of your most faithful Subjects, and rather deal certainly than by chance; and there is no doubt but your Majesty shall avoid all apparent Dangers, and live in all Safety and Honour, to God's Glory, and to the Comfort of all good Christian Princes universally. Thus much against the Opinion of disabling the *Scottish* Queen, whereby it appeareth that it will be rather for her Benefit than to her Hurt. And most certain it is, that it will be dangerous for the State divers ways: whereas dealing with her in the first degree according to her Deserts, the same is lawful, safe, necessary and honourable for your Majesty and all *Christendom* besides. And because it may appear, that this Speech is grounded upon Law and Reason, there shall be Arguments in Law alledged sufficiently for this Matter, as the shortness of time may serve.

Civil Reasons for doubt of Answer.

A Confederate being in the Country of his Confederate, is to be punished as though he were a Subject. Every Person offending, is to be tried in the Place where he committeth the Crime, without exception of Privilege. A King passing through another King's Realm, or there resident, is but a private Person. The Dignity of the Person offending increaseth the Offence. *Reatus omnem honorem excludit*; a King deposed is not to be taken for a King; and therefore *Frederick* King of *Naples* being deprived by the King of *Spain*, was afterward judged to be no King by Sentence. A King, tho' not deposed, may commit Treason. *Deiotarus*, a King confederated with the *Romans*, was criminally judged by *Cajus Julius Cesar*, for that he conspired to have slain the said *Julius Cesar* at a Banquet. *Joan* Queen of *Naples* was put to Death, for that she gave her Consent to the Murder of her Husband, and caused him to be hanged out at a Window. *Henry* the Seventh Emperor did give a solemn Judgment of Death at *Pisa* 1311, against *Robert* King of *Sicily*, for that the same King had entred into Conspiracy with the Subjects of the Emperor; and yet was not King *Robert* within the Jurisdiction of the Emperor at the time of the Conspiracy, neither at the time of the Judgment.

It standeth with the Law of Nature, which is immutable, for any Person to proceed for the Safety of himself and his Charge. Great Offences in the highest degree ought not to be punished for any Affection of Kindred. Justice, Equity and Commonwealth, are to be preferred before the Affection of Kindred; *Quia arctiora sunt vincula virtutis quam Sanguinis.* An Offence of the highest degree against the Prince, being the Head of the Political Body, is an Offence to every Member of the same, and requireth sharp Punishment for the Preservation of the whole. The Intent of Offences in the highest degree, is punished with Death, although the Execution of the Intent doth not follow. The Benefit and Privilege of safe Conduct is lost by any Crime committed after the Grant made thereof. Administration of Justice cannot but be honourable. All just and honourable Dealings are pleasing to God, and profitable to the Prince and State. Execution of Justice is void of all Injury. It is dangerous for the State to swerve from the Ministration of Justice, and the due Execution of Law. To spare Offenders in the highest degree, is an Injury to the Prince and State of the Realm; *Pœna unius salus multorum.* The loss of Life is the Penalty appointed for Treason; and the loss of Lands and Goods, with the Possibility of Title, cometh but in consequence and unnecessarily. Punishment ought to be equal with the Fault; and he that ministreth less Punishment than the Fault deserves, doth not execute the Law according to the Rules of Justice.

Reasons to prove, that it standeth not only with Justice, but with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, to proceed criminally against Mary Stuart, *late Queen of* Scots; *for her Treasons committed against her Majesty and this Realm.*

A Confederate being in the Country of his Confederate, for a Crime committed, is there to be punished. *Cod. & de captivis, & post termino reversis, verba legis. At si sunt apud nos rei ex civitatibus fœderatis, in eos damnatos animadvertimus.* Therefore altho' the *Scottish* Queen were a Confederate, yet she is to be used in like sort as a Subject. *Item*, There is no Person, of what degree soever he be, but is there to be tried, where the Crime is committed, without exception of Privilege. *Cod. Ubi de criminibus agi oporteat, verba legis. Qua in provincia quis deliquit, aut in qua pecuniarum aut criminum reus sit, ibi judicari debet, & hoc jus perpetuum sit.* But the *Scottish* Queen here hath offended; *Ergo. Item*, Every Person is to be condemned and adjudged equally: *In crimine læsæ majestatis, verba legis. In crimine læsæ majestatis, æqua est omnium conditio. Ad legem Juliam læsæ majestatis.* But she hath fallen *in crimen læsæ majestatis, Ergo. Item*, A King in another King's Territory may commit Treasons as another private Person, *Corectus de potestate regia*, N° 90. *verba. Quaro utrum Rex non habens justum titulum regni incidat in crimen læsæ majestatis. Respondeo, quod sic, secundum Bartol. in legem duodecim tabularum, & in legem prim. ff. de crimine læsæ majestatis.* But the *Scottish* Queen hath offended here in *England*; *Ergo.* A King passing through another King's Realm, or there resident, is but a private Person. *Bartolus duodecimo libro de dignitatibus, verba. Sed tamen dubitatur*

tatur ſi Rex vel Baro tranſit per alias partes extra regnum ſuum, utrum poſſit creare milites: & videtur quod non, quia ibi privatus eſt homo ff. de præfecto urbis. ff. de officio præſidis. Præſes in homines provinciæ ſuæ imperium habet, & hoc dum eſt in provincia. 91. Coll. penuit, *verba. Quilibet Rex extra ſuum territorium privatus eſt. Lupus in allegatione, Cenſetur adinſtar privati.* But the *Scottiſh* Queen being here in *England*, is out of her Territory; *Ergo*, to be punifhed as a private Perfon. Every Perfon, of what Condition foever he be, either Superior or Equal, fubmitting himfelf to the Jurifdiction of another, is to be judged by him to whom he fubmitteth himfelf. *L. eſt receptivum ff. de judiciis, verba. Eſt receptivum eoque jure utimur, ut ſi quis major vel æqualis ſubjiciat ſe juriſdictioni alterius, poteſt ei, & adverſus eum jus dici.* But the Queen of *Scots*, altho' fhe were a Queen, and thereby equal, by committing heinous Treafon, hath fubmitted herfelf to the Queen's Jurifdiction. *Paulus de caſtro in dictam legem eſt receptivum ff. eo, verba. Ejus enim, major vel æqualis poteſt ſe ſubjicere juriſdictioni ordinaliter alterius judiciis minoris vel paris tacite, ſi judex unius territorii delinquat vel contrahat in territorium alterius judicis vel minoris vel paris, quia ratione delicti vel contractus ſortitur ibi forum. Rota de definitionibus de judiciis, ille qui delinquit, per delictum amiſit mercem imprim. & ſic factus eſt alius privatus; & ſic compar poteſt eum punire: quilibet in ſuo territorio eſt major Alexandro.* But the *Scottiſh* Queen having committed High Treafon within this Realm, hath by Conftruction of Law fubmitted herfelf to this Jurifdiction; and therefore to be punifhed as another private Perfon. And altho' it be faid, that one who is not *ſubditus, non poteſt committere crimen læſæ majeſtatis*; yet that Saying is to be taken, whereas the Crime is committed out of the Jurifdiction: But if it be committed within the Jurifdiction, then there to be punifhed. *Papa in Clementinam de ſententia & re judicata.* And albeit the Pope did reverfe the fame Sentence; yet he faith, that if the Party had been within the Jurifdiction of the Superior at the time of the Crime committed, and Judgment to the Party offended, he had been juftly condemned, &c *Verba Papæ. Quod ſi Rex infra diſtrictum imperiale fuiſſet inventus delinquens, potuiſſet contra eum ſententia dici.* Lo here the Pope declareth plainly, that fhe here offending, may juftly here be punifhed *in pæna capitis. Item*, a King depofed is not afterwards to be taken for a King. *Thomas de Turrecremeta definitione* 65. *Rex regno privatus non eſt amplius Rex.* But the Queen of *Scots* is deprived; *Ergo*. The Benefit or Privilege of fafe Conduct is loft, when any Crime is committed after the fafe Conduct granted. *Angelus de maleficiis, in verbo publica fama.* But the Queen of *Scots* hath committed againft the fafe Conduct, fince her coming into the Realm; *Ergo*. The Will and Mind in Treafons is punifhed equally as the Act. *Cod. ad legem Juliam læſæ majeſtatis, verba legis. In crimine læſæ majeſtatis voluntatem ſceleris æque ac effectum puniri jura voluerunt.* But the *Scottiſh* Queen hath not only had the Affection, but hath notorioufly proceeded to the Actions; *Ergo*. Neither is it any new or rare thing for Kings and Queens to be adjudged and condemned for Treafon; for *Henry* VII, Emperor, did give a folemn Judgment of Death at *Piſa*, *A. D.* 1311, againft *Robert* King of *Sicily*. *Deiotarus* was likewife condemned by *Julius Cæſar*; and *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, for murdering her Husband, and hanging him out of a Window.

Punifhment ought to be equal to the Offences committed. *SS. de pœnis.* But Death is the Penalty appointed for Treafon. *Ergo*.

Vid. p. 503.

Her Majeſty's Speech at the Concluſion of the Parliament, on Monday, March 29. 1585.

My Lords, and you of the Lower Houſe;

MY Silence muft not injure the Owner, fo much as to fuppofe a Subftitute fufficient to render you the Thanks that my Heart yieldeth you; not fo much for the fafe keeping of my Life, for which your Care appears fo manifeft, as for the neglecting your private future Peril, not regarding other way than my prefent State.

No Prince herein, I confefs, can be furer tied or fafter bound than I am, with the Link of your Good-will; and can for that but yield a Heart and Head to feek for ever all your beft: yet one Matter toucheth me fo near, as I may not overskip; Religion, the Ground on which all other Matters ought to take root; and being corrupted, may marr all the Tree. And that there be fome Fault-finders with the Order of the Clergy, which fo make a Slander to my felf and the Church, whofe Over-ruler God hath made me; whofe Negligence cannot be excufed, if any Schifms or Errors heretical were fuffered. Thus much I muft fay, that fome Faults and Negligences may grow and be, as in all other great Charges it happeneth; and what Vocation without? All which, if you, my Lords of the Clergy, do not amend, I mean to depofe you. Look ye therefore well to your Charges. This may be amended, without heedlefs or open Exclamations. I am fuppofed to have many Studies, but moft philofophical. I muft yield this to be true, that I fuppofe few (that be no Profeffors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am not fo fimple, that I underftand not, nor fo forgetful, that I remember not; and yet amidft my many Volumes, I hope, God's Book hath not been my feldomeft Lectures; in which we find that which, by Reafon (for my part) we ought to believe; that feeing fo great Wickednefs and Griefs in the World, in which we live, but as way-faring Pilgrims; we muft fuppofe, that God would never have made us, but for a better Place, and of much more Comfort, than we find here. I know no Creature that breatheth, whofe Life ftandeth hourly in more Peril for it, than mine own, who entred not into my State, without fight of manifold Dangers of Life and Crown; as one that had the greateft and mightieft to wreftle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it fo much, as I left my Life behind my Care; and fo you fee that you wrong me too much (if any fuch there be) as doubt my Coldnefs in that behalf: For if I were not perfuaded that mine were the true way of God's Will, God forbid that I fhould live to prefcribe it to you. Take you heed, left *Eccleſiaſtes* fay not too true, *They that fear the hoary Froſt, the Snow ſhall fall upon them.* I fee many overbold with God Almighty, making too many fubtile Scannings of his bleffed Will, as Lawyers do with humane Teftaments. The Prefumption is fo great, as I may not fuffer it, (yet mind I not hereby to animate *Romaniſts*, which what Adverfaries they be to mine Eftate, is fufficiently known) nor tolerate Newfangednefs. I mean to guide them both by God's holy true Rule. In both Parts be Perils, and of the latter I muft pronounce them dangerous to a kingly Rule, to have every Man, according to his own Cenfure, to make a Doom of the Validity and Privity of his Prince's Government, with a common Veil and Cover of

God's

God's Word; whose Followers must not be judged, but by private Mens Exposition. God defend you from such a Ruler, that so evil will guide you. Now I conclude, that your Love and Care neither is nor shall be bestowed upon a careless Prince; but such as but for your Goodwill passeth as little for this World, as who careth least; with Thanks for your free Subsidy, a manifest Show of the Abundance of your Goodwills; the which, I assure you, but to be employ'd to your Weal, I could be better pleas'd to return than receive.

Vid. p. 526.

The Petition of the Lords and Commons to the Queen, for the due and deserved Punishment of Death, to be executed on Mary, *commonly called Queen of* Scots; *for her most execrable Treasons and Offences.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign;

WE *your* humble, loving and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having of long time, to our intolerable Grief, seen by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable Practices, *Mary*, the Daughter and Heir of *James* V. late King of *Scots*, Dowager of *France*, commonly call'd the Queen of *Scots*, hath compassed the Destruction of your Majesty's most sacred and royal Person; in whose Safety (next under God) our chief and only Felicity doth consist: And thereby not only to bereave us of the sincere and true Religion of Almighty God, bringing us and this noble Crown back again into the Thraldom of the *Romish* Tyranny; but also utterly to ruinate and overthrow the happy State and Common-Weal of this most noble Realm. Which being, from time to time, by the great Mercy and Providence of God, and your Highness's singular Wisdom, foreseen and prevented; your Majesty, of your exceeding great Clemency, and princely Magnanimity, hath either most graciously passed over, or with singular Favour tolerated, (although often and instantly moved by your most loving and faithful Subjects, to the contrary, in times in your Parliaments, and at many other times) and hath also protected and defended the said *Scottish* Queen from those great Dangers, which her own People, for certain detestable Crimes and Offences to her imputed, hath determined against her. All which notwithstanding, the said Queen was nothing moved with these and many other your Majesty's most gracious Favours toward her; but rather obdurate in Malice, and by Hope of continual Impunity imbolden'd to prosecute her cruel and mischievous Determination, by some speedy and violent Course; and now lately a very dangerous Plot being conceiv'd and set down by *Anthony Babington* and others, That six desperate and wicked Persons should undertake that wicked and most horrible Enterprize, to take away your Majesty's Life, (whom God, of his infinite Mercy, long preserve) she did not only give her Advice and Direction upon every Point, and all Circumstances concerning the same, make earnest Request to have it perform'd with all Diligence; but did also promise Assurance of large Reward and Recompence to the Doers thereof. Which being inform'd to your Majesty, it pleased your Highness upon the earnest Suit of such as tendred the Safety of your royal Person, and the good and quiet State of this Realm; to direct your Commission, under the great Seal of *England*, to the Lords and others of your Highness's Privy Council, and certain other Lords of Parliament, of the greatest and most ancient Degree, with some of your principal Judges, to examine, hear and determine the same Cause; and thereupon to give Sentence or Judgment, according to a Statute in that behalf made, in the twenty seventh Year of your most gracious Reign. By Vertue whereof, the more part of the same Commissioners being in Number thirty six, having at sundry times fully heard what was alledged and proved against the said *Scottish* Queen, in her own Presence, touching the said Crimes and Offences, and what she could say for her Defence and Excuse therein; did, after long Deliberation, give their Sentence and Judgment with one Consent, That the Death and Destruction of your royal Person was imagined and compassed by the said *Anthony Babington*, with the Privity of the same *Scottish* Queen; and that she did also compass and imagine the Death and Destruction of your most royal Person. Now, forasmuch as we, your Majesty's most humble, loyal and dutiful Subjects, representing unto your most excellent Majesty, the universal State of your whole People of all degrees in this your Realm; do well perceive, and are fully satisfy'd, that the same Sentence and Judgment is in all things most honourable, just and lawful; and having carefully and effectually, according to our most bounden Duties, weighed and considered, upon what Ground and Cause, so many traiterous Complots and dangerous Practices, against your most royal Person and Estate, and for the invading of this Realm, have, for the space of many Years past, grown and proceeded; do certainly find, and are undoubtedly persuaded, that all the same have been, from time to time, attempted and practised by and from the *Scottish* Queen, and by her Confederates, Ministers and Favourers, who conceive an assured Hope to atchieve speedily, by your Majesty's untimely Death, that which they have long expected, and whereof, during your Life, (which God long preserve, to our inestimable Comfort) they despair; to wit, to place her the said *Scottish* Queen in the imperial and kingly Seat of this Realm, and by her to banish and destroy the Professors and Professing of the true Religion of Jesus Christ, and the ancient Nobility of this Land; and to bring this whole State and Common-Weal to foreign Subjection, and utter Ruin and Confusion: which their malicious and traiterous Purpose they will never cease to prosecute, by all possible means they can, so long as they may have their Eyes and Imaginations fixed upon that Lady, the only Ground of their treasonable Hope and Conceits, and the only Seed-plot of all dangerous and traiterous Devices and Practices against your sacred Person. And seeing also what insolent Boldness is grown in the Heart of the same Queen, through your Majesty's former exceeding Favours and Clemencies towards her; and thereupon weighing with heavy and sorrowful Hearts, in what continual Peril, in such like desperate Conspiracies and Practices, your Majesty's most royal and sacred Person and Life (more dear unto us than our own) is and shall be still, without any possible means to prevent it, so long as the said *Scottish* Queen shall be suffered to continue, and shall not receive that due Punishment which, by Justice and the Laws of this your Realm, she hath so often, and so many ways, for her most wicked and detestable Offences, deserved: Therefore, and for that we find, that if the said Lady shall now escape the due and deserved

deserved Punishment of Death, for these her most execrable Treasons and Offences; your Highness's royal Person shall be exposed unto many more, and those more secret and dangerous Conspiracies, than before; and such as shall not or cannot be foreseen or discovered, as these her late Attempts have been; and shall not hereafter be so well able to remove or take away the Ground and Occasion of the same, as now by Justice may and ought to be done: We do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that, as well in respect of the Continuance of the true Religion now professed amongst us, and of the Safety of your most royal Person and Estate, as in regard of the Preservation and Defence of us Your most Loving, Dutiful and Faithful Subjects, and the whole Common-weal of this Realm, it may please Your Highness to take speedy order, That Declaration of the same Sentence and judgment be made and publish'd by Proclamation, and that thereupon direction be given for further Proceedings against the said *Scottish* Queen, according to the Effect and true meaning of the said Statute: Because upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your Majesty's Safety, but by the just and speedy Execution of the said Queen, the Neglecting whereof may procure the heavy Displeasure and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry severe Examples of his great Justice in that behalf, left us in the Sacred Scriptures, doth appear. And if the same be not put in present Execution, we your most loving and dutiful Subjects shall thereby (so far as Man's Reason can reach) be brought into utter Despair of the Continuance amongst us of the true Religion of Almighty God, and of your Majesty's Life, and the Safety of all your faithful Subjects, and the good Estate of this most flourishing Common-Weal.

Vid. p. 531.

A Memorial written by the Speaker's own Hand, containing Reasons *to move her Majesty to consent to the Execution of the Sentence against* Mary *late Queen of* Scots.

UNless Execution of this just Sentence be done:

I. Your Majesty's Person cannot any while be safe.

II. The Religion cannot long continue among us.

III. The most flourishing present State of this Realm must shortly receive a woful Fall.

IV. And consequently, in sparing her, your Majesty shall not only give Courage and Hardiness to the Enemies of God, of your Majesty's Self, and of your Kingdom; but shall discomfort and daunt with Despair the Hearts of your loving People: and so deservedly provoke the heavy Hand and Wrath of God.

And that summarily for the Reasons ensuing:

I. For as much as concerns the Danger of your Majesty;

Both she and her Favourers think she hath Right, not to succeed, but to enjoy your Crown in Possession; and therefore as she is a most impatient Competitor, (acquainted with Blood) so will she not spare any means that may take you from us, being the only Lett that she enjoyeth not her Desire.

She is harden'd in Malice against your royal Person, notwithstanding that you have done her all Favour, Mercy and Kindness; as well in preserving her Kingdom, as saving her Life and Honour.

And therefore there is no Place for Mercy, where there is no Hope of Amendment, or that she will desist from most wicked Attempts.

The rather, for that her Malice appeareth such, as that she maketh, as it were, her Testament of the same, to be executed after her Death, and appointeth her Executors to perform the same.

She affirmeth it lawful to move Invasion: therefore, as of Invasion Victory may ensue, and of Victory the Death of the Vanquished; so doth she not obscurely profess it lawful to destroy you.

She holds it not only lawful, but honourable also and meritorious, to take your Life, *&c.* being deprived of your Crown by her holy Father, and therefore she will (as she hath continually done) seek it by all means whatsoever.

She is greedy of your Death, and preferreth it before her own Life: For in her late Direction to some of her Complices, she willed, *Whatsoever became of her, the Tragical Execution should be perform'd on you.* There is by so much the more Danger to your Person, since the Sentence than before, by how much it behoveth them that would preserve her or advance her, to hasten your Death now or never, before Execution done upon her; as knowing that you, and none else, can give Direction for her Death, and that by your Death the Sentence hath lost the Force of Execution, and otherwise they should come too late, if they take not the present Opportunity to help her.

Her Friends hold Invasion unprofitable while you live, and therefore in their opinion your Death is first and principally to be sought, as the most compendious way to ruin the Realm by Invasion.

Some of the eldest and wisest Papists set it down for a special good Drift, to occupy you with Conceit, that the Preservation of her Life is the Safety of your own; and therefore you may be assured, that they verily think that her Life will be your Death and Destruction.

II. For as much as concerns Religion:

It is most perillous to spare her, who hath continually breathed the Overthrow and Suppression of the same; being poisoned with Popery from her tender Youth, and at her Age joining in that false-term'd *Holy League*, and ever since and now a profess'd Enemy of the Truth.

She resteth wholly upon Popish Hopes to be delivered and advanced, and is so devoted and doted in that Profession, that she will (as well for Satisfaction of others, as feeding her own Humor) supplant the Gospel, where and whensoever she may. Which Evil is so much the greater, and the more to be avoided, as that it slayeth the Soul, and will spread itself not only over *England* and *Scotland*, but also into all Parts beyond the Seas, where the Gospel of God is maintained: The which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, if Defection should be in these two most valiant Kingdoms.

III. For as much as concerns the happy Estate of this Realm:

The *Lydians* say, *Unum Regem agnoscunt Lydii, duos autem tolerare non possunt*; so we say, *Unam Reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.* And therefore, since she saith, that she is Queen here, and we neither can nor will acknowledge any other but you to be our Queen: It will follow, if she prevail, she will rather make us Slaves, than take us for her Children; and therefore the Realm sigheth and groaneth under fear of such a Step-Mother.

She hath already provided us a Foster-father and a Nurse, the Pope and the King of *Spain*, into whose hands if it should mishappen us to fall, what can we else look for, but Ruin, Destruction, and utter Extirpation of Goods, Lands, Lives, Honour and all.

Whilst she shall live, the Enemies of the State will hope and gape after your Death. By your Death they trust to make Invasion profitable for them; which cannot be, but the same should be most lamentable for us: And therefore it is meet to cut off the Head of that Hope.

As she hath already, by her poisoned Baits, brought to Destruction more Noblemen and their Houses, and a great multitude of Subjects, during her being here, than she would have done if she had been in possession of her own Country, and armed in the Field against us; so will she still be continually cause of the like Spoil; to the greatest Loss and Peril of this Estate: And therefore this Realm neither can or may endure her.

Her Secretaries do write and print, that we be at our Wits end, Worlds end, if she overlive your Majesty; meaning thereby, that the End of our World is the beginning of theirs: And therefore, take her away, and their World will be at an end, before it begin.

Since the sparing of her in the 14th Year of your Reign, Popish Traitors and Recusants have multiplied exceedingly; and if you spare her now again, they will grow both innumerable and invincible also.

IV. And therefore now in the fourth Place:

Mercy in this case would in the end prove Cruelty against us all. *Nam est quædam crudelis Misericordia.* And therefore to spare her is to spill her.

She is only a Cousin to you in a remote degree, but we be the Sons and Children of this Land; whereof you be not only the natural Mother, but also the wedded Spouse. And therefore much more is due from you to us all, than alone to her. It would exceedingly grieve and wound the Hearts of your loving Subjects, if they should see so horrible Vice not condignly punished: If any be wavering, it will win them to the worser Part, and many will seek to make their own Peace. Wherefore as well for the Comfort of the one, as Stay of the other, and retaining of all, it is most needful that Justice be done upon her.

Thousands of your loving Subjects of all Degrees, which have for special Zeal of your Safety made Oath, before God, to pursue to Death by all forcible and possible Means, such as she is, by just Sentence, found to be; cannot save their Oaths, if you keep her alive: For then either we must take her Life from her without direction, which will be to our extream Danger by the offence of your Law; or else we must suffer her to live against our express Oath, which will be to the uttermost Peril of our own Souls; wherewith no Act of Parliament, nor Power of Man whatsoever, can in any wise dispense. And therefore, seeing it resteth in you, by a most worthy and just Execution of this Sentence, to keep us upright, and free us in both, we most humbly and earnestly beseech you, &c. that speedy Justice be done upon her, whereby your self may be safe, the State of your Realm preserved, and we not only deliver'd from this Trouble of Conscience, but also recomforted to endeavour our selves, and all ours, into whatsoever other Peril, for the Preservation and safety of you.

Lastly, God's Vengeance against *Saul* for sparing *Agag*, against *Ahab* for sparing the Life of *Benhadad*, is apparent; for they were both by the just Judgment of God deprived of their Kingdom, for sparing those wicked Princes whom God had deliver'd into their hands of purpose to be slain to Death by them, as by the Ministers of his eternal and divine Justice.

How much those Magistrates were commended, that put to Death those mischievous and wicked Queens, *Jezebel* and *Athaliah!*

How wisely proceeded *Solomon* to Punishment, in putting to Death his own natural and elder Brother *Adonias*, for the only intention of a Marriage which gave suspicion of Treason! whereas there is no more desired of your Majesty, than the very Pope (now your sworn Enemy) some of these late Conspirators, and this wicked Lady her self have thought fit to fall upon her. He in like case gave Sentence, *Vita Conradini, mors Carolo; mors Conradini, vita Carolo.* They in their best Minds and Remorse of Conscience setting down the best means of your Safety, said, *He that hath no Arms cannot fight, and he that hath no Legs cannot run away, but he that hath no Head can do no harm. Pisces primum à capite fœtent.* She by her voluntary subscribing to the late Association, &c. gave this Sentence against herself.

And after in her Letters of these Treasons to *Babington*, wrote, *That if she were discover'd, it would give sufficient cause to you to keep her in continual close Prison.* By which Words she could mean nothing else but Pains of Death.

Therefore we seeing on the one Side how you have, to the offence of mighty Princes, advanced Religion; with what tender care, and more than Motherly Piety you have always cherish'd us the Children of this Land, with what Honour and Renown you have restored the ancient Rights of the Crown, with what Peace and Justice you have govern'd, and with what Store and Plenty you have reign'd over us.

On the other Side, seeing that this Enemy of our Felicity seeks to undermine the Religion, &c. to supplant us, and plant Strangers in the Place, to transfer the Rights of the Crown to that *Italian* Priest, and the Crown to herself, or to some other, from you; and therefore lieth in continual wait for to take away your Life, &c.

Therefore we pray you, &c. for the Cause of God, his Church, this Realm, ourselves and yourself; that you will no longer be careless of your Life, or sovereign Safety; nor longer suffer Religion to be threatned, the Realm to stand in Danger, nor us to dwell in Fear: But as Justice hath given rightful Sentence, &c. so you will grant Execution. That as her Life threatneth your Death, so her Death may, by God's Favour, prolong your Life; and that this Evil being taken away from the Earth, we may praise God for our Deliverance, and pray him for our Continuance; and with the Psalmist say, *Dominus fecit Judicium*, and, *The ungodly is trapped in the works of her own hand.*

And so pray God to incline your Heart to our just Desires, &c.

Vid.

Vid. p. 571.

The Queen's Speech *at the Dissolution of the Parliament,* April 10. 1593.

THis Kingdom hath had many wise, noble, and victorious Princes: I will not compare with any of them in Wisdom, Fortitude, and other Virtues; but, saving the Duty of a Child that is not to compare with his Father, in Love, Care, Sincerity, and Justice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or shall have. It may be thought Simplicity in me, That all this time of my Reign, I have not sought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and Weakness in that respect: But it hath not been the Hardness to obtain, or doubt how to keep the Things so obtained, that only hath with-held me from these Attempts: My Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of *Spain* doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these Wars. He doth me the greatest Wrong that can be; for my Conscience doth not accuse my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the least Injury; so that I am perswaded in my Conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the Wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his Threatnings: His great Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater Power than ever was his Invincible Navy, I doubt not but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. For my Cause is just. I heard say, when he attempted his last Invasion, some upon the Sea-coasts forsook their Towns, and fled up higher into the Country, and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance. But I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those Persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel, what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a Cause. The Subsidy you give me I accept thankfully, if you give me your Good-will with it: But if the Necessity of the Time and your Preservations did not require it, I would refuse it. But let me tell you, the Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a Prince to have so much always lying in her Coffers, for your Defence in time of need; and not to be driven to get it when she should use it. You that are Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take care and special order, that the People be well armed, and in readiness upon all Occasions. You that be Judges and Justices of Peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the Law to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws, when we have put Life into them.

Vid. p. 648.

The Speaker's Speech *to the Queen, in the Council-Chamber, on* Monday, *the* 30. *of* November, 1601. *and the Queen's Answer.*

Most sacred and most gracious Sovereign,

WE your faithful, loyal, and obedient Subjects, and Commons here present, vouchsafed of your especial Goodness (to our unspeakable Comfort) Access to your sacred Presence, do in all Duty and Humbleness come to present that which no Words can express, most humble and thankful Acknowledgement of your most gracious Message; and most bounden and humble Thanks for your Majesty's most abundant Goodness, extended and performed to us. We cannot say, most gracious Sovereign, we have called and been heard, we have complained and been helped; though in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, your sacred Ears are ever open and ever bowed down to hear us, and your blessed Hands ever stretched out to relieve us: We acknowledge, sacred Sovereign, in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, That before we call, your preventing Grace and all-deserving Goodness doth watch over us for our Good; more ready to give than we can desire, much less deserve. That Attribute which is most proper unto God, to perform all he promiseth, appertaineth also unto you our most gracious Sovereign Queen of all Truth, of all Constancy, of all Goodness, never wearied in doing good unto us (the Deeds themselves do speak) most careful to provide all good Things for us; most gracious, most tender to remove all Grievances from us; which all your Princely Actions have ever shew'd, and even now your most gracious published Proclamation, of your own only meer Motion and special Grace, for the good of all your People, doth witness to us. We come not, sacred Sovereign, one of ten to render Thanks, and the rest to go away unthankful; but all of us, in all Duty and Thankfulness, do throw down our selves at the feet of your Majesty, do praise God and bless your Majesty. Neither do we present our Thanks in Words or any outward Thing, which can be no sufficient Retribution for so great Goodness: But in all Duty and Thankfulness, prostrate at your Feet, we present our most loyal and thankful Hearts, even the last drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the last spirit of Breath in our Nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your Safety.

And after three low Reverences made, he with the rest kneeled down; and her Majesty began thus to answer herself, viz.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard your Declaration, and perceive your care of our State, by falling into the Considerations of a grateful Acknowledgment of such Benefits as you have received; and that your coming is to present Thanks unto us, which I accept with no less Joy, than your Loves can have desire to offer such a Present. I do assure you, that there is no Prince that loveth his Subjects better, or whose Love can countervail our Love: There is no Jewel, be it of never so rich a Price, which I prefer before this Jewel, I mean your Love; for I do more esteem it than any Treasure or Riches: For that we know how to prize, but Love and Thanks I count inestimable. And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my Crown, That I have reigned with your Loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice, that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a People. Therefore I have cause to wish nothing more than to content the Subject, and that is a Duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer Days, than that I may see your Prosperity; and that is my only Desire. And as I am that Person, that still (yet under God) hath deliver'd you; so I trust, by the almighty Power of God, that

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I ſhall ſtill be his Inſtrument to preſerve you from Envy, Peril, Diſhonour, Shame, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion, partly by means of your intended Helps, which we take very acceptably, becauſe it manifeſteth the greatneſs of your Loves and Loyalties unto your Sovereign. Of my ſelf I muſt ſay this, I never was any greedy, ſcraping Graſper, nor a ſtrait, faſt-holding Prince, nor yet a Waſter. My Heart was never ſet on worldly Goods, but only for my Subjects Good. What you do beſtow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to beſtow on you again. Yea mine own Properties I count yours, to be expended for your Good. Therefore render unto them for me, I beſeech you, Mr. *Speaker*, ſuch Thanks as you imagine my Heart yieldeth, but my Tongue cannot expreſs.

Note, that all this while they kneeled: Whereupon her Majeſty ſaid, 'Mr. Speaker, *I would 'wiſh you and the reſt to ſtand up, for I ſhall yet 'trouble you with longer Speech'. So they all ſtood up, and ſhe went on in her Speech, Saying,* Mr. Speaker, you give me Thanks, but I doubt me I have more cauſe to thank you all, than you me; and I charge you to thank them of the *Houſe of Commons* from me; for had I not receiv'd a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lap of an Error, only for lack of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my Pen to any Grant, but that upon pretext and ſemblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the Subjects in general, tho' a private Profit to ſome of my ancient Servants who had deſerved well: But the contrary being found by experience, I am exceedingly beholden to ſuch Subjects as would move the ſame at firſt. And I am not ſo Simple to ſuppoſe, but that there be ſome of the lower Houſe, whom theſe Grievances never touch'd; and for them I think they ſpeak out of Zeal to their Countries, and not out of ſpleen or malevolent Affection, as being Parties grieved; and I take it exceeding grateful from them, becauſe it gives us to know, that no Reſpects nor Intereſſes have moved them, other than the Minds they bear to ſuffer no diminution of our Honour, and our Subject's Love unto us. The Zeal of which Affection tending to eaſe my People, and knit their Hearts unto me, I embrace with a princely Care; far above all earthly Treaſure I eſteem my People's Love, more than which I deſire not to merit. That my Grants ſhould be grievous to my People, and Oppreſſions to be priviledged under colour of our Patents, our kingly Dignity ſhall not ſuffer it; yea, when I heard it, I could give no reſt to my Thoughts until I had reform'd it. Shall they think to eſcape unpuniſhed that have thus oppreſſed you, and have been reſpectleſs of their Duty, and regardleſs of our Honour? No, Mr. *Speaker*, I aſſure you, were it not more for Conſcience Sake than any Glory or Increaſe of Love, that I deſire, the Errors, Troubles, Vexations and Oppreſſions, done by theſe Varlets and lewd Perſons, not worthy the name of Subjects, ſhould not eſcape without condign Puniſhment. But I perceive they dealt with me like Phyſicians, who miniſtring a Drugg, make it more acceptable by giving it a good Aromatical Savour; or when they give Pills, do gild them all over. I have ever uſed to ſet the laſt Judgment-Day before my Eyes, and ſo to rule as I ſhall be judged to Anſwer before a higher Judge. To whoſe Judgment-Seat I do appeal, that never Thought was cheriſh'd in my Heart that tended not to my People's Good. And now, if my kingly Bounty have been abuſed, and my Grants turned to the Hurt of my People, contrary to my Will and Meaning; or if any in Authority under me, have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their Culps and Offences to my Charge; and though there were Danger in repealing our Grants, yet what Danger would not I rather incurr for your Good, than I would ſuffer them ſtill to continue? I know the Title of a King is a glorious Title; but aſſure yourſelves that the ſhining Glory of princely Authority hath not ſo dazled the Eyes of our Underſtanding, but that we well know and remember, that we alſo are to yield an account of our Actions before the Great Judge. To be a King and wear a Crown is more glorious to them that ſee it, than it is pleaſure to them that bear it. For myſelf, I was never ſo much enticed with the glorious Name of a King, or royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me the Inſtrument to maintain his Truth and Glory; and to defend this Kingdom (as I ſaid) from Peril, Diſhonour, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion. There will never Queen ſit in my Seat with more Zeal to my Country, Care to my Subjects, and that will ſooner, with willingneſs, yield and venture her Life for your Good and Safety, than myſelf. And tho' you have had, and may have many Princes more Mighty and Wiſe ſitting in this Seat, yet you never had or ſhall have any that will be more Careful and Loving. Should I aſcribe any thing to myſelf, and my ſexly Weakneſs, I were not worthy to live then, and of all moſt unworthy of the Mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me an Heart which never yet feared foreign or home Enemies. I ſpeak it to give God the Praiſe as a Teſtimony before you, and not to attribute any thing to myſelf: For I, O Lord, what am I, whom Practices and Perils paſt ſhould not fear! O what can I do (*theſe Words ſhe ſpake with a great Emphaſis*) that I ſhould ſpeak for any Glory! God forbid. This, *Mr. Speaker*, I pray you deliver unto the Houſe, to whom heartily recommend me; and ſo I commit you all to your beſt Fortunes and farther Counſels. I pray you, *Mr. Comptroller*, *Mr. Secretary*, and you of my Council, that before theſe Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to kiſs my Hand.

Vid. p. 637.

The Execution of the Earl of Eſſex *in the Tower of* London, *the* 25 *of* February, *Anno.* 1600.

ON *Wedneſday*, commonly call'd *Aſh Wedneſday*, in the Morning, about One of the Clock, the Lieutenant of the Tower gave warning to the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was condemn'd the *Thurſday* before of High-Treaſon, to prepare himſelf for Death, which ſhould be the ſame Day following. He, being then in Bed, preſently upon notice thereof aroſe; Dr. *Montford*, Dr. *Barley*, and Mr. *Aſhton* his Chaplain being with him; and therewithal deſir'd them to joyn with him in thoſe Exerciſes that might beſt benefit him for his Death ſo near approaching. Thereunto they moſt willingly condeſcended, being of purpoſe appointed to be with him, to prepare and make him ready to taſte of that his moſt bitter Cup. The Exerciſes that were uſed, were hearty Prayers, penitent Confeſſions, and comfortable Preachings. The latter was perform'd by Mr. *Aſhton*, at the requeſt of the other Divines. And thus was the Morning ſpent, until the Hour drew near to finiſh his Courſe.

Againſt

Againſt which Time all things were prepared for the Execution to be done within the Tower. And between the Hours of Seven and Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Earl was brought by the Lieutenant of the Tower to the Scaffold, which was ſet up in the High-Court where the Church ſtands, having on him a black Velvet-Gown, and a Suit of black Sattin; who coming thereunto, aſcended the Stairs, which were about four Foot high, and three Yards ſquare, with Rails round about; the three Divines going up with him. At his coming upon the Scaffold he carried a moſt conſtant and ſettled Countenance, neither high nor dejected: And ſtepping into the midſt of the Scaffold where the Block lay, with a little motion of Body ſaluted all the Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen, who ſate on Forms near unto the Stage; *viz.* the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hartford*, Lord Viſcount *Bindon*, Lord *Thomas Howard*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Compton*, and others that were there preſent. And hereupon, with a diſtinct and ſerious Duty, he framed his Speech to this or ſuch like effect: *I deſire your Lordſhips, and you, my Chriſtian Brethren, here preſent to ſee my juſt Puniſhment, to be a witneſs that I confeſs to the Glory of God, and the beating down of mine own Fleſh, that I am a grievous Sinner, yea the moſt grievous of all Sinners; and that the number of my Sins are more than the hairs on my Head. I have lived in Wantonneſs, in the Luſts of the Fleſh, all vain Uncleanneſs: I have been full of Pride, Vanity, and Ambition: I do acknowledge this Sin againſt my Sovereign, this bloody Sin, this crying Sin, for which I am now come to die; proteſting that I never meant to hurt my Sovereign, her Perſon, or Dignity. And therefore I deſire you to bear witneſs of theſe my Proteſtations. I never was, I thank God, Atheiſt, to deny God, or to hold any Hereſie againſt the Godhead; nor Papiſt, to aſcribe any thing to my own Works; but hope to be ſaved by the Mercies of God, and the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt my only Saviour, and ſo forward. I believe all the Articles of that Religion and Faith in which I was baptized, and which I have been brought up in, and which I hope to continue to my laſt Gaſp. I was never guilty of Hypocriſy in Religion, but always ſubject to all Imperfections and Corruptions of the Fleſh. I acknowledge myſelf a moſt imperfect Creature. And now I crave Pardon of all the World: Firſt of my Sovereign, next of the State, of the Nobles and People, and eſpecially of the Nobles and Gentlemen that for the Love of me are fallen into this Action againſt their Sovereign and Anointed of God. I heartily forgive all Men, and deſire that they will have a charitable Conceit of me and my Proceedings. I do beſeech God to give her Majeſty a religious and wiſe Heart, and, if it pleaſe him, a long Reign and a proſperous. And now I beſeech your Lordſhips, and you, my Chriſtian Brethren here preſent, to joyn with me in Prayer to God, that he will aſſiſt me in this greateſt Temptation of my Death: For through the weakneſs of my Fleſh I am not able to endure of myſelf, without his eſpecial Grace, this laſt Conflict; and yet the Spirit is moſt willing to undergo this heavy Croſs, to drink of the bitter Cup of Death.* And here the Miniſters put him in mind to make Confeſſion of his Faith in ſaying the Creed; the which he did; giving them moſt hearty Thanks therefore; *for now*, ſaith he, *Satan is moſt buſie.* And then putting off his Gown, he kneeled down with his Hands lifted up and cloſed together, and his Eyes moſt firmly fixt in the Heavens: He deſired, in moſt effectual Phraſes, that God would give him Power to pray, not with his Tongue and Underſtanding only, but with Faith, Zeal, firm Conſcience and full Aſſurance. For he acknowledg'd, that through his own Ignorance and Dullneſs he could not offer up his Prayers to God as he ought; but he pray'd that he might perform that Chriſtian Duty, and he aſſuredly hoped that God would accept his Willingneſs for the Action; and in moſt effectual manner he craved Strength and Conſtancy of the Almighty, that without all doubting or wavering he might have Confidence and full Aſſurance of all the Mercies promiſed and made in Chriſt Jeſus, even unto the laſt Gaſp of Breath: That Chriſt ought to be the only Object of the eye of the Mind; that his Heart might not be carried away with any worldly Thoughts, but that in his Diſſolution, at his laſt Gaſp, he might have God only before him; and ſuch like moſt heavenly Prayers. He continued moſt fervently until he concluded with the Prayer of all Prayers, which is the Lord's Prayer, which he pronounced with a moſt conſtant Reſolution, all the Aſſembly joining with him in Tongue and Voice, as they before had done in Heart; all the whole Aſſembly pouring down moſt wonderful floods of Tears, with loud Crying and hearty Sobs, making great Lamentation. His Prayers being ended, he deſired the Executioner to tell him how he ſhould fit himſelf for the Block. Then the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveneſs; and he anſwer'd him and forgave him, ſaying, *Spare not, nor be afraid, for thou art the Miniſter of Juſtice.* Then he pull'd off his Doublet, under which he had a Waſtcoat of Scarlet embroider'd with Gold; and then he proſtrated himſelf, ſaying, *I proſtrate myſelf before thee, O Lord my God, beſeeching thee that thy bleſſed Angels may be ready to receive my Soul, ſo ſoon as it is departed from my Body; and I pray you all to joyn with my Spirit, when my Arms are ſtretched out in Prayer unto God.* Thus, without Muffle, laying his Head on the Block, his Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, his Arms ſtretched abroad, he ſaid, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; Lord Jeſus receive my Soul:* Whereat the Executioner doing his Office very ill, took three Strokes before he cut off the Head; and yet neither Arms, nor Body, nor Head ſtirr'd; which the Executioner took up, and ſaid, *God ſave the Queen.*

THE

THE ANNALS OF Mr. William Camden,

In the Reign of King *JAMES* I.

Viz. From the Year 1603, to the Year 1623.

Done into English.

1603. *ANNO* 1603. 1603.

Mar.24. QUEEN *Elizabeth* being dead, between Two and Three a Clock after Midnight, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, together with the late Counsellors, undertaking the Provisional Administration of the Kingdom, proclaimed King *James*.

25. They sent *Charles Percy* and *T. H. Somerset* to the King with a Letter, signifying the same; and humbly desired him, that he would be pleased to repair into *England* with all speed.

28. *George Carew* and *Thomas Lake*, were sent to inform the King in what posture Affairs stood.

Apr. 6. The King made his Entrance into *Berwick*.

8. Some Troubles in the Marches, at *Waterford*, and elsewhere in *Ireland*. The King comes to *York*.

10. *Southampton*, and others, being imprisoned, are set at Liberty.

15. *Cecil* the Secretary being sent for, set out towards *York*.

28. The Funeral Rites of Queen *Elizabeth* are performed.

May— *Henry Howard*, *Thomas Howard*, and my Lord *Mountjoy*, are chosen into the Council at *Theobalds*.

7. The King taking his Journey from *Theobalds*, is first received by Sheriff *Swinnerton*, whose Chaplain *R. M.* did cast some sharp Reflexions upon the Administration under *Elizabeth*; after that he is received by the Lord Mayor and Citizens, and is conducted to the *Charter-House*, where he promiscuously created Eighty Knights.

An Act against Monopolies.

13. *Robert Cecil*, *Robert Sidney*, *William Knowles*, *Edward Wotton*, are created Barons in the Tower of *London*.

16. An Act for preserving Deer.

19. An Act for suppressing Insurrections in the Frontiers, or Marches.

June 4. *Valentine Thomas*, who confessed that he had conspired against the Queen's Life, is condemned and executed.

Ambassadors from several Princes come to Congratulate.

The Earl of *Rutland* is sent to the King of *Denmark* to be Godfather to his Son, and carry him a Garter. June 21.

The Plague rages at *London*.

The Festival of *St. George* is celebrated, where Prince *Henry*, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marr*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, are invested with the Order of the Garter. July 2.

Anthony Copley, *Griffin Markham*, *William Watson*, and *William Clerk*, Priests; my Lord *Cobham*, his Brother *George*, my Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, are taken up on Suspicion of Treason.

The Earl of *Southampton* is created and restored. 21.

Thomas Howard is created Earl of *Suffolk*; my Lord *Mountjoy*, Earl of *Devonshire*; *Thomas Egerton*, Baron of *Elsmere*; *William Russel*, *Henry Grey*, *John Petre*, *John Harrington*, *Henry Danvers*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Robert Spencer*, are created Barons at *Hampton-Court*.

Thomas Edmonds is sent Ambassador to the Archduke.

The King and Queen are crowned, it being then very bad Weather, and the Pestilence mightily raging; for in that Week there died 1103. 24.

It is order'd, That this Day should be strictly observed for the King's Deliverance from the *Gowry's* Conspiracy; and a Fast is kept every *Wednesday* throughout the Kingdom. Aug. 8.

My Lord *Cobham*, my Lord *Grey*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Griffin Markham*, *George Brook*, *Anthony Copley*, *William Watson*, and *William Clerk*, are convicted of High Treason at *Winchester*; amongst whom *George Brook*, and the two Priests, are put to death. Nov. 9.

From the 23d of *December* 1602, to the 22d of *December* 1603, there died at *London* 38244, of which Number there was 30578 of the Plague.

ANNO 1604.

1604.

Feb. 29. WHilst the King began to find fault with some things used in the Liturgy, and thought it convenient that they should be altered, *John Whitgift*, the Archbishop, died for Grief.

Mar. 13. *Henry Howard* is created Baron of *Marnhill*, and Earl of *Northampton*, by the same Letters-Patents; and my Lord *Buckhurst* is made Earl of *Dorset*.

15. The King and Queen pass through the City in great Pomp from the Tower to *Westminster*.

19. A Parliament is held till the 7th of *July*.

Thomas Smith, a Merchant of *London*, is sent Ambassador to *Boris Theodorowitz* Emperor of *Russia*.

The Duke of *Lenox* being Ambassador in *France*, to him the King complains of *H. Wotton*, Ambassador at *Venice*.

Aug. 5. Peace between *Spain* and *England* concluded, and proclaimed.

20. *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Essenden*, is created Viscount *Cranburn*.

Oct. — *Ostend* taken.

— The Duties for all Merchandize exported and imported, augmented.

24. The King proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, that the Name of *England* might be extinct.

Dec. 10. *Richard Bancroft*, Bishop of *London*, is translated to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*.

Richard Vaughan, Bishop of *Chester*, is translated to the See of *London*.

The *French* make frequent Complaints of Depredations or Pyracies committed by the *English*.

ANNO 1605.

1605.

Jan. 4. PHilip Herbert, Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, marries *Susan*, Daughter to *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*.

Feb. 6. *Charles*, second Son to the King, is created Duke of *York*.

Mar. 5. An Act that the Jesuits and Seminary Priests should immediately depart out of the Kingdom; and another to establish the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

28. The Admiral of *England* is sent into *Spain* to confirm the Peace, and *Charles Cornwallis* along with him to be Ambassador.

29. *Philip* Prince of *Spain* is born.

Apr. 19. *Edward* Earl of *Hertford* is sent to the Archduke to ratify the Peace.

24. *Ulricus* Duke of *Holstein*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, created Knights of the Garter.

May 4. *Robert Cecil* is created Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil* Baron *Burleigh*, Earl of *Exeter*; *Philip Herbert* Earl of *Montgomery*; Baron *Sidney* Viscount *Lisle*.

Likewise, *J. Stanhope*, *George Carew*, *Thomas Arundel*, and *William Cavendish*, are created Barons at *Greenwich*.

July —— The *Spaniards* arrive at *Dover*, and are block'd up by the *Hollanders*.

5. *George Lodowic*, Landgrave *Lettenberg*, comes Ambassador from the Emperor *Rodolph*.

Aug. 1. *Edmund Anderson*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, died, to whom *Francis Gawdy* succeeded.

11. A Proclamation for preventing Legacies for pious Uses to be misapplied.

27. The King and Queen go to see *Oxford*.

31. *Henry Rawlins* is installed at *Windsor* for *Christian* the Fourth, King of *Denmark*.

Nov. 5. The Gun-powder Plot is discover'd.

9. A Parliament began.

ANNO 1606.

1606.

THE Earl of *Essex* married *Frances*, Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*. *Jan.*

My Lord *Knolles* married *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of the said Earl. 1

George Carew is sent Ambassador into *France*.

Those who are guilty of the Gun-powder-Treason are condemned, and executed on the Thirtieth. 17.

Jo. de Mendoza Marquess of *St. Germains*, came Ambassador from *Spain* to the King. *Apr.* 24.

Henry Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits, is put to death. *May* 3.

Robert Earl of *Salisbury* and Viscount *Bindon* installed at *Windsor*. 20.

Henry Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward Lord Sturton*, are fined in the Star-Chamber. *June* 3.

A Proclamation for extirpating Jesuits and Seminaries out of the Realm. 10.

Sophia, Daughter to the King, is born, and died the next Day. 22.

Henry Earl of *Northumberland* is fined 30000 *l.* and to be imprisoned during Life. 27.

Nicholas Molino, the *Venetian* Ambassador, returns; and *George Justinianus* comes in his Place.

Edward Coke made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

A Monument is erected for Queen *Elizabeth* in *Westminster*.

Christian King of *Denmark* comes into *England* unexpected. *July* 17.

The King, accompanied with the King of *Denmark*, passes through the City in most magnificent Pomp. 31.

The King of *Denmark* departs. *Aug.* 14.

Francis Prince *Vaudemont* comes into *England*; being the Son of the Duke of *Lorrain*. *Sept.* 23.

Moorfields reduced into pleasant Walks. The Churches throughout the City beautified.

ANNO 1607.

1607.

JAmes Lord *Hay* married *Honora*, Daughter and sole Heiress to *Edward* Lord *Denny*. *Jan.* 6.

The King makes Speeches to both Houses of Parliament, concerning the Union of the Two Kingdoms. *Mar.* 31.

Prince *Joinvil*, Brother to the Duke of *Guise*, came into *England*. *May* 8.

The Peasants commit a Riot in *Northamptonshire* concerning Inclosures, and pull down the Hedges. 15.

Thomas Ravis, Bishop of *Glocester*, is translated to the See of *London*. *June* 2.

Jo. Watts, Lord Mayor of *London*, entertains the King at a splendid Dinner. 12.

The King pays 60000 *l.* to the Citizens of *London*, which Queen *Elizabeth* owed them. *July* 3.

Ambassadors from the States. 4.

Thomas Knevet is called to Parliament by the Name of Lord *Knevet* of *Eskrick*.

Julius Cæsar St. Omar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is admitted into the Privy-Council. 5.

The Company of Merchant-Taylors entertain the King at a noble Dinner in their Hall. 16.

The King stands Godfather to *James*, eldest Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* by his Countess *Altheia*, third Daughter of *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. 17.

The Earls *Tir-Owen*, and *Tir-Connel*, and other Malecontents, fled out of *Scotland*. *Sept.* ---

Mary the King's Daughter died. 16.

The Banquetting-House at *Whitehall* is new built. *Oct.* 12.

Jo. Fortescu, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, died. *Dec.* 23.

ANNO

ANNO 1608.

1608.

Feb. 9. VIscount *Haddington* married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*.

Aldgate rebuilt.

Apr. 17. *James Montagu* is consecrated Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

29 The Oath of Allegiance was enacted.

Henry Earl of *Northampton* is made Keeper of the Privy-Seal.

May 6. *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Treasurer of *England*.

20. The Earls of *Dunbar* and *Montgomery* are installed at *Windsor*.

Oct. 9. *Richard Neal* was consecrated Bishop of *Rochester*.

Dec. 1. *W[illegible]* Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*, married *Catherine*, the third Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*.

A Proclamation against Pyrates.

ANNO 1609.

1609.

Feb. 19. THE *Thames* flowed twice in the space of an Hour.

23. *Robert* Earl of *Dorset* died.

25. *Richard* Earl of *Dorset* married *Ann* the only Daughter of *George* Earl of *Cumberland*.

Mar. --- A Cessation of Arms between Philip III, King of *Spain*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, for twelve Years.

— The *New-Exchange* is erected, which was called *Britannica* by the King, or *Britain's Burse*.

June --- The King hears the Cause of Prohibitions, and Complaints against the Officers of the Royal Navy.

The King pays 63000 *l.* which he had borrowed from the Citizens of *London*.

ANNO 1610.

1610.

Jan. 31. VIscount *Fenton* is chosen into the Privy-Council.

May 3. *Henry* IV, King of *France*, massacred.

June 4. *Henry* created Prince of *Wales*.

The Privileges of the *East-India* Company are enlarged.

Jesuits and Seminaries are extirpated, and the Oath of Allegiance tender'd to every body.

The League between *England* and *France* is renewed.

Oct. 20 Three Bishops of *Scotland*, *Joh. Spotswood* of *Glasgow*, *Gavin Hamilton* of *Galway*, and *Andrew Lambe* of *Brechin*, are consecrated at *Lambeth*, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*.

Christian Prince of *Anhalt* came into *England*.

Dec 31. The Parliament is dissolved.

ANNO 1611.

1611.

Apr. 9. RObert *Carre* is made Viscount *Rochester*.

George Abbot translated from *London* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*.

May 18. An Act for inhancing the Value of Gold Coin.

Charles Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Robert Carre* Viscount *Rochester*, were installed at *Windsor*.

June 9. *Tomson* Dean of *Windsor* is consecrated Bishop of *Glocester*, and —— *Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rochester*.

23. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is chosen into the Privy-Council.

Otho, Son and Heir to *Maurice* Landgrave of *Hesse*, comes into *England*.

Sept. 8. *Jo. King*, Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, is consecrated Bishop of *London*.

ANNO 1612.

1612.

THomas *Overbury* was imprisoned. Apr. 21.

William Wade laying down the Lieutenancy of the Tower, *Gervase Elwish* succeeds him. May 6.

Robert Earl of *Salisbury* died. 24.

Roger Earl of *Rutland* died without Issue, whose Brother *Francis* succeeded him. June 26.

The Body of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* was translated from *Peterborough* to *Westminster*.

Robert Sherley comes from his Embassy to the Sophy of *Persia* into *England*.

Sir *Tho. Overbury* died of a poisoned Glister. Sept. 15.

Frederick the Fifth, Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, arrives in *England*. Oct. 16.

Prince *Henry* died. Nov. 6.

The Prince Elector Palatine, and Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, created Knights of the Garter. Dec. 29.

ANNO 1613.

1613.

THE Marriage between *Elizabeth* the King's Daughter, and the Elector Palatine, is celebrated. Feb. 14.

The Prince Palatine returns into *Germany*. Apr. 10.

The *Londoners* send a Colony to *Derry* and *Colrayne*, in the Province of *Ulster*. July —

Jo. Lord *Harrington* died in *Germany*.

Edw. Coke, Justice of the Common-Pleas, is constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Oct. 25.

Viscount *Rochester* is created Earl of *Somerset*; and the same Day *Edw. Coke* is sworn into the King's Council. Nov. 4.

The Earl of *Somerset* unfortunately marries *Frances* Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*. Dec. 26.

ANNO 1614.

1614.

AT One a Clock in the Morning was born to *Frederick* Elector Palatine, and to *Elizabeth* Daughter to *James* King of *Great Britain*, a Son, who on *March* 24, being baptized, was called *Henry Frederick*. Jan. 1.

Ralph Winwood is made Secretary of State; and *Thomas Lake* is called into the King's Privy-Council. Mar. 29

Sir *Walter Raleigh* publishes his Universal History.

The Parliament began. Apr. 5.

The Members of the House of Commons take the Sacrament at St. *Margaret's*, that a Discovery might be made of those who were inclined to the Popish Religion; but none refused it. 7.

The Parliament on a sudden dissolved, and all their Proceedings declared null and void. June 7.

Chutts —— *Nevil* Lord *Abergaveny*'s Son, *Wentworth*, *Jo. Hoskins*, who behaved themselves in a tumultuous manner in the House of Commons, are sent to the Tower of *London*.

Henry Howard Earl of *Northampton* died, is buried in the Church belonging to *Dover* Castle. 15.

Tho. Howard Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chamberlain to the King, is made Lord Treasurer of *England*. July 10.

At the same time *Robert Carre* Earl of *Somerset* (his Son-in-law) is made Chamberlain to the King.

Lord *Grey* of *Groby* deceased at *Broadgate* in *Leicestershire*. 16.

Christian King of *Denmark* comes to *London*, beyond all Expectation. 21.

The King returns to *London* to pay him a Visit. 23.

The King of *Denmark* departs from *London*, accompanied with the King of *Great Britain* as far as *Gravesend*. Aug. 1.

1614. *ANNO* 1614.

Sept. 11. *Edward Phillips*, Master of the Rolls, died at *London*.

13. *Julius Cæsar St. Omar* is put into his Place.

Edward Earl of *Lincoln* died.

Oct. 1. *Fulk Grevil* Kt. was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in the place of *Julius Cæsar*.

Nov. --- Earl of *Arundel* returned out of *Italy* to the Countefs his Wife.

Thomas Earl of *Ormond* dies, after he had beftowed his Daughter in Marriage to *Preston* Lord *Dingwell*, a *Scot*.

1615. *ANNO* 1615.

Jan. 1. HEnry Earl of *Kent* died without Iffue.

Charles Grey his Brother fucceeds him, a Man well ftricken in Years; was buried the 14th of *March*.

Feb. 25. *Arthur Ingram* Kt. fworn and admitted to the Office of Cofferer of the King's Houfhold, upon the Refignation of Sir *Robert Vernon* Kt.

Rudd Bifhop of *St. David's* died. *D. Melborn*, Dean of *Rochefter*, fucceeds him.

Mar. --- The King vifits the Univerfity of *Cambridge*, where Academical Degrees were proftituted to illiterate Perfons.

7. Proclamations prohibiting the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and the fending of Youths to Seminaries, and for preferving Deer.

Apr. --- Vifcount *Fenton* and *William* Lord *Knolles* admitted into the Order of the Garter.

24. *George Villars* made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and knighted.

Oliver St. *John* is fined 5000 *l.* in the Star-Chamber.

--- *Owen*, of the Family of the *Owens* of *Godftow* in *Oxfordfhire*, condemned of High-Treafon, up-
May 17. on the Account of his Opinion, That Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be made away lawfully.

Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancafter*, died. *Jo. Dacombe* fucceeded.

--- *Oliver St. John* makes his Submiffion in the Star-Chamber.

June 14. *James Hays*, to whom the King granted the Name and Stile of *Lord Hays*, that he fhould be
29. next to the Barons of *England*, but without any Place or Vote in the Parliaments of *England*; and upon the Recommendation of *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, is at this time (without any outward Ceremony or Solemnity, or delivering Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, before Witneffes in the Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich* at Nine a Clock at Night) promoted to the State, Dignity, Degree, and Honour of Baron *Hay* of *Sawley* in the County of *York*, to him, and his Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten: And the Learned in the Law informed the King, that this way of creating a Baron was fufficient without Inveftiture, and other Ceremonies, feeing Letters Patents are the very Effence of the Creation.

The next Day Sir *Robert Dormer* of *Wing* Kt. being duly created Baron *Dormer* of *Wing*, he is
30. introduced in a Furred Scarlet Gown, with a Sword by his fide, between the Lord *Sheffield* and Lord *Compton*, in their Parliamentary Robes; the Lord *Carew* having a Gown on with a Train, the *Garter* Herald bearing the Letters Patents, delivering the fame to the Chamberlain; which *Winwood* the Secretary taking from him, read them on his Knees, and at the Word *impofuimus* (we put on) the King put the Robes upon the new Baron. The Letters being read, the King delivers them into the Hands of Baron *Dormer*, Trumpets founding, and Drums beating. My June 30.
Lord *Sheffield* reprimanded *Garter*, becaufe he faid the Collar of St. *George* was not to be ufed; forafmuch as the other Companions of the Order did not make ufe of Collars (but in the Creation of the Earls of *Hertford* and *Southampton* in the Year —— of *Henry* VIII, the Earls who introduced made ufe of Collars) the Stile of Baron is not proclaimed, becaufe there was no Dinner, the King removing to *Weftminfter*.

ANNO 1615. 1615.

Lord *Zouch* made Baron of the Cinque Ports. July 18.

D. Melborn confecrated Bifhop of *St. David's*.

The King begins his Progrefs. 21.

The Queen takes a Progrefs towards *Salisbury*. 24.

Marquefs *Bonnivet* returns into *England*. Aug. ---

George Lloyd, Bifhop of *Chefter*, died.

Thomas Bilfon, Bifhop of *Winchefter*, is chofen into the King's Council at *Farnham* Caftle.

An Inquifition made into the Death of Sir Sept. ---
Tho. Overbury, who died in the Tower of *London*, not without Sufpicion of Poifon, 1613.

Arabella Stuart, Daughter of *Charles* Earl of 27.
Lenox, Coufin-German of *Henry Darnley*, Father of King *James*, died in the Tower of *London*, was interred at *Weftminfter*, without any Funeral Pomp, in the Night, in the fame Vault wherein *Mary* Queen of *Scots* and Prince *Henry* were buried. It is the Saying of *Charles the Fair*, in *Papir. Mafs. p.* 382. *That thofe who die in the King's Prifon, are defervedly deprived of Funeral Pomp, left they fhould be thought to have been thrown into Prifon wrongfully.*

On *Michaelmas* Day the King departs from *Greenwich*.

The Earl of *Lincoln* dies.

The Earl of *Somerfet* is committed to the Cu- Oct. 18.
ftody of the Dean of *Weftminfter*.

Wefton is brought to the Bar for giving Sir *Tho.* 19.
Overbury Poifon, and refufed to plead.

On Monday he was again brought to the Bar, 23.
and confeffing the Fact, was condemned.

He is hanged; and after Dinner *Somerfet* is 25.
examined before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Lenox*, *Zouche*, and the Lord Chief Juftice, in *York*-Houfe.

On *Simon* and *Jude* he is again examined by 28.
them before Dinner.

Sir *Robert Cotton* Bar. being examined, is dif- 29.
miffed.

Lumfden, a *Scot*, is examined; as is alfo *Thomas Monfon*, as being guilty of Witchcraft; and *Gervais Elwifh*, Lieutenant of the Tower, is feveral times examined.

Edward Sackvill, Sir *Jo. Wentworth* Bar. and Sir *Jo. Lidcot* Kt. are committed to Prifon, and afterwards Sir *Jo. Hollys* Kt. upon the Account of fome Queftions put to *Wefton* at the Gallows.

Savery being addicted to Magick, is imprifoned.

The Duke of *Lenox* is made Steward of the Nov. 1.
King's Houfhold.

Thomas Howard is committed to the *Fleet*: His Mother the Countefs of *Suffolk* is confined to her Chamber at home.

The Seals are taken from *Somerfet*: He is 2.
commanded by the Lord *Wotton* to lay down the Staff, the Badge of the King's Chamberlain, and to appear before the Delegates, by whom he is fent to the Tower; *George More* being appointed to be Lieutenant.

The King departs from *London* towards *Roy-* 7.
fton.

Anne Norton, the Widow of one *Turner*, Doc- 9.
tor of Phyfick, (concerned in procuring Poifon for Sir *Tho. Overbury*) is condemned for Witch-

craft

1615. *ANNO* 1615.

craft and Magick at *Westminster*; which being charged with, she denies.

Nov. 10. Sir *John Hollys*, Sir *John Wentworth* Kt. and Bar. and *Lumsden*, a Scot, are fined in the *Star-Chamber*; this last 2000 *l.* for Judgment against *Weston*, written to defame the King; they 1000 *l.* each, for Questions propounded to *Weston* at the Gallows, in order to call in question the Justice of the Court.

11. *Anne Turner*, being persuaded by one *Whitting*, a Minister, confesses every Particular, (and more) which she had denied before the Bench.

About this time *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* dies.

14. *Anne Turner*, a true Penitent, is hanged at *Tyburn*.

18. Sir *Gervais Elwise*, Lieutenant of the Tower, is condemned; and on *Monday* after, being the 20th of the Month, is hanged by the Neck near the Tower.

Robert Cotton delivered a Packet of *Overbury*'s Letters to the Lord Chief Justice.

27. *Franklin*, who prepared the Poyson, for the same Cause is condemned in *Westminster-Hall*; and some days after was hanged.

Dec. 3. *Robert Abbot*, Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was consecrated Bishop of *Sarum* at *Lambeth*.

4. *Thomas Monson* is again brought to his Tryal; and the Indictment being read over, he was, contrary to all Expectation, sent to the Tower, to be indicted of High Treason.

14. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Lord Chief Justice, had a Conference with *Somerset* in the Tower: They turn'd off *Coppinger* and *Andrews* his Servants, and committed them to Prison.

18. Lord *Knolles* and Lord *Haye* sent under-hand to *Somerset* by the King.

23. The King returns to *Westminster*; and delivering the Staff to the Earl of *Pembroke*, appoints him to be Chamberlain.

25. On *Christmas* Day, the King, being sorely troubled with the Gout, was not able to go to Divine Service; but heard a Sermon in private, and took the Sacrament.

1616. *ANNO* 1616.

Jan. 2. THE Earl of *Worcester* made Keeper of the Privy Seal; he giving up the Place of Master of Horse into the King's Hands the Day before.

3. *Thomas Lake* sworn one of the principal Secretaries of State.

Cottington is sent to *Spain*, to call home *John Digby*, Extraordinary Ambassador.

4. *George Villers* was sworn Master of the Horse, in the room of the Earl of *Worcester*.

13. *William Monson*, Brother of *Thomas*, is carried to the Tower towards Night: On which Day *Simon Digby* comes from *Spain* with Letters.

19. The Earl of *Somerset* and his Countess are indicted of Felony; and the *Billa Vera* is found by the Jury.

The King departs from *London* towards *Royston*.

Feb. 12. *William Cicil*, Lord *Roos*, married *A*... eldest Daughter of *Thomas Lake* Secretary of State.

Mar. 16. The King returns to *London*.

19. My Lord *Binning*, a Scot, is chosen into the King's Privy Council.

20. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is enlarged out of Prison.

John Digby, Envoy in *Spain*, returns from thence.

ANNO 1616. 1616.

Justs and Turnaments for the Inauguration of King *James*, and happy Beginning of his Reign; which were to be celebrated on the 24th; but being *Sunday*, it was put off till *Monday*.

The Countess of *Somerset*, from the Custody of *William Smith*, is sent to the Tower. Mar. 27.

John Digby, who the Week before returned out of *Spain*, is elected one of the Privy Council, and Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Houshold, in the room of my Lord *Stanhope*, who was perswaded by the King's Letters to give place. Apr. 3.

The same Day the King retired to *Newmarket*; after having appointed *Oliver St. John* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Robert Carre of *Ancram*, and *Gibbs*, being examined by the Chancellor, are acquitted the next Day. 23.

Francis Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Villers*, are admitted into the Order of the Garter. 24.

The King departs from *Whitehall* after Dinner.

The Peers are summoned by Letters to sentence *Somerset*. 27.

Gilbert Earl of *Shrewsbury* died. May 8.

Judgment in the Case of the Countess of *Somerset* and her Husband, which was appointed to be the 15th Day of this Month, the Peers being now assembled in *Westminster-Hall*, and Scaffolds being there erected, was deferred till the 23d of this Month, because she (as was reported) was indisposed. 14.

Judgment is again deferred to the 24th Day, and the Peers are again summoned. 22.

The Countess of *Somerset* is brought to *Westminster-Hall* before 9 of the Clock, the Ax not being carried before her. The Chancellor of *England*, the Lord High Steward of *England* appointed for this time, came a little after on Horseback; Servants attending him, and other Noblemen, 6 Serjeants at Law, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery bearing the Letters Patents of the Steward, and *Richard Coningsby* carrying the White Staff before them, together with the Seal-Bearer. The Two Barons, *Norris* and *Russel*, and Two others of the Order of Knighthood, followed after. She confessing her self guilty, is condemned to be hanged. She hath Recourse to the Mercy of God and the King; beseeching the Peers to intercede with the King for her Life; all the By-standers commiserating her Condition. 24.

The Earl of *Somerset* is conducted to *Westminster-Hall* a little before 10 of the Clock, having a Cloak on with the George and Garter, the Ax not being carried before him. The Chancellor comes by and by, *Coningsby* on Horseback bearing the Staff. He is convicted of Felony; and at 9 a Clock the Court is dissolved, *Pro more*. 25.

Robert Sydney, Lord *Lysle*, is honoured with the Garter. 26.

George Barbadico, the *Venetian* Ambassador, dyes in *England*. 27.

Flushing and *Breda* Cautionary Towns are delivered up by Viscount *Lisle* and Sir *Horatio Vere*, Generals, to the States General. 31.

Commission given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and others, to enquire who were the Authors of calling the Chancellor into question of *Præmunire*. June 3.

The Judges of the Realm are taxed by the King, as Invaders of his Prerogative, in presenting to the Livings vacated by making the 5.

Incum-

1616. *ANNO* 1616.

Incumbent a Bishop, excluding the Patrons in the mean time from their Right.

June 8. The King dined with one *Cokain*, Alderman of *London*, and dub'd him Knight.

9. Sir *Francis Bacon*, the Attorney-General, is chosen one of the Privy Council at *Greenwich*.

15. The eldest Son of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, being born this 15th Day, was called *James* by the King his Godfather, with the Treasurer, and my Lady *Walden* Godmother, at *Bishop-Hatfield*: The Bishop of *Lincoln* baptized him.

18. *Thomas Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester*, dyed at *Westminster*, and was there buried by Night.

20. The King, accompanied with the Princes, goes to the Starchamber: The Peers and Judges receive him at *Kings-bridge*: He made a very fine Speech, wherein he vindicated the Authority of the Chancellor, as his own; and gave the Judges a gentle Touch, &c. which is expected to be published.

Robinson Bishop of *Carlile*, and ——— *Roland* Bishop of *Bangor*, departed this Life.

July 6. *James Montagu* is translated to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

The King ordered, That the Arms of the Earl of *Somerset*, notwithstanding his being condemned of Felony, should not be removed out of the Chapel at *Windsor*: That Felony should not be reckoned amongst the Disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the Order of St. *George*; which was without Precedent.

7. *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, *George Villers* Master of the Horse, and *Robert Sidney* Viscount *Lisle*, are Installed at *Windsor*, the King being present; but there was no Sermon preach'd, although it was *Sunday*.

Morton Dean of *Winchester* is consecrated on the same Day Bishop of *Chester*.

9. The King returns to *Westminster* towards the Evening; and created *Jo. Hollys* Baron *Houghton* of *Houghton*, and *Jo. Roper* Baron *Roper* of *Tenham*, to them, and their Heirs Male of their Body lawfully begotten.

11. *James Haye*, Baron *Haye* of *Sawley*, is sent Ambassador into *France*.

A Pardon sealed to the Countess of *Somerset*, as an Accessary before the Fact.

16. *Thomas* Earl of *Arundell* called into the Privy Council at *Westminster*.

17. My Lord *Carew* chosen one of the Privy Council.

A Leaden Coffin dug up at *Ratcliff*, with an Urn or two, with a Piece of Silver Coin with this Inscription, IMP. PUPIENUS MAXIMUS. P. F. AUG. On the Reverse, Two Hands join'd, and PATRES SENATUS.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died *May* 8. was burried at *Sheffield*.

Aug. 27. *George Villers*, Master of the Horse, was created at *Woodstock*, toward the Evening, First Baron of *Whaddon* in the County of *Bucks*, (which was the Estate of my Lord *Grey*, lately banish'd;) being introduced by the Lords *Compton* and *Norris*, the Lord *Carew* carrying the *Trabea*, or Robe of State, before him; and then Viscount *Villers* being brought in by the Earl of *Suffolk* and Viscount *Lisle*, in a Wastecoat of Scarlet Velvet, *Norris* carrying the Robes of State of the same Velvet before him, and *Compton* the Crown; the King sitting upon his Throne, and the Queen and Princes being there present.

Sept. — My Lord *Audley* is created Earl of *Castlehaven* in *Ireland*, that he, being an ancient Baron of *England*, should have an higher Place than the *Irish* Barons being now settled in *Ireland*.

ANNO 1616. 1616.

A Son is born to *John Egerton*, Son of *Thomas* *Egerton*, Baron of *Ellesmere*, Chancellor of *England*, by ———. one of the Daughters and Heiresses of *Ferdinando* Earl of *Derby*; baptized *October* 2. the King being Godfather. *Sept.* 21.

On *Michaelmas* Day *Lancelot Andrews*, Bishop of *Ely*, is admitted into the King's Privy Council. 29.

Sir *Edward Coke*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings-Bench*, being called before the Chancellor, is banish'd *Westminster-Hall*, and ordered to answer to some Matters contain'd in his Reports. *Oct.* 3.

A Committee delegated for creating *Charles*, Son of the King, Prince of *Wales*: And they assembled for the nominating of the Knights of the *Bath*, *viz.* the Treasurer, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Arundell*. 5 & 7.

There were Twenty six Knights of the *Bath* made. *Nov.* 3.

Charles the King's Son, Duke of *Cornwall*, is created Prince of *Wales*. 4.

Thomas Egerton, Baron of *Ellesmere*, Chancellor of *England*, a constant and stout Defender of the Rights of the Crown, is created Viscount *Brackley*. 7.

William Lord *Knolles* is created Viscount *Wallingford*, notwithstanding the Honour of *Wallingford* belongs to the Dutchy of *Cornwall*: And *Philip Stanhope* is created Baron *Stanhope* of *Shelford* at *Westminster* in the Evening.

The King departs from *London*, after he had pronounced the Sentence of turning out Sir *Edward Coke*, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*. 10.

Sir *Henry Montague* Kt. the King's Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the City of *London*, is put in the Place of Sir *Edward Coke*, and by the Chancellor sworn Lord Chief Justice in the *King's-Bench*; which Place his Grandfather, Sir *Ed. Montague*, had held in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. 18.

Arthur Lake is consecrated Bishop of *Bath*, and *Lewis Bailie* Bishop of *Bangor*, at *Lambeth*. *Dec.* 8.

Jo. Thornbury, Bishop of *Bristol*, is translated to the See of *Worcester*.

Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, detesting the Abuses of the Papists, came into *England*, and by the King's Special Command is hospitably entertained by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 16.

Parry Bishop of *Worcester* dies.

The King returns to *Whitehall*; and presents *Tho. Edmunds*, returning from his Embassy in *France*, with the Staff of the Comptroller of the King's Houshold, Lord *Wotton* being constituted Treasurer to the Houshold; and the next Day, being *Sunday*, he being sworn, took his Place at the Council-Board above the Vice-Chamberlain. 21.

The same Day the Bishop of *Spalato* went to the King, and accompanied him to Divine Service.

On *Christmas* Day *Tho.* Earl of *Arundell*, who was educated from his Youth in the Popish Religion, and had lately travell'd all over *Italy*, detesting the Abuses of the Papists, embraced the Protestant Religion, received the Sacrament in the King's Chapel at *Whitehall*. 25.

Great Consultations concerning the King's Progress into *Scotland*. 31.

ANNO

ANNO 1617.

1617. Jan. 5. GEorge Viscount *Villers* is created Earl of *Buckingham* in the Presence-Chamber at *Whitehall*, after Dinner, the Queen and Prince being present.

There happened sharp Disputes and Consultations about Re-instating the Company of Merchant Adventurers, lately put down, which is re-established accordingly.

Some Consultations concerning preparing Money for the King's Journey into *Scotland*.

Toward the latter end of the Month, the South Winds rage furiously, and the Weather was like Summer; insomuch that Flowers in Gardens and in the Fields appeared, and Thrushes hatch their young Birds, to the Astonishment of all Men.

Febr. 4. ---*De Toure*, the French King's Ambassador, goes to the King at *Westminster*.

The same day the Earl of *Buckingham* is admitted into the Privy-Council. He presently perswades the King, not to go into *Scotland*; whereupon the King was somewhat angry, but was soon pacified.

12. A Convocation of the Masters of Arts in the University of *Oxford*, was held at *Baynards-Castle* in *London*; and *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, whom (he resigning the Chancellorship of *England*) they chose Chancellor of the University, accepts the Honour.

13. The King sits in the Star-Chamber, and Sentence was pronounced against *Billingham* and --- *Christmas*, Two young Men who had offended against the Act concerning Duelling. They are fined 1000 *l.* The King made an Eloquent Speech against Duels.

15. The French Ambassadors dine with the King: They are entertained at a splendid Supper by my Lord *Haye*.

22. ----*De Toure* has his Audience of Leave of the King.

Altham, Baron of the *Exchequer*, dies.

24. The Chapel of *Greenwich-House*, Founded by *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, is consecrated by the Bishop of *Rochester*: The Earls of *Arundell* and *Dorchester*; the Bishops of *Ely* and *London*; and some belonging to the Mercer's Company, being present.

March 3. Commissioners for the Office of Earl-Marshal of *England* meet in the College of Heralds, commonly called *Darby-Place*, and proposed several things concerning augmenting the Stipends of the Heralds, and turning their Wives out of the College and suppressing Abuses. The King gives a Visit to the Chancellor, who was very weak, and desirous to resign his Office by reason of his infirm old Age; and he deliver'd the Seal into the Hands of the King, who wept.

4. The Play-house lately erected in *Drury-Lane* is pull'd down by the Mob, and all the Apparel torn in pieces.

7. The Great Seal is delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon* the King's Attorney, in the 54th Year of his Age; whom the King admonished not to seal any thing till after mature Deliberation; to give righteous Judgment between Parties; and that he should not extend the Regal Prerogative too far.

14. The King sets forward on his Journey towards *Scotland* about Four a Clock in the Afternoon.

Yelverton is made Attorney General, and *Coventry* Sollicitor.

Anthony Ben is elected Recorder of *London*, in *Coventry*'s Place.

ANNO 1617.

Lord Viscount *Barkley* late Chancellor; after the Earl of *Buckingham* had visited him, and shortly after the Lord-Keeper; and had signified to him that the King intended to give him the Title of an Earl, and designed an Annual Pension for him, expired in the 77th Year of his Age. Perhaps the nearer he saw the Evils coming upon the Commonwealth, like an upright Man, he was less concerned to meet approaching Death. 1617. 15.

A vast Sum of Money is exacted from the Citizens of *London*, not without murmuring.

James Baron *Hay* is admitted into the Privy-Council.

The Lord *Rosse* returns out of *Spain*.

Sir *Edward Noel* of *Dalby* Bar. is made Lord *Noel* of *Ridlington* in *Rutlandshire* (after he had sold *Dalby*, his ancient Inheritance, to the Earl of *Buckingham*, for its full worth) without Investiture.

An Act for setting up Staples for Wooll in *England*. 24.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who thought of taking a Voyage to *Guiana*, and had equipp'd a Fleet for that purpose, departed from *London*, although the Spanish Ambassador oppsed it with many Reasons. 28.

John Lord *Hunsdon* dies. April---

Viscount *Berkley*, late Chancellor, is buried at *Dodleston* in *Cheshire*, without any Funeral Pomp. 5.

The Marquess of *Ancre*, Marshal of *France*, is kill'd at *Paris*, whose dead Corps was cruelly handled by the Mob. 14.

Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, the Glory of *France*, the Chief of Historians in our Age, died much lamented. May 7.

On the First day of the Term, Sir *Francis Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seal, made a solemn Procession in mighty Pomp to *Westminster*, in the following Order: 1. Clerks and inferior Officers in Chancery, 2. Students in Law. 3. Gentlemen, Servants to the Keeper, Serjeants at Arms, and the Seal-bearer, all on Foot. 4. Himself on Horseback in a Gown of Purple Sattin, between the Treasurer and the Keeper of the Privy-Seal. 5. Earls, Barons, Privy-Councellors. 6. Noblemen of all Ranks. 7. Judges, to whom the next Place to the Privy-Councellors was assign'd.

The Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy-Seal took an Oath; the Clerk of the Crown reading the same.

William James, Bishop of *Durham*, died: *Richard Neal*, Bishop of *Lincoln* was put in his Place.

The King enter'd into *Scotland*. 13.

Into *Edinburgh*. 16.

Viscount *Berkley* is created Earl of *Bridgwater*: The Letters Patents of the Creation are on this Day Signed and Sealed. 28.

On *Ascension*, Sir *Roger Owen* died Distracted. 29.

Sir *John Bennet*, Doctor of Laws, returns from the Archduke, with whom he did expostulate concerning a Libel written (as was credibly reported) by *Ericius Puteanus*. June 14.

John Digby, Vice-Chamberlain, prepares for his Journey towards *Spain*.

The Parliament in *Scotland* is Dissolved. 30.

Jo. Herbert, Secondary, died in *Wales*, leaving one only Daughter married to *William Dodington* of *Bremer*. July---

The King comes to *Carlisle* out of *Scotland*, where Marquess *Hamilton* is chosen one of the King's Privy-Council in *England*. Aug. 4.

The

1617. *ANNO* 1617.

Sept. 15. The King comes to *Westminster*; is received by the Lord-Mayor at *Hide-Park*.

Sir *Edward Coke* call'd again into the Privy-Council.

29. Nuptials celebrated at *Hampton-Court* between *Jo. Villers*, Brother to the Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Frances* the younger Daughter of Sir *Edw. Coke*, formerly Lord Chief Justice.

Ja. Montagu, Bishop of *Winchester*, is chosen one of the Privy-Council.

Oct. 20. *George Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, is chosen Bishop of *Lincoln*.

27. *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, died at *London*, having performed that Office Three Years and about Five Months.

Nov. 1. The *Venetian* Ambassador goes to his Audience.

3. The Bishop of *Winchester* entertained the Nobility who accompanied the King, with a noble Banquet at *Winchester-House* in *Southwark*, which he had repaired.

4. The *Muscovite* Ambassador is splendidly entertained by the Citizens of *London*.

Lord *Cobham* is sent back to the Tower, being in extream want of all things.

6. *Lucy* Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, is married to *Ja.* Lord *Haye* of *Sawley*, at the Wardrobe, *London*: The King honoured the Wedding with his Presence at Supper.

8. The Wife of Sir *Edw. Coke*, *quondam* Lord Chief Justice, entertained the King, *Buckingham*, and the rest of the Peers, at a splendid Dinner, and not inviting her Husband.

9. The Ambassador from *Michael* Emperor of *Russia* makes his Entrance; and presents to the King, Hawks, rich Furs, some small Animals, a Cemiter, and a *Persian* Bow.

10. The King goes from *Whitehall* towards *Royston*.

Francis Goodwin, Bishop of *Landaff*, was translated to the See of *Hereford*, *Bennet* the Bishop being dead; and *George Carleton* is preferred to the Bishoprick of *Landaff*.

The King chides the Doctors of *Cambridge*, about the spreading of the *Arminian* Sect amongst the Students.

Blount Mountjoy, Bastard Son to the Earl of *Devonshire*, is created Lord *Montjoy* of *Fort Montjoy* in *Ireland*; and *Lambert* Baron of *Croan*.

Dec. --- An Ambassador from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*.

8. The Son of the Prince of *Anhalt*, who paid a Visit to the French King at *Paris*, and to ours at *Newmarket*, went to the Queen at *Denmark-House*, and is honourably Entertained.

The *Saxon* Ambassador takes a Journey to *Newmarket*.

9. *Villeroy* dies at *Rouan*, after he had served the Kings of *France* 50 Years and 27 Days, in the 75th Year of his Age.

14. *Nich. Fenton*, D. D. Rector of St. *Mary-Le-Bow*, *London*, and *George Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, are Elected: This Last to the See of *Lincoln*; the First to that of *Bristol*; and are consecrated Bishops; the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, *Litchfield*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Spalato*, laying on their Hands, and Dr. *Sutton* preached.

22. The second Son to the *Elector Palatine* is born on the 22d Day of O.S. which is the 1st of *January* N. S.

29. The King receives notification, that his Daughter *Elizabeth* had brought forth a Son to the Elector. Publick Rejoicings, Bonfires, and Bells ringing.

ANNO 1617. 1617.

My Lord *Clifton* is committed Prisoner to the Tower, for saying, He was sorry that he had not stabb'd my Lord-Keeper when he pronounced Sentence against him. 30.

ANNO 1618. 1618.

George Villers Earl of *Buckingham*, is created Marquess of *Buckingham*, to him, and his Male Heirs of his Body, beyond all expectation, without any Investiture, by Letters Patents delivered into his hand; the Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Duke of *Lenox*, Marquess *Hamilton*, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl of *Montgomery*; the Viscounts, *Lisle*, *Wallingford*, *Fenton*, and other Witnesses being present. Jan. 1.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* took the little Town *St. Thomas's*, and his Son was there slain. 2.

George Earl of *Buckingham* entertains the King and several Peers at a splendid Dinner. 3.

The Keeper of the Great Seal is made Chancellor of *England*, the Seal being delivered again by the Name of the Chancellor. 4.

The same Day the *Russia* Ambassador feasts with the King.

On Twelfth Day, or *Epiphany*, the King was entertained at a Play by the Prince, at which the *Spanish* Ambassador was present, whereat the *French* Ambassador was very angry. 6.

The King upon his departure from *Westminster* made *Robert Naunton* (Master of Requests, Overseer of the Liveries of the Court of Wards) one of the Two Principal Secretaries. 8.

Simon Digby returns with Letters out of *Spain*. 31.

Peter Alley sent back by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, signified that he was very sickly; and that several Voluntiers died of their Sickness.

Henry Cary is made Comptroller of the King's Houshold; and *Tho. Edmonds* is made Treasurer instead of my Lord *Wotton*. Febr. 1.

The Baron of *Winnenberg*, Ambassador of the Prince *Elector Palatine*, goes to the Queen, and invites her, that she, with Prince *Charles* and other Princes, would stand Godfathers to the new born Prince. 6.

Edward Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Eighth of that Family, died without issue, and was buried by Night, the 10th day, at *Westminster*. 8.

The King comes to *Whitehall*. 14.

The Isle of *Trinity* is granted to the Corporation of *Hull* to fish for Whale against the *Russia* Company.

The King is troubled with a Defluxion upon his Knees, and could not be present at Sermon.

About this time *Theobald de Burgo* was created Baron of *Brettas* in *Ireland*. 28.

Robert Abbot Bishop of *Sarum*, Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departed this Life, after his having been in that See Two Years and Three Months. *Matthias Fotherby*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*, is chosen in his Place. March 2.

Sir *George Sands* hang'd for Felony. 4.

The Earl of *Abercorn* dies in *Scotland*.

The Lady *Roos* is set at Liberty from the Custody of the Bishop of *London*.

Jo. Jeggon, Bishop of *Norwich*, died, when he had been in that See Fifteen Years: *Overball* Bishop of *Litchfield* succeeded him, and *Fenton* Bishop of *Bristol* is put in his Place. 13.

The King took a Journey to *Okeham*, after he had been laid up a Fortnight of the Gout. 16.

Ger. Bridges, Bishop of *Oxford*, died.

Marreis,

1618. *ANNO* 1618.

April 8. *Marrais*, the *French* Ambassador, had his Audience of Leave from the King.

19. *Martin Fotherbey* consecrated Bishop of *Sarum* at *Lambeth*, by the Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*.

22. Some Ships hired by the *Venetians*, are sent.

23. The Archbishop of *Spalato* was constituted Master of the *Savoy*, Dr. *Belcanquel* the *Scot* resigning up the Place to him.

May 3. *Anthony Maxey* Dean of *Windsor*, departed this Life; the Archbishop of *Spalato* is put in his Place.

7. *John Digby* returning out of *Spain*, goes to Court again.

My Lord *Laware* set sail for *Virginia*: Arriving at *St. Michaels*, is splendidly Entertained by the Governor of the Island; but sailing from thence, dies, together with 30 more, not without suspicion of Poyson.

9. The King goes to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where she then kept her Court.

13. *Jo. North*, Brother to my Lord *North*, relates the sad News to the King about the unfortunate Expedition of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana*; his Son being slain in the Storming of the Spanish Fort: *Keimis* cutting his own Throat for grief, died. The Fleet dispers'd.

23. *Oliver Lambert*, Lord *Cavan*, died.

24. The King put forth an Order to permit every Body (as he had before given leave in the County of *Lancaster*) who should go to Evening Prayer on the Lord's Day, to divertise themselves with lawful Exercises, with Leaping, Dancing, Playing at Bowls, Shooting with Bows and Arrows; as likewise to rear May-poles, and to use May-games and Morrice-dancing; but those who refused coming to Prayers, were forbidden to use those Sports.

30. Sir *Dudley Carleton*, Ambassador to the States General, returns into *England*.

June 9. A Proclamation is publish'd against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whereby he is censur'd, for that against all Authority, and contrary to his Commission, he had in a Hostile manner invaded the Spanish Territories in *America*, and had violated, as much as in him lay, the Peace establish'd between the Two Princes; that the King did not approve of, but detested such Proceeding; and did therefore give full Power to all, that they should produce what they knew of this Action upon their certain knowledge, that he might be proceeded against according to Law; and that those might undergo exemplary Punishment, who should be convicted of so great Wickedness.

25. *Tho. Watson* entertaining the King very Nobly, is Knighted.

26. The Marquess of *Buckingham* entertains the King most splendidly at *Wandsted-House*, which (as is reported) he then presented to the King.

27. *William* Lord *Roos* died in the Romish Religion, in the Suburbs of *Naples*.

30. The King departed from *Greenwich*.

Randal Mac-Surly returns into *Ireland* to be created Viscount *Dunluse*.

July — The King diverts himself with Hunting at *Windsor*.

— He returns to *Whitehall*, and the next Day goes to *Wandsted*.

12. The Treasurer is accused of Mismanagement, or Male-administration, in the Business of the *Exchequer*.

The Chancellor is created Baron of *Verulam*; and Four Earls are created by Patent, *viz.* the Earl of *Leicester*; *Compton*, of *Northampton*; *Rich*, of *Clare*; *Cavendish*, of *Devonshire*.

ANNO 1618. 1618.

A Riot at the Spanish Ambassador's House, because his Servant had accidentally hurt a little Boy.

Didacus Sarmiento, Count of *Gondomart*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambassador, departs: In his Journey he is entertained by the Lords, *Tenham* and *Wotton*. He sets sail on the 20th, (with the Popish Priests) whom, upon his earnest Request, the King discharged out of Prison. 16.

Humfreys, Secretary to Viscount *Wallingford*, rifling his Coffers, is committed to Prison. He accuses the Treasurer and others of Bribery. 18.

The Queen removes from *Greenwich*. —The King comes from *Theobalds* to *London*.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, Treasurer of *England*, is dismissed from his Place, by taking his Staff from him: Is accused of Bribery, after having perform'd that Office four Years and ten Days; and *John Bingly*, his under Officer, is committed to Prison. 19.

Jo. Montagu, Bishop of *Winchester*, died of a Dropsy, having been two Years in the See, in the 50th Year of his Age. 20.

At this time the King proceeds on his Progress from *Westminster*, after he had nominated the Bishop of *Ely* to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; *Fenton*, Bishop of *Coventry*, to *Ely*; *Harsnet*, Bishop of *Chester*, to *Coventry*; and Dr. *Bridgeman*, to *Chester*.

Baron *Haye* is created Viscount *Doncaster* without Investiture.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, most of his Servants being turn'd off, departs, with his Countess, from *London*. 23.

News is brought concerning the Decease of my Lord *Roos* at *Naples*, not without suspicion of Poison. Concerning the taking of *Utrecht*, by *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, driving out from thence Colonel *Ogle*, a Favourer of the *Arminians*, Sir *Horatio Vere* being put in his Place. Of *Boissis* a Frenchman's being sent into the *Low-Countries* to strengthen the *Catholick* and *Arminian* Parties; and of sending out Sir *Dudley* back into *Holland* to the Synod there to be held. Sir *Theodore de Maierne*, the King's Physician, lately sent into *France* by the King, being suspected to have come to disturb Affairs, is commanded to retire forthwith out of the Kingdom of *France*, by the King's Council: He is the Son of that *Maierne* who publickly opposed Monarchy. 27.

Viscount *Lisle* is invested Earl of *Leicester*, and Baron *Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, in a solemn manner, in the Bishop's Palace at *Salisbury*. My Lord *Rich*, who aspired to the Title of Earl of *Clare*, (because the Title of *Clare*, which is the same with that of *Clarence*, was a higher Honour than could well suit with a Family in a manner Upstart, and because the Honour of *Clare* was granted to the Queen before) was created Earl of *Warwick* by Letters Patents; and the Lord *Cavendish*, Earl of *Devonshire*, without any Investiture. Aug. 2.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is brought to *London*, *Lewis Steukley*, his Keeper, being bribed, thought of making his Escape with him; and being betrayed by some body or other, is intercepted on the *Thames*, brought back, and thrown into the Tower. 9.

The King went from *Salisbury* to *Cramburn*. 11.

About this time a Ship returned from *Greenland*, which the *Hollanders* call *Spitsberg*, from the sharp peaked Mountains, and brought word that the *Hollanders* had overpower'd the *English*, had kill'd

1618. *ANNO* 1618.

Aug. --- kill'd some, and had carried away the Oyl: Which the *Londoners*, especially, took in ill part, who had fitted out 18 Vessels for this Whale-fishing; and so much the more, because a Report went up and down, that the *English* had also been oppress'd in the Islands of the *East-Indies*.

The *English* and *Dutch* had a long time contended about the *Greenland* Fishery, as did also the *French* and *Spaniards*, pretending the Law of Nations, since the Seas were free to them. The *English* claim'd the Propriety, because Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, an *Englishman*, in the Year 1553, first found it out. The *Danes*, because it is under their Dominion by the Confession of the *English* themselves, who pay them Duty, or Toll, for Fishing, (which they did after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.) The *Hollanders* affirm, That *William Bernardson* and *Jo. Cornelison*, *Hollanders*, *Anno* 1596, did first discover this; that the *Greenland* discover'd by *Willoughby* was at long distance, this last being under the Latitude of 52 Degrees; the first is extended as far as 75 and 82 Degrees: That the *English* came not thither till the Year 1608. They urge, that the Sea is free; that the *English*, contrary to the Right of Nations, and the Laws of Humanity, forbid others to Fish there; whereas the Kings of *France* hinder none to fish in *New France*; neither do the Kings of *England* forbid fishing in the Bays of *Ireland*: And they complain, that the *English* threw down the Marks which *William Bernardson* had set up in memory of the first Discovery; and that they had taken away the Oyl by force of Arms the Year before.

The Rioters at the Spanish Ambassador's House tried at *Guildhall*: The Father of the little Boy that was hurt, and others, Fined 1000*l.* each, and Imprison'd during the King's Pleasure.

Aug. 12. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being examined about his Escape, confess'd, that premeditating this Flight, he had trespassed highly against the King. By his unadvised Counsel in invading *Guiana*, and the Tumult in the Spanish Ambassador's House, some conceiv'd the Hopes of a Match with the Daughter of *Spain* to be mightily extenuated and lessen'd: For the King of *Spain* proposed nothing else to himself by matching and disposing of his Children into *England* and *France*, than by joining those Kingdoms to him in Affinity, to disjoin and separate them from the *United Provinces*, and consequently the more easily to reduce them to Obedience.

The Chancellor, and other Commissioners, often meet, and examine Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

27. *Eadge* returns from *Greenland*, or *Spitsberg*, plunder'd of his Oyl, there being three of his Crew kill'd by the *Hollanders*; so that the whole Fishing this Year proved ineffectual.

The Princess of *Condé* was brought to Bed in Prison of two Twins, who died shortly after.

Sept. --- The King comes to *Windsor*, and from thence, by the Way of *Westminster*, to *Wandsted* in *Essex*.

The Queen was indisposed at *Oatelands*.

A Proclamation, whereby the Fine and Imprisonment inflicted on the Rioters at the Spanish Ambassador's in *Barbican*, are remitted, at the Sollicitation of the Spanish Agent.

17. The King at *Havering*; then taking a Journey to *Theobalds*, there he Hunts.

The King comes to *Hampton-Court*.

Le Clerc, Agent for the King of *France*, is forbid the Court.

ANNO 1618. 1618.

William Becher, Agent for our King in *France*, is confin'd to his House by special Command.

Gervais, Lord *Clifton*, laid violent Hands on *Oct.* ---
himself.

An Envoy, or *Chiaux*, from the Grand Signior, 17.
comes to *London*. *Donatus*, Envoy for the Republick of *Venice*, comes into *England*.

The same Day there went to the National Synod of *Dort*, to be held concerning the *Arminian* Sect, from *London*, *George Carleton*, Elected Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Hall* Dean of *Worcester*, Dr. *Davenant* Master of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Ward* President of *Sidney Sussex College*.

An Embargo upon Ships.

The Earl of *Oxford* returns home out of *Italy*.

Le Clerc the French Agent departs from *London*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is given to understand by 24.
the Commissioners, that it was the King's Intent that he should be put to Death; and that therefore he should prepare himself for the same.

He is brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar that he 28.
might speak, if he had any thing to say, why the Sentence of Death pronounced against him *Anno* 1603, should not be put in Execution.

He was beheaded in the 66th Year of his 29.
Age.

The King returns to *Whitehall* towards the 31.
Evening.

He admits *Donatus* the Venetian Ambassador *Nov.* 1.
to Audience.

The Turkish Ambassador, or *Chiaux*, has Au- 3.
dience.

The King went to *Hampton-Court* to visit the 4.
Queen lying Sick of a Dropsie; and returns to *Westminster* toward the Evening.

The King goes from *London* to *Theobalds*. 10.

William Becher, Agent in *France*, is recalled; 14.
whereupon returning to *London*, he waits upon the King.

Jo. Digby, Vice-Chamberlain, created Lord 20.
Sherburn.

Deputies from the States come to *London* to 26.
negotiate some Affairs.

They go to *Newmarket*, where the Court *Dec.* 7.
now is.

The King returns from *Newmarket* to *London*. 21.

A Council held concerning the Affairs the 22.
Dutch Deputies were sent to negotiate, who have full Power to Treat, but no Authority to conclude any thing about the Fishery.

The Queen continues sick at *Hampton-Court*, where the King pays her a Visit, and returns to *London* in the Evening.

Jo. Seldon is brought into Trouble for his History of Tythes.

Baron *à Donaw*, Ambassador from the Confe- 27.
derate Princes of *Germany*, is admitted to Audience, who informed the King of abundance of things relating to the Affairs of *Germany*, and the *Bohemian* Troubles.

Balcanqual is sent to the National Council, or Synod, for the Church of *Scotland*; and Doctor *Goad* is put into the Place of Dean of *Worcester*.

The Deputies of the States have their Audi- 31.
ence; they desire, that nothing may be yet done as to the Herring Fishing, seeing it is the greatest Support of their Commonwealth, and the only Succour and Relief of the Common People; and that there were now great Troubles amongst them.

ANNO

ANNO 1619.

1619.

Jan. 1. LAncelot *Andrews*, elected Bishop of *Winchester*, is sworn by the Chamberlain Dean of the Chappel.

8. The King went from *London* to *Theobalds*.

12. That spacious and beautiful Banquetting-House at *Whitehall* was set on fire by the Negligence of the Keepers.

Thomas Earl of *Lincoln* dies: His Son *Edward* succeeds him.

The Lord *Cobham* dies miserable, and poor: Whose next Heir was *William Brook*, the Son of *George* beheaded; which said *William*, *Ann.* 1610. in the 7th of King *James*, was restored with a Clause, That he should not hold the ancient Honour of his Ancestors, and the Title of Baron *Cobham*, but only from the Grace and Favour of his Majesty.

19. A Tryal in the Star-Chamber between the Secretary of State *Lake*, and the Countess of *Exeter*, and a great Dispute arises about the Form of Proceeding.

Uncertain Reports of a great Fleet ready equipped in *Spain*; whereupon Baron *Donaw*, who had taken his Leave of the King, was called back.

Richard Wingfeld, Marshal de Camp in *Ireland*, is made Viscount of *Powers-Court* under the Great Seal of *Ireland*.

30. *Charles Howard* resigned up his Office of Admiral to the Marquess of *Buckingham*.

Mervin, the Son of ——— a Lawyer, bargained with *Franc. Howard* for the Place of Vice-Admiral.

Feb. 1. The King returns to *Whitehall*.

Gabeleone comes to the King as Ambassador Extraordinary from *Victor Amadei* the Son of the Duke of *Savoy*, to accommodate Matters between his Majesty and the *French* King.

The King was pleased to knight —— *Fortescue*, *Jo. Osborn*, —— *Gaughton*, —— *Sutton*, and *William Pitts*, late Commissioners for the Navy, and for Domestick Affairs.

The King present at the Tryal in the Star-Chamber between Secretary *Lake* and the Countess of *Exeter*.

6. The King visits the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, accompanied with the Marquess of *Buckingham*.

The Earl of *Nottingham* resigns his Place of Admiral into the King's Hands.

The King publishes Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, and dedicates the Book to the Marquess of *Buckingham*.

13. Sentence given against *Tho. Lake* by the King and Lords in the Star-Chamber; and he is fined. He was put into the Secretary's Place *Jan.* 3. 1616. —— He, his Wife, and Daughter *Rosse*, are committed to the Tower.

The King, for preserving the Honour of the late Admiral, grants him the Place and Precedency of *Jo. Moubray*, whom *Richard* II, had created Earl of *Nottingham*.

15. *Tho. Lake*, his Wife, and Daughter *Rosse*, are carried to the Tower; the Seal being taken from him, as also the publick Papers.

16. The King returns to *Theobalds*, when he had appointed in the Place of *Tho. Lake*, *Geo. Calvert* Secretary, who was Clerk of the Crown, whose Prudence and Fidelity in State Matters, *Robert Cecil* Secretary, was throughly acquainted with, and of whose Assistance also the King made much use, yea, and he judged that he would be a great help to *Robert Naunton* the other Secretary.

Feb. 22. *Lancelot Andrews*, Bishop of *Ely*, is translated to the See of *Winchester*.

ANNO 1619.

1619.

Queen *Anne* died of a Dropsy in the Night: *Mar.* 1.
after her Son *Charles* had been to pay her a Visit, *Anno Ætatis* XLV.

The Intrails of the Queen enclosed in a Sexangular Coffin, were carried at Eight a Clock 5.
by her Servants to *Westminster*: They were deposited in the lower part of the Chappel, in which Queen *Elizabeth* is buried.

The Bishop of *Chester* is translated to *Coventry*, and *Bristol* to the See of *Ely*.

The Body of the Queen is conveyed by her 9.
Servants to *Somerset-House* by Night.

Matthias the Emperor dies. 10.

A Horse Race at *Newmarket*; at which the 19.
King tarrying too long in his Return from *Newmarket*, was forced to put in at an Inn at *Wichfordbridge* by reason of his being indisposed, and came very late in the Night to *Royston*.

The Prince went to meet his Father, and 22.
shortly after most of the higher sort of Nobility went also, upon the Report of the King's Indisposition.

The King being recover'd, keeps his *Easter* 28.
at *Royston*, on whom all the Nobility wait.

About this time the King conferred the Honour of the Earldom of *Kelly* upon *Tho. Areskin* Viscount *Fenton*; and the Honour of Earl of *Kellays* on my Lord *Bunning*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* founds an Hos- *Apr.* 5.
pital, where he was born, at *Guilford*, and laid the first Stone himself.

About this time *Isaac Wake*, the King's Am- 16.
bassador to *Savoy*, is knighted, and honourably rewarded.

His Majesty returns to *Ware* in a Horse-Litter, 21.
and the next Day is carried in a Coach attended by the Life-Guard to *Theobalds*.

The Solemnity of St. *George*'s Day is prorogued to the 26th of *April*.

Complaints presented to his Majesty against the Chancellor.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, late Treasurer, being several times examined about Bribery, obtains Leave for the Recovery of his Health to return to *Walden*; but his Countess could not obtain the same.

Wikes, a Fanatick, feigns that he had Revelations, and in a threatning manner denounces Judgments against the King: Whereupon he is committed to *Bedlam* for a Madman.

William Lake, the Amanuensis of *Tho. Lake*, is committed to Prison, because he endeavoured to deliver Letters to the Lady *Rosse* clandestinely, and attempted to fly away; he was accused by the Keeper of the Lady *Rosse*.

The Earl of *Southampton* made of the Privy- 30.
Council at the Star-Chamber.

The Marquess *de Tremouille*, of the Family of *May*
the *Ursins*, Ambassador from the *French* King, is entertain'd at *Gravesend* and conducted to *London*.

The said Ambassador is conducted by the Mar- 3.
quess of *Buckingham* to the King at *Theobalds*, where he is splendidly entertain'd.

Olden Barnevelt on the same 3d Day is beheaded in *Holland* at the *Hague*.

James Viscount *Doncaster*, is sent Ambassador into *France*.

The *English* Prelates return home from the 7.
National Synod of *Dort*.

Overall, Bishop of *Norwich*, that prodigious Learned Man, died. *George Carleton*, the Bishop of *Chichester*, and others, put in for *Norwich*: *Chichester* prevails, and *Carleton* is translated to *Chichester*.

1619. *ANNO* 1619.

May ---- *George Montaigne*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, is made the King's Almoner, in the place of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who laid it down against his Will.

13. The Funeral of Queen *Anne* is celebrated.

20. The *French* Ambassador is nobly treated at a Banquet at *Whitehall* by the Duke of *Lenox*; and the next Day leaves *London*.

27. The King goes to *Theobalds*.

June 1. The King returns from *Theobalds* to *Whitehall*. ——The Citizens of *London* congratulate his being restored to his former Health.

In this Month Marquess *Hamilton* is created Earl of *Cambridge*, and Baron *Everdal* in *Cumberland*; *Esme Stuart*, Lord *d'Albigny*, Earl, Marquess, and Baron of *Leiton*; and *Jo. Villiers* Viscount *Purbeck*, and Baron of *Stoke*, by Letters Patents deliver'd without Investiture.

3. An Ambassador arrives from the Duke of *Lorrain*.

8. The *Lorrain* Ambassador is feasted by his Majesty at *Greenwich*. The Earl of *Suffolk* returns to *London*.

13. All the Privy Counsellors, by the King's special Command, partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at *Greenwich*, in order to shew mutual Charity one to another.

The Earl of *Ormond* is thrown into Prison for refusing to stand to the Arbitration of his Majesty, concerning the Estate adjudged to the Lord *Dingwell*.

19. His Majesty keeps his Birth-day.

Thomas Lake is commanded in the Star-Chamber to acknowledge the Sentence given against him to be just; and that he should ask Pardon for the Injury done to the Countess of *Exeter*.

22. The King is entertained at *Wansted* by *Henry Mildmay*, Master of the Jewel-Office.

Thomas Lake refuses to subscribe to the Acknowledgment of Calumnies against the Countess of *Exeter*, as did his Wife; notwithstanding *Rosse* the Daughter confessed, that those Calumnies of Incest with *Rosse*, of Witchcraft, and begging Pardon for the Crimes, were forged, and were written by *Arthur Lake*, copied by *Hobbes*, *Rosse*'s Maid, the Father and Mother consenting.

25. The King is entertain'd by Sir *Thomas Watson* at *Howsted*, together with the Prince, the Earl of *Montgomery*, and the Lord *Sheffield*.

30. The King departs from *Greenwich* to *Oatelands*. *Field* is preferred to the poor See of *Landaff*.

July 7. The King comes from *Windsor* to *Whitehall*.

10. The King rid a Hunting to *Wandsted*.

13. The King came to *Somerset-House*, and is said to have visited my Lord Mayor, in order to recommend the Match of my Lord's Daughter with *Jo. Villiers*.

Lord *Dingwell* is created Earl of *Desmond*, in Right of his Wife. The Duke of *Lenox* is sent into *Scotland*.

15. *Thomas Lake*, late Secretary of State, is to have his Enlargement, and to be delivered into the Custody of his Brother, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*. The Lady *Rosse*, his Daughter, is set at Liberty also; but she chose rather to sojourn some time in the Tower, in order to settle her private Affairs. — Sir *Henry Wotton* conceiving vain Hopes of obtaining the Office of Secretary, returns from his Embassy to *Venice*.——Great Controversies arising between the *English*, and *Hollanders* belonging to the *East-India* Company, and about Navigation, and Fishing near *Greenland*, were composed by his Majesty; and the Deputies of *Holland* are honoured with the Dignity of Knighthood at *Theobalds*.

ANNO 1619. 1619.

July 15.

The King begins his Journey to *Royston*, on which Day the Marquess of *Buckingham* views the Fleet. 19.

Donatus, the *Venetian* Ambassador in *England*, is proscribed, or banished by the Republick, for some Money converted to a wrong Use in *Savoy*: However he skulks secure in *London*.

Mary Crofton did publick Penance at *St. Martins in the Fields* for scandalous Words against the Countess of *Exeter*.

Marquess *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Pembroke* took a Journey towards *Scotland*.

An Enquiry ordered into the Corruptions and Briberies of the Earl of *Suffolk*, late Lord Treasurer. Aug. 3.

The King comes to *Windsor*. Sept. 3.

The King's new Gold comes out, with his Head surrounded with a Lawrel; wherefore it soon got the Name of Lawrels amongst the Vulgar; of different Value, *viz.* Twenty Shillings with XX, Ten Shillings with X, and of Five Shillings with V.

The Lady Baroness *Rosse* is sent into Custody to *Dillington*, the Pensioner of the Isle of *Wight*.

The King dined at *Greenwich*, being in haste to go to *Wandsted*. 9.

Frequent Envoys one after another about the *Bohemian* Affairs; and Reports that the Elector Palatine and the Electress were crowned King and Queen of *Bohemia*. Oct. —

Thomas Field, Chaplain to the King, is consecrated Bishop of *Landaff*, in the place of *George Carleton*, translated to *Chichester*. — An Ambassador from the Duke of *Savoy*.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, late Lord Treasurer of *England*, with his Lady, are accused in the Star-Chamber, for misapplying the Royal Jewels, for detaining the Money for Machines or Engines of War for the Fleet, and for the Business of *Ireland*, and for Money extorted from the King's Servants and Pensioners. 20.

Sir *John Bingley* is also accused of the same Crimes.

They by their Advocates denied every Particular, and pray'd that Evidences might be produced, which was begun to be done on the 21st Day.

Simon Digby returns with Letters from *Spain*. — The Bishop of *Lincoln* entertains the King nobly at his House at *Bugden*.

His Majesty dined at *Greenwich*, and gives Names to some Ships that were to be launched. Nov. ----

News is brought, That the *English* had defeated the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*.

The King sets out from *Theobalds* after Sermon, designing for *Newmarket*. 9.

James Balfour, a *Scotchman*, is created Baron *Clan Auley* in *Formanagh*.

Andr. Stuart of *Ochiltre* created Baron of *Castle-Stuart*.

A Proclamation for observing the *Lent* Fast and *Friday* Fast given at *Royston*.

The Earl and Countess of *Suffolk* are fined 30000 *l.* and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's Pleasure. 13.

John Bingley is fined 2000 *l.* and is to be detained in the Fleet during Pleasure.

The Earl of *Suffolk* and the Countess his Wife are thrown into the Tower of *London*. 20.

Liberty is granted to the Earl of *Suffolk*, as also to *Bingley*, upon certain Conditions and Restrictions. 29.

Albert

1619.

ANNO 1619.

Dec. 9. *Albert Morton* came to *London*, with the News of *Frederick* Elector Palatine and his Consort's being crowned King and Queen of *Bohemia*; and some Medals, as Presents.

21. A Son is born to *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, who was named *Rupert*, in Memory of *Rupert* the First, Emperor of the Family of the Palatines. —The Elector of *Brandenbourg* died.

1620.

ANNO 1620.

Jan. 1. Viscount *Doncaster* returns from his Embassy in *Germany*, goes to wait upon the King; and acquaints him with the State of the Elected King of *Bohemia*'s and the Emperor's Affairs.

The King's Book of the Inauguration of a King comes out.

5. *Lionel Cranfield* is chosen one of the Privy-Council.

6. The Baron *de Donaw*, Ambassador from the King of *Bohemia* Elect, hath a private Audience of his Majesty.

11. The King departed from *London*, just when the Nuptials were contracted (as is reported) between the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and the Daughter of the Earl of *Rutland*, by *Frances Knevet*, the Relict of ——— of *Bevil* of *Cornwall*.

George Calvert, Secretary of State, and *Lionel Cranfield*, are made Commissioners for the Office of the Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls being removed.

28. *Thomas Lake* reads in the Star-Chamber the Acknowledgment of the scandalous Calumnies by which he had unworthily injured the Countess of *Exeter*. This Acknowledgment was drawn up, and indited by the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justices, and the Attorney-General, and publickly read by *Thomas Lake*; wherein he confessed and acknowledged, that Sentence pronounced against him on the 13th of *February* the Year before, for defending and maintaining his Daughter the Lady *Roos*, was just, because it was a most base, heinous and scandalous Crime for the said Countess; but that he was seduced by gross Ignorance, Credulity and Indulgence. Moreover he acknowledged, he had grievously offended by imprisoning *Luke Hutton* and *George Williams* for his own Profit and Advantage; protesting, that he was heartily sorry for having defended so base, odious and scandalous a Cause; begged Pardon of the Countess for the Fault; and begged also of the Lords, that they would please to interceed for him with the King to procure his Favour and Mercy.

The Earl of *Suffolk* is received again into some Favour by the King; as were also his Sons.

Feb. 2. The King commands, That Enquiry should be made into the Goods and Chattels, Possessions and Debts, of the Earl of *Suffolk*, that he might see whether he was capable to pay the Fine.

The Earl of *Suffolk*'s Children are received into Favour.

7. The Earl of *Worcester*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, sate in the Court of Requests.

15. The Earl and Countess of *Suffolk* return to *London*.

29. The King returns to *Whitehall*.

Mar 4. The Prince exerciseth himself in running at the Ring.—Marquess *Hamilton* admitted Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber.

The Prince invites the Peers to a Banquet in *Somerset-House*, and to a Play.—The same Day

ANNO 1620.

1620.

Count *Gundomar*, Ambassador of his Catholick Majesty, arrives at *Dover*.

He is received by the Mayor of *Canterbury*, and then by the Earl of *Dorset*. *Mar. 6.*

He comes ashore at the Tower, and is conducted through the City to *Ely-House*. 8.

The King returns to *Westminster*. 10.

The Lady *Lake*, by reason of her Distemper, is set at Liberty out of the Tower, upon Condition that she should be brought back to the Tower about the beginning of the Term, unless she submitted her self.

Count *Gundomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, going to the King in *Whitehall*, the Rails near the Door of the Great Chamber, being broken by the Multitude of People, fell down, and with them the Earl of *Arundell*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Gerard*; but received no Hurt: The Ambassador himself had like to have fallen, but was supported by the Guard standing by, and escaped the Danger.

He goes to the King again, and after a long Conference goes to wait on the Prince. 13.

The King goes to *Hampton-Court*. 14.

A running at Tilt on the Anniversary of King *James*, wherein Prince *Charles* running twelve Courses at the Ring, got all the Praise. 24.

The King made a Procession with mighty Pomp from the Palace of *Westminster* to *St. Paul's*, accompanied with the Bishops, and Peers of the Realm. At *Temple-Bar* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen received him. *Robert Heath*, Recorder, congratulates his Entrance into the City. From thence to the North-side the several Companies of Citizens stood within the Rails, all in order, with their Ensigns and Standards as far as *St. Paul's*; Tapestry Hangings all the while hanging out of the Windows. Neither the younger Sons of Earls, nor Knights of the Privy-Council, were in the Cavalcade, because they could not well agree about Precedency. The Prince went bare Headed. 26.

On the West part, where was the ancient polish'd Brazen Pillar, a Chair is set, and a Cushion; there he fell down on his Knees: When he had risen, the Dean made a Speech. From thence he proceeded through the middle Isle, under a Canopy of State, by the Choir, to the Traverse near Sir *Nicholas Bacon*'s Tomb; from whence, after some short Ejaculations, Prayers and Hymns, they went to the Place which *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, appointed to hear Sermons in. The Bishop of *London* preached a Sermon: He insisted much upon the Repairing *St. Paul*'s Church. The King returned in the same Order wherein he came.

The King at *Hampton-Court* remits 1800 *l.* to the Earl of *Nottingham*, which he owed to Queen *Elizabeth*, and himself. *Apr. 5.*

The Duke of *Lenox*, Steward of the King's Houshold, held the Court of the *Verge* in *Westminster-Hall*. 6.

The Prince, the Marquesses of *Buckingham* and *Hamilton*, exercise running at Tilt, or at the Ring, at *Westminster*, and the Prince bears away the Prize, having run 12 Courses, by the Judgment of the many By-standers, and the Earl of *Arundell*, Viscount *Doncaster*, Lord *Sheffield*, *Henry Cary* Comptroller, who sate as Judges. 18.

The King silenced 130 Ministers in *Scotland*, who would not submit to Episcopal Authority; but he received them afterwards into Favour in *June*. 27.

Letters

1620. *ANNO* 1620.

Apr.--- Letters of the Ecclesiastical Electors, of the Elector of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and Landgrave of ——— to *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, that he would resign his new Kingdom, lest he should shortly be forced thereto, because *Bohemia* is a Fief of the Empire, the determining of which belongs to the Electoral College, without the Assent whereof the Elector *Frederick* had accepted that Kingdom. The States of *Bohemia* deny that, and pretend and acknowledge nothing depends on the Emperor but the Feudal Investiture.

The King of *Spain* constitutes and appoints the Duke of *Parma* his General in *Flanders*.

Spinola is about to attempt something against *Juliers*. The *Spaniard* in the mean time labours, by the Intercession of our King and the *French* King, to prolong the Truce with the States.

May 1. The King entertained the Prince and the rest, who exercised running at Tilt, with a splendid Banquet at *Whitehall*.

2. The King bestowed on *Calvert* the Secretary, an annual Pension of 1000 *l.* out of the Custom-House. (He was made Secretary *Feb.* 15. 1718.)

15. A Proclamation to call home *Roger North*, who set sail by the King's Authority to inhabit and settle a Colony near the River of the *Amazons*.

Thomas Lake kissed the King's Hand: His Wife is sent back to the Tower, because she peremptorily refused to submit.

16. The Marquess of *Buckingham* married *Catharine* the Daughter of the Earl of *Rutland* privately at *Lumley-House*.

17. *Frederick Henry* is declared Successor to his Father in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

20. The Ambassador from the United Provinces of *Germany* prefixed this Day to the King, to answer at what time he would do any thing for his Son-in-law of *Bohemia*.

Lord *North* is thrown into the *Fleet*, for persuading his Brother *Roger* to hasten his Voyage to the River of the *Amazons*.

The News are confirmed concerning Four *English* Ships being intercepted by the *Hollanders*, with a very rich Cargo, and of a great many *English* being murdered by them in the *East-Indies*.

Henry of *Nassaw*, Stadholder of *Friesland*, died of an Apoplexy at *Lewward* without Issue.

27. His Majesty appointed the Marquess of *Buckingham* Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*, after my Lord *Wotton* had resign'd; and he presently transfer'd the said Charge upon the Duke of *Lenox*, by the King's Consent.

June---- The Prince leaping over a Wall at *Theobalds*, his Foot slipping, hurt his Nose and Forehead grievously, not without the Peril of his Life.

4. His Majesty keeps his *Whitsontide* at *Greenwich*, and took the Sacrament, which was administred by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who preached his first Sermon before the King. The Court was very thin.

10. ——— *Alured*, a *quondam* Clerk to the Lord *Ever*, President of *Wales*, presents to the Marquess of *Buckingham* a curious little Treatise against the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the Infanta of *Spain*: Whereupon the King being angry, threw him into Prison.

11. After Evening Prayer on *Trinity*-Sunday the King repairs to *Westminster*.

Sir *Horatio Vere* is designed for General of the Army that was to be sent into *Germany*, laying aside *Edw. Cecil*, who was first designed.

Voluntiers are picked up in the City, by Beat of Drum, to the *Bohemian* War, under the Command of the Earls of *Oxford*, *Essex*, *Jo. Wentworth*, &c. for *Edward Sacvil* and the Lord *Lisle* refused to serve in this War, out of I know not what Ambition and Dissimulation.

ANNO 1620. 1620.

The King celebrates his Birth-day at *Windsor*, and comes to *Wandsted*. *June* 19.

On St. *Peter*'s Day the King heard the Cause of the Prerogative of Honour, or Precedency, the last time, between the younger Sons of Earls and Knights Counsellors; and he adjudged it to the younger Sons of Earls. 29.

Robert Tolson is consecrated Bishop of *Sarum* at *Lambeth*, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Rochester* and *Chester*. *July* 9.

Sir *Horatio Vere* goes to *Theobalds* to take his Leave of the King, being just upon the point of setting Sail into *Germany* with 4000 Foot, for defending of the Palatinate. 15.

The King begun his Progress. 18.

The Fine imposed on the Earl of *Suffolk* is mitigated to 7000 *l.* which is to be paid to *Haddington*.

Sad News of the *English* having sustained great Losses by the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*; *Jordan*, the chief Merchant, being killed, and Sir *Thomas Gates* dead.

General *Vere*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Essex*, and others, set Sail from *Gravesend*. 22.

The Commissioners for repairing *St. Paul*'s ordered, that the Houses at the East and West End thereof should be pulled down before the first of *August*.

Robert Mansell sets Sail out of the *Thames* with some of the King's Ships, and of *Londoners*, against *Turkish* Pyrates infesting the *Mediterranean* Sea. *Aug.* ---

News that *Spinola* was set down with his Army in the Palatinate, and had appointed that to be the Theatre of War. 28.

Lewes Stuckley, who betrayed Sir *Walter Raleigh*, died in a manner mad. 29.

A South-West Wind blows furiously; it hails; so that *Robert Mansell* was not able to sail out of the *Thames*-Mouth with his Fleet. *Sept.* 2.

He sets Sail, and stops in the *Downes*. 4.

He supped at Sir *Dudley Diggs* his House: and on the 6th rid Post to Court, perhaps because he was not sufficiently provided with Mariners and Necessaries. 5.

The King reprimanded the Earl of *Worcester*, being informed that his Daughter was sent to *Bruxells* to be made a Nun.

Tilenus, that great Divine, came into *England*, and published a Book against the *Scots* that were Zealots for the *Geneva* Discipline.

The Son of *Hotman* came into *England* with him.

News was brought, that *Spinola* had taken *Openheim*, *Christiac*, and *Astac* in the Palatinate, and had raised a Fort against *Mentz*.

Robert, the Son of *Robert Digby*, is made Lord of *Geashill*. 14.

Richard Boyle, Baron *Boyle* of *Toughall* in *Ireland*, is created Earl of *Cork* and Viscount *Dungarvon*, a Match being concluded between his Son and the Daughter of *Edward Villers*, and between the Daughter of *Boyle* and the Son and Heir of *Villers*.

A Proposition was made, that every Earl should contribute 1000 *l.* Barons 500 *l.* Baronets ——— Knights ——— for defending the Palatinate against *Spinola*, the Emperor's General in those Parts. *Oct.* ---

News

1620. *ANNO* 1620.

Oct. 8. News is brought, that *Spinola* had surprized *Bagrac*, *Bing*, and *Clut*. When the *Spanish* Ambassador was accused underhand to have intimated to the King, that *Spinola* had no Design upon the Palatinate with his Army, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, in a Letter sent to the Ambassador, acknowledges, that neither the Ambassador, nor the *Spaniard*, nor the Archduke, did dissemble with the King; but that every one of them did plainly declare, that he would wage War in the Palatinate.

It is required, that all Officers in the Chancery and Exchequer, all Judges, and Professors of the Law, and other wealthy Persons, should contribute Subsidy-Money for the Relief of the Elector Palatine.

29. The Prince Palatine is routed, and *Prague* taken.—— News are brought of *Dampier*'s being killed by the *Hungarians*.

Henry Carvill of *St. Maries* is arraigned for sending Money under-hand against the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. Hereupon the *Spanish* Ambassador complains of *Nanton* the Secretary.

His Majesty came to *Westminster* very late on *All-Souls* Eve; and for that reason he went not to Prayers.

Nov. 1. On *All-Saints* he went to Morning Prayer: He offer'd, touch'd for the Evil; but there was no Sermon preach'd.

5. Gunpowder-Treason Day is observed at *Theobalds*; and Sheriffs are prick'd.

7. A Parliament is called to begin on the 15th Day of *January*.

9. *William Cavendish*, Son to *Charles Cavendish*, is created Viscount *Mansfield*, by delivering him Letters Patents, without any Investiture.

10. The Earls of *Essex* and *Oxford*, the Lord *Gerard*, *Edward Sackvill*, *Heidon* the Treasurer of the *English* Army, return into *England*.

16. Sir *Dudley Diggs* and *Morris Abbot* are sent into *Holland*, to recover the Goods of the *English* taken in the *East-Indies*; *Rowland Woodward* is appointed to be their Secretary.

When the Lady *Lake* was to come to the Star-Chamber to acknowledge her Fault committed against the Countess of *Exeter*, she writ Letters to the said Countess: She disparages and affronts the Justice of the Kingdom, and appeals to the Tribunal of the Almighty, in repeating some Verses of the 139th *Psalm*; whereupon she is committed to the Tower.

29. They receive News, that the Elector Palatine was totally routed, and he was fled into *Silesia*; and that *Prague* was taken by the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Bucquoy*; and that the Favourers of the Elector were expelled the City.

These Things were confirmed by the Letters of the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Elector of *Mentz*.

Randolph Mac-Surley, who was long since made Viscount *Donluse* (viz. *Anno* 1617.) is now created Earl of *Antrim*.

Oliver St. John, the Lord Lieutenant, is made Viscount *Grandison*.

Dec. 3. *Henry Montagu*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, (the Staff being delivered to him at *New-Market*) is made Lord Treasurer of *England*.

The Rabble are in an Uproar against the Servants of the *Spanish* Ambassador, for uttering some Words which escaped from the *Spaniard*, concerning the King of *Bohemia*'s being routed; insomuch that the Chancellor commanded 300 Men to keep Guard all Night about the Ambassador's House, under the Command of *Lewis Lewknor* and *Henry Spiller*.

ANNO 1620. 1620.

The King conferred the Titles and Honours of Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viscount *Magnaville*, or *Mandevill*, upon the Treasurer; perhaps because *Kimbolton* was formerly the Seat of the *Magnavills*, who came out of *Normandy*. Dec. —

It was reported, that in the King of *Bohemia*'s Flight towards *Breslaw*, his Coaches were taken by the Enemy who pursued; wherein were found the Crown of *Bohemia*, and other Regalities; and that he designed for *Presbourg*, to confer with *Bethlem Gabor*.

The new Treasurer came to the Exchequer, 14. accompanied with *Fulk Grevil*, Vice-Chancellor, where, before the Chancellor, he took the Oath faithfully to discharge the Office of Treasurer. The Chancellor admonished him, that he would propose to himself the Lord *Burghley* the Treasurer, and *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the Great Seal, for Examples.

His Majesty gave Leave to the States of *Holland* to transport 100 Iron Guns, with Appurtenances, and as many to the *Spanish* Ambassador, not without the Murmuring of the common People.

A Demand made of 20000 *l.* of the *Londoners*: They very willingly give 10000 *l.* which was to be collected by the several Companies.

It was reported, that *Robert Mansell* had fought the *Turkish* Pyrates, with bad Success. ——The Lady *Lake* is set free; I know not upon what Conditions.

The King comes to *Westminster*: He went not 23. to Chappel, being prevented by the Gout.

Edward Villers is dispatched Ambassador into *Bohemia*: He departed on the 3d of *January*.

There was a Proclamation, That none should presume to talk or write sawcily of the *Arcana Imperii*, or of State Affairs.

Cadenet, Marshal of *France*, Brother to that great Favourite the Duke *de Luines*, comes to *London* with a great Train of Gentlemen: He is received at his Landing at *Somerset-House*, against whose Coming the Shops in *Westminster-Hall* were taken away. On *Sunday* he made his Entry with his Retinue through the Streets in Coaches, and came to the King in the House of Lords. After that, he had private Discourse with his Majesty. ——There were created, Viscount *Fielding*, and Baron of *Newnham-Paddocks*; *Henry Cary* Viscount *Faukland*, and Baron —— as also *Northumberland Grey*, Viscount —— in *Scotland*, Constable of *Flamborough*. In *Ireland* also —— *Fitz-Williams* is created Baron of *Liffer*, —— *Willimot* Viscount —— *Culfield* Baron *Charlemont*.

Roger North having received a Message from the *Hollanders*, That the King had called him back by a Proclamation, returned of his own accord, and is committed to the Tower.

ANNO 1621. 1621.

THE King did not go to the Chappel; but the Prince with the Nobles did. After Dinner the *French* Ambassador visits him. Jan. 1.

The Duke of *Lenox* nobly entertains the Ambassador at *Hampton-Court* with Hawking and Hunting.

The King entertains the Ambassador and the 4. *French* Gentlemen at a sumptuous Dinner in the House of Lords.

They sit at Table in this Order; viz. The King at the middle of the Table, the Ambassador at his Left; at the Head of the Table the Ordinary

1621. *ANNO* 1621.

Jan. — Ordinary Ambaſſador. The Duke of *Alverny* went his way, becauſe not admitted to the King's Table. The Prince was not preſent at this Feaſt. —— On *Twelfth-Day* the King went to Chappel; they had much ado to ſupport him: He offered Gold, Frankincenſe and Myrrhe; and touched 80 of the Evil.

8. Viſcount *Doncaſter* entertain'd the *French* Ambaſſador at a noble Supper in *Eſſex-Houſe*, at which the King was preſent, together with the Prince, the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, *&c.* —The Ambaſſador has Audience of Leave.

14. The *French* Ambaſſador, with his Retinue, is rowed down to *Greenwich*.

A Council of War is held, to which are called the Earls of *Oxford*, *Eſſex* and *Leiceſter*, Viſcount *Wilmot*, Lord *Dacres*, *Edw. Cecil*, Sir *Horatio Vere*, —— *Bingham*. Some Matters are propounded by them for the Recovery of the Palatinate.

The King went to *Theobalds*, on which Day he reproved *Naunton* the Secretary, and ſuſpends him from the Secretary's Function, becauſe (as 'tis ſaid) he conſulted with the *French* Ambaſſador about the Marriage of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, the *French* King's Siſter, without conſulting the King.

Viſcount *Haddington* is made Earl of *Holderneſs*, and Baron of *Kingſton*; with a further Acceſſion of Honour, That he ſhall wear a Sword before the King on the 5th of *Auguſt*; that is to ſay, on the Day of *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy.

27. The Lord Chancellor is created with Plenary Inveſtiture Viſcount *St. Albans*: my Lord *Carew* carried the Robe of State before him; the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* held up. —— He gave the King moſt humble Thanks for making him, 1. his Sollicitor; 2. Attorney; 3. Privy Counſellor; 4. Keeper of the Great Seal; 5. Chancellor; 6. Baron *Verulam*; 7. Viſcount *St. Albans*.

Feb. 6. Sharp Debates concerning the Liberty of ſpeaking againſt Recuſants; concerning Popiſh Pictures, that they ſhould be removed out of the City; of the great Concourſe of Papiſts to hear Maſs at the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Chappel; of contributing a Subſidy. It is alſo propounded, That every one of the Lower Houſe ſhould take the Sacrament.

In the Upper Houſe is propoſed ſomething about Iron Guns; of appointing certain Perſons who may hear Complaints of ſeveral ſorts of Injuſtice in the Chancery, and other Courts; as alſo about the Act of Reſumption.

Sheppard, for having ſomewhat freely and ſharply reflected upon the Puritans, was expelled the Houſe; and *Flud*, for ſaying, that the Prince Palatine had no Right to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, is burnt in the Hand.

In the Lower Houſe ſome complain, that there were ſome Guns tranſported into *Spain*; and this is repreſented to his Majeſty, who anſwered, That he had given Leave to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to tranſport ſome; as he had alſo done to the States of the *United Provinces*, and to the Duke of *Brunſwick*; and that he could not but be as good as his Word, and would perform his Promiſe.

16. This Day the Commons offered two Subſidies to the King; and are very earneſt to have the Laws put in Execution againſt Papiſts, that they ſhould be confined to their Houſes, and be examined.

18. The Houſe partake of the Holy Communion in *St. Margaret's*, *Weſtminſter*. Biſhop *Uſher* preached the Sermon, out of the 10th Chapter, ver. 7. of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

ANNO 1621. 1621.

Several of the Earls and Barons preſent a Petition by the Prince, to prohibit the new Viſcounts of *Scotland* and *Ireland* from having a Place in *England* before the Barons of *England*. The King took this very ill, and reprimanded the Lord *Deſpenſer*. *Feb.* 21.

The ſame Day was begun the Debate concerning Grievances in the Houſe of Commons; and *Drake* of *Devonſhire* proved, that *Giles Montpeſſon* had acted unjuſtly and rigidly againſt Inn-keepers and Ale-ſellers by his Overſeers, the Servants of the Treaſurer and Chancellor, *Dixon* and *Almond*.

Some Days before, the King anſwered to the Five Articles againſt Recuſants, wherein the Laws may with Severity be put in Execution againſt them; but yet very cautiouſly, leſt the Popiſh Princes might be incenſed againſt the Reformed Religion, and that he would ſo order Matters with the *Spaniſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors, that they ſhould not admit the *Engliſh* to their Maſſes. He alſo acquainted them, that the *French* King had a Deſign to beſiege *Rochelle*; the Duke of *Savoy*, *Geneva*; and that the *Spaniard* had reduced the *Valtoline* under his Dominion, *&c.*

Sir *Francis Mitchel*, lately dubb'd Knight, was with great Diſgrace ſent to the Tower through the City by the Houſe of Commons, for grievous Exaction upon publick Inn-keepers, and Sellers of Beer and Ale.

The Lord *Digby* ſets ſail from *London*.

The Barons who had taken Offence, that the Viſcounts of *Ireland* were preferred before them, were ordered to wait upon the King, and kiſs his Hand: A few of them were admitted, and they ſoundly chid. 24.

News from *Italy* report, That Pope *Paul* V, was dead; and that there was elected in his place —— *de Ludovicis* of *Bononia*; and that he had aſſumed the Name of *Gregory* XV. —— The *Spaniard* propoſed a general Peace to the States of the *United Provinces*, on theſe following Conditions, *viz.* 1. If they would acknowledge him for their Protector. 2. If they would forbear any longer to ſail to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*. 3. If they would permit Catholicks the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and let them have their Churches. 4. If they would open the Navigation between *Antwerp* and *Zeland*.

Giles Montpeſſon, when he was ſummoned to appear before the Houſe of Commons, being conſcious to himſelf, fled. There was a Proclamation forthwith iſſued out to apprehend him. *Buckingham* forſakes him, on whom he moſt relied. *Mar.* 3.

The Houſe complains, That the Lawyers whom they ſent to appeal, and refer a Matter to the Lords, acted deceitfully, and prevaricated. 9.

His Majeſty hears the Houſe concerning the Prevarication, and after that goes to recreate himſelf in Hawking. 10.

Albert Morton returns out of *Germany*; but the King did not admit him that Day.

There was ſome quarrelling between the M. of *Buckingham*, and *Southampton* and *Sheffield*, who had interrupted him, for repeating the ſame thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved Order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them. 14.

The

ANNO 1621.

1621. Mar. — The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* present, in the Name of all the rest, a Grant of Subsidies passed by the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* to the King at *Hampton-Court*.——The Chancellor being convicted of Bribery, pretends, as if, being weary of Honour, he would resign his Place, being much loaden with Calumnies.

18. The Waywood of *Sandomar's* Son, the Ambassador from the King of *Poland*, goes to the King at *Whitehall*, and signifies to him in Latin, how great Wars were depending over *Christendom* by the common Enemy the *Turk*, occasion'd by the Troubles in *Germany*.

They vary in their Opinion in Parliament about the Antiquity of the University of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, and which is first to be named in the Grant of Subsidies.

The Chancellor sends Letters by the M. of *Buckingham* to the Lords of the Parliament; and beseeches them not to condemn an innocent Person upon the false Suggestions of some ill Men before he was heard.

27. The King goes to the Parliament, and pronounces Sentence against *Giles Montpesson*; the Dignity of his Wife remaining untainted notwithstanding.

28. The Parliament is prorogued to the 18th of *April*.

29. An Act for proscribing *Giles Montpesson*; and another for repealing of the Patents of Inns and Alehouses: As also an Act for Gold and Silver Wire; and another about Conformity.

Some *London* Apprentices, who had rudely handled the *Spanish* Ambassador, were whipped through the City.

April 6. The King comes to *Guildhall*, and severely reproves the Magistrates for the Insolence of the Vulgar against Ambassadors; and he threaten'd the Gentlemen within the City of *London*, and the Parts adjacent, that he would restrain them by a Band of Men in Arms: And a Proclamation was published concerning that Business on the 8th of *April*.

May 2. The Great Seal of *England*, together with the Authority of Chancellor, was taken away from the Viscount *St. Albans*, and delivered to the Treasurer, Chamberlain, Duke of *Lenox*, and Earl of *Arundell*.

The Chancellor is sentenced to Prison during his Majesty's Pleasure; is fined 40000 *l.* is excluded from any Place in Parliament, and in the Judicature; and that he should not come near the Court within twelve Miles.

Sentence was pronounced by the House of Commons against *Flud*, who disdainfully calumniated the Prince Palatine, and his Princess; but it was revoked by the King, who began to enquire, Whether the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature?

5. Sir *Francis Michel* is brought to his Tryal, and sentenced to be degraded from the Honour of Knighthood, without any Prejudice to his Wife and Children; that he should have no Office; should be fined 1000 *l.* should be imprisoned during the King's Pleasure in *Finsbury* Prison.

The Peers wrangle amongst themselves about bringing *Elverton*, *Quondam* Attorney, to his Tryal.

Arundell is sent to the Tower.——*Elverton*, the outed Attorney, is fined.

Clement Coke, eldest Son to the outed Lord Chief Justice *Edward Coke*, is committed to the Tower, for his insolent affronting of *Morison*.

ANNO 1621.

Flud, who had derided the Prince Palatine in a scornful manner, was carried through the City with his Face to the Horse's Tail; set in the Pillory; whipt; branded with the Letter *K* in his Forehead; is fined, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. 1621. *May* 15.

The outed Chancellor is cast into the Tower, and is set at Liberty two Days after.

Dr. *Davenant* is advanced to the See of *Salisbury* in *Tolson's* Place, whom the King charged not to marry. *June* —

Melburn, Bishop of *St. David's*, is translated to the See of *Carlisle*.——*Montaigne*, of *Lincoln*, to the See of *London*.

Williams, Dean of *Westminster*, is nominated for *Lincoln*, and is appointed to be Keeper of the Great Seal.

The Earl of *Southampton* is delivered up to safe Custody to the Dean of *Westminster*. Likewise *Jo. Selden* and Sir *Edwin Sandys* are committed to the Sheriff of *London*. 16.

On the last Day of the Term, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Sir *Francis Michel* was brought by the Sheriffs of *London* to *Westminster-Hall*. Presently after came the Commissioners for the Office of the Earl Marshal, *viz.* the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and several Barons that were Spectators. Before these, Sir *Francis Michel* is brought: After that, the Sentence of Parliament against him is read before him with an audible Voice by *Philpot*, a Pursuivant; the Spurs are broken in pieces by the Servants of the Earl Marshal, and thrown away: Then the Silver Sword, which ought to have been gilded, is taken from his Side, which was broken over his Head, and thrown away. Last of all, they pronounce him no longer to be a Knight, but a Knave, as was formerly done to *Andrew de Herclay*, when he was degraded by *Anthony Lucy*.

Garter, *Clarenceux*, and *Norry*, Kings at Arms, sate at the Feet of the Commissioners.

John Williams, Dean of *Westminster*, is constituted Keeper of the Great Seal, and heard Evening Prayer, *Manwaring* carrying the Seal before him, and *Sutton*. *July* 15.

The Bishop of *Bangor* is examined, and committed to the Fleet; but is discharged quickly after.——*Edward Montagu* is created Baron *Montagu* of *Boughton*.

Fulk Grevil is created Baron *Brook*; and *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* of *Chich* is created Viscount *Colchester*, to himself, and the Heirs of *Thomas Savage*.

Henry Lord *Hunsdon* is created Viscount *Rochford*; *Lionel Cranfield* is created Baron *Cranford* of *Cranford* in *Bedfordshire*. He married the Daughter of *James Bret*.

The Earl of *Oxford* is sent into Custody for his prattling; so is Sir *G. Leeds*, with *Sutcliff* Dean of *Exeter*, Sir *Christ. Nevil*, and one *Brise* a Minister.

Marquess *Hamilton* is sent into *Scotland* to hold a Parliament; and Viscount *Doncaster* is sent Extraordinary Ambassador to the *French* King.

Edward Herbert is recalled from *France*, because he had treated the Constable *Luines* very irreverently. *Edward Sacvil* is appointed in his Place.

George Montaigne is translated from the See of *Lincoln* to that of *London*. 18.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is discharged out of the Prison, in which he had lain for fifteen

1621.

ANNO 1621.

July 18. Years together, at the Discharge of the great Guns.

The Earl of *Southampton* is set at Liberty at the same time; as are *Edwin Sandys* and *Jo. Selden*.

Albert Archduke of *Austria* died at *Bruxells*, *Anno Ætat.* 62. ——— Whilst the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was a Hunting in *Burnhill* Park, belonging to my Lord *Zouch*, near *Hertford* Bridge, he killed the Keeper by chance with a Cross-Bow. The Quere was, Whether he should incur the Penalty of Irregularity by this involuntary Manslaughter, or Suspension?

Bucquoy, the Warlike Valiant General, was slain at *Newhausel* by the *Hungarians*, being surprized by an Ambush.

Aug. 5. *Hackwell*, the Prince's Chaplain, writ a Book against a Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, which he presented to the Prince, without the King's Knowledge; whereat the King being offended, sent *Thomas Murray*, the Prince's Chaplain, the Doctor his Brother, and all those who were privy to the Business, to Prison.

The Countess of *Bedford* returns out of *Holland*, whither she took a Voyage to pay a Visit to the Queen of *Bohemia*.

Whilst the King, by the Lord *Digby*, intercedes with the Emperor and King of *Spain*, that the outed King of *Bohemia* might be restored to his Pristine and Hereditary Honour of the Palatinate, he, taking up Arms for the States, wars against them; whereat the King is much displeased, and severely reproves him.

Sept. —— *Edward Villers* is sent into *Germany*; returns to the Count Palatine about the end of the Month.

George Chaworth is sent to the Archdutchess, to condole the Death of Archduke *Albert*.

The Earl of *Arundell* is made Earl Marshal of *England*, with an annual Pension of 2000 *l*.

Robert Mansfell, Admiral of the *English* Fleet against the *Turkish* Pyrates, returns out of the *Mediterranean*, having done nothing remarkable.

Full Grevil, Lord *Brook*, is made one of the King's Bedchamber: He resigns his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Richard Weston*.

——— *Suckling* is preferred to be Secretary of State.

Oct. —— ——— *Cottington*, Agent in *Spain*, is designed Secretary to the Prince, in the place of *Murray*.

9. The Pyrates of *Algiers* take about 35 *English* and *Scotch* Ships, in Revenge for the War by *Robert Mansfell*.

On St. *Luke's* Day *Westminster-Hall* was overflowed. ——— My Lord *Digby* returning from *Germany*, declares to the King and Council what he had transacted with the Emperor.

A Parliament is called in the end of this Month. ——— *Arsennius* comes from the United States into *England*, about the *East-India* Business.

Nov. —— The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is declared by the Delegates neither to have incurred the Penalty of Irregularity, nor to have done any Scandal to the Church.

11. Dr. *Williams*, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Dean of *Westminster*, was consecrated Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter*, by the laying on of the Hands of the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Ely*, *Oxford*, *St. David's*, *Landaff*, delegated by the King's special Authority.

18. Dr. *Davenant* Bishop of *Sarum*, *Valentine Cary* Bishop of *Exeter*, *William Laud* Bishop of *St. David's*, are consecrated in the Chappel of the Bishop of *London's* Palace; the Bishops of *London*,

ANNO 1621.

1621.

Worcester, *Oxford*, *Ely*, and *Landaff*, laid on their Hands. *Nov.* 18.

A Tumult in the House of Commons, occasion'd by the Imprisonment of Sir *Edwin Sandys*; nor was it pacify'd till Secretary *Calvert* declared his Imprisonment not to be for any thing done in Parliament.

A great Disturbance rose in the Lower House against Recusants; and it was decreed, That they should pay double Subsidies, like Foreigners; forasmuch as they shew'd themselves to be Aliens from the Established Religion, and devoted to the Pope. ——— The same Day a third Subsidy is granted.

The King pardons all Misdemeanor to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, if any had been by him committed. 22.

Peter Heymore, and another Member, are sent to Sir *Edwin Sandys*, to enquire whether or no he was committed to Custody for any thing relating to Parliament. *Dec.* 4.

A Subsidy granted to be paid in *February*.

The next Day the King sent a Letter to the Lower House, wherein he sharply reproves them for sending to Sir *Edwin Sandys*; commands them not to intermeddle in the *Arcana Imperii*; nor debate concerning the Marriage of his Son; that they should not use reproachful Language against his dear Brother of *Spain*.

The Commons sent some of their Members to his Majesty, to beg Pardon for their meddling with the *Arcana Imperii*, or that they had debated concerning the Prince's Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*. They inform him concerning the Reasons inducing them thereto. They lay open the imminent impending Evils; and what Remedies ought to be applied, by declaring War against the Pope and King of *Spain*; and by restraining the Papists in *England* by more severe Laws; and by relieving the Protestants abroad with larger Contributions. 14.

There happened to be some Misunderstanding between the King and the Commons; whereupon a Protestation is made to defend the Liberties. 21.

The Parliament is prorogued till *February*, and was as good as dissolved.

The King commands *Wright*, Clerk to the House of Commons, to deliver in the Journal of the House, that he might the more easily perceive the Grievances of the Commonwealth.

Robert Cotton and *Thomas Willson* are sent to ransack the Writings of *Edward Coke*, now committed to the Tower.

ANNO 1622.

1622.

Jan. 6. TOby *Mathews* being sent for, comes into *England*, of whose Assistance the King stood in need upon certain Matters.

The Parliament is declared to be dissolved.

The King, accompanied with the Prince, goes to *Theobalds*: In his Journey he had very like to have been drowned, being thrown off his Horse three Miles from *Theobalds*.

The Marquess of *Buckingham*, his Marchioness, and Mother, are confirmed, according to Form, by the Bishop of *London*.

Robert Philips, who so vigorously opposed the Marriage with the Infanta, is sent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Somerset* is enlarged from his tedious Imprisonment, and is ordered to be confined at Viscount *Wallingford's* House.

Edw.

ANNO 1622.

1622.

Jan. ---- *Edward Coke* is taxed of acting dishonestly in the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Case, by concealing some true Confessions, and obtruding false ones.

Thomas Howard, second Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, is created Viscount *Andover*, and Baron of *Charleton*: He married the Daughter of *William Cecil*, the younger Son of the Lord *Burleigh*.

28. The Earl of *Oxford* and *Francis Steward* are sent with some Men of War to intercept some Ships belonging to the States returning from the *East-Indies*; but they escaped into *Zeland*.

The King gives an Account, in a Book he published, why he dissolved the Parliament.

Feb. 3. The Earl of *Oxford* sent out to intercept the *East-India* Vessels belonging to the States; but they having a favourable Wind, escaped.

The King diverts himself in Hawking at *Newmarket*.

20. Sir *Henry Savil*, who had been a good Benefactor to the University of *Oxford*, and to the whole Republick of Letters, died, much lamented by all Learned Men of the Nation, in the 69th Year of his Age. He was buried at *Eaton*.

Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato*, grown weary of the King's Bounty, prepares for his Journey towards *Rome*, having conceived strange Hopes of convoking a General Council, and of composing Matters of Religion. He came into *England Anno* 1616, in *December*.

A *Holland* Ship returning out of the *East-Indies*, is taken by *Mervin*, Vice-Admiral, and *Porter*, (Brother to Sir *Endymion*) with abundance of Riches.

Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is sent to the Archdutchess.

Count *Gondomar* designs to return into *Spain*; and Viscount *Doncaster* prepares for his Journey into *France*.

Mar.--- *John Suckling* is made one of the Principal Secretaries. ——— Viscount *Doncaster* is sent into *France*.

Apr.--- Viscount *Swartzenburg* came Ambassador into *England* from the Emperor *Ferdinando*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* conducted him by Water from *Gravesend* to *Somerset-House*.

8. The Emperor's Ambassador, with his Retinue, is admitted to the King's Presence on *Sunday*, in the House of Lords, with great Solemnity.

He diverts himself at running at the Ring. —He is again entertained at a splendid Dinner in the Parliament House, and takes his Leave of the King.

18. *Swartzenburg* sets Sail, and *Richard Weston* with him; and in another Ship the Archbishop of *Spalato* to his Vomit.

The Earl of *Oxford* is thrown into the Tower, for Words unadvisedly let fall against our King and the *Spaniard*.

27. *Mar. Antonius Columna*, Governor of *Cambray*, came Ambassador from the King of *Spain*, in the place of Count *Gondomar*.

May 2. Sir *William Beecher* was sent into *Germany*, together with my Lord *Chichester*, accompanied with *Hottoman* Junior.

Foscarini, who had been Ambassador from the Republick of *Venice*, was barbarously strangled in Prison, and amongst other things, for communicating some Secrets to the Countess of *Arundell*.

ANNO 1622.

1622.

Doleful News are brought from the Palatinate, That *Tilly*, General of the *Bavarian* Forces, and *Gonsalvo* the *Spaniard*, had quite routed the *Mansfeld* Troops, and had plundered their Camp. In the mean time the States ravage over all *Brabant*. May---

Oliver St. John, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, returned.

Soubize, of the Duke of *Rohan*'s Family, flies for Refuge into *England*. June --

Viscount *Grandison*, and ——— *Conway*, are chosen into the Privy-Council.

Soubize, that notorious Rebel, came into *England*, to implore Assistance against his Sovereign; but is rejected.

The Pope, as also the Delegates, would by no means consent that Matrimony should be contracted between the Prince and the Infanta.

A Report runs, That Count *Gondomar* being returned to *Spain*, was sent to Prison because he so much promoted the Match. ——— They also write from *Italy*, That the Infanta was to be married to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*.

An Act for importing no Foreign Merchandize, save only in *English* Bottoms. Aug.---

Arthur Chichester, Baron *Belfast*, returns from the Emperor. Oct.---

A Proclamation, That all Noblemen should stay at home, and exercise Hospitality amongst their People, under a grievous Penalty. Dec.---

On the last Day of *December*, *Arthur Chichester*, Baron of *Belfast*, is sworn into the Privy-Council of *England*.

ANNO 1623.

1623.

Jan.--- THE King received Sir *Horatio Vere* so graciously and thankfully, that, forgetting himself, he stood bare to him.

Feb.-- The *Thames* ebbs and flows four times in a natural Day, to the great Astonishment of many.

Prince *Charles*, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and a few others, cross over into *France*.

Henry Rich, Captain of the Life-Guard, is created Baron *Rich* of *Kensington*, and was sent into *France* to Prince *Charles*.

Mar.--- Dr. *Wright*, Rector of the Church of *Sanneng*, is consecrated Bishop of *Bristol* at *Lambeth*.

Apr. 10. Bonefires through the whole City, for the prosperous Success of Prince *Charles* in *Spain*.

May -- *Elizabeth*, the Relict of *Moyle Finch* Knight and Baronet, Daughter and sole Heiress to *Thomas Heneage*, is created Viscountess *Finch* of *Maidstone* in *Kent*, for her, and her Heirs Male.

The Marquess of *St. Germains*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, and the King, swear to certain Articles, which *Calvert* the Secretary read before them.

On the same Day the Plume of Feathers, the Arms of the Prince of *Wales*, are struck down by a Flash of Lightning, which some took occasion to interpret as an ill Omen; but God forbid.

Aug.-- *England* congratulates the happy Return of Prince *Charles* out of *Spain*, by making of Bonfires.

By the Fall of the Playhouse in *Black-Fryers* in *London*, 81 Persons of Quality were killed.

The End of Camden's *Annals*.

KING JAMES THE I.st

THE LIFE and REIGN OF JAMES, The First, KING of GREAT BRITAIN.

By * *ARTHUR WILSON* Esq;

The Author's Picture drawn by Himself.

AS others print their Pictures, *I will place*
My Mind *in* Frontispiece, *plain as my* Face;
And every Line *that is here drawn, shall be*
To Pencil out my Soul's Physiognomy,
Which on a Radiant Height *is fixt.* *My* Brow
Frowns *not for these* Miscarriages *below,*
Unless I mean to limit, *and* confine,
Th' Almighty Wisdom *to Conceits of* mine.
Yet have no envious Eyes against the Crown,
Nor did I strive to pull the Mitre *down*;
Both may be good; But when Heads *swell, Men say,*
The rest of the poor Members *pine away,*
Like Ricket-Bodies, *upwards over-grown,*
Which is no wholesome Constitution.
The grave mild Presbyter *I could admit,*
And am no Foe *to th'* Independent *yet*;
For I have levell'd *my Intents to be*
Subservient unto Reason's Sovereignty;
And none of these State-Passions *e'er shall rise*
Within my Brain, *to Rule, and Tyrannize:*
For by Truth's *sacred* Lamp *(which I admire)*
My Zeal *is kindled, not* Fanatick Fire.
But I'll avoid these Vapours, *whose swoln* Spight,
And foaming Poyson, *would put out this* Light.
Vain Fuellers? *they think (who doth not know it)*
Their Light's above't, because their Walk's *below it.*
Such blazing Lights *like* Exhalations *climb,*
Then fall, and their best Matter proves but Slime:
For where conceited Goodness *finds no Want,*
There Holiness *becomes* Luxuriant.
Now my great Trouble is, that I have shown
Other Mens Faults, with so many of my own;
And all my Care shall be, to shake off quite
The Old Man's *Load, for him whose* Burthen's *light,*
And grow to a full Stature, *till I be*
Form'd like to Christ, *or* Christ *be form'd in me.*
Such Pieces *are grav'd by a* Hand Divine:
For which, I'll give my God *this* Heart *of* mine.

Contemnit linguas vita probanda malas.

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THE various Hand of Time began now to sheath the Sword of War, that had been long disputing the Controversy, which Religion and Policy (that Princes mix together) had for many Years so fiercely maintained. The wearing out of that old, but glorious, and most happy Piece of Sovereignty, the late Queen, bating the *Spanish* Violence, and ending with the *Irish* Rebellion, and Submission of *Tirone*, as if the old Genius of Iron-handed War were departed, and a new one crowned with a Palm of Peace, had taken Possession of the *English* Nation; *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, was proclaimed King of *England*. For tho' Princes that find here a mortal Felicity, love not the Noise of a Successor in their Life-time, yet they are willing (for the Peace of their People) to have one, when they can hear no more of it. That which the Queen could not endure from others, she was well pleased to express her self, and bequeath in her last

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* The Author *Arthur Wilson* was a Native of *Suffolk*, of a good Family. He was bred up at *Trinity-College* in *Oxford*, where he commenced Master of Arts in 1633. Some Years after he travelled thro' *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, with *Robert Devereux* the last Earl of *Essex* of that Name, who had a particular Friendship for him, that lasted till that Noble Earl's Death. It was in his Company, and thro' his Acquaintance, that Mr. *Wilson* became perfectly well inform'd in all the material Transactions of King *James*'s Reign: And it was the Earl of *Essex* that first put him upon writing the History of it; wherein he had the Use and Perusal of a great many Papers of that Earl's, and of his Father's fast Friend and Fellow-Sufferer the Earl of *Southampton*, who were both near Spectators, and sometimes Actors in the Affairs of that time.

Tho'

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last Will, as a Legacy to this, then happy Nation. He was thirty six Years of Age when he came to the Crown. How dangerous the Passage had been from his very Infancy to his Middle Age, is not only written in many Histories, but the untamed and untractable Spirits of most of that Nation are a sufficient Witness and Record. The wise Queen found many petty Titles, but none of that Power: Any other Hand that should have reached for the Crown, might a caught a Cloud of Confusion; and those Supporters, and Props, that held up her Greatness, (loth to submit to Equals) made Scaffolds to his Triumphs. In the Wane, or last Quarter of the late Queen, the Court-Motions tended (by an oblique Aspect) towards this Northern Star; and some of her great Council, in her Presence, would glance at the King of *Scots* as her Successor, which would make her break into Passion, saying, *Was this imputed to* Essex *as a Crime, and is it less in you?* Yea, *Cecil* himself held his Correspondencies, which he was once like to be trapt in. For the Queen taking the Air upon *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, a Post summoned her to enquire from what Quarter his Business came; and hearing from *Scotland*, she staid her Coach to receive the Packet: But the Secretary, Sir *Robert Cecil*, (being in the Coach with her) fearful that some of his secret Conveyances might be discovered, having an active Wit, calls for a Knife suddenly to open it, lest Puts-off, and Delays, might beget Suspicion; and when he came to cut it, he told the Queen, It looked and smelt ill-favouredly, coming out of many nasty Budgets, and was fit to be opened, and aired before she saw it; which Reason meeting with her Disaffection to ill Scents, hindred her smelling out his underhand Contrivances.

Secretary *Cecil* proclaims King *James*.

But now he may do it openly, for he was the first that publickly Read, and Proclaimed the late Queen's Will; Posts are sent in haste, yet in so calm and quiet a manner, as if the Loss of so precious a Mistress had stupified the People. And now the great Ones strive who shall be most obsequious, and court their happy Hopes. That Party that had been opposite to the late Earl of *Essex* (whose Death, as some thought, shortned the Queen's Life) strove to ingratiate themselves, by suppressing them that had any Relation to him; assuring the King, (that always counted him his Martyr) that he aimed at the Crown himself; and Princes apt to be jealous soon take such Impressions. And now I have stirred the Ashes of great *Essex*, I must revive his Memory with this short Character; for Reports flying upon the airy Wing of the Times, have variously exalted or depressed him, as the serene for him, or the cloudy Fancy against him, waved up and down. *He had a gallant and noble Spirit, full of Urbanity and innate Courtesy, which too much took the popular Eye*; and being a great Ingrosser of Fame, it procured him many Enemies, which made his Spirit boil into Passion, and that was more suitable to his Enemies Designs than his own; for they lighted their Candle by his Fire, and this Heat being blown by some fiery Spirits about him, gave to the Goodness of his Nature a Tincture of Revenge, which his Enemies made reflect upon the Queen; so that the Coal he strove to bring to burn his Enemies Nests, kindled his own Funeral Pile.

But our King coming through the North, (Banquetting and Feasting by the way) the Applause of the People in so obsequious and submissive a manner (still admiring Change) was checked by an honest plain *Scotsman*, (unused to hear such humble Acclamations) with a Prophetical Expression; *This People will spoil a gud King*. The King as unused, so tired with Multitudes, especially in his Hunting, (which he did as he went) caused an Inhibition to be published, to restrain the People from Hunting him. Happily being fearful of so great a Concourse, as this Novelty produced, the old Hatred betwixt the Borderers not yet forgotten, might make him apprehend it to be of a greater Extent; tho' it was generally imputed to a Desire of enjoying his Recreations without Interruption.

The King comes to *Theobalds*.

At *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil*'s House, the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord *Buckhurst* Treasurer, the Earl of *Nottingham* Admiral, and others of the Council to the deceased Queen, met him; and they with him found the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marr*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Lord *Kinloss*. These, with others, were made of his Privy-Council. The Bishops forgot not to strengthen themselves, and their Party, against their Opposites, the Nonconformists, who had gotten new Courage upon their Hopes of the

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Tho' our Author was thus well furnished with what was necessary towards writing the History of King *James's* Reign, it must be owned, he has done it with an Air of Prejudice, if not, in some Places, of Rancour; which may in part be attributed to his Friendship to his Patron the Earl of *Essex*; and his Resentments of the Injuries done to that Nobleman by King *James* and his Favourites; and more particularly by *Somerset* in the Affair of his Lady, which its no wonder the Earl nor his Friends could never forget.

As to the Style of this History, it's harsh and broken, the Periods often obscure, and sometimes without just Connexion, Faults that were frequent in most of the Writers of that time.

Tho' he finished this History about the Year 1652, when both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* were overturn'd, it does not appear he was Enemy to either: On the contrary, In the Picture he draws of himself before the Book, he is so far from pretending Merit for his Activeness in these Matters, a thing usual in Writers of that time, that he values himself for having no hand in pulling down the *Mitre* and the *Crown*, which was not the way to make his Court to the *Powers* then in being.

But nothing could inhance the Value of this History more, than a most wretched one published in Answer to it, by one *William Sanderson*, intitled, [*A Compleat History of Queen* Mary *of* Scotland, *and her Son King* James *of* Great Britain.] This Man pretends in several Places to some Secret *Memoirs* or Discourses with great Men, to make good the Passages of his History: But the Truth is, the whole is nothing else but an ill compiled *Collection* out of other Authors; wherein he for the most part mistakes or perverts their Meaning. In cursorily reading this History, I have sometimes taken notice of above Four or Five gross Errors, either in Names, Things, or Chronology, in one single Page. And for one Instance among many thousand others, he commits two remarkable Blunders in the compass of a few Lines of his *Introduction*, saying, That Queen *Mary Stuart* had Two Brothers that died several Years before their Father, whereas they died but a few Days: And then saying, That upon her Arrival from *France* she found her *State* mightily distemper'd under the Protection of the *Bastard James* and *Murray's* Government; as if it had not been one and the same Person that was first called *Bastard James*, and afterwards Earl of *Murray*; tho' this last Title was not conferred upon him till some Years after.

To return to our Author *Wilson*: He died at the Earl of *Warwick*'s Seat in *Essex* about the Year 1653. And we have the following Character of him in *Anthony a Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, who hated his Principles, and seldom spoke well of any one of that Kidney: *He was* (says he) *well skilled in the Mathematicks, Poetry, History, and the Laws of* England: *His Carriage was very courtly and obliging; and such as became a well bred Gentleman: And tho' he had laid up Materials for his History some time before, he did not perfect it till a little before his Death.*

King's

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King's Compliance with them; and the King, to please both sides, went in a smooth way, betwixt them, at first, not leaving out the third Party, the *Popish*, the most dangerous, whom he closed with also, by entertaining into his Councils, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one Son, the other Brother, to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who would have been his Father, but became a Sufferer for his Mother: The one a plain-hearted Man; the other of a subtile and fine Wit, of great Reading and Knowledge, excellent for outward Courtship, famous for secret Insinuation and cunning Flattery: The first a suspected, (though it was otherwise) the last a known *Papist*, bred up so from his Infancy, yet then converted (as he pretended) by the King, being the closest way to work his own Ends. On these he heaped Honours, making his Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and his Brother Earl of *Northampton*. And this Gentleness of the King to the *Popish* Party, was so pleasant to them, that they sucked in the sweet Hopes of Alteration in Religion, and drunk so deep thereof, that they were almost intoxicated.

Changes beget Hopes.

Now every Man that had but a spark of Hope, struck fire to light himself in the way to Advancement, though it were to the Consumption both of his Estate and Being. The Court being a kind of Lottery, where Men that venture much may draw a Blank, and such as have little may get a Prize. Those whose Hopes were almost quenched, like Water cast upon Lime, burn inward, till it breaks out into Flame; so hard it is for uncomposed Spirits (missing their Aims) to settle upon the Basis of solid Reason. The Earl of *Southampton*, covered long with the Ashes of great *Essex*'s Ruins, was sent for from the Tower; and the King looked upon him with a smiling Countenance, though displeasing happily to the new Baron of *Essingdon*, Sir *Robert Cecil*; yet it was much more to the Lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who were forbidden their Attendance. This Damp upon them, being Spirits full of Acrimony, made them break into Murmur, then into Conspiracy, associating themselves with two *Romish* Priests (Men that could not live upon lingring Hopes) and other discontented Persons, which every Change produces. The Ground of the Design was to set up the Lady *Arabella*, (a Branch sprung from the same Stem by another Line) and to alter Religion and Government; disposing already to themselves the principal Places of Honour and Profit. The Lord *Grey* should get Leave to transport two Thousand Men into *Holland*, with whom he should seize upon the King and Prince; Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to treat with Count *Arembergh* for procuring of Moneys; and *Cobham* to go to the Archduke and the King of *Spain*, to persuade their Assistance. This *Embrion* proved Abortive, and they brought their Plea to excuse their attempting it as compleat a one: *That the King was not yet Crown'd.* * The Arraignment was at *Winchester*, where strong Proofs meeting weak Denials, they, with others, were found Guilty of High Treason. *George Brook*, the Lord *Cobham*'s Brother, and the two Priests, suffered for it, the rest found Mercy; the King being loth to soil the first Steps to his Crown with more Blood. But their Pardon carried them to the Tower, where the Lord *Grey* some Years after died, and in his Death extinguished his Family. The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and others, discharged of Imprisonment, lived miserable and poor, *Cobham* at home, and the rest abroad. And *Raleigh*, while he was a Prisoner, having the Idea of the World in his Contemplation, brought it to some Perfection, in his excellent and incomparable History; but when Liberty turned it to Action, it taught him to roam, so, as the Event proved fatal to him.

A Conspiracy against the King.

A Censure upon it.

This Conspiracy put on such a Face, that few or none could discover, or know what to make of it: That the muddy Waters were stirred, was apparent, but it was with such a Mixture, that little could be visible in it. The Lord *Grey*, *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were *Protestants*; Why should they strive to alter Religion, though the Priests, *Markham*, *Brinham*, and others might? But it seems they joined together in a Politick way, every one intending his own Ends; Discontent being the Groundwork upon which they built this slight Superstructure, that being huddled together, could not stand long. *Raleigh*'s great Accuser, was a † Letter of *Cobham*'s, which some say after he denied to be his Hand. Some of the Conspirators (it may be) desired to seem formidable, venting their Anger so for being slighted; others strove to make themselves so, that they might have the Glory of enlarging the *Roman* Power; and they join'd together, thinking their single Strength would not prevail. In this Cloud looking for *Juno*, they begot a Monster, which having neither Head nor Foot, some part lived, the other died ‖.

While

* Upon their Tryal, Sir *Walter Raleigh* denying the Fact, pleaded, That tho' it were proved, it could not amount to Treason against King *James*, being done in the Reign of the late Queen; and no Acts of Parliament made to entail the Crown upon him after her Death.

† *Raleigh* denied the Letter to be his Hand, but *Cobham* owned it at first, and afterwards denied it.

‖ This Conspiracy of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s is variously represented by the Historians and Writers of that Time, but acknowledged by all of them to have been a *Riddle of State*. I have seen most of the Accounts that have been published on this Subject, and from them, and from some Sheets of *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and a Manuscript of one *Buck*, who it seems was Secretary to Chancellor *Egerton*, I take the Case to have been this:

The Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been open and declar'd Enemies of the unhappy Earl of *Essex*, and the chief Promoters of his Ruin: Tho' King *James* could easily digest the Death of Queen *Mary Stuart* his Mother, it is notoriously known he never heartily forgave any of *Essex*'s *Enemies*; which both *Cecil* and *Raleigh* were aware of, but took contrary Measures to avoid his Resentment. *Raleigh* trusting in the Justice of his Procedure in that Affair, made no Steps towards the making his Peace with her Successor, contenting himself with the Favour of that Mistress had raised him, which he enjoy'd to her Death. On the contrary, *Cecil*, by the Mediation of *Hume*, that was afterwards Earl of *Dunbar*, had been long before entirely reconciled to King *James*, had done him important Services, and kept a Correspondence with him, while Queen *Elizabeth* was alive.

When King *James* came into *England*, *Cecil* was not only continued in his Places, but, contrary to all Mens Expectations, was indeed made the First Minister of State, and *Raleigh* neglected. The latter knowing the former to be at least equally concern'd with him in the Fall of *Essex*, his great Mind could not bear the Distinction made between them by their new Master; and the rather, that *Cecil* acted the Courtier, in frowning upon his old Friend and Acquaintance, and giving him fresh Mortifications upon every Occasion.

In *Buck*'s Manuscript there is mentioned a Memorial of *Raleigh*'s to King *James*, wherein he reflects heavily upon *Cecil* in the Matter of *Essex*, and vindicating himself, throws the whole Blame upon the other. At the end of that Memorial,

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While these were provoked with Neglects, others were encouraged with Favours: Many of the Gentry that came out of *Scotland* with the King were advanced to Honours, as well as those he found here, to shew the Northern Soil as fruitful that way as the Southern: But Knights swarmed in every Corner; the Sword ranged about, and Men bowed in Obedience to it, more in Peace than in War: This Airy Title blew up many a fair Estate. The *Scots* naturally, by long Converse, affecting the *French* Vanity, drew on a Garb of Gallantry, (meeting with a plentiful Soil, and an open-handed Prince.) The *English*, excellent for Imitation, loth to be exceeded in their own Country, maintained their Follies at their own Charge. All this came accompanied with a great Plague, which happened this Year in *London*, whereof above thirty Thousand died: Yet who will not venture for a Crown; for in the Heat of it, on the 25th of *July*, being the Day dedicated to St. *James*, the King, with his Wife Queen *Anne*, were both crown'd at *Westminster*, fulfilling that old Prophecy, or rather Fancy, current among the *Scots*, (as they report) before *Edward* the First brought the Royal Chair out of *Scotland*, with the Stone in it, and placed it at *Westminster* to crown our Kings in; which Stone some old Saws deliver to be the same that *Jacob* rested his Head on.

The King and Queen crowned.

Ni fallat Fatum
Scoti hunc quocunque locatum
Invenient Lapidem,
Regnare tenentur ibidem.

Englished:

Fate hath design'd,
That wheresoe'er this Stone
The *Scots* shall find,
There they shall hold the Throne.

But how the Stream of Time runs through the Channel of these Prophetical Fancies, Experience shews: For, 'tis true, if the *Scots* came so near the Throne, as to enjoy the Stone or Chair where the *English* Kings are inaugurated, they may hold the Crown: But being only grounded upon Conjecture, these Conceits are commonly made up before they are half moulded, or, like Abortives, are shaped after they are born.

When these Ceremonies were past, the King retired from this Croud of Infection, gave some Admission to Ambassadors, that from all the neighbouring Princes and States came to congratulate this happy Inauguration: For, besides the ordinary Ceremony among Princes, their Reason might tell them, That if his Predecessors were able to grapple with the growing Monarchy of him that coveted to be Universal, and to assist and relieve her Neighbours and Confederates from his Oppression, he would be much more formidable, bringing with him, if nothing else, Bodies of Men, *warlike and industrious*, hardned with Cold and Labour, and active in the difficultest Attempts, (*however of late, by what Divine Judgment I know not*, utterly disheartned) to be Helpers, *who were* formerly Hinderers, to all the *English* Expeditions; so that *in him they* courted their *own* Conveniencies: For certainly, if ever the *English* Monarchy were in its true Glory and Greatness, it was by this Union. But there is a Period set to all Empires.

The Prince, a little before this, was installed Knight of the Garter, the Earl of *Southampton* and the young Earl of *Essex* were restored to the Right of Blood and Inheritance, and Honours were conferred so thick, as if the King intended a new kind of Conquest, by a Proceeding that tended to their and his own Ruin: For, to subdue the Greatness of the Nobility, (who formerly could sweep such a Party of People to them, with their long Trains and Dependencies, that they were able to grapple with Kings,) he, by a Multiplicity of them, made them cheap and invalid in the vulgar Opinion; for nothing is more destructive to Monarchy than lessening the Nobility: Upon their Decline the Commons rise, and Anarchy increases.

Prince *Henry* made Knight of the Garter.

And now the old *Irish* Rebel *Tirone* coming over, (led by his Conqueror the Lord *Montjoy*) had not only Pardon, but Civilities, and all outward Expressions to gain him; the Edge of the Peoples Hatred being abated by a Proclamation, that no Man should shew him the least Disrespect. The Lord *Montjoy*, as a Reward for his good Service, was created Earl of *Devonshire*: And having given way to Creations, they brake in upon us like a Deluge. The King being an inexhaustible Fountain of Honour, cannot be drain'd dry, when other Means of gratifying his Servants may fail. Those he brought with him wanted Means more than Honour; those he found here wanted Honour more than Means: He could and did supply both to Excess. Sir *Robert Cecil*, the first *English* Trumpet that proclaimed him, was made Baron of *Essingdon*, and soon after Viscount *Cranborn*, and Earl of *Salisbury*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penshurst*, and not long after Viscount *Lisle*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Grayes*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*, Sir *Thomas Egerton* (Lord Chancellor) Baron of *Elsmere*, Sir *William Russel* Baron of *Thornaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grobie*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry D'Anvers* Baron of *Dantsey*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard* Baron of *Gerrard-Bromley*, Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Worm-Leighton*: The Lord *Buckhurst* (Lord Treasurer) he made Earl of *Dorset*; and his old Servant, Sir *George Hume*, Earl of *Dunbar*. These, with *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, were Nobles of the finest Metal, and first Stamp; and most of them he placed as Jewels about his

Tirone comes over.

Noblemen created.

Memorial, he lays open the Conduct of *Cecil* and his Father the Lord *Burleigh*, in the Matter of Queen *Mary Stuart*, and, with a singular Bitterness of Stile, not only vindicates the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth*, but lays the Death of that unfortunate Queen chiefly at the Door of *Cecil* and his Father; for which he appeals to *Davison*, then in Prison, the Man that had dispatched the Warrant for her Execution, contrary to Queen *Elizabeth*'s express Command.

All this had no Influence on King *James*, and irritated *Cecil* the more against *Raleigh*; which helped to sour a Temper that of it self was impatient of Injuries, and for all his other excellent Qualities, was not fitted for this Reverse of Fortune.

This brought him into the Acquaintance and Familiarity of other Men, as discontented as himself, though of different Religions and Interests; and occasion'd probably more Discourses than one, of having Recourse to Foreign Powers to mend their present Fortunes. It's also not unlikely, that the Lady *Arabella*'s Name might, upon these Occasions, be mentioned by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as one that had a near Title to the Crown: But that he ever enter'd into any form'd Design of altering the Establish'd Religion (as was said at his Tryal) no body then nor since did ever believe.

Throne:

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Throne: But these were but as an Essay; for they after grew to such a Volume, that some unhappy Fancy pasted up a Pasquil in St. *Paul's*, wherein he pretended an Art to help weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Names of the Nobility.

Reformation in the Church fought for.

As the Papist was different from the Protestant Religion on one side, so was the Puritan (as they then called pious and good Men) on the other; both which were active to attain their own Ends: And the King had the Command of himself, not bitterly to oppose, but gently to sweeten their Hopes for his; thinking himself unsecure betwixt them. The latter were now sollicitous for a more clear Reformation. This the Bishops opposed, as trenching too much upon them; and the King listen'd to (having Experience of it in *Scotland*) how much it had encroach'd upon him; For he thought their dissenting from the Established Government of the Church, was but to get that Power into a great many Men's Hands, which was now but in one; and that one had Dependance upon him, with whom he might better grapple. The Prelates distilling this Maxim into the King, *No Bishop, no Monarch*; so strengthening the Mitre by the same Power that upholds the Crown: Yet, to satisfy the Importunity, a Conference‖ is appointed at *Hampton-Court*, where the Bishops Opponents, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, Men eminent in Learning and Piety in themselves, as well as in the Opinion of the People, did desire, in the Name of the rest of their Party, *That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in Purity; That good and faithful Pastors might be planted in all Churches; That Church-Government might be sincerely administred; That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more Encrease of Godliness.* Out of some of these Particulars, they insisted upon the Bishops Power of Confirmation; which they would have every Minister capable of in his own Parish. They disputed against the Cross in Baptism, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, the Oath *ex Officio*, and other things that stuck with them; which they hoped to get all purged away, because the King was of a Northern Constitution, where no such things were practised, not yet having felt the King's Pulse, whom the Southern Air of the Bishops Breaths had so wrought upon, that he himself answers most of their Demands, sometimes gently, applying Lenitives, where he found Ingenuity, (for he was Learned and Eloquent,) other times Corrosives, telling them these Oppositions proceeded more from Stubborness in Opinion, than Tenderness of Conscience; and so, betwixt his Arguments and Kingly Authority, menaced them to a Conformity, which prov'd a way of silencing them for the present, (and some of them were content to acquiesce for the future; and the King manag'd this Discourse with such Power, (which they expected not from him, and therefore more danted at,) that *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (though a holy grave and Pious Man) highly pleas'd with it, with a sugred Bait (which Princes are apt enough to swallow) said, *He was verily perswaded, that the King spake by the Spirit of God.*

Conference at Hampton-Court.

Archbishop Whitgift dies.

This Conference was on the 14th of *January*; and this good Man expir'd the 29th of *February* following, in *David's* Fulness of Days, leaving a Name like a sweet Perfume behind him. *And *Bancroft*, a sturdy Piece, succeeded him, but not with the same Spirit; for what *Whitgift* strove to do with Sweetness and Gentleness, *Bancroft* did persevere in with Rigour and Severity. Thus the Bishops having gotten the Victory, strove to maintain it; and though not on the suddain, yet by degrees, they press so hard upon the Nonconformists, (whom they held under the Yoke of a Law) that many of them are forc'd to seek Foreign Refuge. They prevail'd not only for themselves here, but by their Means (not long after) the King look'd back into *Scotland*, and put the Keys there again into the Bishops Hands, unlocking the Passage to the Enjoyment of their Temporal Estates; which swell'd them so high, that in his Son's Time, the Women of *Scotland* pull'd them out of their tottering Seats.

On the other side, the late Conspiracy of *Cobham* and *Grey* had so chilled the King's Blood, that he begins to take notice of the Swarms of Priests that flock'd into the Kingdom: For though the Conspirators were of several Religions, yet in their Correspondence with Foreign Princes, Religion was the Pretence. For in every Alteration of Kingdoms, few are so modest but they will throw in the Hook of their vain Hopes, thinking to get something in the troubled Stream. The Jesuits were not slack (coming with the Seal of the Fisher) in spreading their Nets; but a Proclamation broke through them. The King being contented to let them alone, till they came too near him, willing to comply rather than exasperate; the Safety of his own Person made him look to the Safety of Religion; and to secure both, he found this the best Remedy, declaring to all the World the Cause of this Restriction.

A Proclamation against Jesuits.

†'Having (after some time spent in settling 'the Politick Affairs of this Realm) of late be-'stowed no small Labour in composing certain 'Differences We found among Our Clergy, 'about Rites and Ceremonies heretofore Esta-'blished in this Church of *England*, and reduc'd 'the same to such an Order and Form, as We 'doubt not but every Spirit, that is led only 'with Piety, and not with Humour, should be 'therein satisfied; it appeared unto Us, in de-'bating these Matters, that a greater Conta-'gion to Our Religion then could proceed from 'these light Differences was eminent, by Per-'sons common Enemies to them both, namely 'the great Numbers of Priests, both Semina-'ries and Jesuits, abounding in this Realm, as 'well of such as were here before Our coming 'to the Crown, as of such as have resorted

‖ This Conference at *Hampton-Court* was but a Blind to introduce Episcopacy in *Scotland*, all the *Scotch* Noblemen then at Court being design'd to be present, and others, both Noblemen and Ministers, being call'd up from *Scotland* to assist at it, by the King's Letter.

* The Character the Author gives of these two Prelates agrees with them exactly; and there hardly can be found a nearer Parallel then between them and two of their next Successors in the See of *Canterbury*; Archbishop *Abbot*, that succeeded *Bancroft*, imitating the Moderation of *Whitgift*; and *Laud*, that succeeded him, the Warmth of *Bancroft*.

† This seeming or real Severity of King *James* against the Jesuits and other Seminary Priests of the Romish Church, seems to me to have been in a great part owing to the frequent Representations made to him by *Henry* IV. of *France*, and his First Minister Monsieur *de Rosny*, afterwards made Duke of *Sully*; for in the Memoires of the latter, there is Mention made of several Intimations given by him to King *James* and his Ministers, of the Designs of the Missioners in *England* to disturb the Quiet of his Reign.

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'hither ſince, uſing their Functions and Profeſ-'ſions with greater Liberty than heretofore they 'durſt have done; partly upon a vain Confi-'dence of ſome Innovation in Matters of Reli-'gion, to be done by Us, which We never in-'tended, nor gave any Man Cauſe to ſuſpect, 'and partly from the Aſſurance of Our gene-'ral Pardon, granted according to the Cuſtom 'of Our Progenitors, at Our Coronation, for 'Offences paſt in the Days of the late Queen, 'which Pardons many of the ſaid Prieſts have 'procur'd under our Great Seal; and holding 'themſelves thereby free from Danger of the 'Laws, do with great Audacity exerciſe all 'Offices of their Profeſſion, both ſaying Maſſes, 'and perſwading Our Subjects from the Reli-'gion Eſtabliſhed, reconciling them to the 'Church of *Rome*, and by conſequence ſedu-'cing them from their Duty and Obedience to 'Us. Wherefore We hold Our ſelf obliged, 'both in Conſcience and Wiſdom, to uſe all 'good Means to keep Our Subjects from being 'affected with ſuperſtitious Opinions, which 'are not only pernicious to their own Souls, 'but the ready way to corrupt their Duty and 'Allegiance; which cannot be any way ſo 'ſafely performed, as by keeping from them the 'Inſtruments of that Infection, which are 'Prieſts of all Sorts, ordain'd in Foreign Parts, 'by Authority prohibited by the Laws of the 'Land; concerning whom, therefore We have 'thought fit to publiſh to all Our Subjects this 'open Declaration of Our Pleaſure, *&c.* wil-'ling and commanding all manner of Jeſuits, 'Seminaries, and other Prieſts whatſoever, ha-'ving Ordination from any Authority by the 'Laws of this Realm prohibited, to take Notice, 'That Our Pleaſure is, that they do, before the '19th of *March* next, depart forth of Our 'Realm and Dominions. And to that purpoſe 'it ſhall be lawful for all Officers of Our Ports, 'to ſuffer the ſaid Prieſts to depart into Foreign 'Parts, between this and the ſaid 19th Day of '*March*; admoniſhing and aſſuring all ſuch Je-'ſuits, Seminaries, and Prieſts, of what Sort 'ſoever, That if any of them after the ſaid 'time ſhall be taken within this Realm, or any 'of Our Dominions, or departing now upon 'this Our Pleaſure ſignified, ſhall hereafter 'return into this Our Realm, or any of Our 'Dominions again, they ſhall be left to the Pe-'nalty of the Laws here being in Force con-'cerning them, without Hope of any Favour 'or Remiſſion from Us, *&c.* Which though, 'perhaps, it may appear to ſome a great Seve-'verity towards that Sort of Our Subjects, yet 'doubt We not when it ſhall be conſider'd with 'indifferent Judgment, what Cauſe hath mo[ved] 'Us to uſe this Providence, all Men will juſti-'fy Us therein. For to whom it is unknown 'into what Peril Our Perſon was like to be 'drawn, and Our Realm into Confuſion, not 'many Months ſince by Conſpiracy, firſt con-'ceived by Perſons of that Sort; which when 'other Princes ſhall duly obſerve, We aſſure 'Our ſelves they will no way conceive, that 'this Alteration proceedeth from any Change 'of Diſpoſition, but out of Providence, to 'prevent the Perils otherwiſe inevitable; con-'ſidering their abſolute Submiſſion to Foreign 'Juriſdiction at their firſt taking Orders, doth 'leave ſo conditional an Authority to Kings 'over their Subjects, as the ſame Power by 'which they were made, may diſpenſe at Plea-'ſure with the ſtricteſt Bond of Loyalty and 'Love between a King and his People.

* 'Among which Foreign Powers, though 'We acknowledge Our ſelf perſonally ſo much 'beholden to the now Biſhop of *Rome*, for his 'kind Offices and private temporal Carriages to-'wards Us, in many things, as We ſhall be ever 'ready to requite the ſame towards him, (as 'Biſhop of *Rome*, in State and Condition of a 'Secular Prince) yet when We conſider and 'obſerve the Courſe and Claim of that See, 'We have no Reaſon to imagine that Princes 'of our Religion and Profeſſion can expect 'any Aſſurance long to continue, unleſs it 'might be aſſented by Mediation of other 'Chriſtian Princes, that ſome good Courſe 'might be taken (by a General Council, free 'and lawfully called) to pluck up thoſe Roots 'of Dangers and Jealouſies which ariſe about 'Religion, as well between Prince and Prince, 'as between them and their Subjects; and to 'make it manifeſt, that no State or Potentate 'either hath or can challenge Power to diſpoſe 'of Earthly Kingdoms or Monarchies, or to 'diſpence with Subjects Obedience to their Na-'tural Sovereigns: In which charitable Action 'there is no Prince living that will be readier 'than We ſhall be to concur, even to the utter-'moſt of Our Power, not only out of particu-'lar Diſpoſition to live peaceably with all States 'and Princes of *Chriſtendom*, but becauſe ſuch 'a ſettled Amity might (by an Union in Reli-'gion) be eſtabliſhed among Chriſtian Princes, 'as might enable Us all to reſiſt the Common 'Enemy.

Given at Our Palace at Weſtminſter *the Two and twentieth Day of* February, *in the Firſt Year of Our Reign*, &c.

* This cautious Manner of King *James*, his mentioning the then Biſhop of *Rome*, and the kind Offices he had receiv'd from him, helps to ſet in ſome clearer Light that dark Affair of his Letter to the Pope, when he was but King of the *Scots*; and which his *Scotch* Secretary *Balmerino*, took wiſely upon himſelf.

It's certain King *James* was willing to have the Pope his Friend, in order to facilitate his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*; and it's as certain they had for a long time at *Rome* Hopes of his Converſion, which Secret Cardinal *Bellarmine* ſome time after blab'd out; and thereupon put King *James* to the Neceſſity of laying the Blame on *Balmerino*.

Bellarmine, in his Anſwer to a Book of King *James*, took the Freedom to accuſe him of Inconſtancy, and reproach'd him with a Letter of his to Pope *Clement* VIII. from *Scotland*, wherein he had recommended to his Holineſs the Biſhop of *Vaiſon* for a Cardinals Hat; that ſo he might be better able to advance his Affairs in the Court of *Rome*.

Queen *Elizabeth* had got Notice of this Letter the very Year it was ſent, and had expoſtulated with King *James* about it in Terms bitter enough. King *James* utterly deny'd it, and ſent one *Drummond* to her, that was ſaid to have carry'd it, who deny'd his Knowledge of any ſuch Letter with the ſolemneſt Oaths. The Matter lay aſleep ever after, till this Book of Cardinal *Bellarmine*'s came out; and poor *Balmerino* was oblig'd either to take the whole Blame of it upon himſelf, upon Hopes, or rather Aſſurance, of a Pardon, or elſe to loſe his Head for High Treaſon, which the Counter-ſigning of that Letter amounted to by the Laws of his Country.

It was pretty comical to ſee King *James* expreſs his Abhorrence of correſponding with the Pope, or of giving him the Title of Holineſs, and that both at the Council Board in *England*, and in his Letter to the *Scotch* Council, when ſome Years after he made no ſcruple about it, on the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Match. It's likewiſe remarkable, that *Balmerino* liv'd to his dying Day in an eaſy Retreat, poſſeſſed of his whole Fortune, and had the Honour of ſeveral Letters from a Maſter it was pretended he had diſobliged in ſo tender a Point.

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This did something allay the Heat and Hopes of the Jesuits, and their Correspondents; but it made way for dark, and more secret Contrivances, which afterwards they put in Practice.

A Proclamation for Uniformity.

On the contrary, another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to the Law established, to reduce those to Conformity that had not received Satisfaction at the last Conference. The Bishops thought themselves unsecure, while so many Opposites (unblameable in their Conversations) by their Pens and Preaching gain'd upon the People, striking at the very Root of Hierarchy, that it was a hard Question, whether the Jesuits, whose Principles would advance their Greatness, or these that would pluck it down, were most Odious to them? And now Proclamations are the activest Agents; some go abroad to please the People, some the King. All Monopolies (like Diseases) that crept in, when the good old Queen had not strength enough to keep them out, must be purged away; and such Protections as Licentious Liberty had granted to hinder Proceedings in Law, must be taken off: Saltpetre-men, that will dig up any Man's House by Authority, (where they are not well fee'd) must be restrain'd; and Purveyors, Cart-takers, and such insolent Officers as were Grievances to the People, must be cryed down by Proclamation. A Prince that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, must have his Chariot-Wheels smooth shod. And yet the Liberty of Hunting must be forbidden, the King's Game preserv'd, and a strict Proclamation threatens the Disobeyers. Indeed, take this King's Reign from the beginning to the end, and you shall find Proclamations current Coin; and the People took them for good Payment a great while, 'till the Multitude of them lessened their Valuation.

A Sermon against Ceremonies.

The Bishops could not be so wary, but some Courtier or other would commend a Preacher to the King, if they knew any of excellent Parts; so that some Preached before him that were averse to the Bishop's ways. Among the rest, one Mr. *Burges*, an excellent Preacher, and a pious Man, moderately touching upon the Ceremonies, said, 'They were like the *Roman* 'Senator's Glasses, which were not worth a 'Man's Life or Livelihood: For (saith he) this 'Senator invited *Augustus Cæsar* to a Dinner; 'and as he was coming to the Feast, he heard 'a horrid Out-cry, and saw some Company 'drawing a Man after them, that made that 'Noise: The Emperor demanded the Cause of 'that Violence; it was answer'd, Their Master 'had condemned this Man to the Fish-ponds 'for breaking a Glass, which he set a high Va'lue and Esteem upon. *Cæsar* commanded a 'stay of the Execution; and when he came to 'the House, he asked the Senator, *Whether he* '*had Glasses worth a Man's Life?* Who answer'd, '(being a great Lover of such Things) That he 'had Glasses he valued at the Price of a Pro'vince. Let me see them (saith *Augustus*), and 'he brought him up to a Room well furnish'd. 'The Emperor saw them Beautiful to the Eye, 'but knew withal they might be the Cause of 'much Mischief: Therefore he broke them all 'with this Expression, *Better all these perish than* '*one Man.* I will leave it (saith he) to Your Majesty to apply. But the Bishops got this and some other things against him by the end, and silenc'd him for venting any more such Comparisons. So that for many Years after he practised Physick, and grew an excellent Physician. But upon second Considerations he was admitted again to Preach, retaining both his Piety and Integrity, (tho' he writ a Book for the moderate Use of the Ceremonies) ending his Days in a good old Age, at *Sutton-Cofield* in *Warwickshire*, after a Journey into the *Palatinate*, as shall be express'd in its time.

The 5th of *August* made Holiday.

The 5th of *August* this Year had a new Title given to it. The King's Deliveries in the *North* must resound here. * Whether the *Gowries* attempted upon the King's Person, or the King on theirs, is variously reported. It may be, he retain'd something of his Predecessor, and great Parent, *Henry* the Seventh, that made Religion give way to Policy, oftentimes cursing and thundring out the Church's Fulminations against his own Ministers, that they might be receiv'd with the more intimate Familiarity with his Foreign Enemies, for the better Discovery of their Designs. I will not say the Celebration of this Holiday had so much Prophaneness, for Fame may be a Slanderer. But where there is a Strength of Policy, there is often a Power of Worldly Wisdom that manages, and sways it. The King forgot not the Services there done him, or the secret Contrivances acted for him; for *Erskin* and *Ramsey*, Two of his then Deliverers, were not long after rewarded with Wealth and Honour, the one made Earl of *Kellie*, the other Earl of *Holdrness*; the first Prime Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King; the second got to his Bed-fellow one of the prime Beauties of the Kingdom, Daughter to *Robert Earl of Sussex*; and both of them had their Master's Purse at command; yet in our time the one died poor with many Children, and the other poor and childless.

The King's first going abroad was privately to visit some of his Houses; for naturally he did not love to be looked on, and those Formalities of State, which set a Lustre upon Princes in the Peoples Eyes, were but so many burthens to him; for his private Recreations at home, and his Hunting Exercises abroad, both with the least Disturbance, were his Delights. While he remain'd in the *Tower*, he took Pleasure in baiting Lions; but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with Swarms, that he fear'd to be baited by the People. And the Parliament now drawing on, which was summoned to be the 19th of *March*, the King, with the Queen and Prince, Four Days before, rode from the Tower to *Whitehall*; the City and Suburbs being one great Pageant, wherein he must give his Ears leave to suck in their gilded Oratory, tho' never so nauceous to the Stomach. He was not like his Predecessor, the late Queen, of famous Memory, that with a well-pleased Affection, met her People's Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self when she was born upon the Wings of their humble Supplications. He endured this Day's Brunt with Patience, being assured he should never have such another, and his Triumphal riding to the Parliament that followed: but afterwards in his publick Appearances, (especially in his Sports) the Accesses of the People made him so impatient, that he often

The King and Queen ride thro' the City.

* It is no wonder the Author should call in Question the Truth of this *Conspiracy* so many Years after, since it was not believ'd in *Scotland* the time it was said to have happen'd: For King *James* having immediately thereupon issued out a *Proclamation* for a Day of *Publick Thanksgiving*, several Ministers, and some of them his own Chaplains, refus'd flatly to observe it, and chose rather to lose their *Livings*, and be sent to Prison, *than to mock God*, (to use their own Words) in tendring him Thanks for what they believ'd never was.

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diſperſed them with Frowns, that we may not ſay with Curſes; ſo various are the Natures of Princes, and their Actions ſo remarkable, that he may paſs for a good Man, that will not paſs for a good Prince.

The Speech he made to the Parliament, both Houſes being met, and the firſt, cannot be waved, tho' it be ſomewhat long, and printed in his own Works: By the Criſis and Conſtitution of it, the Temper of his Mind may be diſcovered; for if ever he ſpake really to his Parliament, it was then; and I ſhall not comment upon it: For I know Princes are made of thoſe frail Elements that other Men are; but this much I will ſay, He had ſtrong Abilities in ſome things, that did dignify the Doer of them; and in other things ſuch Weakneſſes, as would have much advanc'd his Wiſdom to have left undone. But if Worldly Greatneſs, and Glory, may well make Princes more loth to leave them, than they that have leſs, we muſt give them ſome Allowance of Fear to loſe them. The Speech was to this effect:

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

'It did no ſooner pleaſe God to lighten his Hand, and relent the Violence of his devouring *Angel againſt the poor People of this City*, but as ſoon I did reſolve to call this Parliament, and that for Three Chief and Principal Reaſons. The Firſt whereof is, (and which of it ſelf, altho' there were no more, is not only a ſufficient, but a moſt full and neceſſary Ground and Reaſon for convening of this Aſſembly) the Firſt Reaſon, I ſay, is, That you who are here preſent aſſembled to repreſent the Body of this whole Kingdom, and of all ſorts of People within the ſame, may with your own Ears hear, and that I out of my own Mouth may deliver unto you, the Aſſurance of My due Thankfulneſs for your ſo joyful and general Applauſe, to the declaring and receiving of Me in this Seat, (which God, by My Birth-right, and Lineal Deſcent, had in the fulneſs of time provided for Me) and that immediately after it pleaſed God to call your late Sovereign, of famous Memory, full of Days, but fuller of immortal Trophies of Honour, out of this tranſitory Life. Not that I am able to expreſs by Words, or utter by Eloquence, the vive Image of My own inward Thankfulneſs, but only that out of My own Mouth, you may reſt aſſured to expect that Meaſure of Thankfulneſs at My *Hands*, which is according to the Infiniteneſs of your Deſerts, and to My Inclination, and Ability, for Requital of the ſame. Shall I ever? nay, can I ever be able, or rather ſo unable in Memory, as to forget your unexpected Readineſs and Alacrity, your ever memorable Reſolution, and your moſt wonderful Conjunction, and Harmony of your Hearts, in declaring and embracing Me as your undoubted and lawful King and Governour? Or ſhall it ever be blotted out of My Mind, how at My firſt Entry into this Kingdom, the People of all ſorts rid and ran, nay, rather flew to meet Me? Their Eyes flaming nothing but Sparkles of Affection, their Mouths and Tongues uttering nothing but Sounds of Joy; their Hands, Feet, and all the reſt of their Members, in their Geſtures, diſcovering a paſſionate Longing and Earneſtneſs to meet, and embrace their new Sovereign. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in My Self that which I could never bear with in another? No, I muſt plainly and freely confeſs here, in all your Audiences, that I did ever naturally ſo far miſlike a Tongue too ſmooth, and diligent, in paying their Creditors with Lip-payment and Verbal Thanks, as I ever ſuſpected that ſort of People meant not to pay their Debtors in more ſubſtantial ſort of Coin. And therefore for expreſſing of My Thankfulneſs, I muſt reſort unto the other Two Reaſons of My convening of this Parliament, by them in Action to utter My Thankfulneſs: Both the ſaid Reaſons having but one Ground, which is the Deeds, whereby all the Days of My Life I am by God's Grace to expreſs My ſaid Thankfulneſs unto you, but divided in this, That in the Firſt of theſe Two, Mine Actions of Thanks are ſo inſeparably conjoined with My Perſon, as they are in a manner become individually annexed to the ſame. In the other Reaſon, Mine Actions are ſuch, as I may either do them, or leave them undone, altho' by God's Grace I hope never to be weary of the doing them.

'As to the Firſt, it is the *Bleſſings* which God hath in My Perſon beſtowed upon you all, wherein I proteſt, I do more glory at the ſame for your Weal, than for any particular Reſpect of My own Reputation, or Advancement therein.

1. 'The Firſt then of theſe *Bleſſings*, which God hath jointly with My Perſon ſent unto you, is, Outward Peace; that is, Peace abroad with all Foreign Neighbours: For I thank God, I may juſtly ſay, That never ſince I was a King, I either receiv'd Wrong of any other Chriſtian Prince or State, or did Wrong to any: I have ever, I praiſe God, yet kept Peace and Amity with all, which hath been ſo far tied to My Perſon, as at My coming here, you are Witneſſes, I found the State embarked in a great and tedious War; and only by Mine Arrival here, and by the Peace in My Perſon, is now Amity kept, where War was before, which is no ſmall Bleſſing to a Chriſtian Commonwealth: For by Peace abroad with their Neighbours, the Towns flouriſh, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doth encreaſe, and the People of all ſorts in the Land enjoy free Liberty to exerciſe themſelves in their ſeveral Vocations, without Peril or Diſturbance. Not that I think this Outward Peace ſo inſeparably tied to My Perſon, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to My Self, and to you, the certain continuance thereof: But thus far I can very well aſſure you, and in the Word of a King promiſe unto you, That I ſhall never give the firſt Occaſion of the Breach thereof; neither ſhall I ever be moved for any particular, or private Paſſion of Mind, to interrupt your Publick Peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for Reparation of the Honour of the Kingdom, or elſe by Neceſſity for the Weal and Preſervation of the ſame: In which Caſe, a ſecure and honourable War muſt be preferred before an unſecure and diſhonourable Peace. Yet do I hope, by My Experience of the by-paſt Bleſſings of Peace, which God hath ſo long, ever ſince My Birth, beſtowed upon Me, that He will not be weary to continue the ſame, nor repent Him of his Grace towards Me, transferring that Sentence of King *David's*, upon his by-paſt Victories of War, to mine of Peace; That that God who preſerv'd Me from the devouring Jaws of the Bear, and of the Lion, and deliver'd them into My Hand, ſhall now alſo grant Me Victory over that uncircumcis'd *Philiſtine*.

2. 'But altho' Outward Peace be a great Bleſſing, yet it is as far inferiour to Peace within, as Civil Wars are more cruel and unnatural than

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than Wars abroad. And therefore the Second great Bleſſing that God hath with My Perſon ſent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a double Form: Firſt, by My Deſcent lineally out of the Loins of *Henry* the Seventh, is re-united and confirmed in Me the Union of the Two Princely Roſes of the Two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, whereof that King of happy Memory, was the firſt Uniter, as he was alſo the firſt Ground-layer of the other Peace. (The lamentable and miſerable Events, by the civil and bloody Diſſention betwixt theſe Two Houſes, was ſo great, and ſo late, as it need not be renewed into your Memories) which as it was firſt ſettled and united in Him, ſo it is now re-united and confirm'd in Me; being juſtly and lineally deſcended, not only of that happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches thereof in any Times before. But the Union of theſe Two Princely Houſes is nothing comparable to the Union of the Two ancient and famous Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace annexed to My Perſon.

'And here I muſt crave your Patience for a little ſpace, to give Me Leave to diſcourſe more particularly of the Benefits that do ariſe of that Union which is made in My Blood, being a Matter that belongeth moſt properly to Me to ſpeak of, as the Head, wherein that great Body is united. And Firſt, If We were to look no higher than to Natural and Phyſical Reaſons, We may eaſily be perſwaded of the great Benefits that by this Union do redound to the whole Iſland: For if Twenty Thouſand Men be a ſtrong Army, is not the double thereof, Forty Thouſand, a ſtronger Army? If a Baron enricheth himſelf with double as many Lands as he had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teacheth Us, That Mountains are made of Motes; and that at firſt, Kingdoms being divided, and every particular Town, or little Country, (as Tyrants or Uſurpers could obtain the Poſſeſſion of a Signiory apart) many of theſe little Kingdoms are now in Proceſs of Time, by the Ordinance of God, join'd into great Monarchies, whereby they are become Powerful within themſelves, to defend themſelves from all Outward Invaſions, and their Head and Governour thereby enabled to redeem them from Foreign Aſſaults, and puniſh private Tranſgreſſions within. Do We not yet remember, that this Kingdom was divided into Seven little Kingdoms, beſides *Wales*? And is it not now the ſtronger by their Union? And hath not the Union of *Wales* to *England* added a greater Strength thereto? Which, tho' it was a great Principality, was nothing comparable, in Greatneſs and Power, to the ancient and famous Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what ſhall We ſtick upon any Natural Appearance, when it is manifeſt, that God by his Almighty Providence hath pre-ordain'd it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt united theſe Two Kingdoms, both in Language and Religion, and Similitude of Manners? Yea, hath he not made Us all in one Iſland, compaſſed with one Sea, and of it ſelf by Nature ſo indiviſible, as almoſt thoſe that were Borderers themſelves on the late Borders, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know or diſcern their own Limits? Theſe Two Countries being ſeparated neither by Sea, nor great River, Mountain, nor other Strength of Nature, but only by little ſmall Brooks, or demoliſhed little Walls, ſo as rather they were divided in Apprehenſion, than in Effect; and now in the end and fulneſs of Time united, the Right and Title of both in My Perſon alike lineally deſcended of both the Crowns, whereby it is now become a little World within it ſelf, being intrenched and fortified round about with a natural and yet admirable ſtrong Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former Fears of this Nation are quite cut off: The other part of the Iſland being ever before now, not only the Place of Landing to all Strangers that were to make Invaſion here, but likewiſe moved by the Enemies of this State, by untimely Incurſions to make inforced Diverſion from their Conqueſts, for defending themſelves at home, and keeping ſure their Backdoor, as then it was called, which was the greateſt Hindrance and Let My Predeceſſors of this Nation ever had, in diſturbing them from their many famous and glorious Conqueſts abroad. What God hath conjoin'd then, let no Man ſeparate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Iſland is My lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it is My Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is My Flock: I hope therefore no Man will be ſo unreaſonable as to think, that I, that am a Chriſtian King, under the Goſpel, ſhould be a Polygamiſt, and Husband to Two Wives; that I being the Head, ſhould have a divided and monſtrous Body; or that being the Shepherd of ſo fair a Flock, (whoſe Fold hath no Wall to fence it, but the Four Seas) ſhould have My Flock parted in Two. But as I am aſſur'd, that no honeſt Subject, of whatſoever degree, within My whole Dominions, is leſs glad of this joyful Union, than I am; ſo may the frivolous Objection of any that would be hinderers of this Work (which God hath in My Perſon already eſtabliſhed) be eaſily anſwer'd; which can be none, except ſuch as are either blinded with Ignorance, or elſe tranſported with Malice, being unable to live in a well-govern'd Commonwealth, and only delighting to fiſh in troubled Waters: For if they would ſtand upon their Reputation, and Privileges of any of the Kingdoms, I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms Monarchies from the beginning? And conſequently, could ever the Body be counted without the Head, which was ever unſeparably join'd thereunto: So that as the Honour and Privileges of any of the Kingdoms could not be divided from their Sovereign; ſo are they now confounded and join'd in My Perſon, who am equal and alike kindly Head to both. When this Kingdom of *England* was divided into ſo many petty Kingdoms, (as I told you before) one of them eat up another, till they were all united into one. And yet, can *Wiltſhire* or *Devonſhire*, which were of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (altho' their Kingdom was of longeſt durance, and did by Conqueſt overcome divers of the reſt of the little Kingdoms) make Claim to Priority of Place or Honour before *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, or other Shires, which were Conquer'd by them? And have We not the like Experience in the Kingdom of *France*, being compoſed of divers Dutchies, and one after another Conquer'd by the Sword? For even as little Brooks loſe their Names by running and falling into great Rivers, and the very Name and Memory of great Rivers ſwallow'd up in the Ocean; ſo by the Conjunction of divers little Kingdoms into one, are all theſe private Differences and Queſtions ſwallow'd up. And ſince the Succeſs was happy of the *Saxon* Kingdoms Conquer'd by the Spear of *Bellona*; how much greater Reaſon have We to expect a happy Iſſue of this greater Union, which is only

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ly fasten'd and bound up by the Wedding-Ring of *Astrea*? And as God hath made *Scotland* the one half of this Island to enjoy My Birth, and the first and most imperfect half of My Life, and you here to enjoy the Perfect and last half thereof; so can I not think, that any would be so injurious to Me, no not in their Thoughts and Wishes, as to cut asunder the one half of Me from the other. But in this Matter I have far enough insisted, resting assured, That in your Hearts and Minds you all applaud this My Discourse.

3\. 'Now altho' these Blessings (before rehearsed) of inward and outward Peace be great; yet seeing that in all good things, a great part of their Goodness and Estimation is lost, if they have not Appearance of Perpetuity or long Continuance; so hath it pleased Almighty God to accompany My Person also with that Favour, having healthful and hopeful Issue of My Body (whereof some are here present) for Continuance and Propagation of that undoubted Right which is in My Person; under whom I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for many Years this Union, and all other Blessings of inward and outward Peace, which I have brought with Me.

4\. 'But neither Peace outward, nor Peace inward, nor any other Blessing that can follow thereupon, nor Appearance of the Perpetuity thereof, by Propagation in Posterity, are but weak Pillars, and rotten Reeds to lean unto, if God doth not strengthen, and by the Staff of his Blessing make them durable; for in vain doth the Watchman watch the City, if the Lord be not the principal Defence thereof; in vain doth the Builder build the House, if God give not the Success; and in vain (as St. *Paul* saith) doth *Paul* plant, and *Apollo* water, if God give not the Increase: For all Worldly Blessings are but like swift passing Shadows, fading Flowers, or Chaff blown before the Wind, if by the Profession of true Religion, and Works according thereunto, God be not moved to maintain and settle the Thrones of Princes. And altho' since Mine Entry into this Kingdom, I have both by meeting with divers of the Ecclesiastical State, and likewise by divers Proclamations clearly declared My Mind in Points of Religion, yet do I not think it amiss in this so Solemn an Audience, to take Occasion to discover somewhat of the Secrets of My Heart in that Matter: For I shall never (with God's Grace) be ashamed to make publick Profession thereof upon all Occasions, lest God should be ashamed of Me before Men and Angels, especially lest at this time, Men might presume further upon the Misknowledge of My Meaning to trouble this Parliament than were convenient.

'At My first coming, altho' I found but one Religion, and that which by My Self is professed, publickly allow'd, and by the Law maintain'd; yet found I another sort of Religion, besides a private Sect, lurking within the Bowels of this Nation. The first is, the True Religion, which by Me is professed, and by Law is established: The second is, the Falsly called Catholicks, but truly Papists: The third, which I call a Sect rather than a Religion, is the Puritans and Novelists, who do not so far differ from us in Points of Religion, as in their confused Form of Policy and Parity, being ever discontented with the present Government, and impatient to suffer any Superiority, which maketh their Sects insufferable in any well-govern'd Commonwealth. But for My Course towards them, I remit it to My Proclamations made upon that Subject. And now for the Papists, I must put a Difference betwixt Mine own private Profession of My Salvation, and My Politick Government of the Realm for the Weal and Quietness thereof. As for My own Profession, you have Me your Head now among you, of the same Religion that the Body is of: As I am no stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a Stranger to you in Faith, or in Matters concerning the House of God. And altho' this My Profession be according to My Education, wherein (I thank God) I suck'd the Milk of God's Truth, with the Milk of My Nurse; yet I do here protest unto you, That I would never (for such a Conceit of Constancy, or other Prejudicate Opinion) have so firmly kept My first Profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all Reason, and to the Rule of My Conscience. *But I was never violent, nor unreasonable in My Profession*: I acknowledge the *Roman* Church to be our Mother Church, altho' defiled with some Infirmities and Corruptions, as the *Jews* were, before they Crucified Christ. *And as I am no Enemy to the* Life of a sick Man, because I would have his Body purged of ill Humours; no more am I an Enemy to their Church, because I would have them reform their Errors, not wishing the down-throwing of the Temple, but that it might be purged, and cleansed from Corruption; otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their House be not first made clean? But as I would be loather to dispense in the least Point of Mine own Conscience, for any Worldly Respect, than the foolishest Precisian of them all; so would I be as sorry to streighten the Politick Government of the Bodies and Minds of all My Subjects to My Private Opinions: Nay, My Mind was ever so free from Persecution, or Inthralling of My Subjects in Matters of Conscience, as I hope those of that Profession within this Kingdom have a Proof since My coming, that I was so far from encreasing their Burthens with *Rehoboam*, as I have so much as either Time, Occasion, or Law could permit, lighten'd them. And even now at this time, have I been careful to revise and consider deeply upon the Laws made against them, that some Overture might be made to the present Parliament for clearing these Laws by Reason, (which is the Soul of the Law) in case they have been in times past further, or more rigorously extended by Judges, than the Meaning of the Law was, or might tend to the Hurt as well of the Innocent as of the guilty Persons. And as to the Persons of My Subjects which are of that Profession, I must divide them into two Ranks, Clericks and Laicks; For the Laicks, I ever thought them far more excusable than the other sort, because their Religion containeth such an ignorant, doubtful, and implicite kind of Faith, grounded upon their Church, that except they do generally believe whatsoever their Teachers please to affirm, they cannot be thought guilty of these particular Points of Heresies and Corruptions, which their Teachers so wilfully profess. And again, I must subdivide the Laicks into two Ranks, which are, either quiet and well-minded Men, peaceable Subjects, who either being old, retain their first drunk-in Liquor, upon a certain Shamefacedness to be thought curious, or changeable: Or being young Men, through evil Education, have

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been nurſed and brought up upon ſuch Venom, inſtead of wholeſome Nutriment: And this ſort of People, I would be ſorry to puniſh their Bodies for the Error of their Minds, the Reformation whereof muſt only come of God, and the true Spirit. But the other Rank of Laicks, who either through Curioſity, Affectation of Novelty, or Diſcontentment, have changed their Coats, only to be Factious, Stirrers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the Commonwealth; this giveth a Ground to Me (the Magiſtrate) to take better Heed to their Proceedings, and to correct their Obſtinacy.

'But for the Clericks, I muſt directly ſay and affirm, That as long as they maintain one ſpecial Point of their Doctrine, and another of their Practice, they are no way ſufferable to remain in this Kingdom. The Point of Doctrine is, that arrogant, and ambitious Supremacy of their Head, the Pope, whereby he not only claims to be Spiritual Head of all Chriſtians, but alſo to have an Imperial Civil Power over all Kings and Emperors, Dethroning and Decrowning Princes with his Foot as pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all Kingdoms and Empires at his Appetite. The other Point which they obſerve, in continual Practice, is, the Aſſaſſinates and Murthers of Kings; thinking it no Sin, but rather a Matter of Salvation, to do all Actions of Rebellion and Hoſtility againſt their Natural Sovereign Lord, if he be once curſed, his Subjects diſcharged of their Fidelity, and his Kingdom given a Prey, by that Three-Crown'd Monarch, or rather Monſter, their Head. And in this Point I have no Occaſion to ſpeak further here, ſaying, That I could wiſh from My Heart it would pleaſe God to make Me one of the Members of ſuch a general Chriſtian Union in Religion, as (laying Wilfulneſs aſide on both hands) we might meet in the midſt, which is the Centre, and Perfection of all Things. For if they would leave, and be aſhamed of ſuch new and groſs Corruptions of theirs, as themſelves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of Reformation, I would for My own part be content to meet them in the Mid-way, ſo that all Novelties might be renounced on either ſide. For as my Faith is the True, Ancient, Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, grounded upon the expreſs Word of God; ſo will I ever yield all Reverence to Antiquity, in the Points of Eccleſiaſtical Polity: And by that Means ſhall I ever, with God's Grace, keep My Self from either being an Heretick in Faith, or Schiſmatick in Matters of Policy.

'But of one thing would I have the Papiſts of this Land to be admoniſhed, That they preſume not ſo much upon My Lenity, (becauſe I would be loth to be thought a Perſecutor) as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increaſe their Number and Strength in this Kingdom; whereby, if not in my Time, at leaſt in the Time of My Poſterity, they may be in hope to erect their Religion again. No, let them aſſure themſelves, That as I am a Friend to their Perſons, if they be good Subjects; ſo I am a vowed Enemy, and do denounce Mortal War to their Errors. And as I would be ſorry to be driven, by their ill Behaviour, from the Protection and Conſervation of their Bodies and Lives; ſo will I never ceaſe, as far as I can, to tread down their Errors and wrong Opinions. For I could not permit the Increaſe and Growing of their Religion, without betraying My Self, and My own Conſcience, and this whole Iſland, as well the Part I am come from, as the Part I remain in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to the former Slaviſh Yoke, which both had caſt off before I came among them; as alſo the Liberty of the Crown in My Poſterity, which I ſhould leave again under a new Slavery, being left free to Me by My Predeceſſors. And therefore I would wiſh all good Subjects that are deceived with this Corruption, if they find any Beginnings in themſelves of Knowledge, and Love to the Truth, to foſter the ſame by all lawful Means, and to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them. And if they can find as yet no Motion tending that way, to be ſtudious to read and confer with Learned Men, and to uſe all ſuch Means as may further their Reſolution; aſſuring them, That as long as they are diſconformable in Religion to us, they cannot be but half My Subjects, be able to do but half Service, and I ſhall want the beſt half of them, which is their Souls.

'And here I have Occaſion to ſpeak to you my Lords the Biſhops; for as you my Lord of *Durham* ſaid very Learnedly to Day in your Sermon, *Correction without Inſtruction is but Tyranny*: So ought you, and all the Clergy under you, to be more careful, vigilant and diligent, than you have been, to win Souls to God, as well by your Exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And ſince you ſee how careful they are, ſparing neither Labour, Pains, nor extreme Peril of their Perſons, to pervert, (the Devil is ſo buſy a Biſhop;) ye ſhould be the more careful, and wakeful in your Charges. Follow the Rule Preſcribed you by St. *Paul*, *Be careful to exhort and inſtruct, in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon*: And where you have been any way ſluggiſh before, now waken your ſelves up again with a new Diligence, remitting the Succeſs to God, who calling them either at the ſecond, third, tenth or twelfth Hour, as they are alike welcome to Him, ſo ſhall they be to Me his Lieutenant here.

Tobie Matthew.

'The third Reaſon of My Convening you at this time, which containeth ſuch Actions of My Thankfulneſs towards you, as I may either do, or leave undone, yet ſhall, with God's Grace, ever preſs to perform all the Days of My Life. It conſiſts in theſe two Points; in making of Laws at certain Times, which is only at ſuch Times as this, in Parliament; or in the careful Execution of the Laws at other Times. As for the Making of them, I will thus far faithfully promiſe unto you, That I will ever prefer the Weal of the Body above any particular or private Ends of My own, thinking ever the Weal of the Commonwealth to be the greateſt Weal, and Worldly Felicity: A Point wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this time I am only thus far to forewarn you in that Point, That you beware to ſeek the making of too many Laws, for two eſpecial Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe *In corruptiſſima Republica plurimæ leges*: And the Execution of ſome good Laws is far more profitable in a Commonwealth, than to burthen Men's Memories with making too many of them. And next, becauſe the making of too many Laws in one Parliament will bring in Confuſion, for want of Leiſure wiſely to deliberate before you conclude: For the Biſhop ſaid well to Day, That to Deliberation a large Time would be given; but to Execution a greater Promptneſs was required. As for the Execution of good Laws, it

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'hath been very wiſely and honourably foreſeen, and ordered by My Predeceſſors in this Kingdom, in planting ſuch a number of Judges, and all ſorts of Magiſtrates, in convenient Places, for Execution of the ſame. And therefore muſt I now turn to you that are Judges, and Magiſtrates under Me, as Mine Eyes and Ears in this Caſe: I can ſay no otherwiſe to you, than as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda* ſaid to their Judges, *Remember that the Thrones you ſit on are God's, and neither yours nor mine.* And as you muſt be anſwerable to Me, ſo muſt both you and I be anſwerable to God, for the due Execution of our Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter your Affections in; you muſt not there hate your Foe, nor love your Friend; fear the Offending of the greater Party, or pity the Miſery of the Meaner; ye muſt be Blind, and not ſee Diſtinctions of Perſons; Handleſs, not to receive Bribes; but keep that juſt Temper and Medium in all your Proceedings, that, like a juſt Ballance, ye may neither ſway to the Right hand, nor to the Left. Three principal Qualities are required in you, Knowledge, Courage, and Sincerity, that you may diſcern with Knowledge, execute with Courage, and do both in upright Sincerity. And for my part, I do Vow and Proteſt here in the Preſence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I never ſhall be weary, nor omit occaſion wherein I may ſhew My Carefulneſs of the Execution of good Laws: And as I wiſh you that are Judges, not to be weary in your Office, in doing of it, ſo ſhall I never be weary, with God's Grace, to take Account of you, which is properly My Calling.

'And thus having told you the Three Cauſes of My Convening of this Parliament, all Three tending only to utter My Thankfulneſs, but in divers Forms; the firſt by Word, the other two by Action; I do confeſs, that when I have done, and performed all that in this Speech I have promiſed, *Inutilis ſervus ſum*. When I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to God for the contrary. For the Difference betwixt a Rightful King, and an Uſurping Tyrant, is this; That the proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are Ordained for ſatisfaction of his Deſires and unreaſonable Appetite; The righteous and juſt King doth by the contrary, acknowledge himſelf to be Ordained for procuring the Wealth and Proſperity of his People, and that his greateſt and principal worldly Felicity muſt conſiſt in their Proſperity. If you be Rich, I cannot be Poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be Fortunate; and I proteſt, that your Welfare ſhall ever be My greateſt Care and Contentment. And that I am a Servant, is moſt true; that as I am a Head and Governour of all the People in My Dominions, who are My Natural Vaſſals and Subjects, conſidering them in Numbers, and diſtinct Ranks: So if we will take the People as one Body and Maſs, then as the Head is Ordained for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelf to be Ordained for his People, and not his People for him: For although a King and his People be *Relata*, yet can he be no King if he want People and Subjects. But there be many People in the World that lack a Head; wherefore I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it My principal Honour, to be the great Servant of the Commonwealth; and ever think the Proſperity thereof to be My greateſt Felicity, as I have already ſaid.

'But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom (with uniform Aſſent and Harmony) which did ſo far oblige me, to ſay My Thankfulneſs due to the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impune peccatur*; even ſo in the Matter of virtuous and good Deeds, which are done by the willing Conſent and Harmony of the whole Body, no particular Perſon can juſtly claim Thanks, as proper to him, for the ſame: And therefore I muſt here make a little Apology for My ſelf, in that I could not ſatisfie the particular Humors of every Perſon that looked for ſome Advancement or Reward at My Hand, ſince My entry into this Kingdom. Three Kinds of Things were craved of Me, Advancement to Honour, Preferment to Place of Credit about My Perſon, and Reward in Matters of Land or Profit. If I had beſtow'd Honour upon all, no Man could have been advanced to Honour; for the Degrees of Honour do conſiſt in preferring ſome above their Fellows: If every Man had the like Acceſs to My Perſon, then no Man could have it: And if I had beſtowed Lands and Rewards upon every Man, the Fountain of My Liberality would have been ſo Exhauſted, as I ſhould want Means to be Liberal to any Man. Yet was I not ſo ſparing, but I may without vaunting affirm, That I have enlarged My Favour in all the Three Degrees, towards as many and more than ever any King of *England* did, in ſo ſhort a ſpace. No, I rather crave your Pardon, that I have been ſo bountiful: For, if the Means of the Crown be waſted, whither ſhould I have Recourſe but to you My Subjects, and be Burthenſome to you? Which I ſhould be lotheſt to do of any King alive. Two ſpecial Cauſes moved Me to be ſo open-handed, whereof the one was Reaſonable and Honourable, but the other (I will not be aſhamed to confeſs unto you) proceeded of My own Infirmity. That which was Juſt and Honourable, was That being ſo far beholden to the Body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuſe to let ſome ſmall Brooks run out of the Fountain of My Thankfulneſs to the whole, for refreſhing of particular Perſons that were Members of that Multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine own Infirmity was, The Multitude and Importunity of Suiters. But altho' Reaſon comes by Infuſion in a manner, yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour: And therefore do I not doubt, but Experience will teach the particular Subjects of this Kingdom, not to be ſo importune and undiſcreet in Craving, and Me not to be ſo eaſily and lightly moved in Granting that, which may be harmful to My Eſtate, and conſequently to the whole Kingdom.

'And thus at length having declared unto you My Mind, My Concluſion ſhall only now be, to Excuſe My ſelf, in caſe you have not found ſuch Eloquence in My Speech, as peradventure you might have look'd for at My Hands. I might alledge the great Weight of My Affairs, and My continual Buſineſs, and Diſtraction, that I could never have leiſure to think upon what I was to Speak: And I might alſo alledge, That My firſt Sight of this ſo famous and honourable an Aſſembly, might likewiſe breed ſome Impediment: But

'leaving

'leaving these Excuses, I will plainly and freely, in My manner, tell you the true Cause of it; which is, That it becometh a King, in My Opinion, to use no other Eloquence than Plainness and Sincerity. By plainness, I mean, That his Speeches should be so clear, and void of all Ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent in sunder, in contrary Senses, like the old Oracles of the Pagan Gods: And by Sincerity, I understand, That Uprightness and Honesty which ought to be in a King's whole Speeches and Actions; that as far as a King is in Honour erected above any of his Subjects, so far should he strive in Sincerity to be above them all, and that his Tongue should be ever the true Messenger of his Heart. And this sort of Eloquence you may ever assuredly look for at My Hands.

Thus the Beams of Majesty had an Influence upon every Branch and Leaf of the Kingdom, By reflecting upon the Root, their Representative Body; every particular Person expecting what Fruit this Sun-shine would produce; striving as much to Insinuate into him, as he did into the general; so that there was a reciprocal Harmony between the King and the People, because they Courted one another. But when the King's Bounty contracted it self into private Favourites, (as it did afterwards) bestowing the Affection he promised the whole People, upon one Man; when the Golden Showers they gaped for dropt into some few Chanels, their Passions flew higher than their Hopes. The King's Aims were, to Unite the two Kingdoms, so that the one might corroborate the other, to make good that part of his Speech (by this intermixtion) wherein he divides *England* and *Scotland* into halves: But the *English* stumbled at that Partition, thinking it an unequal Division, and fearing that the *Scots* (creeping into *English* Lordships, and *English* Ladies Beds, in both which already they began to be active) might quickly make their least Half the predominant Part.

The King proclaimed King of *Great Britain.*

But he was Proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*: *England* must be no more a Name; the *Scottish* Coins are made current; and our Ships must have St. *George's* and St. *Andrew's* Crosses quartered together in their Flags; all outward Ensigns of Amity. But those *English* that had suck'd in none of the Sweets of this pleasant Stream of Bounty, repined to see the *Scots* advanced from Blue Bonnets to costly Beavers, wearing instead of Wadmeal, Velvet and Satin, as divers Pasquils written in that Age Satyrically taunted at. Which is not set down here, to vilifie the *Scots*, (being most of them Gentlemen that had deserved well of their Master) but to shew, how cross to the publick Appetite the Hony-comb is, that another Man eats. But the King (like a wise Pilot) guided the Helm with so even an hand, that these small Gusts were not felt. It behoved him to play his Master-Prize in the beginning, which he did to the Life; for he had divers Opinions, Humours and Affections to grapple with, as well as Nations; and 'tis a very calm Sea when no Billow rises. The Romanists boggled, that he said in his Speech, They were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintain'd the Pope to be their Spiritual Head, and he to have Power to Dethrone Princes. The Separatists (as the King called them) were offended at that Expression, wherein he professed willingly, If the Papists would lay down King-killing, and some other gross Errors, he would be content to meet them half way. So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not knowing yet what course the King would Steer. But these Sores being tenderly dealt with, did not suddenly Fester, but were Skinn'd over. The King desirous of the Title, *Pacificus*, did not only close with his own Subjects, but heal'd up also that old Wound that had bled long in the Sides of *England* and *Spain*, both being weary of the Pain, both willing to be Cured. The King of *Spain* sent the Constable of *Castile* with a mighty Train of smooth-handed *Spaniards* to close up the Wound on this side, where (the old Enmity being well mortified) they were received with singular Respect and Civility. The King of *England* sent his High-Admiral, the Earl of *Nottingham*, with as splendid a Retinue of *English*, to close it on that: Who being Personages of Quality, accoutred with all Ornaments suitable, were the more admired by the *Spaniards* for Beauty and Excellency, by how much the † Jesuits had made Impressions in the Vulgar Opinion, That since the *English* left the *Roman* Religion, they were transform'd into strange horrid Shapes, with Heads and Tails like Beasts and Monsters. So easie it is for those Juglers, when they have once bound up the Conscience, to tie up the Understanding also.

The King and Parliament in good accord.

But the Parliament highly admiring the King's Abilities, made a Recognition thereof with many Elogies, as the prime Act of their humble Submission to his Government, wherein they yield their most humble Thanks to the Divine Majesty for his Access to the Crown; and they desire from their Hearts, that as a Memorial to all Posterity, (among the Records of the High Court of Parliament for ever to endure) it may be published and declared, that they acknowledge his Right of Succession to the Crown of *England*, and the Empire thereof; and thereunto they faithfully submit, and oblige themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities for ever, until the last drop of their Bloods be spent. So high mounted was the Affection of the People to the King! And happily might have continued so, if some After-Jealousies had not intervened, that like Clouds hindred the Influence of their more intimate Correspondence.

Commissioners for an Union.

And to satisfy the King's Desires about an Union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, the Parliament made an Act to Authorize certain Commissioners; *viz.* *Thomas* Lord *Elesmere*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Bishop of *London*, *Toby* Bishop of *Durefme*, *Anthony* Bishop of St. *David's*; *Robert* Lord *Cecil*, Principal Secretary; *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord President of *Wales*; *William* Lord *Monteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*; *Edmund* Lord *Sheffield*, Lord President of the Council in the *North*, Lords of the Higher House of Parliament.

† This Story of their Priests was so firmly impress'd upon the *Spaniards*, that at the landing of the *English* Ambassador, there was such a vast concourse of People of all sorts to see them, that the adjacent Maritime Provinces were almost depopulated, scarce any one that was able to Travel staying at home.

An. Reg. 1. An. Christi 1604. And *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *Francis Hastings* Kt. Sir *John Stanhope* Kt. Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty; Sir *John Herbert* Kt. Second Secretary to his Majesty; Sir *George Carew* Kt. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; Sir *Thomas Strickland* Kt. Sir *Edward Stafford* Kt. Sir *Henry Nevil* of *Berkshire* Kt. Sir *Richard Buckley* Kt. Sir *Henry Billingsley* Kt. Sir *Daniel Dun* Kt. Dean of the *Arches*; Sir *Edward Hobby* Kt. Sir *John Savile* Kt. Sir *Robert Wroth* Kt. Sir *Thomas Chaloner* Kt. Sir *Robert Maunsel* Kt. Sir *Thomas Ridgeway* Kt. Sir *Thomas Holcroft* Kt. Sir *Thomas Hesketh* Kt. Attorney of the Court of Wards; Sir *Francis Bacon* Kt. Sir *Lawrence Tanfield* Kt. Serjeant at Law; Sir *Henry Hubberd* Kt. Serjeant at Law; *John Bennet* Doctor of the Laws, Sir *Henry Withrington*, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Lake* Knights; *Robert Askwith*, *Thomas James* and *Henry Chapman*, Merchants, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons; or any Eight of the said Lords, and Twenty of the said Commons. Which Commissioners shall have Power to Assemble, Meet, Treat, and Consult with certain Select Commissioners to be Nominated and Authorized by Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, concerning such Matters, Causes, and Things, as they in their Wisdoms shall think and deem Convenient and Necessary, for the Honour of the King, and common Good of both Kingdoms. Yet the good Intentions of this Union took no Effect, as will follow in the Sequel of this History. But there were a great many good Laws made, which are too voluminous for this Place, having a proper Sphere of their own to move in.

Thus the King sate triumphing, as it were, upon a Throne of his Peoples Affections; and his Beginnings had some Settlement; for being loth to be troubled, he sought Peace every where. But our inbred Distempers lay upon the Lee, intermixt with other gross Dregs, that the Prince's Lenity, and the Peoples Luxury produc'd: For the King minding his Sports, many Riotous Demeanours crept into the Kingdom, the Sun-shine of Peace being apt for such a Production, upon the Slime of the late War. The Sword and Buckler-Trade being now out of date, one Corruption producing another, (the City of *London* being always a fit Receptacle for such, whose Prodigalities and Wastes made them Instruments of Debaucheries) divers Sects of Vitious Persons, going under the Title of *Roaring Boys*, *Bravadoes*, *Roysters*, &c. commit many Insolencies; the Streets swarm Night and Day with bloody Quarrels; private Duels fomented, especially betwixt the *English* and *Scots*; many Discontents nourished in the Countries betwixt the Gentry and Commonalty, about Inclosure (the Meanest gaping after new Hopes) growing in some Places to a petty Rebellion. Daily Discords (incident to Peace and Plenty) betwixt Families, Papist against Protestant, one Friend against another; the Papists being a strong and dangerous Faction, milling their Hopes, strove to make the *Scots* more odious than they could make themselves, though some of them went so high as to Counterfeit the King's Privy Seal, and make Addresses thereby to Foreign Princes, for which one *Thomas Douglas*, taken in the Fact, was executed at *Smithfield*. Others were so Insolent, as to quip and jear the English Nobility, and other Misdemeanours, which caused secret Heart-burnings and Jealousies betwixt the Nations. But then comes a Proclamation, like a strong Pill, and carries away the grossest of these Humours.

Roaring Boys.

Something yet stuck, especially in the Consciences of the Popish Party, that could not be purged away without a Toleration, which they Petition for; but not being granted, they contriv'd one of the most Horrid and Stupendious Mischiefs that ever enter'd into the Hearts of Men: For their Heat of Malice would not be quenched with the Blood Royal, but the Nobility and Gentry, the Representative Body of the whole Kingdom, united at *Westminster*, must be shatter'd in pieces, and dismember'd, by the Blast of Six and Thirty Barrels of Gun-powder, which those dark Contrivers had hid in a Cellar under the Parliament House, being discover'd by a Light from Heaven, and a Letter from one of the Conspirators, when the Fire was already in their Hands, as well as Rage in their Hearts, to put to the Train.

The Principal of these Contrivers, was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of a good plentiful Estate, who first Hatch'd and Brooded the Plot, and promised to himself the Glory of an Eternal Name by the Propagation of it; making choice of *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, Sir *Everard Digby*, and others, Gentlemen of good Estates (for the most part) and Spirits as Implacable and Furious as his own; who, like Combustible Matter, took Fire at the first Motion, their Zeal to the Roman Cause burning within them, which nothing but the Blood of Innocents can quench. The Design thus set afoot, they bind themselves to Secresy, by those Sacraments which are the greatest Ties upon the Soul; and Saint *Garnet* the Jesuit was their Confessor. The Foundation being laid, every Man betakes himself to his Work, some to provide Money, some Materials. *Percy* was to hire the Cellars under the Parliament House, to lay Wood and Coal in for his Winter Provision; *Guido Faux*, a desperate Ruffian (who was to give fire to the Train) was appointed to be his Man to bring in the Wood and Coal. The Gunpowder provided in *Flanders*, is brought from *Lambeth* in the Night, and covertly laid under the Wood. Thus they prepare all things ready for a Burnt-Offering against the Day the Parliament should meet, which was to be upon the Seventh of *February*. 160 4/5
But the King, for some Reasons of State, (which at that time the Dictates of Providence did much approve of) Prorogu'd the Parliament to the Fifth of *November* following, which scatter'd the Contrivers at present, and they were at their Wits end; and some of them went beyond Seas, because they would not beat too much about the Covert, their Materials being fitted; others that staid here persisted with Patience (made a Vice by them) and met often to consult how they should manage their great Business, if it took effect. They look'd upon the King and Prince as already Sacrificed to their Cruelty: And *Percy* undertook to dispatch the Duke of *York*. But because they must have one of the Blood Royal, that must serve as a Center to adhere to, to keep all from Confusion, they meant to preserve the Lady *Elizabeth*, and make her Queen, that under her Minority and Innocency, they might the better establish their bloody Principles of Piety and Policy. They had design'd the Fatal Day to be upon the Fifth of *November*, when the King and both Houses were to meet, and that Day they appointed a great Hunting-match at *Dunsmore Heath* in *Warwickshire*, to be near the Lord *Harington's* House, where the Lady *Elizabeth* was. And they had, by their horrid Art and Experience, so fitted their Mat-

Principal Actors.

ches

An. Reg. 3. An. Christi 1605.

ches, that were to convey the Fire to the Powder, that they could know a hundred Miles off, to a Minute, when that Monstrous Fiery Exhalation would break out.

Solacing themselves in this bloody Expectation, and thinking their Conveyances under Ground were not seen above by the Divine Discoverer, they stood like Vultures gaping for their Prey; when, Behold! one Tender-hearted Murderer among the Pack, willing to save the Lord *Monteagle*, writ this Letter to him.

A Letter to my Ld. Monteagle.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your Preservation; therefore I would wish you (as you tender your Life) to forbear your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm: for the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you. ||

Here is the Protection of the Holy God desir'd, a strange Expression in so unholy an Action, which is like their Zeal that made their Children pass through Fire to *Moloch*; what horrid Madness kindles such Sacrifices? The Lord *Monteagle* astonished at the Letter (though he understood it not) thinking there might be something in it of dangerous Concernment, communicated the Contents of it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and some others of the King's Council. *Salisbury* could not find out the Riddle; he concluded him either a Fool or a Madman that wrote it, by this Expression, *The Danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt*: If the Danger be past when the Letter is burnt, what needeth any warning? But he did not reach the Meaning; for the Writer's desire was to have the Letter burned, and then the Danger would be past, both to the Writer and Receiver, if he had Grace to make use of the Warning. The King was hunting the fearful Hare at *Royston*, while they laid this *Snare* for him at *Westminster*. As soon as he came to *Whitehall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* being of his intimate Councils, and Principal Secretary, shew'd him the Letter. The King considering it Circumspectly (as *Cicero* said of the *Sibyl's* Works, *and majus est attenti animi quam furentis*) said, *This is no Madman's Writing*. There is a great Blow to be given; they shall not see it that feel it; which is some secret Mischief. Many times Fear is a profitable and an Active Servant, if it do not Domineer and grow Masterly. He was so sensible of a Stroke, that he felt it (as it were) coming: Therefore the Day before the Parliament should begin, he commanded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain to make a strict Search about the Parliament House; who, accompany'd with the Lord *Monteagle*, entred the Cellar under the House, which he found stuffed with Billet, Faggot, and Coal; and asking *Whinyard* of the Wardrobe (who was House-keeper) what Provisions they were? he said, He had let the Cellar to Mr. *Thomas Percy*, (who was one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King) and close by in a Corner of the Cellar stood *Faux*, in a Gastly Condition (being a Raw-bon'd tall Man) who being question'd, said, He was *Percy's* Servant. The Lord Chamberlain that would make no Noise and Bustle at that time, left both the Engine and Engineer as he found them, taking no further notice, but apprehended Just Cause to have the Cellars further search'd; the Lord *Monteagle* assuring himself, it was *Percy* that writ the Letter to him as soon as he heard him Nam'd, for there were little Intimacies betwixt them. The King with his Council advising what to do, resolved of a further Search that Night, committing the Trust to Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, a Man of approv'd Fidelity; who, with a Retinue suitable to such an Enterprize, coming to the Cellar about Midnight, he met the watchful Minister of Impiety, *Faux*, at the Door, on whom he presently seiz'd, and making further Search, pulled out the Core of all that horrid Contrivance. *Faux*, his Under-ground Works being digged out, and seeing all unkennel'd, confess'd the Intention, and was only sorry it came not to Perfection, saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil only discover'd it*. In his Pockets they found a Watch (which were not common then) and a Tinder-box, the Engines to minute out his Time to strike the Stroke; so punctual was he in his Wickedness! This tough Piece, upon Examination by the Lords of the Council, could have little drawn from him, only he said again, *He was sorry it was not done*. But the Conspirators reveal'd themselves; for finding all Discover'd, they pack to *Dunsmore* to the Hunting-meeting, breaking open some Stables in *London*, and taking out divers Horses of Noblemen, that were put into Riders Hands to manage, thinking to make a great Party: But the High Sheriffs of *Warwickshire* and *Worcestershire* hunted these Firebrand Foxes so, that they were forced (most of them) to Earth themselves at *Littleton's* House at *Halbach*, and there *Percy* and *Catesby* desperately sallying out, were both slain, so were *John Wright* and *Christopher Wright*: *Thomas Winter*, *Francis Tresham*, and the rest, were taken; *Tresham* died of the Strangury in the Tower; *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Faux*, *Robert Keys*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Worcestershire*, Esq; *John Grant* of *Northbrook* in the County of *Warwick*, Esq; *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of

Traytors executed.

|| Who it was that wrote this Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* was never known, or how it came that King *James* suspected its Meaning to be what it really was, is in a great part a Mystery to this Day. Yet I cannot give my self leave to doubt, but King *James* had some light given him from *Henry* IV of the Designs of the *Papists* against him; for in the Duke of *Sully's Memoires*, there is more than once mention made of some *sudden Blow* they intended in *England* about that time: And in one Letter, King *James* is desired to take warning from the Fate of *Henry* III. I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion, that in the *Harangue* pronounc'd at *Rome* in praise of *Ravillac* the *Assassin* of *Henry* IV, which has since been so often quoted by several Authors, both *Papist* and *Protestant*, as an Argument that the Jesuits approved the Murder: It is there said, *That* Henry *IV. was not only an inveterate Enemy to the Catholick Religion in his Heart, but had obstructed the glorious Enterprizes of those that would have restor'd it in* England, *and occasion'd them to be Crown'd with Martyrdom*. Now it's well known, *Garnet* and the rest that were Executed for the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, were reputed *Martyrs* for the Catholick Cause by the College of *Jesuits* at *Rome*, where that *Harangue* was pronounc'd.

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Staningfield in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; and Sir *Everard Digby* of *Gothurſt* in *Buckinghamſhire*, Knight, were executed according to their Demerit.

This prodigious Contrivance did not only ſtupifie the whole Kingdom with Amazement, but Foreign Princes made their Wonderment alſo. And though, for the Propagation of the Catholick Cauſe, they might have Conſcience enough to wiſh it had taken Effect, yet they had Policy enough to Congratulate the Diſcovery; and ſome of them, to take off the Aſperity of the Suſpect, ſweetned their Expreſſions with many rich Gifts and Preſents to the King and Queen. But this bloody Deſign, found in the Hand of the Malefactors, graſping the Miſchief, and confirm'd by their own Confeſſions, (being ſuch Spirits as were fit *Boutefeus* for ſo deſperate an Enterprize) was, notwithſtanding, father'd upon the Puritans (as *Nero* did the Burning of *Rome* upon the Chriſtians) by ſome Impudent and Cunning Jeſuits, whoſe Practice is to deceive, if not quite to clear their Party, yet, by ſtirring this muddy Water, to make that which is in it to appear the leſs Perſpicuous; and it is like the reſt of their Figments, fit Baits for Ignorance to nibble on: Which ſome Years after I had Opportunity at *Bruges* in *Flanders* to make *Weſton*, an old Jeſuit, active in the Powder-plot, ingenuouſly to confeſs.

The Parliament meet the 9th of November.

This preceded the ſecond Seſſions of the firſt Parliament, Prorogu'd till the Fifth of *November*, and upon the Ninth they met; where, with Hearts full of Fears and Jealouſies, they ſifted up the Ground of the Machination, for diſcovery of the Complotters, and laid ſuch a Foundation of good Laws againſt Papiſts, as might ſerve for a Bulwark in the time to come. The King was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the Firſt Diſcoverer of this Treaſon, for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, Two hundred Pounds a Year in Fee-farm Rents; and Five hundred Pounds a Year beſides, during his Life, as a Reward for this good Service.

Rumour of the King's Death.

In the midſt of the Parliament's Activity, a Rumour was ſpread (by what ſtrange Means unknown) that the King was ſtabb'd at *Okingham* (Twenty Miles from *London*, where he was hunting) with a Poyſon'd Knife. The Court at *Whitehall*, the Parliament and City, took the Alarm; muſtering up their old Fears, every Man ſtanding at Gaze, as if ſome new Prodigy had ſeiz'd them; ſuch a Terror had this late Monſtrous intended Miſchief imprinted in the Spirits of the People, that they took Fire from every little Train of Rumour, and were ready to grapple with their own Deſtruction before it came. In the midſt of this Agony, there came Aſſurance of the King's ſafety, which he was enforced to divulge by Proclamation, to re-eſtabliſh the People. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador gave Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, a Chain of Gold of good Value, for bringing him the News of the King's Safety, which preſently reſounded in the Court; and it was thought, he was ſo Bountiful, either out of Terror, being afraid of the People in this Confuſion, becauſe it was Rumour'd, that the King of *Spain* was a Fomenter of the Plot; or out of a Deſire to Vindicate his Maſter's Honour, and take the Odium from him; for he had been ſollicited by divers Jeſuits, together with theſe Conſpirators, to invade *England*. The Principal of which Jeſuits, called *Henry Garnet* (Provincial of the Order in *England*) was Arraign'd at *Guildhall* the Twentieth of *March* 1605, and Executed at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul's* ſoon after.

An. Reg. … An. Christi 1606.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, not coming to the Parliament according to their Writ of Summons, were ſuſpected to have knowledge of the Conſpiracy; and ſo was the Earl of *Northumberland* from ſome Preſumptions, and all three were committed to the Tower. The two Barons (after ſome Impriſonment) were redeem'd by Fine in the *Star-Chamber*, but the Earl continued a Priſoner there for many Years after.

The King of Denmark's firſt coming.

In *July* this Year, the King of *Denmark* (Brother to the Queen) came in Perſon as a Viſitor, where he found their Shakings ſomewhat ſettled, their Terrors abated, and met with not only all thoſe Varieties, that Riches, Power and Plenty are capable to produce for Satisfaction, where Will and Affection are the Diſpenſers; but he beheld with Admiration the Stately Theatre, whereon the *Danes* for many Hundreds of Years had acted their Bloody Parts: But how he reſented their *Exit*, or the laſt Act of that black Trajedy, wherein his Country loſt their Intereſt, ſome Divine Power, that ſearches the Capacious Hearts of Princes can only diſcover. This ſhort Month of his ſtay, carried with it as pleaſing a Countenance on every ſide, and of their Recreations and Paſtimes, flew as high a Flight, as Love mounted upon the Wings of Art and Fancy, the ſuitable Nature of the Seaſon, or Time's ſwift Foot could poſſibly arrive at. The Court, City, and ſome Parts of the Country, with Banquetings, Masks, Dancings, Tilting, Barriers, and other Gallantry (beſides the Manly Sports of Wreſtling, and the Brutiſh Sports of baiting wild Beaſts) ſwelled to ſuch a Greatneſs, as if there were an Intention in every particular Man, this Way to have blown up himſelf.

The Fifth of November made Holy day

The Seven and twentieth of *May* laſt, the Parliament was Prorogu'd to the Eighteenth of *November* following; but before they parted (having Hearts full of Affection for God's great Deliverance of the whole Kingdom from Ruine and Deſtruction) they made an Act to have the Fifth of *November* for ever Solemnized with publick Thankſgiving: Imputing the Diſcovery of the Treaſon to God, inſpiring the King with a Divine Spirit to Interpret ſome dark Phraſes of the Letter, above and beyond all ordinary Conſtruction. They attainted the Blood of thoſe Traytors that were Executed; as alſo, thoſe that were ſlain in the Field, or died in the Priſon. They made many good Laws for the Diſcovering and Suppreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants: And gave the King Three entire Subſidies, and Six Fifteens. Beſides, Four Subſidies of Four Shillings in the Pound granted by the Clergy. But they put off the Treaty of Union, by an Act that referr'd it to be done as well any other Seſſion of Parliament, ſo willing they were to keep cloſe to the King's Affections, and not to ſtart from him. But the next Seſſion (the King being loath to be longer delay'd) the Buſineſs of the Union was much preſſed again, by ſome that knew the King's Mind; among whom, Sir *Francis Bacon* (now the King's Sollicitor) was a principal Inſtrument, who came prepar'd for it, and firſt mov'd the Houſe of Commons, that the *Scots* might be Naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament; which was oppoſed by divers ſtrong and modeſt Arguments. Among which, they brought

Arguments about Union.

in the Compariſon of *Abraham* and *Lot*, whoſe Families joining, they grew to Difference, and to thoſe Words, *Vade tu ad dextram, & ego ad ſiniſtram*.

An. Reg. 4. An. Christi 1606.

"It was answer'd, That Speech brought the Captivity of the One, they having disjoin'd their Strength. The Party opposing said, If we admit them into our Liberties, we shall be over-run with them, as Cattle (naturally) pent up by a slight Hedge, will over it into a better Soil; and a Tree taken from a barren Place, will thrive to excessive and exuberant Branches in a Better; witness the Multiplicity of the *Scots* in *Polonia*.

To which it was answer'd, That if they had not Means, Place, Custom and Employment, (not like Beasts but Men) they would starve in a plentiful Soil, though they came into it; and what Spring-tide and Confluence of that Nation have Housed and Familied themselves among us these Four Years of the King's Reign? And they will never live so meanly here as they do in *Polonia*; for they had rather discover their Poverty Abroad than at Home. Besides, there is a Question, whether *England* be fully Peopled? Witness the Drown'd Grounds and Common Wasts; the Ruines and Decays of ancient Towns in this Realm; Witness how many serve in the Parliament for desolate Boroughs; Witness our Wasts by Sea, as well as by Land; suffering the *Flemings* to carry all our Fishing; the Sinews of our Industry being slackned, we want active Spirits to Corroborate them by their Example: Besides the Planting *Ireland*, fully abounding with Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, Good Soil, and Temperate Climate. No surcharge of People have been prejudicial to Countries; the worst will be an Honourable War, to Recover our ancient Rights, or Revenge our Injuries, or to attain to the Honour of our Ancestors. We should not forget the Consideration of Amplitude and Greatness, and fall at variance about Profit and Reckonings, fitter for private Persons than Kingdoms.

The other side objected, That the Fundamental Laws of both Kingdoms are divers; and it is declar'd, they shall so continue; and therefore it would not be reasonable to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endow them with our Rights, except they should receive and submit to our Laws.

It was answered, That in the Administration of the World under God, the great Monarch, his Laws are divers; one Law in Spirits, another in Bodies; one Law in Regions Celestial, another in Elementary; and yet the Creatures are all one Mass or Lump. That in the State of the Church, among People of several Languages and Lineages; there is a Communion of Saints, and we are all Fellow-Citizens, and Naturalizants of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and yet divers Ecclesiastical Laws, Policies, and Hierarchies; for the Laws are rather *Figura Reipublicæ*, than *Forma*; rather Bonds of Perfection, than Entireness. That in *Ireland*, *Jersey*, *Guernsey* and the Isle of *Man*, our Common Laws are not in force, and yet they have the Benefit of Naturalization.

To which it was reply'd, That these are only Flourishes of Rhetorick; for God (who is the only Disposer of all his Creatures) keeps them in Order and Obedience to Him, by a Law which they cannot deviate from, unless he withdraws his preserving Hand from them: But betwixt Man and Man, or Realm and Realm, there can be no such Tie or Obligation to hold an Unity, where they have various Laws and various Privileges. And for the Immunities given to the *Irish* (for some Ages past) they were *English* Colonies sent there to Plant, being a great Part of them Natives with us, of the same Blood and Stock, with whom we are ingrafted by Time, and made (as it were) one Body, the better to secure their Obedience, and hinder any League or Amity with a Foreign Nation. But *Scotland* hath an entire Union with the *French*, continu'd for some Hundreds of Years, that is indissolvable, and therefore incompetent yet to the Freedoms of *England*. When we have had as much Experience of the Friendship of *Scotland*, as of them, we shall incline to a more intimate Union. Besides, there is an Inequality in the Fortunes of the Two Nations; and by this Commixture, there may ensue Advantage to them, and Loss to us.

To the latter part was answer'd, *Beatius est dare quam accipere*: And *Edward* the First, among other Commendations of War and Policy, none was more celebrated than his Purpose and Enterprize for the Conquest of *Scotland*; as not bending his Designs to glorious Acquests Abroad, but solid Strength at Home; which, if it had succeeded, could not but have brought in those Inconveniencies of the Commixture of a more opulent Kingdom with a less; for it is not the Yoke, either of Laws or Arms, that can alter the Nature of the Climate, or the Nature of the Soil; neither is it the Manner of the Commixture, that can alter the Nature of the Commixture; and therefore if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; and not to be priz'd the less, because we paid not so dear for it.

They strive further to prove, That the Benefit of Naturalization is, by Law, to as many as have been, or shall be born, since the King's coming to the Crown; for there is no more than to bring the *Ante-Nati* unto the Degree of *Post-Nati*, that Men grown may be in no worse Case than Children, and Elder Brothers in no worse Condition than Younger Brothers. That if any object the Law is not so, but that the *Post-Nati* are Aliens as the rest, it is contrary to the Reason of Law. The Wisdom of the Common Laws of *England* is admirable, in distribution of the Benefit and Protection of the Law, according to the several Conditions of Persons. The Degrees are Four, Two of Aliens, and Two of Subjects: The First Degree is an Alien born under a King or State that is an Enemy; if such an one come into the Kingdom without safe Conduct, it is at his Peril; the Law giveth him no Protection, neither of Body, Lands, nor Goods; so as if he be slain, there is no remedy by any Appeal at the Party's Suit, though she were an *English* Woman; though at the King's Suit the Case may be otherwise, in regard of the Offence to the Peace and Crown. The Second Degree is of an Alien that is born under Faith and Allegiance of a King or State that is a Friend; unto such a Person the Law doth impart a greater Benefit and Protection concerning things Personal, Transitory and Moveable, as Goods and Chattels, Contracts, and the like, but not concerning Free-hold, and Inheritance; and the Reason is, because he may be an Enemy, though he be not; for the State where he was born, may enter into Hostility; and therefore as the Law hath but a Transitory Assurance of him, so it Rewards him with Transitory Benefits. The Third Degree is of a Subject, who having been an Alien, is made Free by Charter and Denization. To such one the Law doth impart yet a more ample Benefit; for it gives him a Power to purchase Freehold and Inheritance to his own Use, and likewise enables his Children (born after his Denization) to Inherit: But

But yet he cannot make Title, or convey any Pedigree from any Ancestor Paramount; for the Law thinks not good to make him in the same Degree with a Subject born, because he was once an Alien, and so might have been an Enemy; and Affections cannot be so settled by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity they are inbred, and inherent. The Fourth Degree, and the perfect Degree, is of such a Person, as neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy in time to come, nor would have been Enemy at any time past; and therefore the Law gives unto him the full Benefit of Naturalization. Now if these be the true Steps and Paces of the Law, no Man can deny, but whosoever is born under the King's Obedience, never could, *in aliquo puncto temporis*, be an Enemy; and therefore in Reason of Law is Naturalized. So tho' the *Scots* seem to be in Reason *Naturales ipso jure*, yet it is not superfluous to have it done by Parliament; for it will shew the World our Love to them, and good Agreement with them.

Then they shewed by Authority of History and Experience, the Inconveniencies that may grow, if this Union of Naturalization doth not close, and bind up the Veins, so as to make it one perfect Body; for else it may be apt to open, and break out again upon all Occasions, and relapse to the Detriment of both; ripping up ancient Stories of the *Romans* and *Latins*, and the Wars they had, meerly for want of this Union, and never were at Quiet till they enjoy'd it. Then between the *Peloponnesians* and the *Spartans* the like. And from ancient Stories to the Kingdom of *Arragon* and *Castile*, united in the Persons of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, severed and divided from the rest of *Spain* in Privileges, and directly in this Point of Naturalization, or Capacity of Inheritance. But what came of this? A Rebellion grew among them, which a Royal Army with Difficulty suppressed, and (they being made one incorporated Body with the rest of *Spain*) perpetuated Peace to Posterity.

The like Example was betwixt *Florence* and *Pisa*. And whatsoever Kingdoms and States have been United, and that Union corroborated by the Bonds of Naturalization, you shall never observe them afterward, upon any Occasion, to break or sever again: Whereof divers Provinces in *France*, by time annex'd to that Crown, are further Witnesses. So that except they proceed to this Naturalization, these Realms will be in continual Danger to divide and break again.

Next, they shew the Benefits to be Security and Greatness. Surety, by stopping up the Postern-Gates of our Enemies; so that we shall not be so much a Temptation to the Ambition of Foreigners, when their Approaches and Avenues are taken away: For having so little Success when they had these Advantages, they will have less Comfort when they want them. And Greatness by this Union must needs follow: For having so many Iron handed Men in these Three Kingdoms, we shall not only pluck Gold from the (once poor) *Spaniards Indian* Mines, but by our Arms keep in Awe the whole Christian World.

These Arguments, press'd with gilded Oratory by the Solicitor and his Partakers, could not prevail, tho' urged with all the Power Wit could invent, or Hope aim at: For being new budded in Court, he was one of those that smooth'd his way to a full Ripeness, by liquorish and pleasing Passages, which he at last attain'd to, being made Lord Chancellor of *England*. But such Sweets, tho' delightful at present, breed Rottenness in the end; for he wither'd, and came to nothing, as in due time shall be express'd.

But the King (like a great Sea) being troubled when such cross Winds are boisterous, sent for both Houses of Parliament to *Whitehall* the last of *March*, 1607. to calm them; where betwixt a Sun-shine of fair Words, and a Cloud of Anger, he colours over some of the Arguments that had been used, and urges others for his best Advantage, with a plain natural Bluntness fit for Kings. He tells them, the Union he desires, is of Laws and Persons, such a Naturalizing as may make one Body of both Kingdoms; that as there is but *Unus Rex*, so there may be but *Unus Grex*, & *Una Lex*. His Intention is not, as some idly alledge, to give *England* the Labour, and Sweat, and *Scotland* the Fruit and Sweet, vainly talking of transplanting Trees out of barren Ground into better, and lean Cattle out of a bad Pasture into more fertile Soil. Can any Man displant them unless they will? Or is *Scotland* so strong, to pull them out of their Houses? Whereas the waste Grounds in *Scotland* would rather be planted by Swarms of People that cumber the Streets here.

The King's Speech to the Parliament about the Union.

First, He desires that all Hostile Laws should cease, being the King of *England* cannot make War with the King of *Scotland*.

Secondly, That there should be Community of Commerce, he being no Stranger, but descended of their ancient Kings: And how can he be Natural Liege Lord to both, and they Strangers to one another? And shall they that be under the same Allegiance be no freer, nor have no better Respect, than *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*?

Thirdly, They all agree they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to be Natural. That he was informed by their own Judges and Lawyers, at his first Access to the Crown, that there was a difference between the *Ante* and *Post-nati* of each Kingdom; which caused him to publish a Proclamation, That the *Post-nati* were Naturaliz'd by his Accession; but he confesses, Judges may err; so may the Lawyers on their side: Therefore he admonishes them to beware to Disgrace either his Proclamations or the Judges, for so they may disgrace both their King and Laws; who have Power, when the Parliament is ended, to try them both for Lands and Lives.

And for some of them, who with their flattering Speeches would have the *Ante-nati* preferr'd, alledging their Merits in My Service, such Discourses have *mel in ore*, & *fel in corde*; carrying an outward Appearance of Love to the Union, but a contrary Resolution in their Hearts. For the King would have them know, it lies within the Compass of his Prerogative to prefer whom he pleases to any Dignity, Civil or Ecclesiastical. But he is so far from prejudicing the *English*, that he is willing to bind himself to reasonable Restrictions. Besides, it is a special Point of the King's Prerogative, to make Aliens, Citizens; and in any Case wherein the Law is thought not to be clear, *Rex est Judex*; for he is *Lex loquens*, supplying the Law where it wants. But this he speaks as knowing what belongs to a King, not intending to press it further than may agree with their Loves, and stand with the Conveniency of both Nations.

The Inconveniencies suppose to arise from *Scotland*, are pretended to be,

1. An evil Affection in the *Scots* to the Union.
2. That the Union is incompatible.
3. That the Gain is small, or none.

An. Reg. 5. An. Christi 1607.

If this be so, why is there Talk of an Union? For the First, they alledge the Averseness of the *Scots* from the Preface and Body of their Act; where they declare, they will remain an absolute and free Monarchy, and not alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And yet in the beginning of this Session of Parliament, the Opinion was current, that *Scotlad* was greedy of this Union, and pursu'd it with so much Violence, that they car'd not for the Strictness of the Conditions, so they might attain the Substance, and End. And yet they now say, they are backwards, which is a Contradiction; for how can they both beg and deny the same thing at one and the same time? And by preserving their Fundamental Laws, they mean, those Laws by which Confusion is avoided, and their King's Succession and Monarchy maintain'd. To which he declares, That he is in Descent Three hundred Years before Christ, not meaning (as they do) their Common Law; for the *Scots* have no Law but that which is *Jus Regis*. And for their Desire of continuing a free Monarchy, he hopes they mean not he should set Garisons over them, as the *Spaniards* do over *Sicily* and *Naples*.

And then he tells them, That he governs *Scotland* with his Pen: He writes, and doth more by a Clerk of the Council, than others could do by the Sword. And tho' he knows there are many Seditious Persons in that Kingdom, that may talk lewdly enough, yet none of them ever spake dishonourably of *England*, as they have done of *Scotland*: For if any Man speaks any thing uncomely there, the Chancellor by his Authority interrupts him; but here they have Freedom to speak what they list, and, as long as they list, without Contradiction. Then the King shews what the Laws of *Scotland* are.

First, Those which concern Tenures, Wards, Liveries, Signiories, and Lands, are drawn out of the Chancery of *England*, brought by *James* the First, (who was bred up here) and differ only in Terms.

The Second are Statute Laws, to which he hopes they will be no Strangers.

The Third is the Civil Law, brought out of *France* by *James* the Fifth, and serve only to supply in such Cases where the Municipal Laws are defective: So that he hopes it is no hard Matter to unite the People together, who are, in effect, already subject to the same Law. And whereas it is objected, That the King of *Scotland* hath not a Negative Voice in Parliament, but must pass the Laws agreed on by the Lords and Commons; he assures them, That the Form of Parliament there is nothing enclin'd to Popularity: For about Twenty Days before the Parliament begins, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdom, That all Bills to be exhibited that Session, be delivered to the Master of the Rolls by a certain Day: Then they are brought to the King, perused and consider'd by him; and only such as he allows are put into the Chancellor's Hand to be propounded that Parliament, and no other. And if any Man speak of any other Matter than is in this Form first allowed by him, the Chancellor tells him, That there is no such Bill allowed by the King: And when they are pass'd for Laws, he ratifies and confirms them, first racing out what he doth not approve of. And if this be to be call'd a Negative Voice in Parliament, then he hath one.

2. For the Union betwixt the *French* and the *Scots*, which makes this Union so incompatible, he assures them, it was a League only made between the Kings, not the People: For *Scotland* being sollicited by *England* and *France* at one time, for a League Offensive and Defensive, against each others Enemies, there was a great Disputation maintain'd in favour of *England*, that they being our Neighbours, joyned in one Continent a strong and powerful Nation, it would be more security to the State of *Scotland* to joyn in Amity with *England*, than with *France* divided by the Sea, where they must abide the hazard of Wind and Weather, and other Accidents that might hinder Relief.

But on the contrary, it was alledged in the Favour of *France*, That *England* ever sought to Conquer *Scotland*, and therefore there would never be kept any sound Amity: Whereas *France*, lying more remote, claim'd no Interest, and therefore would be found a more constant and faithful Friend; so it was concluded on their Part. But by the Tenour it was order'd to be renew'd, and confirm'd from King to King successively, by the Mediation of their Ambassadors, and therefore meerly Personal. And so it was renew'd in the Queen his Mother's time, but not by Assent in Parliament; which it could not have wanted, if it had been a League of the People: And in the King's time, when it came to be ratified, because it appear'd to be in *Odium Tertii*, it was by him left unrenew'd, in Consideration of his Title to the Crown.

For the Profit and Commodity that shall arise to *England* by this Union; who is so ignorant that doth not know the Gain will be great? Do they not gain by the Union of *Wales*? And is not *Scotland* greater than *Wales*? Shall not Lands, Seas, and Person, be added to their Greatness? Two Snow-balls put together, grow greater; two Houses join'd make one the larger; and two Castle-Walls made into one, makes one as thick and strong as both. And he professes, he seeks this Union only to advance the Greatness of their Empire here in *England*; yet with such Caution, as may stand with the Weal of both States. What is now desir'd, hath oft been sought, and not obtain'd; to refuse it then now, were double Iniquity: And for their Security in such reasonable points of Restriction which he shall agree to, they need not doubt his Inclination: For he will never say any thing he will not promise, nor promise any thing which he will not swear, nor swear any thing which he will not perform. 3.

This urg'd with Asseveration, might have wrought much with the Parliament; but that they apprehended a great Inconvenience in such an Union, where the Laws and Government are of different Natures. All were not *Romans* that were born Subjects to the *Roman* Empire; tho' St. *Paul* was born one, the *Centurion* was a Purchaser. For notwithstanding all the former Arguments by the King, and his Ministers, the Parliament knew that it is true, That if *Scotland* had been Conquer'd, the only way to tie them to Obedience, were to let them taste the Sweets of *English* Liberties. But to let them sit Triumphing upon their own Privileges, and roam about among the *English* Freedoms, were to make them straggle too much. The *Scots* would not lessen, nor in the least derogate from the Dignity of their long continued Monarchy; and the *English* thought they had no Reason to come to them to derogate from themselves. The Parliament only fear'd, the King's Power would have such an Influence upon the Judges of the Kingdom, that the *Scots* would be Naturaliz'd too soon, they were resolv'd not to be accessary to it; which indeed some two Years

The Parliament declined the Union.

An. Reg. 6. *An. Christi* 1608.

Years after was confirm'd in *Calvin*'s Case of *Post-nati*, reported by the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, who was fit Metal for any Stamp Royal; and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmere*, and most of the Judges of the Kingdom, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, though many strong and valid Arguments were brought against it, such Power is in the Breath of Kings, and such soft Stuff are Judges made of, that they can vary their Precedents, and model them into as many Shapes as they please. And thus this Case stood like a Statue cloath'd by the Lord chief Justice, in the vulgar Language, (when the rest of his Reports spoke an unknown Tongue,) that the Kingdom might take more particular Notice, that the *Scots* were as free in *England* as themselves, yet it fell not out to their Wishes. But all that could be gotten from the Parliament, was, That the Laws of Hostility that were anciently made betwixt *England* and *Scotland* were repeal'd, that the old Grudges which caused the Dis-union (the War in the Members) might be taken away. And in the said Act they provided, *That if a natural born Subject of* England *did commit any Misdemeanour in* Scotland, *and flie into* England, *he should be tried where he was taken, and not carried into* Scotland *to receive his Judgment there; till such Time* (which are the very Words of the Act) *as both Kingdoms shall be made one in Laws and Government, which is the Thing so much desired, as that wherein the full Perfection of the blessed Union (already begun in the King's Royal Person) consisteth*. And further they went not: For they found and fear'd the old Enmity would yet a while continue; for since the King's coming into *England*, the loose and uncomposed Borderers, that liv'd upon Rapine and Spoil, (seeking new Benefits from new Changes) had broke out and committed many Insolencies; who, though they were suppressed by the Forces of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and many of them suffer'd in it, yet Custom and Habit had bred in them a Natural Ferity; which could only be restrain'd by giving Freedom to the Laws, that within a short time gave bound to that barbarous Animosity. The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *English*, were likewise repeal'd there; so that all Passages were made smooth on both sides. This Session also produc'd divers good Laws for the Benefit of the Common-wealth.

But this Session brought in no Money, that is as the Blood of the Subject, which he (as a wise Physician) would not strain from them the ordinary way, lest the Sense of it should bring the more Fears and Faintings with it; but by laying on little Burthens at first, he not only inured them to bear greater, but made them sweat out some of that Humour insensibly, though they felt it afterward, when they found the Weight laid upon their Shoulders, only (as they conceiv'd) to daub other Mens with Bravery. For the King's Bounty was seen by the vulgar Eye to overflow in many little Rivulets, who knew the golden Streams that out-faced the Sun, came not from the North's cold Climate, but were drain'd out of the Fountains of their Labour. They could not endure to see their Fellow-Subjects grow fat, by what should be their Nourishment. Collecting that the King had receiv'd Three hundred and fifteen thousand Pounds Subsidies due to the late Queen, besides what the Parliament had given him. And fearing that Proclamations (who were indeed very active Ministers) would now become Laws, ushering in the King's Will with large Stripes upon the Peoples Liberties, who lay down while they slept over them. The more ingenuous Sort, sensible of this incroaching Monarchy, brake out into private Murmur, which by degrees (being of a light Nature) carried a Cloud with it; by which the wise Pilots of the State, fore-seeing a Storm gathering, strive to dissipate the next Session of Parliament, which was held the 19th of *February*, in the Seventh Year of our King's Reign,

Not long after this, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord High Treasurer, died suddenly, as he sate at the Council Table; which gave Occasion to some Persons disaffected to him, (as what eminent Officer that hath the Management of Monies can please all?) to speak many Things to his Dishonour. But they considered not, that, besides the black Worm and the white, (day and Night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing constantly at the Root of this Tree of Life, there are many insensible Diseases, as Apoplexies, whose Vapours suddenly extinguish the Animal Spirits; and Apostems, both in the upper and middle Region of Man, that often drown and suffocate both Animal and Vital; who are like imbodied Twins, the one cannot live without the other: If the Animal Spirits fail, the Vital cannot subsist; if the Vitals perish, the Animal give over their Operations. And he that judges ill of such an Act of Providence, may have the same Hand, at the same time, writing within the Palace Walls of his own Body, the same Period to his Life's Earthly Empire. The Death of the Earl of *Dorset* suddenly.

The Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him; a Man nourished with the Milk of Policy, under his Father the Lord *Burley*, famous for Wisdom in his Generation) a Courtier from his Infancy, battel'd by Art and Industry under the late Queen, Mother of her Country. Though Nature was not propitious to his Outside, (being crook'd Back'd) she supplied that Want with admirable Endowments within. This Man the King found Secretary, and Master of the Wards; and to these he added the Treasurer's Staff, knowing him to be the Staff of his Treasury: For he had Knowledge enough to pry into other Mens Offices as well as his own, and knew the Ways of disbursing the King's Moneys. The Earl of *Northampton* he made Lord Privy Seal; and these were the two prime Wheels of his Triumphant Chariot. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord Chamberlain before; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Affairs, being a Spirit of a more grosser Temper, fitter to part a Fray, and compose the Differences of a disordered Court, than a Kingdom. Upon the Shoulders of the two first, the King laid the Burthen of his Business: for though he had many Lords his Creatures, some by Creation, and some by Insinuation, (for Kings will never want supple-hand Courtiers) and the Bishops, being his Dependents, the most of them tending by direct Lines towards him, as the Center of their Advancement; so that he (like the Supreme Power) mov'd this upper Region, for the most part, and that had an Influence upon the lower, the inferiour Orbs: Yet these two Noblemen were the two great Lights that were to discover the King's Mind to the Parliament, and by whose Heat and Vigour the blessed Fruits of Peace and Plenty should be produc'd. The Earl of *Salisbury* made Treasurer

The Lord Treasure (by a Command from the King) instructs both Houses in their Business, and what they shall do well to insist upon *Salisbury* and *Northampton* Sticklers for the King.

An. Reg. 7. An. Christi 1609.

upon this Seſſion. Firſt, to ſupply his Majeſty's Wants. Secondly, to eaſe the People of their Grievances. They go commonly yoak'd together: For the Peoples Grievances are the King's Wants, and the King's Wants are the Peoples Grievances; How can they be ſeparated? If the King will always want, the People will always ſuffer: For Kings, when they do want, lay commonly lawleſs Impoſitions on the People, which they muſt take off again with a Sum of Money, and then they want again to a continued Viciſſitude.

Theſe two Propoſitions are ſweeten'd by him with a third; which is, to make the Parliament Witneſſes of thoſe great Favours and Honours that his Majeſty intended his Royal Son, Prince *Henry*, in creating him Prince of *Wales*: Which though the King might do without a Parliament, and that divers Kings his Predeceſſors had done ſo, (as by many Precedents was manifeſted) yet being deſirous to have a happy Union betwixt him and his People, he would have nothing reſound ill in their Ears from ſo eminent an Inſtrument to the Kingdom's Good as his Son. Then they excuſe the King's Neceſſities, proceeding from his great Disburſements: For the Three hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Subſidies, due in the late Queen's time, he receiv'd with one Hand, and paid her Debts with another, redeeming the Crown Lands which ſhe had mortgag'd to the City. He kept an Army of Nineteen thouſand Men in *Ireland* for ſometime afoot; wherein a great many of the Nobility were Commanders, and other deſerving Soldiers that would have been expoſed to Want and Penury, if not ſupplied: And it was not ſafe for the King to truſt the inveterate Malice of a new reconciled Enemy, without the Sword in his Hand. ‖ The late Queen's Funeral Charges were reckon'd up, which they hoped the Parliament would not repine at: Nor was it fit the King ſhould come in as a private Perſon, bringing in one Crown on his Head, and finding another here; or his Royal Conſort, with our future Hopes (like ſo many precious Jewels) expoſed to Robbers, without a Guard and Retinue? How fit was the Magnificence at the King of *Denmark*'s being here? And how juſt that Ambaſſadors from Foreign Princes (more than ever this Crown received) ſhould find thoſe Entertainments and Gratuities, the want whereof would put a dim Luſtre abroad on the moſt ſparkling Jewels of the Crown; Beſides, the neceſſary Charge of ſending Ambaſſadors to others, being concurrent and mutual Civilities among Princes.

That theſe are the Cauſes of the King's Wants, and not his irregular Bounty, though a Magnificent Mind is inſeparable from the Majeſty of a King. If he did not give, his Subjects and Servants would live in a Miſerable Climate; and for his Bounty to thoſe that were not born among us, it muſt be remembred he was born among them; and not to have them taſte of the Bleſſing he had attain'd, were to have him change his Virtue with his Fortune. Therefore they deſire the King's Wants may be ſupplied; a Thing eaſie to be granted, and not to be valued by Wiſe Men, nor ſpoken of without Contempt. Philoſophy ſaith, that all Riches are but Food and Raiment, the reſt is *Nugarium quiddam*: And that it is but *Puris pars terræ*, and therefore but *Craſſior pars aquæ*, a thing unworthy the Denial to ſuch a King who is not only the Wiſeſt of Kings, but the very Image of an Angel, that hath brought good Tidings, and ſettled us in the Fruition of all good Things. He whoſe depth of Knowledge, as well as Conſcience, deſerves the Title of *Fidei Defenſor*; whoſe Numerous Iſſue makes Foreign Princes ſtudy to keep their own, not look abroad. He that hath ſhut the Back-door of the Kingdom, and placed Two Lions, a Red and a Yellow to ſecure it; who would have us live under our Own Olive, that we may *Lætari & benefacere*. That none will wonder at the Want, or ſtartle at the Supply, but ſuch as ſtudy to ſerve their own Turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the Stories of their own Ignorance. Among which thoſe are to be reckon'd, who (hearing of an Order to bind up the Printed Proclamation in a Book, that the better Notice may be taken of the things contain'd in them) have raiſed a Bruit, that it was intended this Parliament to make Proclamations equal to the Laws, which never entred into the King's Heart; who is ſo far from governing by Will and Power, that he will yield to any Motion from them, wherein they ſhall hold a juſt Diameter and Proportion among themſelves, and obſerve thoſe Duties due to a Great and Gracious King.

Thus theſe Lords did pleaſe themſelves and the King, by ſtriving to keep the People in the milky way of Obedience, which they had long ſuck'd in, and found the Sweet of it tending to Nouriſhment, not yet meeting any Gallous or Brawny Conſtitution, (which muſt harden them by Degrees) nor yet finding their own Tempers grown Robuſt enough, by ſo harſh a Diet as afterwards they met with. They therefore are willing to go on in the Way pointed out to them, as Pupills follow their Maſters, minding rather the Smoothneſs of the Tract they ſaw, than the Roughneſs of the End. Yet ſome of them, whoſe Hopes were not ſo high Mounted, and their Spirits more, ſpoke plainly, *That the whole Wealth of* England *would not ſerve the King's vaſt Bounty*; therefore it was a vain thing to give him that would give it away again: That Gold and Silver in *Edinburgh* now in our *Solomon*'s time are like the Stones in the Streets, never ſo much glittering there, like a perpetual Spring time. Beſides they look upon the King's Encroachments upon the Publick Liberty, by undermining the Laws, taking notice of ſome Expreſſions that fell from him publickly at his Dinner, in derogation of the Common-Law, extolling highly the Civil Law before it; and approving a Book lately written by Dr. *Cowel*, a Civilian, againſt it: Which nettled our great Lawyers, that had not ſome of them been raiſed ſo high, that they could not with that Court-gag look downwards, it had bred a Conteſt.

The High Commiſſion alſo began now to ſwell into a Grievance, which the Parliament complain'd of. Seldom is Authority and Power exerciſed with Moderation: Every Man muſt conform to the Epiſcopal way, and quit his hold in Opinion or Safety. That Court was

The High Commiſſion a Grievance.

‖ Queen *Elizabeth's Funeral* was nothing extraordinary, and could hardly ſwell up any great Article of his Debts. King *James* was ſo very glad to have it over, that as he went not into Cloſe Mourning before her Interment, ſo he gave poſitive Orders the *Court-mourning* ſhould be left off in leſs than Two Months after it.

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The K's Speech to both Houses. He tells them, Though the King's Heart be in the Hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before the Eyes of the People; assuring them, That he never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law of the Land; though it be disputed among them, as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute Power of a King. He knew, he said, the Power of Kings, resembling it to the Power Divine: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure, so Kings can give Life and Death, judge All, and be judged of None. They can exalt low Things, and abase high Things, making the Subjects like Men at *Chess*, a Pawn to take a Bishop or a Knight. (But he left out the Power of a Pawn to take a Queen, or check a King.) And when he had raised the King's Power to the Height, with *Vos dii estis*, he brings them down again, with, *They shall die like Men*: And that all Kings, who are not Tyrants or Perjur'd, will bound themselves within the Limits of their Laws, and they that perswade them the contrary, are Vipers and Pests both against them and the Commonwealth. Yet as it is Blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his Power. And as he will not have his Subjects discourse of what he may, so he will do nothing but what shall be consonant to Law and Reason. Then he strives to mitigate the sharpness of the Words drop'd from him at the Table to the Disparagement of the Common Law; and assures them, Though he likes the Civil Law very well, as being *Lex Gentium*, which maintains intercourse with Foreign Nations, and is fitted to the Ecclesiastical Courts, Court of Admiralty, and Courts of Request; yet he is so far from disavowing the Common Law, that he protests, If he were to chuse a new Law for this Kingdom, he would prefer it before any other National Law; yea, the Law of *Moses*, nay, without Blasphemy, the very Law of *God*. Then he recalls himself, and tells them, That though for this Nation he had preferr'd the Common Law to the Law of *God*, yet it is Inferiour to the Judicial Law. For no Book or Law is free from Corruption, but the Book and Law of *God*.

And therefore he could wish that Three things specially were purged out of the Common Law.

First, That it were written in the Vulgar Tongue, and made plain to the Peoples Understanding, that they might know what to obey; that the Lawyers in the Law, like the Romish Priests in the Gospel, might not keep the People in Ignorance.

Secondly, That the Common Law might have a settled Text in all Cases, for being grounded upon old Customs, Reports, and Cases of former Judges, called *Responsa prudentum*, which are not binding (for divers times Judges disclaim them, and recede from the Judgment of their Predecessors) it were good upon mature Deliberation, that the Exposition of the Law were set down by Act of Parliament, that the People might know what to depend upon.

Thirdly, There is in the Common Laws divers contrary Reports and Precedents, and divers Statutes and Acts of Parliament, that do cross one another, being so penn'd, that they may be taken in divers Senses; therefore he could wish, they might be review'd, and reconcil'd. And whereas he is thought an Enemy to Prohibitions, he saith, He is not ignorant of the Necessity of them, if every Stream might run in its own Channel; but the Overflowing and Super-abundance of them in every Court, striving to bring more grist to their Mill, was a Distemper fit to be Cured; therefore he did not disallow the Use, but the Abuse.

Then he closes with the House of Commons, and not only thanks them for the Bonfire they made of certain Papers, which were presented Grievances from some discontented Murmuring Spirits; but he instructs them how to receive Grievances hereafter: In which, he would have them careful to avoid Three Things.

The First, That they meddle not with the main Points of Government, that is his Craft, *Tractent fabrilia fabri*. To meddle with that were to lessen him, who hath been Thirty Years at the Trade in *Scotland*, and served an Apprenticeship of Seven Years here; therefore here needs no *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*.

Secondly, He would not have such ancient Rights as he hath received from his Predecessors accounted Grievances; that were to judge him unworthy to enjoy what they left him.

And Lastly, That they should be careful not to present that for a Grievance, which is establish'd by a Law; for it is very undutiful in Subjects to press their King wherein they are sure to be deny'd. Complaints may be made unto them of the High Commissioners, let the Abuse appear then, and spare not, there may be Errors among them; but to take away the Commission, is to derogate from him; and it is now in his Thoughts to rectify it in a good Proportion.

Then he shews the emergent Cause of his great Expences, since his coming to the Crown, which makes him desire a Supply from them, confirming what the Lords formerly deliver'd; wherein he said, When they open'd his Necessities unto them, his Purse only Labour'd, now his Desires are taken notice of both at Home and Abroad, his Reputation Labours as well as his Purse; for the World will think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that both lessen'd their Hearts, and tied up their Hands towards him.

Thus the King express'd himself to the Parliament, desiring their Assistance, assuring them, He had no Intention to alter the Government, though he wish'd the Laws might be rectify'd. But his King-craft (as he calls it) fail'd in striking at the Common Law; and he was convinced in it, how dangerous it was to give too much Knowledge to the People: The Two great Hammers of the State, the Church-man and Lawyer, that work the People to Obedience upon the Two Anvils of Conscience and Policy,

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Policy, bear him to the Understanding of it; so that ever after he join'd with them, and that Three-fold Cord was not easily dissolv'd. But the times not being ripe yet to produce any thing but the Fruits of Obedience, they after this Lesson settled themselves to make divers good Laws, which they purchased at the rate of a Subsidy and a Fifteen.

A Proclamation against new Buildings.

About this time, the Suburbs betwixt *London* and *Westminster* had many ruinous Piles of Building, which Age had worn out, and Industry and Riches (the two great Supporters of this Momentary Eternity) did strive to renew. Among the rest, the Lord Treasurer erected out of the Rubbish of the old Stables of *Durham-house*, a goodly Fabrick, to be Rival to the *Old-Exchange*, which the King by his Presence dignified with the Name of *Britain's Burse*. But he took notice of, the swelling Buildings upon the new Foundations, which he look'd upon as a Rickety Constitution in the Head of the Kingdom, being Inviters of a Flux of Humours and Diseases to be near the Court; besides, he fear'd the Plague would come too near *Whitehall*, if that Distemper encreased. † And therefore he carefully, with mature deliberation of his Council, forbids all New Buildings to be set up for the future, within Two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation strictly commands, if any be, they shall be pulled down, tho' not taken notice of till Seven Years after. Whereby many Men (that did not so well heed the Proclamation) laid out their whole Estates upon little Hovels, and building fair Houses upon New Foundations (though it were but two Yards from the Old) they became Trespassers, and must either purchase their Houses again at a dear rate, or pull them down, both ways tending to their Ruine. Thus falling under the Stroke of the Time's rough Hand, without a Providential Care of the Danger that would follow: For what was so strictly forbidden then, was permitted after; and those Reasons that caused the restraint then (the increase of the Plague) were found upon better Experience to be a Remedy; for there was more Room and better Air to prevent it, among thin and single Families, than full-crouded Houses. And this Severity had a Second Consideration, which was, to prevent the greatness of the Body of the Kingdom from swelling to be all Head, when the Head it felt wanted so much increase of Building, as to plump, and make those thin Parts appear more round and beautiful, which was then a Disgrace, but is now an Ornament to both Cities. So that what the Wisdom of one time doth decry, the Experience of another may advance: Such is the World's career! And they are only Miserable, whose imprudence, or ill luck, puts them in the way to be over-run by it.

The Siege of Juliers.

, This Year 1609. begot a Truce betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries*; yet by the Death of the Duke of *Cleve*, the War was like to revive again: For while two petty Princes, *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*, strove for the Inheritance, *Spain*, like the Vulture in the Fable, attempted to catch it from both, seizing upon *Juliers*, one of the chief Strengths of the Country; which the States of the *Netherlands*, by the help of our King, and *Henry* IV. of *France*, besieg'd, and recover'd again. Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, commanded Four thousand *English* at that Siege, whose Conduct gave Life to his Soldiers Valour, and that advanced the Glory of his Conduct. But where such fiery Spirits are congregated into a Body, there will be often violent and thundring Eruptions. Sir *Hatton Cheek* was next Commander to Sir *Edward Cecil*, a Man of a gallant and daring Courage in the difficultest Enterprises; who speaking to Sir *Thomas Dutton* (one of the Captains under his

† The *Author*, though he reasons well enough upon the Conveniencies and Inconveniencies of these *new raised Buildings*, omits the Illegality of the *Proclamation* that prohibited them; and has so much good Nature as to conceal the true Reason of this Proclamation, which, in the Opinion of most other Writers, was to bring in Money to some Favourites.

, Why the Author has pass'd over so slightly this *Treaty* between *Spain* and the *States of Holland*, is the more strange, That it was the first Scene in which King *James* appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Mediator, since his Accession to the Crown of *England*; and was of such consequence, that all *Europe* was kept in suspence for several Years about the Event of it.

Indeed King *James*'s Part in that *Treaty* was as mean as that of *Henry* IV. of *France*; the other *Mediator* was *Glorious*. And his Conduct towards the *States* for whom he pretended to Mediate, and towards *France* with whom he join'd the Mediation, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims observ'd by his Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth*.

There were employ'd in that *Treaty* two Ambassadors, *Mediators* from each of these two *Crowns*, one *Extraordinary*, and another *Ordinary*. All along, during the Course of it, the *English* Ambassadors gave not only the hand to the *French*, but in both the *Treaty* it self, and in the *Guarantee* of it, the Ordinary Ambassador of *France* is nam'd before the Extraordinary Ambassador of *England*.

But this was not all; for notwithstanding this low Condescention of King *James*, and though he was mediating a *Treaty*, wherein the *States* of *Holland* were to be acknowledg'd *Free* and *Independent*; yet at the same time his Ambassador in *Turkey* gave it out industriously, and would have had it believ'd there, that the *States* were *Feudatory* and *Depending* of *England*.

This Story of the *English* Ambassadors at the *Port* was thought of such consequence in *France*, that President *Jeannin*, their Ambassador Extraordinay at that *Treaty*, was commanded to demand of the *States* an Authentick Declaration to the contrary, in order to be Transmitted to *Constantinople*.

It's true, *Jeannin* wrote back to the *French* Ministers, *That he thought such a Declaration was needless; and that it would be sufficient to send to* Constantinople *a Copy of the Treaty between* Spain *and the* States, *wherein the King of* England *enter'd as Guarantee, and in which the* States *are own'd and acknowledg'd by all Parties Independent Sovereigns. But withall*, (adds *Jeannin*) *If these Reasons should not be thought sufficient, he would demand the Declaration they desir'd, which he question'd not easily to obtain.*

What opinion the *French* Ministers had of King *James* in that *Treaty*, appears frequently in the same *Jeannin*'s Printed Negotiations, and in several of his *Letters* to King *Henry*: In which he tells him again and again, That King James *was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the* Hollanders *for throwing off the Sovereignty of* Spain *upon the Account of its bad Example.* In Answer to one of which Letters, King *Henry* owns his knowledge of King *James* his ill Intentions towards the *States*; and withal tells *Jeannin*, *His Carriage did not break his sleep*; ending his Letter with this word of Contempt, rarely us'd mong Princes of that Rank, *Je scay sa porte & les Inclinations de son Peuple: I know his Capacity and the Inclinations of his Subjects.*

That the *States* themselves had no better Opinion of him, appears in a Printed Letter of the two *French* Ambassadors to King *Henry*: Therein they acquaint him with a private Conference between *Barnevelt*, the first Minister of the *States*, and *Jeannin*; at which the former told him as a Secret, *That his Country-men were sensible, King* James *bore no good Will to them; Hated them and their Cause in his Heart, and inclin'd more to the* Spaniard; *But that they were oblig'd to dissemble with him, and accept of his Mediation, for fear he should join with the* Spaniard *against them.*

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Command) somewhat hastily, *Dutton* disdaining to be snapt up, (being a Man of a crabbed Temper) returned as hot an Answer, which broke into a Flame: But *Dutton* quenched it, by telling Sir *Hatton Cheek*, *He knew he was his Officer, which tied him in the Army to a strict Obedience; but he would break that Bond, and vindicate himself in another Place*: And instantly quitting his Command, he went for *England*.

A Duel betwixt Sir *Hatton Cheek*, and Sir *Thomas Dutton*.

Some small time after the taking of *Juliers*, *Cheek* fell sick; and his Distemper was the greater, because he had heard *Dutton* strove to defame him, both in Court and City; for being full with Passion, he vented it with Freedom enough in every place. *Cheek* being recover'd, and Heart-whole, would not give time to his decay'd Limbs to suck in their old Vigour, but sends to *Dutton* that threatn'd him, to give an Account of the large Expence of his Tongue aginst him. *Dutton*, that waited for such a Reckoning, willingly accepted the Summons: *Cheek* took *Pigot*, one of his Captains, to be his Second; *Dutton* took Captain *Gosnald*, both Men of well-spread Fame; and they Four met on *Calais* Sands: On which dreadful Stage, at first meeting, *Dutton* began to expostulate his Injuries, as if a Tongue Combat might decide the Controversy; but *Cheek* would dispute it otherwise. Then their Seconds searching, and stripping them to their Shirts in a cold Morning, they run with that Fury on each other's Sword, as if they did not mean to kill each other, but strive who should first die. Their Weapons were Rapier and Dagger, a fit Banquet for Death. At the first Course, *Cheek* run *Dutton* into the Neck with his Rapier, and stab'd him in the Neck backward with his Dagger, miraculously missing his Windpipe: And at the same instant, like one Motion, *Dutton* ran *Cheek* through the Body, and stab'd him into the Back with his left Hand, locking themselves together thus with four bloody Keys, which the Seconds fairly open'd, and would fain have closed up the bleeding Difference; but *Cheek's* Wounds were deadly, which he finding, grew the violenter against his Enemy; and *Dutton* seeing him begin to stagger, went back from his Fury, only defending himself, till the other's Rage, weaken'd with Loss of Blood, without any more Hurt, fell at his Feet. *Dutton*, with much Difficulty, recover'd his dangerous Wounds but *Cheek* by his Servants had a sad Funeral; which is the bitter Fruit of Fiery Passions.

Henry the Fourth of *France* stabb'd by *Ravillac*.

The next Year was fatal to *Henry* the Great of *France*, who (in the heighth of his Glory, when he had imp'd his Wings with a mighty Army, and a Mass of Treasure, and none knew which way his towring Spirit would fly) was stopt by a horrid Hand, that with a poyson'd Knife cut out his Passage to another World: Such poor and penetrable Things are Kings, as well as other Men! And when in this World's Sea they have toil'd their Spirits, in a continued Tempest of fond Hopes, and built upon the Sand their vast Desires, either old Age doth wash them quite away, or else some sudden Storm makes them cast Anchor upon the Shores of Death, and there's an end. But one Act of Providence is very remarkable towards him, as a Fore-runner of this ensuing Mischief. When he came first to the Crown, (which he as it were) snatch'd out of the Fire, the whole Kingdom being in a Flame) he was a professed Protestant, so born, and so bred up; but finding himself in a tottering Condition among his Popish Subjects, for his better Security, he did something comply with them in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which gave great Scandal to the Reformed; yet did not much advance him in the good Opinion of their Opposites: For the Jesuits, unconfident of him, inclining more to the hot Zeal of *Spain*) one of their Instruments stab'd him into the Mouth with a Knife, without much Hurt: Which done, an Intimate of his, that came to visit him, told him plainly, That the Hand of God was much seen in this Action; for he had now denied the Truths of God, and the Religion he suck'd in with his Milk, but from the Teeth outward; and therefore this Punishment came to him as a Warning: But let him take Heed of denying it with his Heart; for if he did, (it is to be fear'd) God would strike him there also: Both which were too much manifested. So suitable often are God's Judgments to our Sins!

The Venom of this Blow reach'd presently into *England*, and came somewhat near to our King's Heart; therefore he took the best way to prevent his Fears, by striving to prevent his Dangers, having no other End but his own: For when he consider'd the Horridness of the Powder-Plot, and by it the irreconcileable Malice of that Party, he thought it the safest Policy, not to stir those Ashes where so much Fire was cover'd; which gave way to a Flux of that Jesuitical Humour to infest the Body of the Kingdom.

A Proclamation against Jesuits.

But now being startled with this poyson'd Knife, he ventures upon a Proclamation, strictly commanding all Jesuits and Priests out of the Kingdom, and all Recusants to their own Houses, not to come within Ten Miles of the Court; and secures all the rest of his Subjects to him, by an universal taking of the Oath of Allegiance; which the Parliament, both Lords and Commons, (then sitting) began, and the rest of the People follow'd, to the King's great Contentment.

For the last Session the Parliament was prorogu'd till the Sixteenth of *October* this Year; and meeting now, they were willing to secure their Allegiance to the King out of Piety; yet they were so stout, (even in those Youthful Days, which he term'd Obstinacy) that they would not obey him in his Encroachments upon the Publick Liberty, which he began then to practise: For being now season'd with Seven Years Knowledge in his Profession here, he thought he might set up for himself, and not be still Journeyman to the lavish Tongue of Men, that pry'd too narrowly into the Secrets of his Prerogative, which are Mysteries too high for them, being *Arcana Imperii*, fitter to be admir'd than question'd: But the Parliament were apprehensive enough, that those hidden Mysteries made many dark Steps into the People's Liberties; and they were willing, by the Light of Law and Reason, to discover what was the King's, what theirs: Which the King unwilling to have search'd into, (after Five Sessions in Six Years time) dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation.

Prince *Henry* created Prince of *Wales*.

Prince *Henry*, the prime Branch of this Royal Cedar, now growing Manly, (being in the Sixteenth Year of his Age) put forth himself in a more Heroick manner than was usual with Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other Exercises on Horseback, the Martial Discipline of gentle Peace, which caught the Peoples Eyes, and made their Tongues the Messengers of their Hearts, in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant Towardliness to Admiration. And now the King thought him full of Ripeness for the Honour of Knighthood, (which

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admitted of a willing Contribution from the People; and such old Customs as bring in Money are never out of Date) and (to add the more Splendour to his sparkling Youth) created him Prince of *Wales*, as he formerly intimated to the Parliament) with all the Pomp and Solemnity that a great King could express to a hopeful Son, his First-born; or the Merit of a Prince (that floated in the Peoples Affections) could possibly attain to: For as yet the King could discover nothing in him but that harmless and wanton Innocency that commonly accompanies Youth, being of a light Nature, and soon blown away. But how far the King's Fears (like thick Clouds) might afterwards blind the Eye of his Reason, when he saw him (as he thought) too high mounted in the Peoples Love, and of an alluring Spirit, to decline his Paternal Affection to him, and bring him to the low Condition he fell in, may be the Subject of my Fears, not of my Pen. With this Ingrandizing Title the King added a great Revenue, establishing also a full and splendent Retinue and Family to attend his Person at *St. James's*, now appointed to be the Prince's Court, where this new Star, plac'd in the Third House, might be fear'd to culminate, and become Lord of the Ascendant His Palace being as gloriously attended with young and sprightly Blossoms, as the King's was with older, and more sage Plants. And now the King deliberates for a Wife for him, and sends to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, his Lieger Ambassador in *Spain*, to treat with that King for his eldest Daughter. But after some Traverses, it was found there was more Time lost than Ground gotten: For Princes in Treaties lie at the Snap, and the most backward often gets the better of it. But the King being not so hot then for this, as he was after for the other Son, with another Sister (the eldest being matched into *France*) made a quicker and a more honourable Retreat.

Bancroft Archbishop of *Canterbury* dies.

About this time *Richard Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died; a Person severe enough, whose Roughness gain'd little upon those that deserted the Ceremonies. ‖ One Work of his shew'd his Spirit better than the ruggedest Pen can depaint it: For it was he that first brought the King to begin a new College by *Chealsea*, wherein the choice and ablest Scholars of the Kingdom, and the most pregnant Wits in Matters of Controversies, were to be associated under a Provost, with a fair and ample Allowance, not exceeding Three thousand Pounds a Year, whose Design was to answer all Popish Books, or others, that vented their malignant Spirits against the Protestant Religion, either the Heresies of the Papists, or the Errors of those that strook at Hierarchy; so that they should be two-edg'd Fellows, that would make old cutting and slashing; and this he forwarded with all Industry during his time; and there is yet a formal Act of Parliament in being for the establishment of it: But after his Death the King wisely considered, that nothing begets more Contention than Opposition, and such Fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than quench the Heat that would arise from those Embers: For Controversies are often (or for the most part) the Exuberancies of Passion; and the Philosopher saith, Men are drunk with Disputes, and in that Inordinateness take the next thing that comes to hand to throw at one anothers Faces; so that the Design fell to the Ground with him; and there is only so much Building standing by the *Thames*-side, as to shew, that what he intended to Plant, he meant should be well Watered; and yet it wither'd in the Bud. I can lay nothing to the Charge of this great Man, but from common Fame; yet this I may truly say, That for his Predecessor *Whitgift*, and his Successor *Abbot*, I never heard nor read any thing tending to their Disparagement: But on him, some unhappy Wit vented this Pasquin;

7 Regis.

Here lies his Grace in cold Earth clad,
Who died with Want of what he had.

The Queen was Mistress of *Somerset-House*, (as well as the Prince was Master of St. *James's*) and she would fain have given it the Name of *Denmark-house*, which Name continued her time among her People; but it was afterwards left out of the common Calendar, like the dead Emperor's new-nam'd Month. She was not without some Grandees to attend her for outward Glory; the Court being a continued Maskarado, where she and her Ladies, like so many Sea-Nymphs, or Nereides, appear'd often in various Dresses, to the Ravishment of the Beholders: The King himself not being a little delighted with such fluent Elegancies, as made the Nights more Glorious than the Day. But the Latitude that these high-flying Fancies, and more speaking Actions, gave to the lower World to judge and censure, even the greatest with Reproaches, shall not provoke Me so much as to stain the innocent Paper. I shall only say in general, That Princes, by how much they are greater than others, are look'd upon with a more severe Eye; if their Virtues be not suitable to their Greatness, they lose much of their Value: For it is too great an Allay to such Refinedness to fall under the common Conizance.

Masks in great esteem.

Pembroke a Favourite

Montgomery a Favourite.

As she had her Favourites in one place, the King had his in another. She lov'd the elder Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*; he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Montgomery*, and Knight of the Garter: But either not finding him suitable to his Humour or Affections, or seeing another Object more delightful, his Fancy ran with a violent Stream upon a young Gentleman, who had neither Parts nor Birth to entertain such a Current. His Name was *Robert Car*, born about *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, descended from Gentry of that Name, a young Man about Twenty Years of Age, a comely Personage, mix'd with a handsome and courtly Garb, which he had been practising in *France*, and lately came over. Sir *James Hayes*, some say the Lord *Dingwell*, at a Tilting (among the rest of the

Car a Favourite.

‖ I am apt to think the *Author* is mistaken about the Original of this intended *College* at *Chelsea*. It was one *Sutcliffe*, Doctor in Divinity, that procur'd a Patent from King *James* for erecting this College, to consist of a Provost and Twenty Fellows, to be chosen by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and the Vice Chancellors of the two Universities for the time being; which College he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own Money, and the free Contributions of others. He was the First Provost himself, and dy'd either after Archbishop *Bancroft*, or about the same time; for there were three Provosts after him successively, whereof the Learned Dr. *Featly* was one.

Now, how far Archbishop *Bancroft* might encourage *Sutcliffe*'s Design, I know not: But if it had been Originally *Bancroft*'s own, it's not probable King *James* would have discourag'd it afterwards, as he did; or that his next Successor but one, Archbishop *Laud*, would have utterly neglected a Foundation laid by a Prelate, whose Memory he held in the highest Veneration, and whose Maxims and Character he made it his Business to imitate.

Pages

An. Reg. 9. *An. Chriſti* 1611.

Pages and Gentlemen that in their richeſt Ornaments attended him for that Day's Triumph) made Choice of Mr. *Car* (according to the Cuſtom) to preſent his Shield and Device to the King; and as he was deſcending, the Horſe, full of Fire and Heat, prevented him, threw him down before the King, and broke his Leg. This Accident gave the King Occaſion to take Notice of him; and hearing that his Name was *Car*, remembred he had a Page of that Name when he came firſt into *England*, which this prov'd to be: For the Pages the King brought firſt with him, according to the *French* way, to wait upon his Coach, were diſcharg'd, and Footmen, according to the *Engliſh* way, ſupplied thoſe Places. The King muſtering up his Thoughts, fix'd them upon this Object of Pity, giving ſpecial Order to have him lodg'd in the Court, and to have his own Phyſicians and Chirurgions uſe their beſt Endeavours for his Recovery. The King viſited him often during his neceſſitated Reſtraint, ſometimes an Hour or more diſcourſing with him, to ſound him, and know what he was; and tho' he found no great Depth of Literature or Experience, yet ſuch a ſmooth and calm Outſide made him think there might be good Anchorage, and a fit Harbour for his moſt retir'd Thoughts. As ſoon as he recover'd (which the King with ſome Impatience attended) he made him Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himſelf to teach him the Latin Tongue, and laid a Foundation, by his daily Diſcourſes with him, to improve him unto a Capability of his moſt endear'd Affections.

Now all Addreſſes are made to Sir *Robert Car*; he is the Favourite in Ordinary; no Suit, nor no Reward but comes by him; his Hand diſtributes, and his Hand reſtrains; our Supreme Power works by ſecond Cauſes; the Lords themſelves can ſcarce have a Smile without him. And to give the greater Luſtre to his Power, about this time the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's old truſty Servant, (the Cabinet of his ſecret Counſels) died; ſo that he ſolely now took the moſt intimate of them into his Charge, and the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *Scotland*, which Staff the other left behind him; and though it could be no great Supporter, yet the Credit of it carried ſome Reputation in his own Country, where it was his Happineſs to be magnified, as well as in *England*; for he had Treaſure enough here, where the Fountain was.

1612. Made Viſcount.

And to ingrandize all, the King created him Baron of *Brandſpeth*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and ſoon after Knight of the Garter. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majeſty to ſhine in the higheſt Glory, grappling often with the Prince himſelf in his own Sphere in divers Conteſtations: For the Prince being a high-born Spirit, and meeting a young Competitor in his Father's Affections, that was a Muſhroom of yeſterday, thought the Venom would grow too near him, and therefore he gave no Countenance, but Oppoſition to it; which was aggravated by ſome little Scintils of Love, as well as Hatred, (Rivals in Paſſion) being both Amorous, and in youthful Blood, fixing by Accident upon one Object, who was a third Man's; in which the Viſcount got the Maſtry, but to his Ruine. The Prince ſhewing his Affection, by his neglecting of her, to be grounded rather upon Envy to the Man, than Love to the Woman.

The Earl of *Eſſex* marries the Lady *Frances Howard*.

But before this time, the Treaſurer *Saliſbury*, that great Engine of the State, by whom all Wheels moved, held an intimate Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, which he had ſtrengthened with an Alliance; marrying his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katharine*, the eldeſt Daughter of that Family.

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And being mindful of the Aſperity and Sharpneſs that was betwixt him and the late Earl of *Eſſex*, he thought it a good Act of Policy and Piety not to ſuffer Malice to become Hereditary; and therefore he was a great Means in marrying the young Earl of *Eſſex* to the Lady *Francis Howard*, another of thoſe Siſters, that the Father's Enmity might be cloſed up by the Son's Nuptial Fraternity. The Earl of *Eſſex* was Fourteen Years of Age, and ſhe Thirteen when they married; too young to conſider, but old enough to conſent: Yet by the Advice of Friends ſeparated after Marriage, ſhe under her Mother's Wing, and he viſiting *France* and *Germany* till Time ſhould mature and ripen a happy Co-union. The Court was her Neſt, her Father being Lord Chamberlain; and ſhe was hatch'd up by her Mother, whom the ſoure Breath of that Age (how juſtly I know not) had already tainted; from whom the young Lady might take ſuch a Tincture, that Eaſe, Greatneſs, and Court Glories, would more diſtain and impreſs on her, than any way wear out and deminiſh. And growing to be a Beauty of the greateſt Magnitude in that Horrizon, was an Object fit for Admirers, and every Tongue grew an Orator at that Shrine.

The Prince of *Wales*, now in his Puberty, ſent many loving Glances, as Ambaſſadors of his good Reſpects; and amorous Expreſſions are fit Subjects for jealous Reproaches to work on. Her Husband having been now Three or Four Years beyond the Seas, (ſick with Abſence from her whom his Deſires longed after) came over again, and found that Beauty, which he had left innocent, ſo farded and ſophiſticated with ſome Court Drug which had wrought upon her, that he became the greateſt Stranger at home. His Patience made way for him a while, and he bore up with a gentle Gale againſt the Stream of this Woman's Affections, which ran altogether (unknown to him) into another Chanel. Nor was her Reputation yet become ſo robuſt (being of a tender Growth) to ſtrike his Ears with Reproaches; and therefore he imputed her ſly Entertainments to a Maiden Baſhfulneſs; till ſurfeited with that dull Portion (upon better Advice) he went to the Earl of *Suffolk* (her Father) and demanded his Wife, thinking himſelf capable to enjoy both her and her Love. The Father, that thought there had been an Intimacy betwixt them ſuitable to their Conjugal Knot, made uſe of his Paternal Power to reduce his Daughter to the Obedience of a Wife. But while theſe things were ſtruggling for, a moſt Violent Diſeaſe of a Poyſonous Nature, imputed to, but far tranſcending, the ſmall-Pox, ſeized on the Earl of *Eſſex*; and had not the Strength of Youth, and that Almighty Power that orders all things, wrought out the Venom of it, the Earth (as probably wiſh'd by her) had been his Marriage-Bed.

The Counteſs of *Eſſex* in Love with *Rocheſter*.

For this Lady being taken with the growing Fortunes of the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain and hopeleſs Love of the Prince ſhe caſt her Anchor there; which the Prince ſoon diſcover'd, and ſlighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the Ladies, and her Glove falling down, it was taken up, and preſented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable Service; but the Prince refus'd to receive it, ſaying publickly, He would not have it, it is

ſtretcht

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stretcht by another, meaning the Viscount: This was an Aggravation of Hatred betwixt the King's Son and the King's Friend.

‡†‡ The Countess of *Essex* having her Heart alienated from her Husband, and set upon the Viscount, had a double Task to undergo, for accomplishing her ends: One was, to hinder her Husband from enjoying her; the other was to make the Viscount sure unto her: For dishonest Love is most full of Jealousy. Her Husband she look'd upon as a private Person, and to be carried by him into the Country, out of her Element, (being ambitious of Glory, and a Beauty covetous of Applause) were to close (as she thought) with an insufferable Torment; though he was a Man that did not only every way merit her Love, but he lov'd her with an extraordinary Affection, having a gentle, mild, and courteous Disposition, especially to Women, such as might win upon the roughest Natures. But this fiery Heat of his Wife's mounted upon the Wings of Lust, or Love, (call it what you will) carried her after so much Mischief, that those that saw her Face, might challenge Nature of too much Hypocrisy, for harbouring so wicked a Heart under so sweet and bewitching a Countenance.

She consults with Mistress *Turner*.

To strengthen her Designs, she finds out one of her own Stamp, Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Physick's Widow, a Woman whom Prodigality and loosness had brought low; yet her Pride would make her fly any Pitch, rather than fall into the Jaws of Want. These two consult together how they might stop the Current of the Earl's Affections towards his Wife, and make a clear Passage for the Viscount in the place. To effect which, one Doctor *Forman*, a reputed Conjurer, (living at *Lambeth*) is found out: The Women declare to him their Grievances; he promises sudden Help; and to amuse them, frames many little Pictures of Brass and Wax, some like the Viscount and Countess, whom he must unite and strengthen; others like the Earl of *Essex*, whom he must debilitate and weaken; and then with Philtrous Powders and such Drugs he works upon their Persons. And to practise what Effects his Art would produce, Mrs. *Turner*, that lov'd Sir *Arthur Manwaring*, (a Gentleman then attending the Prince) and willing to keep him to her, gave him some of the Powder, which wrought so violently with him, that, through a Storm of Rain and Thunder, he rode Fifteen Miles one dark Night to her House, scarce knowing where he was till he was there. *Such is the devilish and mad Rage of Lust, heighten'd with Art and Fancy.*

And *Forman* about it.

These Things matur'd and ripen'd by the Cunning of this Jugler *Forman*, gave them Assurance of happy Hopes. Her Courtly Invitements, that drew the Viscount to observe her, she imputed to the Operation of those Drugs he had tasted; and that Harshness, and stubborn Comportment she expressed to her Husband, making him (weary of such Entertainments) to absent himself, she thought proceeded from the Effects of those unknown Potions and Powders that were administred to him: So apt is the Imagination to take Impression of those Things we are willing to believe.

The Earl of *Essex* gets his Wife to *Chartley*.

The good Earl finding his Wife nousled in the Court, and seeing no possibility to reduce her to Reason till she were estranged from the Relish and Taste of the Delights she suck'd in there, made his Condition again known to her Father. The old Man being troubled with his Daughter's Disobedience, imbitter'd her, being near him, with wearisome and continual Chidings, to wean her from the Sweets she doted on, and with much ado forc'd her into the Country. But how harsh was the parting, being rent away from the Place where she grew and flourish'd? Yet she left all her Engines and Imps behind her; the old Doctor, and his Confederate Mrs. *Turner*, must be her two Supporters: She blazons all her Miseries to them at her depart, and moystens the way with her Tears. *Chartley* was an Hundred Miles from her Happiness, and a little time thus lost is her Eternity. When she came thither, (tho' in the pleasantest time of Summer) she shut her self up in her Chamber, not suffering a Beam of Light to peep upon her dark Thoughts: If she stirr'd out of her Chamber, it was in the dead of Night, when Sleep had taken possession of all others but those about her. In this implacable, sad discontented Humour, she continu'd some Months, always murmuring against, but never giving the least civil Respect to her Husband; which the good Man suffer'd patiently, being loath to be the Divulger of his own Misery: Yet having a Manly Courage, he would sometimes break into a little Passion, to see himself slighted and neglected by himself, but having never found better from her, it was the easier to bear with her.

She writes to *Forman*.

While she was at *Chartley*, she writ to her Confederates, That *Her Husband found little Operation in their Drugs, complaining of his Lustiness, and her Misery: For* (she said) *the Viscount would never love her, if her Husband did meddle with her, which with difficulty she yet impeded, but how long she should resist his Violence she knew not; therefore she implor'd their Assistance, if they would not see her the most despicable Creature in the World: And for Satisfaction, they should make their own Price.* With this kind of stuff she fill'd her Letters, which were after found in *Forman's* Closet. These Instigations made him active; and the Man being skilful in Natural Magick, did use all the Artifice his Subtilty could devise really to imbecilitate the Earl; for no Linen came near his Body that was not rinsed with their Camphire Compositions, and other faint and wasting Ingredients; and all inward Applications were foisted on him by corrupted Servants, to lessen and debilitate the Seminal Operations: Which *Veneficium* is one great part of Witchcraft, destructive to Nature, and horridly abominable to be practised. And this in time wrought such Effects upon his Person, that he found himself unable with her, tho' she permitted him; yet when he had been from her some reasonable time, to renovate his Spirits, by shaking off those Artificial Applications, then his Abilities made her unwilling and refractory. Tho' some are of Opinion, that he was not much debilitated, but that she got (by her virtuous Agents) an Artifice too immodest to be express'd, to hinder Penetration. And thus she tormented him, till he was contented to let her steer her own Course, which after run her on Ground.

She comes again to Court.

For coming to *London* next Winter with this full Sail, loaden with Lust, she found the Viscount

‡†‡ As the Author has given us a more full and particular Account of these Passages between the Earl of *Essex*, his Lady, and the Favourite *Car*; so he was best qualified to do it, being an intimate bosom Acquaintance of the Earl, from his Youth to his Death. But if any unusual Warmth be observed in his manner of relating them, it must be attributed to his Zeal for the Honour of his Patron.

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count much prepar'd for her; who being at first fasten'd on the Object, Absence, and all those little Artifices that mischievous Women and cunning Impostures could devise, had advanced him as much in his Desires, as they had hindred the other. We could dispute the Nature of these Operations, how far they are contingent, and how the Fancy works with them, tho' ignorant of them, making their Impulsions more active, being the Sparks that kindle this combustible Matter; for we will never allow there was any other Diabolical Means used, Nature being strong enough for such a Production; but being not pertinent to the Story, will leave it, and follow them that found the Effects of it, and had Affections suitable to it, which they made use of with an unbridled Appetite, yet meeting closely in Corners, (Sin being at first shamefac'd) but afterwards they grew more bold; and every Hour that the Viscount could steal from his Royal Master, he dedicated it to his Disloyal Mistress: Being caught in this Net of Adulation, he becomes a willing Prisoner, Lust only getting Liberty to all Looseness and Licentiousness: Places of frequent Meeting are daily renew'd; Persons fitted for such Practices are employ'd; and when Nature was exhausted, Art, her subtil Imitator, brought in her Store, to contribute new Spirits, purchased at any rate. All outward Adornment, to present Beauty in her full Glory, were not wanting on both sides, being Lust's Fuel, which tended to the Consumption of all Reason: And among the rest, yellow Starch, the Invention and soil of Jaundice Complexions, with great Cut-work Bands, and Piccadillies, (a thing that hath since lost the Name) crouded in and flourished among us, Mrs. *Turner* being nominated to be the first Contriver, happily in *England*, but the Original came out from *France*; which Fashion and Colour did set off their lean and sallow Countenances. Thus did the Viscount get the Conquest of two, the King, and this Lady, but could not subdue his own Lustful Appetite.

The Lord *Sanquir* murther-ed a Fencer.

The Wheel of Fortune running towards the *Scots*, turn'd by the Viscount *Rochester*, was unhappily diverted upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of that Nation, and married to a good Family in *England*; who some Years before meeting with a sturdy Fencer, one *John Turner*, who was a Master of the Weapon-trade in his own School, the young Lord strove to put some Affront upon him, (making it no little Conquest to disgrace a Master in the Art, as they term'd it) and the Man apprehensive of the Attempt, with a bold Rudeness press'd so hard upon him, that he thrust out one of the Baron's Eyes. This Mischief was much regretted by *Turner*, and the Baron being conscious to himself that he meant his Adversary some Ill, took the Accident with as much Patience, as Men that lose one Eye by their own Default, use to do for the Preservation of the other. Some time after, being in the Court of the late Great *Henry* of *France*, and the King (courteous to Strangers) entertaining Discourse with him, ask'd him, how he lost his Eye: He (cloathing his Answer in a better Shrow'd than a plain Fencer's) told him, it was done with a Sword: The King replies, Doth the Man live? And that Question gave an end to the Discourse, but was the beginner of a strange Confusion in his working Fancy, which neither Time nor Distance could compose, carrying it in his Breast some Years after, till he came into *England*, where he hir'd two of his Countrymen *Gray* and *Carlile*, (Men of low and mercenary Spirits) to murther him; which they did with a Case of Pistols in his own House in *White-fryars*, many Years after the Loss of his Bodily Eye: Thus the Baron lost the Eye of his Reason. This bold nefarious Act was very deeply resented at Court, and the King's Commands were so active for Apprehension of the Murderers, that they were all three taken; one upon the Borders of *Scotland*, so far had his Fears carried him, another in a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*, who escaping in a Storm, the Seas deliver'd up; and the Lord himself being obscur'd, (in this Tempest of his Soul) hearing a Thousand Pound was offered to bring his Head, (so liberal was the King for Justice) threw himself into the Arms of his Mercy, by the Mediation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to whom he presented himself an Object of Pity; but no Intercession could prevail, their Lives satisfied the Law, the Baron not having the Honour of a Noble Death. Is hang'd.

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Causes of the King's Severity.

The Cause of the King's Severity, (if Justice may be call'd Severity) was contrary to that of the Baron's Presumption; for he thought the *Scots* might do any thing, and he suffer'd because they had done so much: For *Ramsey*, one of the King's Servants, not long before had switch'd the Earl of *Montgomery*, who was the King's first Favourite, happily because he took it so. *Maxwell*, another of them, had bitten *Hawley*, a Gentleman of the *Temple*, by the Ear; which inraged the *Templers* (in those Times Riotous, and subject to Tumults) and brought it almost to a National Quarrel, till the King stept in, and took it up himself. The Lord *Bruse* had summon'd Sir *Edward Sackvill* (who was after Earl of *Dorset*) into *France*, with a fatal Compliment to take Death from his Hand: Such killing Civilities these Times produced! And the much lamented Sir *James Stuart*, one of the King's Blood, and Sir *George Wharton*, the prime Branch of that Noble Family, for little worthless Punctilio's of Honour, (being intimate Friends) took the Field, and fell by each other's Hand. These, and many more private Differences, (tho' some of them of an ancient Date) were bleeding fresh in Memory; so that the King like a wise Physician, open'd this Vein of Blood, hoping by it to stop all other Issues.

Salisbury not pleased with the Viscount's Greatness

The King's Affections were not so monopolized, but that his crafty Servant the Earl of *Salisbury* had a good Hole as well in his Councils as Treasure: And being not well pleased to see himself bearded by a Youth new 'started into the Affairs of the World, and mounted by the Wing of Love, not of Merit, he cast out many Mists before him, to hinder and damp his Passage so, that the Viscount could not rise to that Pitch (during his Life) that he afterwards arrived at. And one thing among the rest he obstructed, was Five thousand Pounds the King had given him to maintain his Riot: Which Sum the Treasurer thought too great a Bulk to be carried lightly away, and therefore he desir'd the King might see what he did. And having laid the Money in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at *Salisbury-house*, he invited the King to Dinner, making this the Passage to his Entertainment. The King, strucken suddenly with such Heaps, ask'd the Treasurer what this Money was for; who told him, He had receiv'd his Majesty's Commands to give so much to the Viscount *Rochester*. The King, that either carelesly thought Five thousand Pound to be no more than the Noise so much makes in *Scotland*, (which doth not amount to above Five hundred Pounds) or cunningly, (if he knew the Value, knew also the Treasurer's Meaning) said,

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ſaid, It was too much for one Man, and made him be contented with leſs than the half.

The Queen of Scots tranſlated to Weſtminſter.

And now the King caſts his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where his Mother lay, whom he cauſed to be tranſlated to a Magnificent Tomb at *Weſtminſter*: And (ſomewhat ſuitable to her Mind when ſhe was living) ſhe had a Tranſlucent Paſſage in the Night through the City of *London* by Multitudes of Torches; the Tapers placed by the Tomb and the Altar in the Cathedral ſmoaking with them like an Offertory, with all the Ceremonies and Voices their Choires and Copes could expreſs, attended by many Prelates and Nobles, who paid this laſt Tribute to her Memory. This was accounted a Piaculous Action of the King's by many; tho' ſome have not ſtuck to ſay, That as Queen *Elizabeth* was willing to be rid of the Queen of *Scots*, yet would not have it her Action; and being it could not be done without her Command, when it was done ſhe renounc'd her own Act. So tho' the King was angry when he heard his Mother was taken away by a violent Death, recalling his Ambaſſador, threatning War, and making a great Noiſe (which was after calm'd and cloſ'd up with a large Penſion from the Queen) yet he might well enough be pleas'd that ſuch a Spirit was laid, as might have conjured up three Kingdoms againſt him: For *Patrick Grey*, that the King ſent to diſſwade Queen *Elizabeth* from taking away his Mother's Life, was the greateſt Inſtrument to perſwade her to it; diſtilling always into her this Sentence, *Mortua non mordet*, When ſhe is dead ſhe cannot bite: But the Love that tends to Self-Preſervation is an Abjunct of Nature, more powerful than Filial Duty; and therefore there will be no great Strife where there are not adequate Operations.

The Palatine's Arrival the 16th of October.

This Time was alſo preſented unto us in a various Dreſs, and the Event ſhew'd (tho' ſome Years after) there was more Cauſe of Mourning than Rejoycing, tho' the latter got the Predominance: For the Prince Elector *Palatine* came over into *England* to marry the King's only Daughter, and Death depriv'd us of the King's eldeſt Son. *,* A Prince as Eminent in Nobleneſs as in Blood, and having a Spirit too full of Life and Splendour to be long ſhrouded in a Cloud of Fleſh. If that which gave Life to his Life had been leſs, he might happily have lived longer: Not that there was too much Oil, or that concurrent natural Balſamum in this fair and well compoſed *Lamp* to extinguiſh it ſelf, but the Light that came from it might caſt ſo radiant a Luſtre, as (by darkning others) it came to loſe the Benefit of its own Glory. Jealouſy is like Fire that burns all before it, and the Fire is hot enough to diſſolve all Bonds that tends to the Diminution of a Crown. The Prince of *Spain*, (his Contemporary) Son to *Philip* the Second, (not long before this) like a young *Phaeton*, wiſhed himſelf but one Day in his Father's Throne, and he fell (not long after) into the hard Hand of an immature Fate before he could ſtep into the Chariot. So dan-

Prince Henry's Death the 6th of November.

His gallant Spirit.

, How well or ill grounded our Author's Conjectures were about the Death of Prince *Henry*, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; ſince few Princes of ſo great Hopes die an untimely Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to foul Play.

This is certain, the Court was full of Suſpicions about it; and it was whiſper'd about, that the Prince having entertain'd a mortal Prejudice to the *Favourite Car*, he was taken off to prevent the Effects of it. Theſe Surmiſes came likewiſe to be inſinuated in the Pulpit; and we have yet extant in Print, a *Sermon* Preach'd at St. *James*'s upon the Diſſolution of his Family, wherein the Preacher that had been his Domeſtick Chaplain, made ſuch broad Hints about the manner of his Death, that melted the Auditory into a Flood of Tears, and occaſion'd his being diſmiſs'd the Court.

Some Years after, when the Murther of Sir *Thomas Overbury* came upon the Stage, at one of the *Trials* before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, there eſcap'd him ſome Words in Heat, that plainly imported his Suſpicion that *Overbury* had been Poyſon'd, to prevent the Diſcovery of another Crime of the ſame nature committed upon one of the Higheſt Rank, whom he term'd a *Sweet Prince*, which was taken to be meant Prince *Henry*; for which Raſhneſs the Lord Chief Juſtice loſt the King's Favour, and ſome time afterwards his Place.

However it was that this excellent young Prince dy'd, our Author is miſtaken in the length of his Sickneſs. He began to decline in his Health in *September*, and complain'd ever after of a Pain and Giddineſs in his Head. After ſeveral Removes for change of Air, he took his Bed at St. *James*'s the 25th of *October*, of a violent Fever, (as the Phyſicians term'd it) which carry'd him off the 6th of *November*, about 8 a Clock at Night. So inſtead of Five Days, as our Author computes, his laſt Illneſs continu'd near Twelve. As to the opening of his Body, it ſignified but little either way, there being Poyſons of that ſubtile Nature, that they leave no convincing Marks behind them.

There had been more Matches than one under Conſideration for this young Prince. And tho' he himſelf inclin'd moſt to a Proteſtant Family, his Father, on the contrary, would hear of none but of Royal Blood, tho' of the Romiſh Religion.

A Princeſs of *Savoy* firſt, then an *Infanta* of *Spain*, and afterwards a Daughter of *France*, was deſign'd for him; and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* was ſent into *France* to treat about the latter. This Treaty was in agitation when he dy'd; and tho' he expreſs'd on all Occaſions his own Opinion againſt it, he ſubmitted to his Father's Commands, and was intirely paſſive in the whole Matter.

We have a Letter of his to King *James* in Print, in Anſwer to one the King had ſent him of Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, concerning this Treaty of Marriage. Seeing probably it was the laſt he ever writ, it well deſerves a Place here, for it's dated the 14th of *October*, 1612. and he dy'd the 6th of *November* following.

He therein, with great Prudence, gives his Opinion about every Article contain'd in *Edmonds*'s Letter. *As for the time* (ſays he) *they'll bring the Princeſs of* France *into* England, *I believe the ſooner it is, the better, and that Your Majeſty ought not to ſtand thereupon. As long as the Princeſs is in* France, *the Queen her Mother will be preſſing either to forward the Marriage, or to break it off, and to oblige her Daughter to give her Conſent, or hinder her from it. The younger ſhe is, the more Time we ſhall have, and eaſineſs to inſtruct her in our Religion, and convert her. When they aſk of Your Majeſty to explain Your ſelf as to the Liberty the Princeſs ſhall have in the Exerciſe of her Religion; I deſire you, Sir, to anſwer your Ambaſſador poſitively, That you will not agree to a greater Condition with* France, *than what the Duke of* Savoy *had demanded when he offer'd you his Daughter; that is to ſay, That the Princeſs ſhould have the Liberty to follow her Religion in private, and in the moſt retir'd* Chamber *of her Apartment. I confeſs theſe are too narrow and ſtrait* Conditions: *But if* France *ſpeak ſincerely, I do not queſtion but ſhe will be contented with them.*

Prince *Henry* knew well his Father's covetous Temper, and for that Reaſon he has a nice Touch upon the Article of her Fortune. *If your Majeſty* (continues he) *regards the Greatneſs of a Dowry, I think you will prefer the Princeſs of* Savoy *who brings with her Two Hundred Thouſand* Crowns *more than the Lady of* France; *for at leaſt I can ſcarce perſwade my ſelf, that the Regent will give more to the Second Daughter than to the Eldeſt. But if your Majeſty lays aſide Intereſt, as to what ſhall be more to the Mind of the general Body of Proteſtants abroad, it ſeems to me you will rather incline to* France *than* Savoy. *Laſtly,* (concluded the Prince) *I fear leſt your Majeſty ſhould not be contented with the Indifference I ſhew for all the Propoſitions of Marriage which are made me. I muſt humbly beg your Pardon for it. It's you, Sir, who is to take the moſt advantageous Reſolution that may be for the Good of the State: I have but little Experience in Political Affairs, and cannot ſpeak like a Man ſmitten with Love upon this Occaſion.*

Happy had it been for King *Charles*, and for *England*, if the Treaty of Marriage between him and the youngeſt Siſter of this Princeſs had been ſet upon the ſame Foot that Prince *Henry* deſign'd his ſhould have been.

A. Reg. 10. An. Christi 1612.

gerous are the Paths of Greatneſs, that the Tongue (many times) rouling aſide, makes Men tread awry. Strange Rumours are raiſed upon this ſudden expiration of our Prince, the Diſeaſe being ſo violent, that the Combat with Nature in the Strength of Youth (being almoſt Nineteen Years of Age) laſted not above Five Days. Some ſay he was poiſoned with a Bunch of Grapes, others attribute it to the venomous Scent of a pair of Gloves preſented to him, (the Diſtemper lying for the moſt part in the Head.) They that knew neither of theſe, are ſtrucken with Fear and Amazement, as if they had taſted, or felt, the Effects of thoſe Violences: Private Whiſperings, and Suſpicions of ſome new Deſigns a foot, broaching Prophetical Terrours, *That a black Chriſtmas would produce a bloody Lent.* For the *Spaniard*, who oppoſed the Marriage of the Prince *Palatine*, and ſaw their Ruin grow up in Prince *Henry's* towardly Spirit, were reputed (vulgarly) the Mint-maſters of ſome horrid Practices; and that a Ship of Pocket-piſtols was come out of *Spain*, fit Inſtruments for a Maſſacre. And theſe Trepidations were not only in the lower Region, but wrought upwards ſo high, that Proclamations were ſent abroad, to forbid the making or carrying of Piſtols under a Foot long in the Barrel. And all Papiſts are not only diſarm'd (being ever eſteemed Vaſſals to the Catholick King) but their Actions, with caution, pried into. In ſuch dark Clouds as theſe, the whole Kingdom was at a loſs; all ordinary Tranſitions of Nature, are imputed to prodigious Omens; the greater the Fears are, the more blazing is the Meteor that ariſes from them.

Some that knew the Bickerings betwixt the Prince and the Viſcount, muttered out dark Sentences, that durſt not look into the light; eſpecially Sir *James Elphingston*, who (obſerving the Prince one day to be diſcontented with the Viſcount) offered to kill him: But the Prince reprov'd him with a gallant Spirit, ſaying, *If there were Cauſe, he would do it himſelf.* Now whether theſe Rumours begot a further Scrutiny, or whether it be the Court-trick to daub and ſlubber over things that may be perſpicuous, I know not: But the Phyſicians about the Prince gave it under their Hands (which was ſpread abroad in ſeveral Copies) that he died of a ſtrong malignant Feaver, (ſo are all violent Diſſolutions, where Nature hath power of Reſiſtance) that his Liver was Pale, and Livid, lead-like; the Gall had no Gall, but was full of Wind; the Spleen was unnaturally black, and the Lungs in many Places ſpotted, with much Corruption, the Midriff, or Diaphragma, blackiſh; and the Head in ſome Places full of Blood, and in ſome Places full of clear Water. Thus was he Anatomized to amuſe the World, and clear the ſuſpicion of Poiſon, as if no Venoms could produce theſe Effects. He died the 6th of *November*, and was carried on a Hearſe (triumphing even in Death) to *Weſtminſter*, the Seventh of *December* following; the Pomp of the Funeral being fully compleated, with the Peoples Tears and Lamentations.

His Funeral.

Mourning laid aſide.

But the King (though he could not but be troubled to loſe ſo near a part of himſelf) look'd over all theſe Miſts, and (like the Sun) diſpelled all theſe Clouds and Vapours; commanding, no Man ſhould appear in the Court in Mourning; he would have nothing in his Eye to bring ſo ſad a Meſſage to his Heart. The Jollity, Feaſting, and Magnificence of *Chriſtmas*, muſt not be laid down. There were Kings, Princes, and Nobles, that came out of *Germany*, with the Prince Elector, that muſt ſee the Glory of the Engliſh Court; which was preſented with ſo much Eminency in gorgeous Apparel, that the precedent Mourning was but as a ſable Foil, the better to illuſtrate it.

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Knights of the Garter made.

The Prince Elector *Palatine*, and *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, were made Knights of the Garter, *Lodowick* Count of *Orange* being *Maurice's* Deputy; and Prince *Maurice* took it as a great Honour to be admitted into the Fraternity of that Order, and wore it conſtantly; till afterwards, ſome Villains at the *Hague*, that met the Reward of their Demerit, (one of them a *French* Man, being Groom of the Prince's Chamber) robb'd a Jeweller of *Amſterdam*, that brought Jewels to the Prince, this Groom tempting him into his Chamber to ſee ſome Jewels, and there with his Confederates they ſtrangled the Man with one of the Prince's Blue Ribons; which being after diſcovered, the Prince would never ſuffer ſo fatal an Inſtrument to come about his Neck.

The Prince *Palatine* married to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

In *February* following, the Prince *Palatine*, and that lovely Princeſs, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were Married on Biſhop *Valentine's Day*, in all the Pomp and Glory that ſo much Grandeur could expreſs. Her Veſtments were White, the Emblem of Innocency; her Hair diſhevel'd, hanging down her Back at length, an Ornament of Virginity; a Crown of pure Gold upon her Head, the Cognizance of Majeſty, being all over beſet with precious Gems, ſhining like a Conſtellation; her Train ſupported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments, ſo adorned with Jewels, that her Paſſage looked like a Milky-way. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*; the young Batchelor on the Right Hand, and the Old on the Left. And while the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was Solemnizing the Marriage, ſome Coruſcations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, that expreſs'd more than an ordinary Smile, being almoſt elated to a Laughter; which could not clear the Air of her Fate, but was rather a fore-runner of more ſad and dire Events: Which ſhews how ſlippery Nature is, to troul us along to thoſe Things that bring Danger, yea ſometimes Deſtruction with them.

She return'd from the Chapel between the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord High Admiral, two Married Men. The Feaſtings, Maskings, and other Royal Formalities, were as troubleſome ('tis preſum'd) to the Lovers, as the Relation of them here may be to the Readers: For ſuch Splendour and Gayety are fitter to appear in Princes Courts, than in Hiſtories.

The City of *London* (that with high Magnificence had feaſted the Prince *Palatine*, and his Noble Retinue) preſented to the fair *Bride* a Chain of Oriental Pearl, by the Hand of the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, (in their Scarlet and Gold Chain Accoutrements) of ſuch a Value, as was fit for them to give, and her to receive. And the People of the Kingdom in general, being Summon'd to a Contribution for the Marriage of the King's Daughter, did ſhew their Affections by their Bounty. And tho' it be the Cuſtom of our Kings to pay their Daughters Portions with their Subjects Purſes; yet a hundred Years being almoſt paſt ſince ſuch a Precedent, it might have made them unwilling (if their Obedience had not been full ripe) to recall ſuch obſolete Things, as

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are only in Practice now by the meanest of the People.

The Prince Palatine returns home with the Princess.

But, tir'd with Feasting and Jollity, about the middle of *April*, when the Beauties of the Spring were enticing enough to Beguile the tedioufness of the Way, the Prince Elector willing to review, and the Princess to see what she was to enjoy; after all the Caresses, and sweet Embraces, that could be between the King, Queen, and Princes, that were to be separated so long, and at such a distance; and after all the 'Shews, Pastimes, Fireworks, and other Artifices that could be devised, and manifested, they parted at *Rochester*; the Lord Admiral being ready with a Royal Navy in the *Downs* for their Passage and Conduct. The Season smiled on them, and they arrived the Nine and twentieth of the Month in *Flushing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington*, with divers Ladies and Persons of Quality, attended them to *Heydelburg*. Their Entertainment was great and magnificent in the *Low Countries*, not only suitable to the Persons, but the Place from whence they came, (the *English* having been ever a Bulwark to the *Netherlands*) and now they were in full Peace with *Spain*, which gave the better relish to their Banquetings. And in every eminent Town in *Germany* as they passed, they found that Welcome which prolong'd their Time, but made their Travel the less, so that with much ado they reach'd *Heydelburg*. And after some time spent there, to see the Beauties and Delights of that Court and Country, (which were extended and put forth to the uttermost) the Nobility and Ladies of *England* return'd home, only they left the Lord *Harington* behind them, who died by the way: A Gentleman much lamented in his own Person, but much more in his Sons, (who not long after surviv'd him) with whom were Buried, not only those excellent Endowments that make Noblemen great indeed, but the Memory of a noble Posterity, which makes them little, or indeed nothing at all.

Rochester rules all.

The Viscount *Rochester* all this while (tho' plunged in Lust) was held up by the Chin in the Glories of the Court; and the Prince (that interposed betwixt him and the Beams of Majesty) being remov'd, the Earl of *Salisbury* (another Obstacle) dying Six Months after the Prince, in the way from the *Bath*; he now took full Possession of the King's Favours alone. He executes the Place of Principal Secretary, receiving all Pacquets, and dispatching Answers without the Knowledge of the King or Council; or if the King did know, his Love had hoarded up such a Confidence in him, as he laid all out upon that Stock. *Rochester*'s greatest Assistant was a private Gentleman, one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, by whose Compass he steer'd his Course, who (being a Man of Parts and Abilities) had wrought upon the Viscount so, as not only to keep him in, and close with the King, but to make him capable of managing the highest Affairs, if he had kept himself within the Circle drawn to his Hand. This Intimacy betwixt them, spake *Overbury* an Actor in all his Privacies. And when he understood by the Viscount his Intention of Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*, he opposed it with all the powerful Arguments he could use: For tho' he might be so active, in his Initiation of Favour with the Viscount, to be assistant to his Pleasures, and for carrying forward some of his dark Contrivances, (those Secretaries being always the greatest Favourites) yet having now gotten good footing in his Affection, and building his Fortune thereon, his Reason might tell him, there could be nothing more destructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon so much publick Injustice, as to Marry another Man's Wife, her Husband living; therefore he passionately persuaded him to cast his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not on one whose Disloyalty (in her present Condition) was so much branded with Infamy, that the Marks of it would be visible on his Face. But the Viscount, bewitched with the Inticements of his Soul-ravishing Mistress, (uncapable of good Counsel) doth not only call home his Affections from *Overbury*, that had been long Lieger with him, (denouncing Enmity) but incites his Beloved against him also; who mustering up all her Passions, with the greatest Acrimony that a Feminine Malice could devise, she never left, till she had discharg'd all the Vollies of her Rage upon him. And the better to do it, she consults with her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, aggravating *Overbury*'s Offence, as tending to the Dishonour of their whole Family: That he (a petty Fellow) should dare to raise such Scandals against her Innocency. The Earl of *Northampton*, that knew of the Endearments betwixt the Viscount and his Niece, (so base and mercenary was his Spirit) thought it good Policy to stop all Passages, that it might not come into the publick Mouth: For being in a Sphere elated above others, it was a Sin of a high Presumption for any of an inferiour Orb to move but in its own Place, or meddle with what is above them. He therefore closes with the Viscount, (whom in his flattering Acclamations by Letters he makes a little Deity) and after some Dispute of the manner how to be revenged of *Overbury*, they conclude to dispatch him by Poison, which could not be done so well in a publick way; and therefore they subtilly contrive to exasperate the King against him, that being a Prisoner, and shackled by them to a Place, he might be a more settled Mark for their envenom'd Arrows.

Rochester and Northampton Plot Overbury's Death.

Rochester betrays Overbury.

About the same time, the King thinking fit to send an Ambassador into *Flanders*, to the Arch-Duke, some say, into *France*) the Viscount recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to the King for that Service, (extolling his Abilities, and fitness for the same, publickly, that more notice might be taken of the Affront) and the King made choice of him for that Imployment. Which done, the Viscount (under the shadow of Friendship) imparts to *Overbury* what Intentions the King had towards him; but he thought it would not be so convenient for him to accept of it, because he should not only lose his Converse and Company by such an Alienation, (which he highly valued) but many a fair Opportunity of improving his Respects to him, in some better way of Advancement. *Overbury* had not been so little a Courtier, or a Man of so mean Reason, but that he was sensible what Displeasure he should pull upon himself, by refusing the King's Commands: And therefore he told the Viscount, that betwixt the King's Favours, and his Friendship, he had a great Conflict in his Spirit, being willing to retain both; but how he should refuse the King's Commands with safety, he knew not. But the Viscount, with fair Promises, prevail'd with him to set up his rest at home, upon higher Expectations, (such a sweet Bait is Ambition!) protesting to take off

Assisted by Overbury.

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off the Asperity of the King's Anger from him, and smooth his way so, as should be for his better Advantage. When he had wrought *Overbury* in this Forge, he goes to the King, and blows the Fire, incensing him with all the Aggravations he could; so that the poor Gentleman, for his Contempt, was forthwith committed to the *Tower*. And to prepare all things for his Reception there, Sir *William Wade*, the late Lieutenant, was removed, and Sir *Jervis Elwis*, a Person more Ambitious than indigent (having made his way by Money, the common Merit) was admitted to the Place.

The Countesses Designs.

Now the Countess, like another *Alecto* drove furiously, her Chariot having two Wheels, which ran over all Impediments: One was, to sue a Divorce betwixt her and her Husband, that she might Marry the Viscount: The other was, to take away *Overbury*, the blemish in her Eye, and that laid such a Stain upon her, that nothing but his Blood could expiate. For these she hath several Engines; the one must be acted Overtly; the other Covertly, in dark Corners; and she and her Agents find fit Ministers for both.

Northampton joins with her.

The Earl of *Northampton* resenting his Neices Grievances, makes the King acquainted with her Maiden Bashfulness, how loth she is to divulge her Husband's Infirmities, and how long it is since her Marriage, and yet she hath not enjoyed the happiness of a Wife; that her Husband's Inability must needs be an unnatural Conjunction, such as neither Law nor Reason can admit of; and that there was a great Affection betwixt the Viscount and her, so as there seem'd to be a more excellent Sympathy, and sweet Composition of Soul in them, more suitable to Reason and Nature, than in the State she was in. Which was seconded by the Viscount's humble Submissions to the King's great Wisdom, who (he acknowledg'd) had not only raised him to what he is, but may yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of so much Honour and Vertue.

The King, that took delight to compleat the Happiness of them he lov'd, commanded the Bishops to sue out a Divorce between the Earl of *Essex* and his Lady, that the Viscount might Marry her: For he had been practised formerly in *Scotland*, in his Minority, with the like Experiment. *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Earl of *Athol*, being married to the Earl of *March*, under pretence of Impotency, but meerly for Lust, (as the Author reports) was Divorced from her Husband, and Married to the Earl of *Arran*, (the King's Favourite) who had been before a Partner in her Adulterous Sheets, (so current is the Parallel, and so equally are Lust and Ambition yoked together, that they both (with full Violence) draw one and the same way.)

Rob. Johnston's History of *Scotland*.

The Bishops, and others, having a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to Convene the Earl of *Essex*, and his Countess, before them, sent out their Summons, and they made their Appearance accordingly. But before they proceeded, they caused a Jury of Twelve discreet Matrons to be Impannelled, to search the Countess, whether she were (as she pretended to be, and was reputed) a Maid still; for if she were a Maid, they could fallen upon a Nullity, and so separate them for the more honour of her Virginity. The Countess being ashamed, and bashful, to come to such a Tryal, would not expose her Face to the Light; but being to appear before the Matrons under a Veil, another young Gentlewoman, that had less offended, was fobbed into the Place; and she passed, in the Opinion both of Jury and Judges, to be a Virgin. Then the Articles were drawn up, where she accused her Husband of Impotency, (and that he was hindred with a perpetual and incurable Impediment, whereby he is unable to have Carnal Copulation with her, with *frigiditas quoad hanc*, often reiterated, *&c.*) The good Earl, willing to be rid of so horrid a Mischief, did acknowledge he had attempted to enjoy her many times, but he never did, nor could Carnally know her, and believ'd he never should. Upon these Grounds the Judges proceed to a Divorce.

The Countess divorced from her Husband.

Declaring, *That* Robert *Earl of* Essex, *and the Lady* Frances Howard, *contracted by shew of Marriage, did cohabit in one House, and lie together in one Bed*, Nudus cum Nuda, & Solus cum Sola; *and that the said Lady* Frances *did shew her self Prompt, ready to be known of him; and that the said Earl neither did, nor could have knowledge of her, although he did think himself able to have knowledge of other Women. And that the said Lady* Frances, *by inspection of her Body by Midwives, expert in matter of Marriage, was proved to be apt for Carnal Copulation with Man, and yet a Virgin. Therefore we the said Judges deputed in the Cause, first invocating the Name of Christ, and setting God before our Eye, do pronounce, decree, and declare, That the Earl of* Essex, *for some secret, incurable, binding Impediment, did never Carnally know, or was, or is able Carnally to know, the Lady* Frances Howard: *And therefore we do pronounce, have decreed, and do declare, the pretended Marriage, so contracted, and solemnized*, de facto, *between them, to have been, and to be utterly void, and to no effect; and that they did want, and ought to want the strength of the Law: And that the Lady* Frances *was, and is, and so ought to be Free, and at Liberty, from any Bond of such pretended Marriage*, de facto, *contracted and solemniz'd. And we do pronounce, that she ought to be Divorced, and so we do Free and Divorce her; leaving them, as touching other Marriages, to their Conscience in the Lord. Which our Definitive Sentence, and Decree, we ratifie and publish.*

Thomas, Wint. *Lancel.* Elie. *Rich.* Coven. & Litchfield. *John*, Roffe.	*Bishops.*
Julius Cæsar. Thomas Parry. Daniel Dun.	*Knights.*

These Bishops, and the rest of the Judges, could not be ignorant what Scandalous Reports of this Lady's Actions flew up and down, from Lip to Lip; which, however sweeten'd by the Partakers, carried an ill Savour with them in every honest Understanding, who were not blinded with Wilfulness, or deafned with Prejudice, which made the Bishops of * *Canterbury* and *London* decline the Business, though nominated

* Archbishop *Abbot* did not only refuse to Sit in the Court of *Delegates* upon this Divorce, but publish'd his Reasons for the Nullity of the Sentence, mix'd with some severe Reflections upon the Lady King *James* took so far the part of his Favourite, that he vouchsafed to Answer *Abbot's* Reason himself, which silenc'd any further Debate.

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nated in the Patent. But Kings will never want fit Ministers in corrupted Times, both in Church and Common-wealth, as long as there are Degrees, and Places of Ascent to clime to. And though these things floated awhile upon the Stream of Greatness, yet there is One above that moves the Waters; who did not only see what passed in the Bishops Palace, but in the closest Prison, which he discover'd to the Shame and Ruine of the Actors.

Mrs. Turner employ'd to poison Overbury.

For while this Wheel was turning at *Lambeth*, the other Wheel had its motion in the Tower. Mrs. *Turner*, the Mistress of the Work, had lost both her Supporters. *Forman*, her first Prop, dropp'd away suddenly by Death; and *Gresham*, another rotten Engine (that succeeded him) did not hold long: She must now bear up all her self. But she wrought in a Mine of inexhaustible Treasure, therefore she may buy Instruments at any Rate. One *Weston* is thought on for this Under-work, who was sometime Doctor *Turner*'s (her Husband's) Man, and hath a little Experience in the Nature of Poysonous Drugs. This venemous Plant is sent for out of the Country to be transplanted here, and Two hundred Pounds promised to disperse his Venom, so as it may be killing. Sir *Thomas Monson* is made by the Countess to recommend him to Sir *Jervis Elloways*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to wait upon him; where he goes under the Character of a right Honest Man, making it good with a sober and fair Outside, the true Vizard of Hypocrisy, a fit Pipe for such corrupted Waters to run through; which must be provided by one *Franklin*, a swarthy, sallow, crooked-backt Fellow, who was to be the Fountain whence these bitter Waters came.

The Lieutenant of the Tower engaged in it.

But *Overbury*'s Meat must be dress'd in the Lieutenant's Kitchin, and therefore it is necessary to make him acquainted with it; which the Earl of *Northampton* undertook, smoothing him with such Language, and promising him such Rewards, as he thought fittest to gain upon him; *assuring him, that it would be an acceptable Service to the King to have him remov'd*; being an insolent and pernicious Fellow (as he called him) of a Factious and Dangerous Spirit; and therefore advised him to be Cautious in admitting any to see him, lest his Passions should vent themselves and become Publick. The Lieutenant being a Man intelligent enough, could not but apprehend the dangerous Path he trod in pursuing this Business: For if he should make the King acquainted with it, to know more of his Mind, before it were done, and he disclaim it, *Northampton* was powerful enough to crush him on the one side; and if it should be discover'd after it were done, he might be sure the King would not own it; and it would bring him a certain Ruine on the other side: Betwixt these two Extreams he knew no Mean; and therefore he took that which tended (as he thought) to most safety, hoping that the Earl of *Northampton* had some higher Authority for the same. And now they begin to put their Design in Practice; *Franklin* furnishes *Weston* with Materials, compounded to consume Nature insensibly; but this was not quick enough; Malice must be as Active, as Cunning! Stronger Ingredients are infused, which *Weston* having received from the Countess by his Son, he meets the Lieutenant as he carried up *Overbury*'s Meat, saying to him, *Sir, shall I give it him now?* The Lieutenant ask'd him, *What?* *Weston* answer'd, *Sir, you know what is to be done.* The Lieutenant, that would not have it known that he knew any thing, gave him a Check, and would not understand his Meaning, or at least would have him take notice that he understood it; for he thought that his Connivance would not bring him within the Compass of the Fact (and for the Guilt he could dispense with it well enough) and therefore his Part of Working was only not to seem to know what was done. *Subtilly sometimes Men strive to cozen themselves.*

Their Poisons set a work.

But these Ling'ring Operations do not suit with the Countess's implacable Humour; *Weston* is chid by Mrs. *Turner* for being so slow. But he that knew that he might be too Active, kept on his old Pace, as the only way to have it pass unsuspected, aiming at his own Preservation, as well as *Overbury*'s Destruction. He gets therefore (by the help of *Franklin*) several sorts of Poysons, tempering them with his Broaths, and every bit of Meat he eat, that he might diminish by Degrees; for his very Salt was mixt with *white Mercury*: And besides these, Sir *Thomas Monson* sent Tarts and Jellies of the Countess's and Mrs. *Turner*'s Composition (by some of his Servants) to *Weston*, for the better Expedition. Thus was the poor Gentleman tortur'd and rack'd in a horrid Distemper; who being Young and of a strong Constitution, was able to grapple a long time with these Corroding Tormentors: But his Body being not always able to bear it, at length he fell extream Sick; and having no Friend that could or durst Visit him; none to complain to but the Causers of his Misery (such strict Guards were kept about him) he languish'd both in Body and Mind. But some Friend by accident taking the Advantage for a Visit, and finding him very Sick, procur'd him a wholesome Glister, which *Weston* was willing enough to have administred, because he would not be too quick; and that retarded the Work, by carrying away some of the Poysonous Matter. Which *Northampton* hearing, the Lieutenant was check'd for being so careless, and commanded that none should come near him, being fearful lest the Desperateness of his Condition should make him reveal some thing of high Concernment that had been Machinated among them: And Mrs. *Turner* rebuked her Minister *Weston*, for looking no better to his Charge; so they dealt with him now upon a new Account.

The Countess got loose from her Husband, grows wanton in her Prosperity. Nature is unbounded where neither Law nor Grace doth Limit. The good Earl of *Essex* must repay the Portion; to do which, he is forc'd to sell *Benington* in *Hartfordshire*, a very gallant Seat, and glad he is rid of a Torment at any Rate. She now mounted on her Car, drives over all Oppositions; Her Beauties shine in the Court (as she would have it) she is the King's Favourite, as well as her Husband; the Glories of her Marriage must appear there, and she is a fit Gift for the King to bestow; he that took her away from one Husband, can give her to another, who must be of equal Rank to her, that she may not descend, therefore he is created Earl of *Somerset*; and all the splendid Equipage, and magnificent Preparation that can either fill a Court with Delight, or People with Admiration, are not wanting for the Marriage. She thinking all the World ignorant of her sly Practices, hath the Impudence to appear in the Habit of a Virgin, with her Hair pendant almost to her Feet; which Ornament of her Body (though a Fair one) could not cover the Deformities of her Soul: But these, and her high Elations, are Clouds to her Conscience,

Rochester made Earl of Somerset, Nov. 4. married Dec. 5. following.

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ence, that (though her Bauds might for her) her indeed lovely Cheeks did not betray themselves to Blushes. These glorious Days are seconded with as glorious Nights, where Masks and Dancings had a continued Motion; the King naturally affecting such High-flying Pastimes and Banquettings, as might wrap up his Spirit, and keep it from descending towards Earthly things.

Feasted in *London*.

The City of *London*, and the Court at *Whitehall*, like two great Stars in Conjunction, had one and the same Influence and Operation; they must do something for the Man whom the King loves: Therefore a great Feast is prepar'd by them in *Merchant-Taylors-Hall* (and all the Grandees and Ladies are invited) with so much Magnificence, as if it had been Competitor, and vied with *Whitehall* for Glory. They all rode a Horseback into the City in the Evening, following their two Leaders; the Men attending the Bridegroom, and the Women the Bride; so mounted, furnished, and adorn'd with Trappings, and so bespangled with Jewels, that the Torches and Flambeaux (which were numerous) were but little light to the Beholders.

Overbury hears of the Marriage.

The Noise of these Triumphs resounding in the closest Corners, brought the News to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which was an unfit and comfortless Companion to a Man in Misery; conscious to himself, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Opposition to that which was now in Agitation; so that in his obscure Prison and darker Thoughts, he could not see the least Glimps of Hope that look'd toward Liberty, when he consider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet he was not so guilty to his own Reason, and that Friendship (as he thought) that was betwixt him and the Earl of *Somerset*, as utterly to despair, he having so faithfully promised to procure his Release.

Writes to *Somerset*.

Therefore *Overbury* writes to him in the midst of his Glory, to let him know the sad Condition wherein he was, and how much his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Reclusedness and want of Air; humbly imploring his Assistance, that he might no longer languish under the Burthens of his Infirmities. *Somerset* not willing to have him exclaim, made answer, That the King was now full of great Business, but he would take the first Opportunity to move him for his Release (though he was highly incensed against him) and make his Indisposition a Ground for the King's Mercy to work upon: including in the Letter a white Powder, which he desir'd him to take; assuring him, That though it made him a little Sick at first, it would do him much good in the End. The poor abused Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poysonous Quality, added to his Afflictions: But there must be something more violent to work the Feat.

Somerset sends Poisons in his Answers.

The Lieutenant betrays *Overbury*.

The Lieutenant of the Tower (that was his frequent Visitor) open'd his Breast to his Complaints; and with an outward Pity receiv'd them, against those that were Authors of his Calamities, and discharg'd them again into their Bosoms, against whom they were spoken; so that he could say nothing that came not to their knowledge, his very Words being rack'd, as well as his Body tormented. For the Lieutenant confess'd after, with repenting Tears, as one of his great Sins, that he was unfaithful and treacherous to him; doing things to his Disadvantage that he trusted him to do, promising him Secrecy, and betraying him to satisfy Greatness. Thus he continu'd in this Dismal Den above four Months; whip'd daily (as it were) with Scorpions, whose venomous stings enter'd even into his Soul: So that his Enemies being more impatient for his enduring so long, than he was to endure so much, forced Nature so, with an impoyson'd Glister, compounded by *Franklin*) that within a short time after he died.

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Overbury dies.

And to kill him again after Death, they brand him with the Scandal of a Lascivious Life; giving out, that he died of the Pox: Which *Northampton* expressed to *Somerset* in a Letter; telling him of strange Sores and Ulcers found upon his Body, ugly to behold stinking intolerably; the People forced to throw him in a loose sheet in a Coffin, and bury him privately on *Tower-Hill*: Concluding, That God is gracious in cutting off evil Instruments before their time. which Sentence (while he was writing it) reflected the Judgment on himself; for *Northampton* having a great Influence in the Kingdom, being a prime Counsellor to the King, and intimate with *Somerset*, they Two grasping all Power; and *Northampton* having the better Head to manage it, the Miscarriages were, not without cause, imputed to him. For being a Papist, he did not only work upon *Somerset* to pervert him (by letting him see there was a greater Latitude for the Conscience in that Religion) but got him to procure many Immunities for the Papists, as the King's best affected Subjects. And being Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, he gave free Access to Priests and Jesuits, that abundantly flock'd again into the Kingdom, the Operation of the last Parliament having now lost the Vertue. And a Letter being discover'd which he had written to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, wherein he expresses the Condition of the Times; and the King's Impportunity compelled him to be a Protestant in shew, yet nevertheless his Heart stood firm with the Papists, and if there were Cause he would express it; with much more to this Purpose. These Things first mutter'd, then urg'd against him, touch'd him to the Heart; so that he retir'd, dispos'd of his Estate, and died. He had a great Mind tending towards eminent Things, which he was the better able to effect, by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended (and he loved it) with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very Bountiful. His Affections were also much raised to Charity, as by the Alms-House he errected appears; and his Works shew him to be a great Getter. But leaving no Issue to Propagate his Name, he built a fair House by *Charing-Cross* to continue it; which it lost soon after his Death, being called *Suffolk-house* for a time, and now *Northumberland-house*. Such Changes there are in the World's Measures! His Body was carried to be buried at *Dover*, because he was Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, as was reported by some of his Followers; but it was Vulgarly rumour'd to be transported to *Rome*. But these Actions of his about *Overbury* lying Dormant, made no great noise at this time against him; but when they broke out, they laid upon his Name as great a Stench as Infamy or Odium could produce.

Northampton reviles him.

Northampton dies.

People go to *New-England* 1614.

The Bishops that were only to move in their own Spheres, had an Influence over more than their own Sees: For some of them that were never unactive for establishing their Temporal Greatness, were not contented to suppress many Pious and Religious Men; but, I know not for what Policy, restrain'd their going beyond Sea: For there were divers Families about this time Shipp'd for *New-England*, and were not suffer'd to go; though afterwards they were

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upon better Thoughts permitted. For in Reason (being there was an Impossibility to reduce them to their Wills) it had been the best Course to have set open the Door, that the Enemy might have had a smooth Passage. But this Malicious Proceeding was no hindrance to the Establishment of that Colony, nor is the Blame to be laid upon the Function, (for some of the † Bishops in these Times were Holy Men, and great Lights to the Truths of God) but on such, whose Ambition made them endeavour more after Earthly things than Heavenly, and less to please God than the King, (as Cardinal *Woolsey* long since confessed of himself) and the Malice of Evil Men may protract, but it shall never destroy what God intends to build up. A Wonderful Light breaking forth in the *West-part* of the World; this Latter Age discovering the Nakedness of the Nations both in Body and Soul; which carried a Resemblance of the Creation of a new World, or at least the Imperfection of the Old. A vast Territory, and few People.

The *Spaniards*, the first Discoverers, being more covetous to grasp, than well able to plant, took Possession of the most precious Places; so that the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, caught but what they left. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others (after Sir *Francis Drake*) found out that Country now called *Virginia*, which was long since planted with a Colony. And in that Tract of Land more Northerly, within the Degrees of 40 and 48 of Latitude, lies *New-England*, a Climate Temperate and Healthful, but not so much as the *Old*. It is rather a low than a high Land, full of Rocky Capes or Promontories. The Inmost Parts of the Country are Mountainous, intermix'd with fruitful Valleys and large Lakes, which want not store of good Fish. The Hills are no where Barren (though in some places Stony) but fruitful in Trees and Grass. There are many Rivers, fresh Brooks and Springs, that run into the Sea. The Rivers are good Harbours, and abound with plenty of excellent Fish; yet are they full of Falls, which makes them not Navigable far into the Land. The Seas bordering the Shores are studded with Islands, about which great Shoals of Fishes (Cod, Haddock, and such like) do wantonly sport themselves. The main Land doth nourish abundance of Deer, Bears, Wolves, and a Beast called Moose, peculiar to those Regions; and the Rivers and Ponds are stor'd with some Beavers, Otters, and Musquashes. There are also divers kinds of small Beasts, but the most offensive are Foxes. Fowls there are store in their several Seasons, as Turkies, Geese and Ducks; and the Soil naturally produces wild Vines with very large Bunches of Grapes; but the extremity of Heat and Cold, hinder their just Temper. There are many other Fruits which are very good, with Plants, whose Rinds or Barks transcends our Hemp or Flax; both Air and Earth concurring to bring forth most things that Industry and Art can provide for the Use of Man.

New-England described.

The First that sent a Colony into this Country, was the Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, in the Year 1606. A Man highly Renown'd in his time, for persecuting such as transgressed the Laws among Christians, living like Beasts of Prey to the prejudice of Travellers. And in this he had a special Aim and Hope also, to establish Christian Laws among Infidels; and by Domestical, to chace away those Ferous and Indomitable Creatures, that infested the Land: Brave and Gallant Spirits having ever such Publick Ends. But Planters are like Alchymists, they have something in Projection, that many times fails in Production. It is conceiv'd the *Romans* were not well advis'd to settle one of their first Colonies at *Maldon* in *Essex*, whose Soil about is neither yet found, nor Air salubrious. And the first opening of Ground in a Climate not Natural, hath an extraordinary Operation upon the Bodies of Men, whose Senses must comply to give Entertainment to a Stranger, that often spoils the Place where it finds Hospitality. For the first Planters in *New-England* having seated themselves low, few of them were left to direct those that succeeded in a better way. Yet People, by dear Experience, over-came it by degrees, being Yearly supplied by Men, whose Industry and Affections taught them, there was more Hope to find Safety in *New-England* than in the *Old*.

Planted first 1606.

Though these found some stop, yet our great Favourite, the Earl of *Somerset*, and his Business, runs smoothly, without Rub, since *Overbury*'s Death. But he must alter his *Bias*, and go less, or find some new Ways to bring in Moneys; the Revenues of the Crown are not competent to maintain such vast Expences, accumulated by his Riot, though he had all the Earl of *Westmorland*'s Lands at his Marriage and Creation, added to his Earldom. ‖ There must be therefore a new Order of Baronets made, in number Two hundred, that must be next Degree to Barons; and these must pay a Thousand Pound a-piece for their Honour; having it by Patent under the Great Seal, and continued to Posterity with the Title of Knights. Some of these new Honourable Men (whose Wives Pride, and their own Prodigalities, had pumpt up to it) were so drain'd, that they had not Moisture to maintain the Radical Humour, but wither'd to nothing. This Money thus rais'd, is pretended for Planting the North of *Ireland*; but it found many other Chanels, before it came to that Sea. And though at our King's first access to the Crown, there was a glut of Knights made, yet after some time he held his hand, lest the Kingdom should be cloy'd with them: And the World thriv'd so well with some, that the Price was afterwards brought up to Three hundred Pounds a piece. But now again, the poor Courtiers were so Indigent, that Sixty Pounds would purchase a Knighthood, the King wanting other Means to gratifie his Servants.

Somerset's Devices to get Money.

Yet he was of so free a Nature, and careless of Money, when he had it (though solicitous to get it) that he Battled in his own Bounty. For being one Day in the Gallery at *Whitehall*, and none with him but Sir *Henry Rich* (who was second Son to the Earl of *Warwick*) afterwards Earl of *Holland*, a Gentleman of Excellent Natural Parts, but youthfully Expensive;

The King's Bounty.

† From this Character which the Author gives several Bishops of that time, it appears he was no Sectarian or Dissenter, as some would pretend, but a Moderate Churchman.

‖ It's true, the Earl of *Salisbury* had given the King a *Project* for Erecting this new Order of *Knighthood* some time before, in order to supply in some Measure his empty Coffers: But it was *Somerset* that got it put in Practice, and he had most of the Money arising from it.

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and *James Maxwel*, one of his Bed-Chamber; ſome Porters paſs'd by them, with Three thouſand Pounds, going to the Privy-Purſe: Sir *Henry Rich* whiſper'd *Maxwel*; the King turn'd upon them, and asked *Maxwel*, What ſays he? What ſays he? *Maxwel* told him, he wiſh'd he had ſo much Money; *Marry ſhalt thou* Harry, (ſaid the King) and preſently commanded the Porters to carry it to his Lodging, with this Expreſſion; *You think now you have a great Purchaſe; but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleaſured you in giving this Money, than you can be in receiving it.* This Story intervenes, to ſhew the Temper of his Mind.

Gold raiſed

About this time alſo Gold was rais'd to Two Shillings in the Pound, occaſion'd from the high Value ſet upon it abroad, which made the Merchants tranſport it. But the firſt Inhancers can make their Markets, by ingroſſing great Sums; eſpecially the Payments of thoſe Times, and all this King's Reign, being for the moſt part in Gold, ſo that it might be call'd the Golden Age; that it is a Wonder now what Gulph hath ſwallow'd thoſe great Sums, if their Golden Wings be not flown to the Sun-riſing. But theſe little Projects will bring in but ſmall Store of Money to maintain the Work: Many ſuch Materials muſt go to make up a Royal Building; and little Streams will not eaſily fill a Ciſtern that hath many Iſſues. A Parliament can furniſh all; but who dare venture on ſuch Refractory Spirits.

A Parliament undertaken.

Yet there was a Generation about the Court, that, to pleaſe and Humour Greatneſs, undertook a Parliament, as Men preſuming to have Friends in every County and Borough, who (by their Power among the People) would make Election of ſuch Members for Knights and Burgeſſes, as ſhould comply ſolely to the King's Deſires; and *Somerſet* is the Head and Chief of theſe Undertakers: But this was but and Embrion, and became an Abortive. The *Engliſh* Freedom cannot be loſt by a few baſe and tame Spirits, that would unmake themſelves and their Poſterity to aggrandize one Man. For the Parliament meeting according to their Summons, ſuch Faces appear'd there as made the Court droop; who, inſtead of contributing to the King's Wants, lay open his Waſts, eſpecially upon the *Scots*, with whom they deſire *Mediatatem Linguæ*, a Share of Favour; the Bread (by our Saviour's Rule) properly belonging to the Children of the Kingdom. And they beſeech his Majeſty to ſtop the Current of future Acceſs of that Nation, to make Reſidence here, having enough to eat up their own Crums. They enquire into the Cauſes of the unexpected Encreaſe of Popiſh Recuſants ſince the Gunpowder-Plot, the Deteſtation whereof (they thought) ſhould have utterly extinguiſhed them; and they find it owing to the Admiſſion of Popiſh Nobility into his Councils; the ſilencing of many watchful and diligent Miniſters; † the divers Treaties his Majeſty hath entertain'd, not only for the Marriage of the deceaſed Prince *Henry*, but for Prince *Charles*, that now liveth, with the Daughters of Popiſh Princes; which diſheartencth the Proteſtant, and encourageth the Recuſant; laying open, with theſe, many other Miſcarriages in Government; which the King willing to have conceal'd, ſtop'd them in their Courſe, diſſolving the Parliament, and committing to the Tower and other Priſons (the Beginning of Encroachment upon the Publick Liberties) ſuch as were moſt active for the Common Good.

These fair Bloſſoms not producing the hop'd-for Fruit, they find out new Projects to manure the People, different much in Name and Nature, a Benevolence extorted, a Free-Gift againſt their Wills was urg'd upon them; and they that did not give in their Money, muſt give in their Names, which carried a kind of Fright with it. But the moſt knowing Men (like ſo many Pillars to the Kingdom's Liberties) ſupported their Neighbour's tottering Reſolutions, with aſſuring them, That theſe kind of Benevolences were againſt Law, Reaſon, and Religion.

A Benevolence required.

Firſt, againſt Laws, being prohibited by divers Acts of Parliament, and a Curſe pronounced againſt the Infringers of them.

Secondly, againſt Reaſon, that a particular Man ſhould oppoſe his Judgment and Diſcretion, to the Wiſdom and Judgment of the Kingdom aſſembled in Parliament, who have there deniedany ſuch Aid.

Thirdly, againſt Religion, that a King, violating his Oath, (taken at his Coronation, for maintaining the Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms of the Realm) ſhould be aſſiſted by the People in an Act of ſo much Injuſtice and Impiety. Theſe, and many other Arguments, inſtilled into the People by ſome good Patriots, were great Impediments to the Benevolence; ſo that they got but little Money, and loſt a great deal of Love: For no Levies do ſo much decline and abaſe the Love and Spirits of the People, as unjuſt Levies. Subſidies get more of their Money, but Exactions enſlave the Mind; for they either raiſe them above, or depreſs them beneath, their Sufferings, which are equally miſchievous, and to be avoided.

The King of *Denmark's* ſecond Coming.

This Summer the King of *Denmark* re-viſited his Siſter the Queen of *England*, with ſome Forty Lords, Gentlemen and others, in his Train: Landing at *Yarmouth*, and paſſing directly to *London*, took up his Lodging in our common Inns, and was not known, but for ſome Outlandiſh Noblemen, till he came to the Queen's Palace in the *Strand*, where ſhe was ſurpriſed with the unexpected Joy of a Brother's Company, diſtanc'd from her by the Intereſt of his People, the great Bar that hinders Princes the common Civilities and Happineſs of their Inferiors. But the Joy continu'd not long; for after ſome Fourteen Days Interview, they parted again. But thoſe Days had ſuch a Plenitude of all thoſe Delights that contend to Satisfaction, as if a great deal of more Time had been involved and contracted in them.

The Queen oppoſes *Somerſet*.

The Earl of *Somerſet*, new made Lord Chamberlain, ſucceeding his Father-in-law the Earl

† It's remarkable, That in a Speech of his to the preceding Parliament, King *James* denied that ever he had any Deſign to match his Children in Roman Catholick Families, notwithſtanding the Great Monſieur *de Thou*, and moſt of the Foreign Hiſtorians of that Time, mention the Steps he made towards a Match for Prince *Henry* with the eldeſt *Infanta* of *Spain*, afterwards Queen of *France*; to which that young Prince ſhew'd an utter Averſion: And there is yet extant in Print, a Memorial ſent by Sir *Dudley Carleton*, then Ambaſſador at *Venice*, to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, ſetting forth Reaſons againſt that intended Match, and ſhewing how much it was the Intereſt of King *James* to match his Son to a Proteſtant Princeſs. But however ſecret the Deſign of thus matching Prince *Henry* was kept, his Treaty afterwards for a Match between his ſurviving Son and that *Infanta*'s Siſter, was one of the moſt publick Tranſactions of his Reign.

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of *Suffolk*, and the Lord Treasurer Successor to *Salisbury*, were not very acceptable to the Queen, having the same Spirit and Animosity against *Somerset* that her Son had: But whether from an Apprehension that the King's Love and Company was alienated from her by his Masculine Conversation and Intimacy, or whether the Man's Insolence (thus high mounted) had carried him too near the Beams of Majesty, (his Creature *Overbury* being a little before his Commitment condemned for presumptuous walking with his Hat on in her Palace Garden she being in the Window) or whether from that natural Inclination that makes every one oppose Pride in others, though it be more active in themselves and see it not, or from that Rumour of Prince *Henry*'s Death, covertly imputed to *Somerset*, I know not: * But she became the Head of a great Faction against him.

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* I remember to have read a Latin Account of the Life of *Christian* King of *Denmark*, Queen *Ann*'s Brother, (the Author's Name I have forgot) in which Mention is made of her Hatred to *Somerset*, and her Suspicions of some foul Play done her Son Prince *Henry*.

It's certain, she was a great Instrument in his Fall, and would never see him after, though the King sometimes did; which must have proceeded from some rooted Prejudice, the rather that it was almost the only Turn of Court she meddled in all the Time she liv'd after her coming to *England*.

It's true, the whole Court was weary of *Somerset* before; but they durst not appear against him till the Queen had openly declar'd her self his Enemy: Nor durst *Winwood* tell the Discovery he had made of *Overbury*'s Murder to any of the *Howards*, till he had sounded the Queen before-hand, to know if she would stand by him, and protect him against the *Favourite*.

But neither she, nor all the World besides, could have brought about his Overthrow, if the King's growing Favour to *Villiers* had not given them Encouragement; which they promoted with all the Industry imaginable, as the only way to jostle out the other.

It's true, the Queen would much rather have had no Favourite about the King, if it had been possible: For when Archbishop *Abbot* was put upon it, by the rest of the Court, to perswade her to recommend *Villiers*, he tells us, in his printed Narrative, she made him this Answer: *My Lord, Neither you nor your Friends know what you desire. I know your Master better than you all. If* Villiers *get once into his Favour, those who shall have most contributed to his Preferment will be the first Sufferers by him. I shall be no more spared than the rest. The King will teach him himself to despise us, and to treat us with Pride and Scorn. The young proud Favourite will fancy that he is obliged to no Body for his Preferment, but his own Merit.*

The Queen's Conjectures were not ill grounded; for she was soon obliged to apply her self to the new *Favourite* for every thing she had to ask of the King.

We have an early Instance of this in a Letter of hers to *Buckingham*, when but Sir *George Villiers* dated at *Denmark-House*, *Febr.* 2. 1617. contain'd in the Collection of *Original Letters* after-mention'd.

There she desires his Intercession with the King, for the Reversion of the Wardship of Sir *George Savil*'s Heir, within the Lordship of *Pomfret*, telling him, *That though the Lordship was properly her own, yet she would be obliged to* Villiers *for that Reversion, to prevent any Mistakes that might arise when the Thing happen'd.*

Now since I have already, and may hereafter more than once, make mention of this *Collection* of *Original Letters*, it's but reasonable the Reader should once for all have some short Account of them.

There are in all Six *Bundles* of these Letters, most of them mark'd with King *Charles* I. his Hand, some few with Archbishop *Laud*'s, if I mistake not the Character, and the rest with a Hand I remember not to have seen before.

In the first *Bundle* there are *Twelve* of King *James*'s Letters, and *Two* of the Queen of *Bohemia*'s to the Duke of *Buckingham*. In the second Bundle there are *Sixteen* Letters of King *James* to the Prince and *Buckingham* jointly. In the third there is *One* Letter of King *James* to the Prince, and *Two* of the Prince's to him. In the fourth there are *Ten* Letters of King *Charles* I. to *Buckingham*, *Eight* of them when he was Prince, and *Two* when he was King; together with *Two* of Queen *Ann*'s to the same Duke. The fifth Bundle contains *Seven* Letters of the Duke of *Buckingham* to King *James*. And the Six *Nine* Letters of the Prince and *Buckingham* jointly to him.

All these are Original Letters, and the whole of their own Hand-writing. How they came into Archbishop *Laud*'s Hands, I know not; but they were among the rest of his Papers seized by *Prinne*, by Vertue of an Order of the then House of Commons, and continued in his Hands till the *Restauration*, when all Archbishop *Laud*'s Books and Papers were ordered by the King in Council to be delivered to Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and after Archbishop *Sheldon*'s Death, they fell into the Hands of his Executors.

It looks strange, that *Prinne* in all his virulent Writings should never take Notice of these Letters, considering that as he wanted not Inclination to bespatter the Memory of King *James*, so he had sufficient Matter in them to feed his Humour, there being Expressions in some of these Letters of King *James* to *Buckingham* might make a Bawd blush to repeat. But I have been credibly told they were found among a Heap of waste Paper, when Archbishop *Sheldon* had them from *Prinne*, and so probably it was they escaped *Prinne*'s Notice all the time they were in his Possession.

The Letters that passed between the King and *Buckingham* are wrote in a peculiar Stile of Familiarity, the King for the most part calling him *His Dear Child and Gossip*, and *His Dear Child and Gossip, Steiny*; and subscribing himself, *His Dear Dad*, and sometimes *His Dear Dad and Steward*; and once, when he sends him Partridges, *His Dear Dad and Purveyor*. *Buckingham* calls the King, for the most part, *Dear Dad and Gossip*, and sometimes *Dear Dad, Gossip, and Steward*; and subscribes always, *Your Majesty's most Humble Slave and Dog, Steiny*.

The Prince's Letters, both to the King, and *Buckingham*, are of another Stile, and much more manly Sense. These of his and *Buckingham* jointly to the King from *Madrid*, are all of *Buckingham*'s Hand; and upon the top, the King is call'd *Dear Dad and Gossip*; the Prince signing beneath on the right Hand, *Your Majesty's most Obedient Son and most Humble Servant*; and *Buckingham* on the left, *Your Majesty's most Humble Slave and Dog, Steiny*. The Prince, in his Letters to *Buckingham*, calls him always *Steiny*, and signs, *Your Constant Faithful Friend*.

Not to blot this Paper with the Bawdy that is in some of these Letters of King *James*, I shall only observe, that such was the Familiarity and Friendship between him and *Buckingham*, that in one of them he tells *Buckingham*, *He wears* Steiny's *Picture under his Wastcoat, next his Heart*; and in another, *He bids him, his only Sweet and Dear Child, haste to him to* Birely *that Night, that his white Teeth may shine upon him.*

But the Reader may better judge of the rest of King *James*'s familiar Letters to the Duke of *Buckingham* by the following short one, which runs thus *verbatim*, and is without Date.

My only Sweet and Dear Child,

B*Lessing, Blessing, Blessing, on thy Heart's Roots, and all thine, this* Thursday *Morning. Here is great Store of Game, as they say, Partridges and Stone-curlews: I know who shall get their Part of them: And here is the finest Company of young Hounds that ever was seen. God bless the sweet Master of my Harriers, that made them to be so well kept all Summer; I mean,* Tom Badger. *I assure my self thou will punctually observe the Dyet and Journey I set thee down in my first Letter from* Theobalds. *God bless thee, and sweet* Kate, *and* Mall, *to the Comfort of*

Thy Dear Dad,

JAMES R.

P. S. *Let my last Compliment settle in thy Heart, till we may have a sweet and comfortable Meeting, which God send; and give thee Grace to bid the Drogues adieu this Day.*

Now the Reason why King *James* gave *Buckingham* the Name of *Steiny*, was for his Handsomness, it being the Diminutive of St. *Stephen*, who is always printed with a Glory about his Face.

A. Reg. 12.

An. Christi 1614.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who had been Lieger-Ambaſſador with the States in the *Netherlands*, for his Abilities and good Service had merited ſo much from the King, that he made him Secretary of State: The Queen cloſes with him the better to diſcover *Somerſet*'s Miſcarriages; and he was ready enough to oblige her; for *Somerſet* made him but an Underling, graſping all Publick Employments into his own Hand, not caring whom he diſobliged, or what Malice he pull'd upon himſelf; for, like a Coloſs, he ſtood the Brunt of all the Tempeſts of Envy, making thoſe that carried the greateſt Sail to ſtrike and come under him. Nor would he ſuffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be beſtow'd, which was not ſweetned with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it; ſo that (it was thought) he engroſſed a Maſs of Coin, as if his Soul intended to take her Eaſe. This Pride and Covetouſneſs added to his other Miſcarriages ſuch a Number of Underminers, that he ſtood upon a tottering Foundation, having no Support but the King's Favour, which, whether by Providence from above, or Purpoſes below, (both ever concurring from the Will to the Means) was ſoon removed.

George Villers a Favourite.

For about this Time the King caſt his Eye upon a young Gentleman, ſo rarely moulded, that he meant to make him a Maſter-piece: His Name was *George Villers*; he was ſecond Son to Sir *George Villers*, a Knight of *Leiceſterſhire*, by a ſecond *Venter*: For the old Man coming to *Colehorton*, in that County, to viſit his Kinſwoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that Name ally'd, and yet a Servant to the Lady, who being of a handſome Preſence and Countenance, took his Affections, and he married her. This was the Soil where the glorious Cedar grew; who, having only the Breeding and Portion of a younger Brother, with the Mother's Help and Travel, got the Addition of a *French* Garb, which brought him to the Court in no greater a Condition than Fifty Pounds a Year is able to maintain.

The King, ſtricken with this new Object, would not expoſe him to ſo much Hazard as the Malice of a Jealous Competitor, nor himſelf to ſo much Cenſure as to be thought changeable, and taken again with a ſudden Affection; therefore he inſtructs ſome of his Confidents to bring him in by Degrees, who intimated the King's Pleaſure to him, that he ſhould wait Cup-bearer at large, being ſo, at too great a Diſtance of Place to have any Mark of Favour for Suſpition to level at. And if the King had not receiv'd a new Impreſſion thus, the Old Character of *Somerſet*, that was imprinted in his Soul, could not ſo ſoon (as many Men thought) have been blotted out. But Courts that are the wiſeſt, though not the moſt virtuous Schools, do teach their Scholars to obſerve the Seaſons, and, by the Aſtronomy of the Prince's Eye, to calculate what Fortune ſuch Aſpects and ſuch Conjunctions may happily produce: And they found ſo much as gave them Encouragement to hear, and Boldneſs to diſcover, that which pull'd down the one, and ſet up the other.

Somerſet's Decline, *1615.*

But *Somerſet*, that had the Pulſe of Conſcience always beating at *Overbury*'s Door, was as active to preſerve himſelf, as his Enemies were to ruine him: And finding himſelf ſhaking, (though there was nothing yet laid to his Charge but the imbezzelling ſome of the Crown Jewels) he throws himſelf at the King's Feet, acknowledging the great Truſt his Majeſty had repoſed in him, and the Weight of Buſineſs lying on him, might make him encounter him with ſome Miſcarriages through Youth and Ignorance, (great Employments often meeting with Envy, that joſtles them in the way:) He therefore humbly beſought his Majeſty to grant him a general Pardon for what was paſt, that he might not be expoſed to the Malice of thoſe that would wreſt all his Actions to the worſt Meaning. The King, that raiſed this fair Edifice, being loth to have it quite pull'd down again, gave Order for the drawing up of a general Pardon, in ſo ample and full a Manner, that it might rather Exceed than take Riſe from any former Precedent: This the King ſign'd, and ſent to the Great Seal; but the Queen having Notice of it, and uſing her Power with the Lord Chancellor, gave ſtop to the Seal till the King's coming to Town, (who was on his Progreſs in the Weſt) and then what was mutter'd in Corners before, rung openly in the Streets: For the Apothecary's Boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the Gliſter, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, reveal'd the whole Matter, which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by his Correſpondents, had a full Relation of; and a ſmall Breach being made, his Enemies, like the Noiſe of many Waters, riſe up againſt *him*, *following the* Stream.

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An. Christi 1615.

The King deſerts him.

The King hearing of the Buſineſs, and what ill Sound it carried with it, (as it was ſet out to him) that in the Face of the Court, and ſo near his own Boſom, ſuch poyſonous Practices ſhould be perpetrated, and on one that was his Priſoner, he ſeem'd to be much mov'd with the Relation, and ſending for the Judges, gave them ſtrict Charge to examine the Matter throughly, imprecating a Curſe upon them and their Poſterity, if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; and if he did ſpare any guilty Perſon, he wiſh'd God's Curſe might light upon him, and his Poſterity; ſo violent the King appear'd in Proſecution of it: And away to *Royſton* he goes, and *Somerſet* with him; thither theſe Rumours came buzzing about his Ears, like a riſing Storm upon a well-ſpread Oak; but he thought himſelf too firmly rooted in the King's Favour to be removed, therefore he went back to *London*, to ſtill the Murmurs vented againſt him. Some ſay, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* ſent for him; upon which he went to the King with a Complaint, as taking it to be a great Preſumption; but the King made anſwer, *Then muſt go then; for if* Coke *ſend for me, I muſt go too.* Others ſay, when he came to take his Leave of the King, he embrac'd and kiſs'd him often, wiſh'd him to make haſt back, ſhewed an extream Paſſion to be without him; and his Back was no ſooner turn'd, but he ſaid with a Smile, *I ſhall never ſee thy Face more.* Whether either or both of theſe were ſo cannot be aſſerted; but to *London* he went; his Counteſs was apprehended (and committed to Cuſtody in *Black Fryars*) before he came thither: He was no ſooner there, but he was ſeiz'd on, and commended to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*; and then they went on roundly with the Buſineſs.

Weſton and the reſt tried.

For a little before this, *Weſton* was taken, and examin'd, but, like a ſtubborn Piece, (unmoulded for Impreſſion) nothing could be drawn from him: But God (by the Means and Perſwaſion of the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *King*, a Man eminent for Piety in his Time) ſo wrought upon his Heart, that the Eye of his Soul being open'd to the foulneſs of his Sin, he diſcover'd all, ſo that the whole Confederacy were laid hold on, who falling into the Hands of

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of the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, (a Spirit of a fiery Exhalation, as subtile as active) he left no Stone unturn'd, till he had ript up the very Foundation.

But in the mean time, between *Weston*'s standing mute, and his Trial, one *Lumsden*, a *Scotchman*, took upon him to make a false and libellous Relation of the Business, and delivers it to *Henry Gib* of the Bed-Chamber, to be put into the King's Hand; in which Writing he falsifies and perverts all that was done the first Day of *Weston*'s Arraignment, turning the Edge of his Imputations upon the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*; which Bolt was boldly shot by him, but it was thought not to come out of his own Quiver; and it lighted into an ill Hand for him, for the King discover'd it, and left him an open Mark to that Justice he had traduc'd.

Weston executed.

Weston was the first that suffer'd by the Hand of the Law; which Sir *John Hollis*, (after Earl of *Clare*) out of Friendship to *Somerset*, and Sir *John Wentworth*, a Person debauch'd and riotous, hoping, from the Beams of *Somerset*'s Favour, to encrease his wanting Fortunes) strove to blast in the Spring; for they rode to *Tyburn*, and urged him at his Execution to deny all, hoping that way to prevent the Autumn that followed. But *Weston*'s Soul being prepar'd for Death, resisted their Temptations, sealing penitently the Truth of his Confession with his last Gasp. And this Attempt of *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden*, to pervert Justice, being aggravated against them in the *Star-Chamber* by the King's Attorney, Sir *Francis Bacon*, they were sentenc'd there, and found the Reward of their Presumption.

Mrs. *Turner*.

Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next: A Pattern of Pride and Lust, who having always given a loose Rein to her Life, she ran this Carrier at last into the Jaws of Death.

Sir *Jerv. Ellowis*.

Sir *Jervis Ellowis*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third, who suffer'd on *Tower-Hill*; a Man much pitied, being drawn in by the Allurements of *Northampton* to be a Spectator rather than an Actor in this bloody Tragedy: but this Connivance cost him his Life. And being a Man full of Sorrow for his Offence, he left two Pillars behind him at his Death, for Watch Towers to all that pass by, in this Bark of frail Mortality, to prevent Shipwrack. One was, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it.* The other was, *Not to take a Pride in any Parts, tho' never so Excellent.* For the first, he said he was a great Gamester, and lov'd it; and having lost one time much Money, he seriously and advisedly, between God and his own Soul, clapping his Hand on his Breast, spake thus, as it were to God) *If ever I play again, then let me be hanged! And breaking my vow*, (said he) *now God hath paid my Imprecation home.* The second was, He took a great Delight in his Pen, *And that Pen* (to use his own Words) *which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and, like Absolon's Hair, hath hanged me; for there dropt a Word or two from my Pen, in a Letter to the Earl of* Northampton, *which upon my Salvation I am not able to answer: At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for my Life, and protested mine Innocency; but when my own Pen came against me, I was not able to speak for my self, but stood as one amaz'd, or that had no Tongue.* Such Damps doth Guiltiness cast upon the Spirit!

And *Franklin*.

The fourth that fell by the Stroke of Justice, was *Franklin*, a Fellow as sordid in his Death, as pernicious in his Life, whose Name deserves not so much as Memory.

The fifth and sixth were *Somerset* and his Countess. At her Arraignment, all the Letters that passed betwixt *Forman* and she were read in open Court, and the Waxen and Brazen Poppets were made visible, dancing up and down from Hand to Hand, which discover'd the Folly of her Actions: But the Earl and she being condemn'd, found the King's Mercy, and were, after some time of Imprisonment in the Tower, set at Liberty, holding their Lives by a Lease of the King's Will, living in a private and almost obscure Condition: † Shewing in it, That no Content or Happiness can be truly establish'd, but on the Foundation of Justice: For that Love that made them break through all Oppositions, (either by her declining to some new Object, (as was the common Rumour) or his inclining Reluctancy (or the old) grew so weak, that it pin'd away, and they liv'd long after (tho' in one House) as Strangers one to another.

The Countess's Description in her Death.

She died before him. Her Death was Infamous, his without Fame, the Obscurity of the rest of his Life darkening the Splendour of it. And tho' she died (as it were) in a Corner, (in so private a Condition) the Loathsomness of her Death made it as conspicuous as on the House-top: For that part of her Body which had been the Receptacle of most of her Sin, grown rotten, (tho' she never had but one Child) the Ligaments failing, it fell down, and was cut away in Flakes, with a most nauseous and putrid Savour; which to augment, she would roul her self in her own Ordure in her Bed, and took Delight in it. Thus, her Affections varied; for nothing could be found sweet enough to augment her Beauties at first, and nothing stinking enough to decipher her Loath-

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† *Somerset* liv'd to an old Age, in a very obscure Retreat, tho' visited sometimes by King *James*, but never by his Son King *Charles* I. He was suffer'd to enjoy the greatest part of his Estate, and thought himself ill us'd that he was not restor'd to the whole. We have a Letter of his to this purpose Printed in the *Cabala*; wherein he complains to King *James* about the Delay he met with in that Business, and after a perplex'd manner vindicates his Innocency, or at least extenuates his Crime. The whole of that Letter is couch'd in obscure Terms, and some Sentences require an Interpreter. Among other expostulatory Expressions, he hath these following: *I have prison'd to this end* (saith he) *to awaken Your Majesty's own Council upon this Subject, which can gather to it self better and more able Defences in my behalf upon this View: For the* [illegible] *Acts of your Mercy, which are not communicable, nor the Causes of them, as being arriv'd from those secret Motives which are only sensible and privy to your own Heart, and admits of no Secret or Discovery to any general Satisfaction; yet my Cause needs not hide its self, but attend the Dispute with any that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy Shape.* Some few Lines after, he tells the King, *That the Crime whereupon he was judg'd might have been none, if his Majesty's Hand had not once touch'd upon it; and that he fell rather for want of well Defending, than by the Violence or Force of any Proofs; for* (says he) *I so far forsook my self, and my Cause, that it may be a Question, Whether I was more condemn'd for that, or for the Matter it self?*

The last Period of this Letter begins with another, yet darker Expression. *I will say no further* (continues he) *neither in that which Your Majesty doubted my Aptness to fall into; for my Cause nor my Confidence is not in that Distress as for to use that Mean of Intercession, but to remember Your Majesty that I am the Workmanship of your Hands*, &c. To this Letter he signs, *Your Majesty's Loyal Servant and Creature*, Somerset.

How far any Expressions in this Letter may have Relation to a Report spread about at that time, of *Somerset*'s threatning Message sent to King *James* by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, *That if he had not his Pardon, he would discover an important Secret, which was King* James's *Interest to have conceal'd*, is left to the Reader to judge.

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fomnefs at laft: Pardon the Sharpnefs of thefe Expreffions, for they are for the Glory of God, who often makes his Punifhments (in the Ballance of his Juftice) of equal Weight with our Sins.

Somerset's in his Life.

For his Perfon, he was rather well compacted than tall; his Features and Favour comely and handfome rather than Beautiful; the Hair of his Head Flaxen, that of his Face tinctur'd with Yellow of the Sycambrian Colour: In his own Nature, of a gentle Mind, and affable Difpofition, having publick Affections, till they were all fwallow'd up in this Gulf of Beauty, which did precipitate him into thefe dangerous Contrivances: For that which made his Friendfhip falfe, diverted his publick Affection to his private Intereft; and when he found himfelf guilty of what he thought might ruin him, he grew covetous to heap that together, which he thought might preferve him: So that at one Breach that our Corruptions make, many Mifchiefs follow in the Crowd. And if he had not met with fuch a Woman, he might have been a good Man: But Trials and ftrong Temptations enhanceth the Price of Vertue; the Conflict is gallant, but to be overcome, debafeth a Man the more, by how much his Fall is the greater.

I was loth to feparate thefe Delinquents in their Trials (being clofe woven) by the length of Sir *Francis Bacon's* Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, againft *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumfden*. But knowing what an Ornament his Oratory will give to this Story, and how ufual it was for ancient Hiftorians to infert their Harangues of State, as well as Military Orations, I could not decline this, tho' it comes almoft in the Rear; the rather becaufe it will ferve as a Seal and Confirmation of what is formerly written. And thus it was:

Sir *Francis Bacon's* Speech in the *Star Chamber*.

'THE Offence wherewith I fhall charge 'the three Offenders at the Bar, is a Mifdemeanour of a high Nature, tending to the 'Defacing and Scandal of Juftice, in a great 'Caufe Capital. The particular Charge is 'this:

'The King, among many of his Princely 'Vertues, is known to excel in that proper Virtue of the Imperial Throne, which is Juftice: 'It is a Mafter Vertue, unto which the other 'three are Miniftrant, and do Service; Wifdom ferveth to difcover and difcern of Innocencies and Guiltinefs; Fortitude is to profecute and execute; and Temperance fo to carry Juftice, as it be not paffionate in the Purfuit, nor confus'd in Valuing Perfons, nor precipitate in Time.

'For this his Majefty's Vertue of Juftice, God 'hath of late raifed an Occafion, and erected '(as it were) a Stage, or Theatre, much for 'his Honour, to fhew and Act in it, in the purfuit of the violent untimely Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and therein cleanfing the Land 'from Blood: For if Blood doth cry to Heaven in God's Ears, this is a Stench, I may fay, 'in the Noftrils of God and Man.

'This Work of Juftice, the greater and more 'excellent it is, you will foon conclude, the 'greater is the Offence of any that have 'fought to affront or traduce it. And therefore, before I defcend unto the particular 'Charge of thefe Offenders, I will fay fomewhat of the Crime of Impoyfonment; fomewhat of the particular Circumftances of this 'Fact upon *Overbury*; and thirdly, of the King's 'great and worthy Care and Carriage in this 'Bufinefs.

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'The Offence of Impoyfonment is moft truly figured in that Device and Defcription 'which was made of the Nature of *Caius Caligula*, That he was *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, 'Mire cemented with Blood: For as it is one 'of the higheft Offences in Guiltinefs, fo it is 'the bafeft of all others in the Minds of Offenders: Treafons *Magnum aliquid spectant*, They 'aim at great Things; but this is vile and bafe. 'I have found in the Book of God, Examples of 'all other Offences, but not any one of an Impoyfonment, or an Impoyfoner. I find Mention of fome Fear of cafual Impoyfonments; 'when the Waters were corrupted and bitter, 'they came complaining in a fearful manner, 'Mafter, *Mors in olla*: And I find Mention of 'Poyfons of Beafts and Serpents; *The Poyfons of Afps is under their Lips*, faith the *Pfalm*; but I 'find no Mention in a Humane Creature of a 'malicious and murtherous Impoyfonment. *Let their Table be made a Snare*, is certainly moft 'true of Impoyfonment: but that I think was 'meant of the Treachery of Friends, that were 'participant of the fame Table.

'This is an Offence that hath two Spurs of 'offending, *Spes perficiendi, & spes celandi*; It is 'eafily committed, and eafily conceal'd. It is 'an Offence, that is, *Tanquam sagitta nocte volans*, It is the Arrow that flies by Night, it 'difcerns not whom it hits, for many times the 'Poyfon is laid for one, and another takes it. 'As in *Sanders's* Cafe, where the Poifon'd Apple was laid for the Mother, and the Child 'eat it. And fo in that notorious Cafe, whereupon the Statute of 22 *Hen. VIII. cap.* 9. was 'made, where the Intent being but to poyfon 'one or two, Poyfon was put in a little Veffel 'of Barm that ftood in the Kitchen at the Bifhop of *Rochefter's* Houfe, of which, Barm, Pottage or Grewel was made, wherewith 17 of 'the Bifhop's Family were poyfon'd; nay, divers of the Poor that came to the Bifhop's 'Gate, and had the Pottage in Alms, were 'likewife poyfon'd. Here is great Talk of Impoyfonment, I hope I am fafe, I have no 'Enemies, nor any thing Men can long for; 'that is all one; for he may fit at the Table by 'one for whom Poyfon is prepar'd, and have a 'Drench of his Cup, or of his Pottage, and fo '(as the Poet faith) *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*, 'He may die another Man's Death, and therefore it was moft gravely, judicioufly, and 'properly provided by that Statute, That Impoyfonment fhould be High-Treafon, becaufe 'whatfoever Offence tendeth to the utter Subverfion and Diffolution of Humane Society, is 'in the Nature of High-Treafon.

'But it is an Offence, that I may truly fay of 'it, *Non est nostri generis nec sanguinis*; It is, Thanks 'be to God, rare in the Ifle of *Britain*: It is 'neither of our Country, nor of our Church: 'You may find it in *Rome* and *Italy*, there is a 'Religion for it; if it fhould come among us, 'it were better living in a Wildernefs than in a 'Court.

'For the particular Fact upon *Overbury*, I 'knew the Gentleman, it is true, his Mind was 'great, but it mov'd not in any great good Order; yet certainly it did commonly fly at good 'Things; and the greateft Fault that ever I 'heard by him, was, That he made his Friend 'his Idol. But take him as he was, the King's 'Prifoner in the Tower, and then fee how the 'Cafe ftands. In that Place the State is (as it 'were) a Refpondent to make good the Body 'of the Prifoner; and if any thing happen to 'him there, it may (tho' not in this Cafe, yet

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'in ſome others) make an Aſperſion and Reflection upon the State it ſelf: For the Perſon is utterly void of his own Defence; his own Care and Providence can ſerve him to nothing: He is in the Cuſtody and Preſervation of Law; and we have a Maxim in our Law, That when a State is in Preſervation of Law, nothing can deſtroy it, or hurt it; and God forbid but the like ſhould be in Perſons; and therefore this was a Circumſtance of great Aggravation.

'Laſtly, To have a Man chaſed to Death, in a manner, as it appears now by Matter of Record, (for other Privacy of Cauſe I know not) by Poyſon after Poyſon; Firſt *Roſaker*, then *Arſnick*, then *Mercury Sublimate*, then *Sublimate* again: It is a thing would aſtoniſh Man's Nature to hear it. The Poets feign, That the Furies had Whips, and that they were corded with poyſoned Snakes; and a Man would think that this Subject were the very Caſe: To have a Man tied to a Poſt, and to ſcourge him to death with Serpents; for ſo truly may Diverſity of Poyſons be termed.

'It pleaſed my Lord Chief Juſtice to let me know that which I heard with great Comfort, which was the Charge that his Majeſty gave to himſelf, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners in this Caſe, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, That the Buſineſs ſhould be carry'd without Touch to any that was innocent, not only without Impeachment, but without Aſperſion, which was a moſt Noble and Princely Caution; for Mens Reputations are tender Things, and ought to be, like Chriſt's Coat, without Seam. And it was more to be reſpected in this Caſe, becauſe it met with two great Perſons; a Nobleman that his Majeſty had favour'd and advanc'd, and his Lady, being of a great and Honourable Houſe; tho' I think it be true that the Writers ſay, That there is no Pomegranate ſo fair or ſo ſound, but may have a periſhed Kernel. Nay, I ſee plainly in thoſe excellent Papers of his Majeſty's own Hand-writing (as ſo many Beams of Juſtice iſſuing from that Virtue which ſo much doth ſhine in him) the Buſineſs ſo evenly carry'd without Prejudice, whether it were a true Accuſation on the one part, or a Practice or falſe Accuſation on the other, as ſhew'd plainly that his Majeſty's Judgment was, *Tanquam tabula raſa*, as a clean pair of Tables, and his Ears, *Tanquam janua aperta*, as a Gate not one ſide open, but wide open to the Truth, as it ſhould be diſcover'd. And I may truly affirm, That there was never in this Kingdom, nor in any other, the Blood of a private Gentleman vindicated, *Cum tanto motu Regni*; or to ſay better, *Cum tanto plauſu Regni*: If it had concern'd the King or Prince, there could not have been greater or better Commiſſioners. The Term hath been almoſt turn'd into a *Juſtitium*, or Vacancy; the People being more willing to be Lookers on in this Buſineſs, than Proceeders in their own. There hath been no Care of Diſcovery omitted, no Moment of Time loſt; and therefore I will conclude, with the Saying of *Salomon*, this part of my Speech, *Gloria Dei celare rem*, and *Gloria Regis ſcrutari rem*, It is the Glory of God to conceal a Thing, and it is the Glory of the King to find it out: And his Majeſty's Honour is the greater, for that he ſhewed to the World this Buſineſs as it hath a Relation to my Lord of *Somerſet*, (whoſe Caſe in no ſort I do fore-judge being ignorant of the Secrets of the Cauſe, but take him as the Law takes him, hitherto for a ſuſpect) I ſay, the King hath, to his great Honour, ſhew'd, That were any Man in ſuch a Caſe of Blood, as the Signet of his Right Hand, as the Scripture ſaith) he would put him off.

'Now I will come to the particular Charge of theſe Gentlemen. And firſt I will, by way of Narrative, relate the Fact, with the Occaſion of it.

'This wretched Man *Weſton*, who was the Actor, or Mechanical Party in this Impoyſonment, the firſt Day being indicted by a very ſubſtantial Jury of ſelected Citizens, to the Number of Nineteen, who found *Bills vera*; yet nevertheleſs at the firſt ſtood mute: But after ſome Days Intermiſſion, it pleaſed God to caſt out the Dumb Devil, and he put himſelf upon his Trial, and was by a Jury of great Value upon his own Confeſſions, and other Teſtimonies, found guilty: So as Thirty and one ſufficient Jurors have paſs'd upon him, and he had alſo his Judgment and Execution awarded. After this, being in Preparation for another World, he ſent for Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Father, and falling down upon his Knees, with great Remorſe and Compunction, ask'd him Forgiveneſs; and afterwards again, of his own Motion, deſir'd to have his like Prayer of Forgiveneſs recommended to his Mother, who was abſent. And at both times, out of the Abundance of his Heart, confeſſed, that he was to die juſtly, and that he was worthy Death. And after again at his Execution, (which is a kind of ſealing time of Confeſſions) even at the Point of Death, (tho' there were Tempters about him, he did again confirm publickly, That his Examinations were true, and that he had been juſtly and honourably dealt with. So here is a Period of this Man, which was the Subject of this Calumny or Affront of Juſtice; wherein Mr. *Lumſden* plays his part firſt, who in the time between *Weſton*'s ſtanding mute and his Trial, frames a moſt odious and libellous Relation, containing as many Untruths as Lines; ſets it down in Writing with his own Hand, and delivers it to one of the Bed-Chamber to be put into the King's Hands, falſifying all that was done the firſt Day of *Weſton*'s Arraignment, turning the Pike and Point of his Imputations upon the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*; whoſe Name thus occurring, I cannot paſs by, and yet I cannot skill of this ſame Flattery, or Vulgar Attribute, but this I will ſay of him, and I would ſay as much to Ages, That never Man's Perſon and his Place were better met in a Buſineſs, than my Lord *Coke*, and my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the Caſe of *Overbury*.

'Now for the Perſon of Mr. *Lumſden*, I know he is a *Scotch* Gentleman, and thereby more ignorant of our Laws; but I cannot tell whether this doth extenuate his Fault, or increaſe it, for as it may extenuate it in reſpect of Ignorance, ſo it doth aggravate it much in reſpect of Preſumption, to meddle in that he underſtood not, unleſs ſome other Man's Cunning wrought upon this Man's Boldneſs. The Infuſion of a Slander into a Kings Ear is, of all Forms of Libels and Slanders, the worſt. It is true, that King's may keep ſecret their Information, and then no Man can enquire after them, while they are ſhrined in their Breaſt: But where a King is pleaſed that a Man ſhall anſwer for his falſe Information, divers Precedents of ſlanderous Petitions have been as ſeverely puniſh'd, as ſlanderous Libels.

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'For the Offence of Sir *John Wentworth*, and Sir *John Hollis*, which was, to scandalize the Justice already past, or to cut off the Thread of something that is to come, these two Gentlemen came mounted on Horseback, and in a ruffling and facing Manner, presum'd to Examine *Weston*, whether he did Poyson *Overbury*, or no: Directly cross to that which had been Try'd and Judg'd. For what was the Point tried? That *Weston* had Poyson'd *Overbury*! And Sir *John Wentworth's* question was, Whether he did Poyson him? A direct Contradictory. Whereupon *Weston* answer'd, That he did him wrong. And turning to the Sheriff, said, *You promised me I should not be troubled at this time*; and yet nevertheless *Wentworth* press'd him to answer, that he might pray with him. I know not that Sir *John Wentworth* is an Ecclesiastick, that he should cut any Man from Communion of Prayer; and for all this vexing of the Spirit of a poor Man, now in the Gate of Death; *Weston* stood constant, and said, *I die not unworthily, my Lord Chief Justice hath my Mind under my Hand; and he is an Honourable and Just Judge.* Sir *John Hollis* was not so much a Questionist, but wrought upon the other Questions; and, like a Counsellor, wish'd him to discharge his Conscience, and to satisfie the World: What World I marvel! It was the World at *Tyburn*: For the World at *Guildhall*, and the World at *London*, were satisfied before; *Teste*, the Bells that rang every where. But Men have got a Fashion now a Days, that Two or Three Busy-bodies will take upon them the Name of the World, and broach their own Conceit, as if it were a general Opinion. Well, what more? When they could not work upon *Weston*, Sir *John Hollis*, in an Indignation, turn'd about his Horse, as the other was turning to his Death, and said, he was sorry of such a Conclusion: That was, to have the State Honour'd or Justify'd.

'Sir *John Hollis's* Offence hath another Appendix before this in time, which was at the Day of Tryal. He presum'd to give his Verdict openly, That if he were of the Jury he would not doubt what to do. Marry, he saith, he cannot well tell whether he spoke this before the Jury had given up their Verdict, or after. Wherein there is little gain'd, For, whether he were a *Prejuror*, or a *Postjuror*, the one was to Prejudice the Jury, the other was to Attaint them.

'The Offence of these Gentlemen is greater and more dangerous than is conceiv'd. We have no *Spanish* Inquisition; no Justice in a Corner; no Gagging of Men's Mouths at their Death, but they may speak freely to the Last; but then it must come from the free Motion of the Party, not by tempting of Questions. The Questions that are asked ought to tend to further revealing of their own, or others Guiltiness: But to use a Question in the Nature of a cross Interrogatory, to falsifie that which is *Res Judicata*, is intolerable. That were to erect a Court, or Commission of Review at Tyburn, against the Court of *Westminster*: For if the Answer be according to the Judgment past, it adds credit to Justice: If it be contrary, it derogateth nothing; yet it subjecteth the Majesty of Justice to a popular vulgar Talk and Opinion. My Lords, These are great and dangerous Offences: For if we do not Maintain Justice, Justice will not Maintain us.

Then the Examinations being read, and further aggravated against these three Gentlemen, there passed Judgment upon them of Fine and Imprisonment.

Sir *Thomas Monson*, another of the Countess's Agents in this Poysoning Contrivance, had past one days Tryal at *Guildhall*. But the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, in his Rhetorical Flourishes at his Arraignment, vented some Expressions (which he either deduced from *Northampton's* assuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the making away of Sir *Tho. Overbury* would be acceptable to the King: or from some other secret Hint receiv'd) as if he could discover more than the Death of a private Person; intimating, tho' not plainly, that *Overbury's* untimely Remove had something in it of a Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the same Crime against Prince *Henry*; blessing himself with Admiration at the Horror of such Actions. In which he flew to so high a Pitch, that he was taken down by a Court Lure; Sir *Thomas Monson's* Tryal laid aside, and he soon after set at Liberty; and the Lord Chief Justice's Wings were clipt for it ever after.

Sir *Thomas Monson* arraign'd.

And it was rumour'd, that the King (heightned to so much Passion by this Eruption of Sir *Edward Coke's*) went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, desir'd *God to lay a Curse upon him and his Posterity for ever, if he were consenting to* Overbury's *Death*. But this cannot be asserted, being above our Sphere; yet as Mathematicians do propose to themselves imaginary Circles, for the several Motions in the Heavens; and though there be none discover'd, yet they find the Effects of what they apprehend: So the sudden stopping of *Monson's* Tryal, put strange Imaginations into Mens Heads; and those seconded by Reports too high for private Discovery, their Operation only falling under the common Notion. But the Lord Chief Justice was blam'd for flying out of his way; that having enough to prosecute the Business, he would grasp after more till he lost all: For this Crime was thought Second to none but the Gunpowder-Plot; That would have blown up all indeed at a Blow, (a Merciful Cruelty!) This would have done the same by Degrees, a Lingring, but as sure a way, one by one might have been call'd out, till all Opposers had been remov'd. Besides the other Plot was Scandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious; This was Scandalous to the Gospel ever since the first Nullity. The Devil could not have invented a more Mischievous Practice to Church and State.

The Lord Chief Justice blamed.

The Lady *Arabella* dying about this time in the Tower, set Mens Tongues and Fears at work, that she went the same way. Such Mischief doth one Evil Action introduce, that it makes a great Rode for Jealousie to pursue after it. The Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to our King's Father by *Elizabeth Cavendish*, who was married some Years past to Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Granchild to *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*; both at some distance ally'd to the Crown, therefore such a Conjunction would not be admitted in the Royal Almanack; so dreadful is every Apparition that comes near Princes Titles. Sir *William Seymour* for the Marriage was committed to the Tower, and the Lady *Arabella* confin'd to her House at *Highgate*. But after some Imprisonment, they conclude to escape beyond Sea together; appointing to meet at a certain Place upon the *Thames*. Sir *William* leaving his Man in his Bed to act his Part with his Keeper, got out of the Tower in a Disguise, and came to the Place appointed. She dress'd like a young Gallant in Man's Attire, follow'd him from her House, but stay-

The Lady *Arabella* dies.

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ing long above the limited time, made him suspicious of her Interception; so that he went away, leaving notice if she came, that he was gone away before to *Dunkirk*. She, good Lady, fraught with more Fears, and lagging in her Flight, was Apprehended, brought back to the Tower, and there finish'd her Earthly Pilgrimage. She being dead, Sir *William Seymour* got Leave to return home, and Marry'd since to the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the late Noble Earl of *Essex*; a Lady, in whose Breast dwells as much Honour as can be derived from Noble Progenitors, by whom he hath a very hopeful Issue; and by the Death of his Grandfather was Earl, and now is Marquis of *Hertford*.

Peace every where.

And now the Temples of *Janus* being shut, Warlike Abiliments grew rusty, and *Bellona* put on Masking-Attire; for *Scotland* bought her Peace at a good Rate, and *Ireland* found the Fruits of hers growing up to her Hand. Those *Irish* that had great Estates (though rude enough) the King suppled and tam'd with Honours; and they that had little, were content calmly to suck in what they had, and battel'd by it; so that they wanted nothing but Moderation to make them Happy. These *Halcion* Days shin'd round about us. The Influence of our King's peaceable Mind had almost an Universal Operation. *Spain's* Ambition was contented to be bounded by the *Pyrene* Hills and the *Atlantick* Ocean, sucking in the Fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and hoarding up the Treasures of the *Indies*; willingly singing a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting Exercise, surfeited with Diseases at Home, which by Fits broke out into Tumours among themselves. The *Germans* swell'd into a Dropsy of Voluptuousness, by Plenty, and the Sweets of Peace. Politick Bodies are like Natural; full Feeding contracts gross Humours, which will have vent. Only such Exercise as may refine, and keep the Spirits active, and digest the grosser and fuliginous Matter, strengthens the Nerves of a Kingdom, or Republick. Nothing now but Bravery and Feasting; the Parents of Debauchery and Riot flourished among us. There is no Theam for History, when Men spill more Drink than Blood; when Plots and Contrivances for Lust, acted in dark Corners, are more practised than Stratagems in War; and when the Stages with silken Pageants and Poppets, that slacken the Sinews, are more frequented than those Theatres of Honour, where Industry brawns and hardens the Arms: Peace is a great Blessing, if it bring not a Curse with it; but War is more happy in its Effects than it, especially if it takes away the Distemper that grows by long Surfeits, without destroying the Body. But since these Buskind Ornaments are wanting, we must imbellish our Discourses with such Passages as paced up and down in the Sock of Peace.

The King thinks of a Match for his Son Prince *Charles*.

There had been in Prince *Henry's* time a Treaty of Marriage betwixt him and a Daughter of *Spain*; which took no effect. Our King was real in his Intentions, not willing to have his Son's Beams to display themselves but in a Royal Horizon. The *Spanish* Policy clouded the Business with Delays; whether from the old Grudge that was betwixt Queen *Katharine* and *Henry* the Eighth, or the Difference between the Nations in Religion? But the *Spanish* Councel, being loth directly and point-blank to tell our King, he liked not the Conjunction, went with a slow-pac'd Gravity, such as he thought befitted the Civility of Princes, and gave a little Light to hope that it might be accomplished. But *Salisbury* and others, that managed those great Affairs then, did at this Clunk discover, that their Formalities were but *Spanish* Compliments, which like the Air that gave them being, soon vanish'd away. After this, our King's Thoughts cast about, how he might provide a fit Match for Prince *Charles*, who shin'd in the same Sphere of Honour (that his Brother left for a Better) but not so much enlightned with the Peoples Love, being less Active and Splendid, and (that I may not call it Sullenness) more Reserv'd. The *German* Dames were discoursed on (where his Sister shin'd in her Glory) as being of the same Religion, and more suitable in Christian Policy; but they were (in a manner) Subjects to the Emperor; and that would give an Allay to the Super-elementary Extraction of Kings, which should be of a higher Origine, to amuse, and that they might be the more admir'd by their People, and therefore not so fitting in State-Policy. And seeing there were small Hopes expected from *Spain*, a Daughter to *Henry* the *Great*, late King of *France*, was aim'd at, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, our King's Lieger Ambassador, had (long before this time) made his little Addresses superficially, and sounded the Chanel; but he met some Rocks and Remora's in the Way, so that he could not discover clearly their Intentions; and the King was loth to express himself plainly, lest he should receive an Affront. And now sending (as he thought it civilly necessary) an Extraordinary Ambassador to congratulate the King of *France* his Marriage with *Anna* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, he thought it good Policy to take this Occasion to make a stricter Scrutiny, whether there were any Ground to rest upon for matching his Son.

The Lord *Hayes* sent to *France*.

And who is fitter for that Employment, being only for Courtship and Bravery, than the Lord *Hayes*, a Gentleman whose Composition of Mind tended that way? He was Born in *Scotland*, where Bravery was in no Superfluity; bred up in *France*, where he could not have it in Extravagancy; but he found it in *England*, and made it his Vanity. The King had a large Hand, and he had a large Heart; and though he were no great Favourite ever, yet he was never but in Favour. He with a great Train of young Noblemen, and other Courtiers of Eminency, suited themselves with all those Ornaments that could give Lustre to so dazzelling an appearance as Love, and the Congratulation of it carried with it. All the Study was, who should be most Glorious; and he had the happiest Fancy, whose Invention could express something novel, neat, and unusual, that others might admire. So that *Huntington's* Prophecy was fulfill'd here, when speaking of the time of the *Scot's* Conquest of *England*, he said, *Multimoda variatione vestium & indumentorum designaretur.* I remember I saw one of the Lord Ambassador's Suits, and pardon me that I take notice of such petty Things) the Cloak and Hose were made of very fine white Beaver, imbroidered richly all over with Gold and Silver; the Cloak, almost to the Cape, within and without, having no Lining but Imbroidery; The Doublet was Cloth of Gold, imbroidered so thick, that it could not be discerned; and a white Beaver-Hat suitable, brim-full of Imbroidery, both above and below. This is presented as an Essay, for one of the meanest he wore; so that if this Relation should last longer than his old Cloathes, the Reader might well think it a Romance, savouring rather of Fancy than Reality.

6 Lib. H. Hunt.

The Lord *Hayes* rides in State to the Court.

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But this kind of Vanity had been long active in *England*: For the last Parliament it was mov'd by some well-affected to Reformation of the Abuses of Excess in Apparel, that there might be a Regulation of this kind of Gallantry, to the distinguishing of Men one from another: For (it was said) some of mean Fortunes wore Garments fitter for Princes than Subjects; and many Gentry of antient Descent had wasted, and impoverish'd themselves and their Posterities with this Extravagancy, so that it was very requisite to give some stop to this redundant Humour. To which was answer'd, That if those of Mean Fortunes went so richly attir'd and came not honestly by their Ornaments, they would be quickly found out, and there were good Laws enough for such Transgressors. But as there is no perpetuity of Being on Earth; so there is a continual Vicissitude and Revolution in all Sublunary Things; some are advanced, and some decline; *God pulleth down one, and setteth up another.* If any Noble, or anciently descended Family, will be so Mad and Foolish to beggar themselves and their Posterities with this, or any other Excess, 'tis very probable that some Man of more Wisdom and Merit will enjoy that which the other hath so idly and prodigally mispent; for to set such Limitations, will damp the Spirits of Industry. So the Motion was declin'd.

But to return to the Lord *Hayes*. Thus accouter'd and accomplish'd, he went into *France*, and a Day for Audience being prefix'd, all the Argument and Dispute betwixt him and his gallant Train (which took up some time) was, how they should go to the Court. Coaches, like Curtains, would eclipse their Splendor; riding on Horseback in Boots, would make them look like Travellers, not Courtiers, and not having all Foot-cloaths, it would be an unsuitable Mixture; Those that brought rich Trappings for their Horses, were willing to have them seen; so it was concluded for the Foot-cloth, and those that have none (to their bitter Cost) must furnish themselves. This Preparation begot Expectation; and that fill'd all the Windows, Balconies and Streets of *Paris*, as they passed, with a Multitude of Spectators. Six Trumpeters, and two Marshals (in Tawny Velvet Liveries, compleatly Suited, lac'd all over with Gold, richly and closely laid) led the Way; the Ambassador followed with a great Train of Pages and Footmen in the same rich Livery, encircling his Horse, and the rest of his Retinue according to their Qualities and Degrees, in as much bravery as they could devise or procure, follow'd in Couples, to the Wonderment of the Beholders. And some said (how truly I cannot assert) the Ambassador's Horse was shod with Silver-shoes, lightly tack'd on; and when he came to a Place where Persons, or Beauties of Eminency were, his very Horse prancing and curveting, in humble Reverence flung his Shoes away, which the greedy Understanders scrambled for; and he was content to be gazed on and admir'd, till a Farrier, or rather an Argentier in one of his rich Liveries, among his Train of Footmen, out of a Tawny Velvet Bag took others, and tack'd them on; which lasted till he came to the next Troop of Grandees: And thus with much ado he reach'd the *Louvre*.

All Compliments and outward Ceremonies of State being perform'd, the Lord Ambassador made his Business known by more private Addresses; which in appearance was well resented, but indeed not intended, and came to no effect: For the Duke of *Savoy* had anticipated the young Lady's Affection for the Prince of *Piemont* his Son. The *Savoyan* Agents bringing more Gold in their Hands than on their Backs, had so smoothed the Way, that not only those about the Princess, but the Great ones themselves, were made Workers for him. After the Ambassador had been feasted magnificently, with all his gallant Train, in several Places, to shew the Grandure of *France*, he came over into *England*, and Practic'd it here; making many times upon several Occasions, such Stupendious Feasts, and heaped Banquets, as if all the Creatures had contributed to his Excess. I know not what Limits or Bounds are set to the Glories of Princes Courts, or Noble Minds. We see the Sea it self, and all his Tributary Rivers, do ebb and flow; but if they swell so high to overflow that Bank, that Reason hath prescrib'd to keep them in, what Inundations of sad Mischief follow, Experience shews.

A Breach betwixt the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice.

A little before this time, there was a Breach between the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, and the Lord Cancellor *Ellesmere*, which made a Passage to both their declines. Sir *Edward Coke* had heard and determin'd a Cause at the Common Law; and some report, there was jugling in the Business. *The Witness that knew, and should have related the Truth, was wrought* upon to be absent, if any Man would undertake to excuse his Non-Appearance: A pragmatical Fellow of the Party undertook it; went with the Witness to a Tavern; call'd for a Gallon-pot full of Sack; bid him drink; and so leaving him, went into the Court. This Witness is call'd for as the Prop of the Cause; the Undertaker answers upon Oath, *He left him in such a Condition, that if he continues in it but a Quarter of an Hour, he is a Dead Man.* This Evidencing the Man's Incapability to come, decided the Matter so, that it lost the Cause. The Plaintiffs that had the Injury bring the Business about in *Chancery*: The Defendants (having had Judgment at Common Law) refuse to obey the Orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for Contempt of the Court, commits them to Prison. They Petition against him in the *Star-Chamber*; the Lord Chief Justice joins with them, foments the Difference, threatning the Lord Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the Business, who sent to Sir *Francis Bacon* his Attorney-General, Sir *Henry Montague* and Sir *Randolph Crew*, his Serjeants at Law, and Sir *Henry Yelverton* his Sollicitor; commanding them to Search what Precedents there have been of late Years, wherein such as complain'd in *Chancery* were reliev'd according to Equity and Conscience, after Judgment at Common Law. These being Men well vers'd in their Profession (after canvassing the Matter throughly) return'd Answer to the King, That there hath been a strong Current of Practice and Proceeding in *Chancery*, after Judgment at Common Law, and many times after Execution, continu'd since *Henry* VII's time, to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the Reigns (*Seriatim*) of the several Kings, and the Times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great Learned Men in the Law: It being in Cases where there is no Remedy for the Subject by the strict Course of the Common Law, unto which the Judges are sworn. This satisfied the King; justified the Lord Chancellor; and the Chief Justice receiv'd the Foil: Which was a bitter Potion to his Spirit, but not strong enough to work on him as his Enemies wish'd.

There-

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Therefore to humble him more, he is brought on his Knees at the Council Table, and Three other Ingredients added to the Dose, of a more Active Operation.

The Chief Justice is humbled.

First, He is charged, That when he was the King's Attorney in the beginning of his Reign, he conceal'd a Statute of Twelve thousand Pounds due to the King from the late Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, wherein he deceiv'd the Trust reposed in him.

Secondly, That he utter'd Words of very high Contempt as he sat in the Seat of Justice; saying, The Common Law of *England* would be overthrown, and the Light of it obscur'd; Reflecting upon the King.

And Thirdly, His uncivil and indiscreet Carriage before his Majesty (being assisted by his Privy Council and Judges) in the Case of *Commendams*.

The last he confess'd; and humbly crav'd his Majesty's Pardon. The other Two he palliated with some colourable Excuses, which were not so well set off; but they left such a Tincture behind, that he was commanded to a private Life. And to Expiate the King's Anger, he was enjoin'd in that leisurely Retirement to review his Books of Reports, which the King was inform'd had many extravagant Opinions, publish'd for Positive and good Law, which must be corrected, and brought to his Majesty to be perused. But the Title of the Books, wherein he stiles himself Lord Chief Justice of *England*, was to be expunged, being but Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*. And at his departure from the Council Table, (where he humbly acknowledged his Majesty's Mercy, and their Lordship's Justice) the Lord Treasurer gave him a Wipe, for suffering his Coachman to ride bare before him in the Streets; which Fault he strove to cover, by telling his Lordship, his Coachman did it for his own ease. But not long after, the Lord Treasurer came under his Lash in the Star-Chamber, and he required him for it.

His Faults.

While he was under this Cloud, all his Faults was ripped up, either by his Enemies, or his Well-wishers, who advised him to be humbled for this Visitation. That Affliction only levels the Mole-hills of Pride in us, plows up the Heart, and makes it fit for Wisdom to sow her Seed, and Grace to bring forth her Increase. That he delighted to speak much, which becomes a Pleader, and not a Judge; for so his Affections were entangled with a liking of his own Arguments, and an undervaluing of others; when having a large and fruitful Mind, he should not labour so much what to speak, as what to leave unspoken: *Such lusty Soils are often to be weeded!* That he was wont to praise and dispraise, upon slight Grounds, the same Man, and that sometimes suddenly; so that his Reproofs or Commendations are neglected and contemned; when as the Censure of a Judge (coming slowly, but surely) should be a Brand to the Guilty, and a Crown to the Virtuous. That he will Jest at any Man in publick, without respect of the Persons Dignity, or his own; which disgraceth his Gravity, more than it can advance the Opinion of his Wit. That he makes the Law to lean a little too much to his own Opinion, whereby he shews himself a legal Tyrant, striking with that Weapon whom he pleases, being able to turn the edge any way. That having the Living of a Thousand, he hath no Bowels of Compassion to Men in want; the Hand that hath taken so much can give little, but gets still, as if he did try how much he could gather to Account for at the great and general Audit-Day. That in the Case of *Overbury*, he used too many Delays, till Delinquents Hands were loose, and his bound; in which slowness he was a *Fabius*, but the Humour of *Marcellus* would have done better; for he stopt the Confessions and Accusations of some, that would have spoken enough to remove more stumbling Blocks out of his way; and yet he did not this in favour of any, but out of present unadvised Humour, supposing enough behind to discover all; which fell not out so: And therefore, though he were to be commended for what he did, yet he is to be reprehended for many Circumstances in the Doing; and these are now Briers in his Sides, and Thorns in his Eyes. Much more, to this purpose, was written to him, and vented against him.

And short Character.

Truly he was a Man of excellent Parts, but not without his Frailties: For as he was a Storehouse and Magazine of the Common Law, for the present Times; and laid such a Foundation for the future, that Posterity may for ever build on; so his Passions and Pride were so predominant, that Boiling over, he lost (by them) much of his own Fulness, which extinguished not only the Valuation, but respect to his Merit: *So often is that heat, that gives life to noble Parts, by a circular Motion, the ruin of them!* Yet to cool his Distemper, and to bring him to himself, he is within a short time called to the Council Table, the King being loth to lose his Abilities.

The Lord Chancellor retires.

The Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer* also about this time, weary of his publick Employment, and weakned with Age, desired the King's Leave to retire, that he might make use of the short time left him, to cast up his Accounts for another World; The King gave the Seal, and the Place of Lord Chancellor, to Sir *Francis Bacon*, his Attorney General; and the old Lord *Ellesmer* wore out the Remnant of his Life in quiet, dying in a good old Age, and full of virtuous Fame, leaving a noble Posterity, who enjoy a great Estate, with the Title of Earl of *Bridgewater*.

Sir Ralph Winwood dies.

Time and Age had also worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's able, faithful, and honest Servant, and Secretary; who dying, Sir *Robert Nanton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; Men of contrary Religions and Factions, (as they were then styled) *Calvert* being an Hispaniolized Papist; the King matching them together, like contrary Elements, to find a Medium betwixt them.

The Lord Treasurer questioned in the Star-Chamber.

But the greatest Remove was the Lord Treasurer's Staff, which was broken by *Somerset's* fall, the way being now made plain, and laid open, that discovered the Treasurer's Imperfections, and his Wives Corruptions: The Lady keeping the Shop, and Sir *John Bingley*, her Officer, crying, *What d'ye lack?* was the new Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was pleased to express himself in the Star-Chamber, whether the Business being brought, the Sore was opened, and all the bad Humours flow to the ill-affected Party. Bribery and Extortion is the Matter that appears, which is squeez'd out, and aggravated by Sir *Edward Coke*, (newly perk'd up, such is the World's Bucket!) who very learnedly cited many Precedents of Treasurers in former King's Reigns, that Miscarried, and their several Punishments.

He begins with *Randulphus de Britton*, Treasurer to King *Henry* III. who had mis-employ'd the King's Treasure, deceived the King in his

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Office, for which he was queſtioned, his Lands and Goods ſeized into the King's Hands, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower, where he ſubmitted himſelf to the King, confeſs'd his Fault, gave up his Place, *& pro Gratia habenda*, (ſaith the Record) obtained Reſtitution of his Goods and Lands, paying only Three thouſand pounds Fine. This was a piece of Wiſdom (ſaith he) as well as Humility, alluding to the preſent Lord Treaſurer's ſtout Heart that would not ſubmit.

The Second was *Petrus de Rivallis*, who was Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and Chamberlain of *England*, in *Edward* I's time, who had taken Bribes in his Office, *Tam de Religioſis, quam de Laicis.* Of which being Convicted he loſt his Place, and was put to his Fine and Ranſom.

And in the ſame King's Reign, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and his vertuous Monks, took out of the King's Treaſure at *Weſtminſter* many Thouſand Pounds, *Ad ineſtimabile dammum Regis & Regni.* The Abbot being ſent to the *Tower*, and the Monks diſpoſed to ſeveral Priſons; and notwithſtanding they pleaded Privilege of Clergymen for their Tryal, yet in the Caſe of Imbezelling the King's Treaſure, they had no Privilege, but the Temporalities of the Abbey were ſeized for Satisfaction.

Cov. and Litchf.

In King *Edward* II's time, *Walter de Langton*, a Biſhop, was Treaſurer to the King: He did take of the Earl of *Montealto*, to be a Friend to him, (*in agendis negotiis verſus Dominum Regem*) a Hundred pounds, (the ſaid Earl, being a Priſoner) to let him go free to do his Buſineſs. And this was given, as the Record ſpeaks, *De ſpontanea voluntate*, for a Gratuity, *& ex curialitate ſua*, for his Courteſie, yet this was adjudged Extortion and Bribery. Again, *John de Engham* was Indicted of Treſpaſs by this Biſhop for the Mannor of *Fiſbie*, whereunto the King pretended Title, and was by the Biſhop Impriſoned for the Treſpaſs. But afterwards another Mannor was conveyed to this Biſhop, *ob diverſas curialitates*, for Courteſies that he had done, and ſo *Engham* was diſcharged of his Indictment, and tho' that the Biſhop pleaded, that *Voluntas Regis potius ad impriſonamentum quam ad finem*, becauſe it was the King's Pleaſure rather to puniſh by Impriſonment than Fine, yet this was adjudged Bribery. Again, the Bayliff of *Oxford* was committed for Arrerages of a Hundred Pounds in his Accompt, and thereupon the Mannor of *Calcot* was conveyed unto the Biſhop, and the Biſhop of his pure Devotion did diſcharge him of that Impriſonment. But theſe were Pleas and Flouriſhes of guilty Men, as the Record ſaith, but they were all three judged Extortion and Bribery; and for theſe, the Biſhop was put from his Place, Fined, and committed to the *Tower*.

William Lord *Latimer*, in *Edward* III's time, being appointed to pay the King's Debts, did Buy in ſome of them at lower Rates than was due, as Eighty Pounds for a Hundred, and Thirty Pounds for Forty; by which Courſe he made the King a Bankrupt-Compounder, and for this he was Fined, and loſt all his Offices.

In like caſe was the Lord *Nevil*, who was truſted to pay the Army; but he bought the Debt of them, and juſtified, that they gave him the remainder of their free Gift; but for this he was Fined and committed to the *Tower*.

Theſe, and many other Precedents and Examples, armed with Authority and Antiquity, were muſtered up, and the Lord Treaſurer's Miſcarriages exaſperated, eſpecially for Embezelling thoſe Monies the King lately received of the State of the *Netherlands* for the Redemption of the cautionary Towns, *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, which the King was forced to relinquiſh again to the States, becauſe he had no Money to Pay the Soldiers there; and that Money being deſigned for the *Iriſh* Army (which was alſo in great Want) it was thought the more heinous, and a double Miſcarriage, being it was ſo dearly bought, and ſo unduly ſpent. But the Earl himſelf being a Man of a noble Diſpoſition (though too indulgent to his too-active Wife) had retained the King's Favour, if he had taken Sir *Edward Coke's* Counſel, and ſubmitted, and not ſtrove to juſtifie his own Integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of Confidence, till it was too late, for then his Submiſſion did him little good. But his Wives Faults being imputed to him, he was fined Thirty thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment in the *Tower*; Sir *John Bingly*, Fined Two thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment in the *Fleet*, For it was thought the Lord and Lady could not have found the way into theſe obſcure, low, and dark Contrivances, without the light of his help. Which Sentence was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who though he were of tranſcendent Parts, yet was he tainted with the ſame Infection, and not many Years after periſhed in his own Corruption; which ſhews, That neither Example nor Precept (he having ſeen ſo many, and been made capable of ſo much) can be a Pilot ſufficient to any Port of Happineſs (tho Reaſon be never ſo able to direct) if Grace doth not give the Gale.

The King comes to the *Star-Chamber*.

But the King, more to exalt Juſtice, and to ſhew the People his high Abilities, came in *June* this Year to the *Star-Chamber*, where in a long, and well-weighed Diſcourſe, he turns over the Volume of his Mind, that the World might read his excellent Parts in lively Characters.

He told the Lords, he came thither in Imitation of *Henry* VII. his great Predeceſſor; and the reaſon he came no ſooner was, that he reſolved with *Pythagoras*, for Seven Years to keep ſilence, and learn the Laws of the Kingdom, before he would teach others, and the other Seven Years he was ſtudying to find an Occaſion to come, that might not be with Prejudice: For in his own Cauſe he could not come; in a great Cauſe betwixt Man and Man, it might be thought ſome particular Favour brought him thither; and in a ſmall Cauſe it was not fit for him to come; but now he had ſo much to ſay in relation to good Government, that he could no longer forbear.

Firſt, He charges himſelf.

Secondly, The Judges.

Thirdly, The Auditory in general.

In his own Charge, he lays a Foundation for raiſing a moſt excellent Structure in Government, wherein he was a Maſter-workman, and had a moſt admirable Theory, and full Abilities to put in Practice, and happily the bent of his Intentions tended that way, though it had for the moſt part a looſe String.

And to that which concerned the Judges, he not only reckons up their Duties in their publick Relation, but ſhews them the Juriſdiction and Power of their ſeveral Courts, how far every one did extend, to which he would have them limitted, that they might not claſh and conteſt one againſt another, to ſhake the Baſis on which they were built, but that there might be a Harmony and ſweet Con-

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Concordance among them, expressing himself with such Elegance and Prudence, that the most studious Lawyer (whose Design had been to embellish a Discourse fitting for the Ears of his Prince) could not have gone beyond what he express'd to his People, so strong and retentive was his Judgment and Memory, so natural and genuine was that which came from him, that it did, *eminare*, flow from him, to the Admiration of the Hearers.

To the People in general, and Under-Officers, he gave an Admonition to submit to the Law and Justice of the Land, and not to go upon new Puritan Strains (such was his Expression) to make all things Popular, but to keep themselves within the ancient Limits of Obedience: *For he feared Innovation as a Monster got loose, which should be always kept in such a Labyrinth, as none should come at, but by the Clew of Reason.*

Then he commands the Judges in their Circuits, to take notice of those Justices of the Peace that were most active for the good of the Country, that they might have Encouragement from him. *For*, (to use his own Words) *I value them that serve me faithfully there, equally with those that attend my Person.* Therefore let none be ashamed of this Office, or be discouraged in being a Justice of the Peace, if he serve worthily in it.

The Chancellor under me makes Justices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor he, can tell what they are: Therefore we must be informed by you, Judges, who can only tell who do well, and who do ill; without which, how can the Good be cherished, and the rest put out? The Good Justices are careful to attend the Service of the King and Country; the Bad are idle Slow-bellies, that abide always at Home; given to a Life of Ease and Delight, liker Ladies than Men; and think it is enough to contemplate Justice, when as, *Virtus in actione consistet*; to contemplate Justice is no Justice; and contemplative Justices are fit to be put out.

Another sort of Justices are Busy-bodies, and will have Men dance after their Pipe, and follow their Greatness, or else will not be content: A sort of Men, *Qui se primos omnium esse putant, nec sunt tamen*: These proud Spirits must know that the Country is ordained to follow God and the King, and not them.

Another sort are they that go seldom to the King's Service, but when it is to help some of their Kindred or Alliance; so they come to help their Friends, or hurt their Enemies, making Justice serve for a Shadow to Faction, and tumultuating the Country.

Another sort, are Gentlemen of great Worth in their own Conceit; and cannot be content with the present Form of Government, but must have a kind of Liberty in the People, and must be Gracious Lords, and Redeemers of their Liberty; and in every Cause that concerns Prerogative, give a Snatch against Monarchy, through their Puritanical itching after Popularity; some of them have shew'd themselves too bold of late in the Lower House of Parliament: And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be less cared for than other Men. So wise the King's Fears made him, and so wary to prevent the Popular Violence! And even in these Infant-times, the Contention doth appear; which afterward got more strength, when by his Power he had gain'd in every County, such as he made subservient to his Will: For as the King strove to loosen the Piles and Banks of the Peoples Liberties, so the People strove to bound and keep off the Inundation of his Prerogative.

Then he takes notice of the Swarms of Gentry, that through the Instigation of their Wives, or to new Model and Fashion their Daughters, (who, if they were Unmarried, marr'd their Marriages; if Married, lost their Reputations, and rob their Husbands Purses) did neglect their Country Hospitality, and cumber the City; a general Nuisance to the Kingdom, being as the Spleen to the Body, which as in Measure it overgrows, the Body wastes: And seeing a Proclamation will not keep them at Home, he requires that the Power of the *Star-Chamber* may not only regulate them, but the Exorbitancy of the New Buildings about the City (which he still much repined at) being a Shelter for them; where they spent their Estates in Coaches, Lacquies, and fine Clothes, like *French-men*; living miserably in their Houses, like *Italians*; becoming Apes to other Nations: Whereas it was the Honour of the *English* Nobility and Gentry (above all Countries in the World) to be Hospitable among their Tenants; which they may the better do, by the Fertility and Abundance of all things. Thus the King pried into every Miscarriage; being willing to Reform these (then growing) Abuses.

Unstable Spirits mutable.

But among all the Heights of Reason that the Spirit of Man doth Actuate and give Life to, the Highest and most Transcendent is that of Religion; which as it partakes more or less of Faith, so it enclines more or less to Fancy: Wavering and Unstable Minds are not only blown about with the Wind of every Opinion, but Pride and Discontent (conjoined often, though of different Operations) are Engines sufficient to shake the Foundation, though never so firmly settled. Some Men turn over the Leaf of Conscience, and change a Good Religion for a Worse; some the Leaf of Policy, leaving an Evil Religion for a Better: But these kind of Spirits will not be brought under by Fasting and Prayer, unless it be by him that can discover the Heart of Hypocrisie, though in as variable a Capacity as the Countenance.

The Archbishop of *Spalato* comes into *England*.

These Times gave Examples of both these Humours; some that went from us to *Rome*, and some that came from *Rome* to us. Among the rest, one of Eminency, *.* *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, a Man old an corpulent; unfit for Travel, being almost at his Journeys End by Nature, came into *England* with as little Grace. Here he Preaches, Rails, and Writes against *Rome* (extolling the Protestant Religion) till he came to the Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*, which some few Years he enjoy'd; then, whether he had higher Hopes homewards, or the Humour and Fancy altering, like a Wandring Star, he goes Retrograde, placing himself again in the *Roman Calendar*: But he is made to reckon at *Rome* by the *Gregorian* Account; and though he thought himself in a full Conjunction with the Stars

. Our Author had been more tender of the Character of the Archbishop of *Spalato*, if he had known or remember'd how much the World has been oblig'd to him for that Noble *History* of the Council of *Trent*, wrote by *Father Paul* the *Venetian*. For it was by his Means, and the Measures he had concerted with that *Father* before he left *Italy*, that Archbishop *Abbot* got the *Manuscript* transmitted in Parcels into *England*.

there of the greateſt Magnitude (having publickly Recanted, and as bitterly Reproached the Proteſtant Doctrine there, as he had Exalted it here) yet the Inquiſition had ſo ſtrong an Influence upon him, that it hindred the Operation of it; for he died in Priſon, and they buried him both like a new Heretick and an old Emperor, committing his Body to the Flames. *Such Honour have all ſuch Saints!* For they hold it as a Maxim, *That that Foundation is never again to be built upon, that was once of a tottering Temper.*

Dies at *Rome.*

France in Combuſtion.

About this Time, *France* raging with *Paſſion*, play'd her bloody Pranks. There is in that Kingdom a mad Genius domineering, which, like Climaterical Diſeaſes, take reſt, and after ſome Intermiſſion break out again. The very ſame Tragedy acted at this time, was newly Reviv'd there Three and thirty Years after, as is now in the Year 1650. Perſpicuous to every Eye of Reaſon, the Perſons in Power the ſame, running all in one Parallel. The Queen-Mother and the Marquis *D'Ancre* then, the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal *Mazarine* now; both Aliens, both Favourites. The Prince of *Conde* (the Head and Prime of the Nobility) impriſon'd then for oppoſing the ſwelling Greatneſs of that Favourite: The Prince of *Conde*, and the other Princes, *Conti* and *Longueville*, impriſon'd now (though ſince ſet at Liberty, having a powerful Army a-foot) for oppoſing this. The Nobility riſe in Arms againſt the young King and his Mother, to aſſiſt the Princes; ſo they do now. The Complaints and Grievances are the ſame; The Princes repin'd that ſuch an Upſtart ſhould manage all the great Affairs with ſo much Licentiouſneſs, and they ſit ſtill as lookers on, and having nothing to do; All Offices, both Civil and Military, bringing their Garlands, and ſtrowing their choiceſt Flowers at Marſhal *D'Ancre*'s Feet, which ſtunk in their Noſtrils, and they infected the People, who are there but what the great Ones will make them, ſo that the Kingdom groaned under the Inſolencies of an inſulting Muſhroom, bred from the Exreſcency of Royal Humours, as it doth now. *Lewis* XIV. fights with his Subjects now upon the ſame Account that *Lewis* XIII. did then. But I can only give a Cataſtrophe to one of theſe Trajedies; the laſt Act of this now a playing wants its *Exit.*

And to conclude the Firſt, *Lewis* XIII. finding his Mother's Power ſwell ſo high, as to threaten a Deluge of Noble Blood for the Preſervation of a Mechanick *Florentine*, and willing to be rid of a Governeſs who eclips'd his Glory, commanded Monſieur *De Vitry*, Captain of his Guard, to ſeize on the Marquis at his firſt acceſs to Court. The Marquis (being then in his Government in *Normandy*, placing and diſplacing Officers, for his greater ſecurity) hearing there were new Whiſperers admitted to the King, came to the Court in a full Career, with a ruffling Retinue at his Heels, thinking to remove all Obſtacles in his Way; but there he met the great One, Death, waiting for him, that his Policy and High-Flying Thoughts never minded: For he had no ſooner entred the Gates of the *Louvre*, but *De Vitry* Arreſted him; and ſeeing him ſtep back upon his Arreſt, as it were, to lay hold of his Sword, he kill'd him inſtantly with a Piſtol; the Noiſe whereof put the whole Court into an Uproar. The King approved the Fact, the Queen lamented it; but ſhe muſt mourn no longer in the Court, therefore removed thence with a ſmall Train, to practice her *Italian* Artifices, as ſhe afterwards did, to the Diſturbance of moſt Parts of Chriſtendom. The poor Marquis reſted not in Death, for though he was privately buried that Night, yet the Rage and Malice of the People lighted them to his Grave the next Day; and tearing him thence, and tying his naked Body to an Aſs's Tail, drew him through the Streets of *Paris*, and hanged him by the Heels upon a Gibbet on the new Bridge; where they cut off flakes of his Body, to ſend as Preſents to their Friends. And when they had ſatiated themſelves thus, they took down the mangled Carcaſs, and made another Progreſs through the City, till wearied with their Delight, they ſtrove to burn the Body, to be rid of it; but the Fire being not ſo active as their Malice, they threw the tatter'd Bones into the River; ſo that their Rage pull'd him out of the Earth, hung him in the Air, burnt him in the Fire, and left him in the Water. And (as they thought) to leave no Memory of him, pulled down his Houſe to the Ground; which was afterwards ratified by publick Juſtice, and his Wife was condemn'd by the ſame, and burn'd *for a Witch.* And to make their Names the more Odious, the very Birth places were ripped up, and they were both found to proceed from the † Dunghills of *Florence.* Thus ended this ſad Tragedy; which ſerves as Lights and Sea-marks of Mortality, to teach us how to ſteer our Brittle Bark in this World's Tempeſt, that we bear not too much Sail, but keep a moderate and even Courſe betwixt the Rocks of Pride, and Shallows of Contempt; both which are equally dangerous.

The King goes into *Scotland.*

Our King dedicated this Summer to the Northern Climate; it is now Fourteen Years Revolution ſince the Beams of his *Majeſty* appear'd in *Scotland.* He begins the Journey with the Spring, warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court: Taking ſuch Recreations by the way, as might beſt beguile the Days, and cut them ſhorter; but lengthen the Nights (contrary to the Seaſons) for what with Hawking, Hunting and Horſe-Racing, the Days quickly ran away; and the Nights with Feaſting, Masking and Dancing, were the more extended. And the King had fit Inſtruments for theſe Sports about his Perſon; as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Finnit*, and others, that could Fit and Obtemperate the King's Humour: For he loved ſuch Repreſentations and Diſguiſes in their Maſqueradoes, as were witty, and ſudden; the more Ridiculous, the more Pleaſant.

His new Favourite.

And his new Favourite being an excellent Dancer, brought that Paſtime into the greater Requeſt. To ſpeak of his Advancement by Degrees, were to leſſen the King's Love; for Titles were heaped upon him; they came rather like Showers than Drops. For as ſoon as *Somerſet* declin'd, he mounted. Such is the Court motion! Knighthood, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, were the firſt Sprinklings: And then the old Earl of *Worceſter* (who had been long Maſter of the Horſe to the late Queen, and continu'd it to this time) was made Lord Privy Seal, in exchange of his Place, and a good Sum of Money put into the Scale: And

† The Author has miſtaken the Birth of the Marquis *D'Ancre* and his Lady, for ſhe was deſcended of a tolerable good Family in *Tuſcany*, and he of a Noble Extraction originally from *Lucca.*

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Made Earl of *Buckingham.*

Sir *George Villers* (Baron of *Whaddon*, Viſcount *Villers*, and Earl of *Buckingham*, alſo of the Privy-Council) is made Maſter of the Horſe. In this Glory he viſits *Scotland* with the King, and is made a Privy-Counſellor there. Favourites are not compleat Figures, if the Prince's Bounty be not Circular, as well in his Northerly motion as his Southerly. He now Reigns ſole Monarch in the King's Affection; every thing he doth is admir'd for the Doer's ſake. No Man Dances better, no Man Runs, or Jumps better; and indeed he jumpt Higher than ever *Engliſhman* did in ſo ſhort time, from a private Gentleman to a Dukedom. But the King is not well without him, his Company is his Solace, and the Court Grandees cannot be well but by him; ſo that all Addreſſes are made to him; either for Place or Office, in Court or Commonwealth. The Biſhops See did alſo Ebb and Flow, from the Wane or Fulneſs of his Influence upon them; and having a numerous Kindred of the Rank of Gentry, which he planted about him, as a Nurſery in the Court, to make them *Kinſcere*, and Spring up the better; the Dew of theſe Offices, and the freſh Springs that came from theſe Seas muſt be contributed. It cannot with Modeſty be expreſſed how greedily ſome of our Prelates would clear all the Paſſages of a bad Conſcience, to bring in ſuch Waters of Comfort, leſt it ſhould beſpatter the more Worthy, and brand them with all Simony, which dares not be done. But where God hath his Church, the Devil many times will have his Chapel: It was ever his Ambition to be like unto him.

The Book of Sports obtruded.

But among all the Dances that theſe Times were guilty of, none of the Maſqueradoes preſented ſo horrid a Vizard as the Churchman's: For ſome of the Biſhops, pretending Recreations and Liberty to Servants and Common People, (of which they carved to themſelves too much already) procur'd the King to put out a Book to permit Dancing about May-poles, Church-ales, and ſuch debauched Exerciſes upon the Sabbath-day after Evening Praying, (being a ſpecious way to make the King, and them, acceptable to the Rout) which Book came out with a Command, enjoining all Miniſters to read it to their Pariſhioners, and to approve of it; and thoſe that did not, were brought into the High Commiſſion, Impriſon'd and Suſpended. This Book being only a Trap to catch ſome Conſciencious Men, that they could not otherwiſe with all their Cunning inſnare: For they would preach the Goſpel in a Fool's-Coat (as ſome of them expreſs'd) rather than be ſilenced for a Surplice. And their Conjuring of them with the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the Circle of the Ring in Marriage, could not make a well-compoſed Reaſon and a ſound Conſcience then ſtart at it; but when ſo Frightful an Apparition as the Dancing Book appear'd, ſome of the Miniſters left all for Fear, others by Force, they were ſo terrified with it. Theſe, and ſuch like Machinations of the Biſhops, to maintain their temporal Greatneſs, Eaſe and Plenty, made the Stones in the Walls of their Palaces, and the Beam in the Timber, afterwards cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing: Whereas, if thoſe in moſt Authority had not been ſo Pragmatical, but Holy, Prudent, and Godly Men †‡† (as ſome others of the Function were) their Light might have Shin'd ſtill upon the Mount; and not have gone out as it did, offenſive to the Noſtrils of the Rubbiſh of the People.

The King in his return from *Scotland* made his Progreſs through the Hunting-countries, (his Hounds and Hunters meeting him) *Sherwood-Foreſt*, *Needwood*, and all the Parks and Foreſts in his way, were ranſack'd for his Recreation. And every Night begat a new Day of Delight, till he brought *Holyrood-day* (not * *Holyrood-houſe*) to *Whitehall*.

* His Houſe in *Edinburgh* ſo called.

Piety of the Lord Mayor of *London.*

This new Encroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and People more liberty to Prophane the Day with Authority: For if the Court were to remove on *Monday*, the King's Carriages muſt go out the Day before. All times were alike; and the Court being to remove to *Theobalds* the next Day, the Carriages went through the City of *London* on the Sabbath, with a great deal of Clatter and Noiſe in the time of Divine Service. The Lord Mayor hearing of it, commanded them to be ſtopt; and this carried the Officers of the Carriages with a greater Violence to the Court; and the Buſineſs being preſented to the King with as much Aſperity as Men in Authority (croſſed in their Humours) could expreſs it; It put the King into a great Rage, Swearing, *He thought there had been no more Kings in* England *but himſelf*; yet after he was a little Cool'd, he ſent a Warrant to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them paſs, which he obey'd, with this Anſwer, *While it was in my Power, I did my Duty; but that being taken away by a Higher Power, it is my Duty to Obey.* Which the King upon ſecond Thoughts took well, and thanked him for it.

Juggling of the Jeſuits.

As Prophaneneſs crept in on one ſide, ſo did Idolatry and Superſtition on the other; for there was more Enmity againſt Miniſters of the Goſpel than Popiſh Prieſts; they ſwarm'd over the Kingdom, working Miraculous Projects in every Corner. One Pack of them got into *Staffordſhire*, among ſome of the *Giffords* in that County, Gentlemen of good Eſtates, where they practiſed their Artifices to ſeduce the People. There muſt be a Ground-work, Eſtates to keep them (being like the Gout, never troubling the Poor) and then there muſt be Materials, Correſpondents to act for them. Holineſs and Piety muſt be confirmed by Miracles; and theſe Miracles muſt be viſible to the Peoples Eyes, that they may convey Belief better to the Heart. If the Prieſts be Holy, and can ſubdue Satan, the Religion they profeſs muſt be Heavenly, that triumphs over Principalities and Powers, and Spiritual Wickedneſs, bringing all to Obedience. Theſe are Fineſſes and Subtilties of Maſtring Wits (calling them *Piæ Fraudes*, Godly Deceits, Worms to bring Fiſh to the Net) and this kind of Frippery they are ever fraught with.

The Boy of *Bilſon.*

For about this time there was a Boy born at *Bilſon* in that County, whoſe Father, Mother, Neighbours, and many other People, with Admiration, did abſolutely think poſſeſs'd with a Devil; for he had ſtrange, ſudden, violent, diſtorting Fits, that appeared to all the Beholders contrary to Nature; and being not full

†‡† There were ſeveral of the Biſhops that declar'd their Opinion againſt the Book of Sports: And Archbiſhop *Abbot* being at *Croydon* the Day it was order'd to be read in Churches, flatly forbad it to be read there; which King *James* was pleaſed to wink at, notwithſtanding the Daily Endeavours that were us'd to irritate the King againſt him.

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Fifteen years old, it could not be imagn'd that any thing of Impoſtory could reſult from him, and therefore the Fame of it was the more remarkable.

The Jeſuits (that are the beſt Phyſicians in ſuch Diſtempers) hearing of it, viſited the Boy, Prayed by him, and uſed ſuch other Charms and Exorciſms, as are fit to make them be admir'd; giving his Parents good hope of Diſpoſſeſſing him of that Foul Spirit; by which might palpably be diſcerned, how much God's Power was expreſs'd in their Weakneſs, and difference in the Truth and Holineſs betwixt the Catholick Religion, and the Hereſy profeſſed among Proteſtants. So that they that heard them, (as many reſorted to the Place) muſt needs take them for very Holy Men, by whom ſuch Wonders were to be accompliſhed. The Jeſuits viſited him often, ſometimes in Private, ſometimes in Company; but this kind of Spirit would not be commanded by them, ſo that they grew almoſt deſperate of the Cure.

Accuſes a Woman to be a Witch.

The Boy in his Fits would rave againſt an old Woman dwelling near to his Father, intimating by Signs and Ghaſtly Behaviour, that ſhe had ſent a Spirit to torment him; and in plain Terms (when he was out of his Fits) accuſed her to be a Witch, and the Author of all his Miſery. This old Woman is ſent to the Biſhop's Chanchellor at *Litchfield* to be examined: The Boy is brought thither to confront her; and having his Back towards her, at her coming into the Room, where the Chancellor was, before ſhe yet enter'd or appear'd, he falls into a moſt bitter Agony, crying out, *Now ſhe comes, now my Tormentor comes!* Wreathing and Tearing himſelf in ſo horrid a manner, that it did not only breed amazement, but Pity in the Spectators, there being many with expectation attending the Iſſue; which, with ſome other Probabilities, were an Inducement to the Chancellor to ſend the Woman to *Stafford* Goal.

At the next Aſſizes for that County, the Boy and his Parents appear as Witneſſes againſt the Witch; the Boy was placed in a conſpicuous part of the Court, with his Face to the Bench, Eying the Judge continually in a very peaceable and quiet Poſture; and as the Woman was coming in (when the Court thought it impoſſible the Boy ſhould be ſenſible of her appearance) he fell into a more raging Fit than ever he was poſſeſs'd with before: So ſtupendiouſly unnatural, that it was deem'd by all that ſaw it, that nothing but a Diabolical Spirit could work ſuch horrid Effects. This, thus openly acted, and the Relation of what was done at *Litchfield*, and other Probabilities evidencing, the old Woman (that had no good Reputation among her Neighbours, being of a tetrical and froward Temper, incident to old Age) found few Friends to plead her Cauſe; ſo that being indicted for Witchcraft, ſhe was found Guilty by the Jury, and Condemn'd to die.

She is condemned.

Biſhop Morton gets her Reprieve.

Dr. *Morton*, Biſhop of that Dioceſe, a great Father of the *Anglicane* Church, (and happily then on the Bench about Secular Affairs) hearing that ſome Romiſh Prieſts had been tampering with their Exorciſms, to the undevilling of the Boy, and finding little Reaſon produced, why, or for what Cauſe the Witch ſhould uſe the Child ſo ill, was perſwaded, that this might be ſome juggling Trick in them, for effecting their miraculous Ends. He therefore beſought the Judge to reprieve the Woman till the next Aſſizes, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and ſtrictly looked to, and doubted not before that time to find out the bottom of ſome ſecret and hidden Contrivance. The Judge aſſented to the Biſhop's Requeſt, and ſo the Boy was carried to *Eccleſhal* Caſtle, the Biſhop's Houſe, whither his Fits followed him with a great deal of Violence: For being put out of his Road (having formerly all ſorts of People come to admire him, and now being more carefully looked to) he grew ſullen, and would not eat ſometimes in two or three Days; ſo that his Belly was almoſt clung, and grown to his Back, and he had a new Swelling about his Throat, which never appeared before; lay in his Bed, ſometimes as it were ſenſeleſs, ſometimes ſtaring with his Eyes, and foaming at the Mouth, ſometimes ſtriking thoſe that ſtood near him, (his own careful Mother being one, whom he made all black about the Arms and Breaſts) never ſpoke but in his Fits, and then a ſtrange Gibbriſh; at other times he only muttered, and made Signs. The Biſhop viſited him often, ſtriving ſometimes to ſoften him with Gentleneſs; at other times he handled him roughly, with Objurgations and Threatenings; but his ill Spirit is capable of neither. He ſpoke to him one time ſome of the Greek Teſtament, to ſee how that would work, and it brought him into his Fit. At another time, he uttered ſome Verſes out of the Greek Poets, which his Devil was not ſo learned as to diſtinguiſh, for that put him into a Fit again; ſo that the Biſhop was confirmed, that he was an Impoſtor of a moſt pernicious and pertinacious Spirit, but how to conjure it out of him, was the Difficulty. And finding Words and Menaces made no Impreſſion in him, he fell to Blows; for taking him out of his Bed, and having one to hold him, the Biſhop gave him ſix very ſmart *Laſhes* with a Rod, which moved the Boy no more than if he had been an inſenſible Stock. They alſo thruſt Needles into his Toes and Fingers, betwixt the Nails, clapt burning Candles to his Eye-lids, till they ſinged the Hair off, to divert him when he was in his Fits; but with all their Perſecutions he neither winch'd nor ſtirr'd; ſo that the Actors were more troubled to execute, than he to ſuffer.

And in this Condition growing almoſt deſperate, he would make Signs for Knives, or any other Inſtrument, to do himſelf a Miſchief: Therefore ſtrict Care was taken, and many watchful Eyes ſet over him, to prevent any ſuch Danger. Thus he continued almoſt a quarter of a Year, at laſt his Urine grew ſo black, that the Phyſicians thought Nature had left her uſual Operations, having never found in any Humane Body ſo much Aduſt Matter, to give ſo deep and deadly a Tincture.

The Biſhop troubled for the Boy.

This ſtruck the good Biſhop very near; for he was certain the Prieſts had been hammering about him, and now, if he ſhould miſcarry under his Hand, thoſe Mint-Maſters of Miſchief would in their dark Shops coin ſuch Scandals againſt him, as might paſs current in the World's Opinion: Therefore he uſed all the Means he could poſſible, as well to preſerve him as to diſcover him; but finding the Boy endure ſo many Tryals with Patience, ſo much tough Hardſhip and Robuſtneſs in tender Years, he reſolved, if his Water continued black, to ſift the Matter no further. To find out which he ſet a truſty Servant to watch him through a Hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the Boy knew not of. The Biſhop going that Morning with his Family to a Lecture, all things were very ſtill in the Houſe; and the Boy finding all quiet, no Noiſe about him, he lifts himſelf up, ſtares, and liſtens, and at length

gets

gets out of his Bed, and in the Straw or Mat under it takes out an Ink-horn, and makes Water in the Chamberpot through a piece of the Cotton in his Hand; another little piece of the Cotton he puts into his Prepuce, covering it with the Skin, and that was for a Reserve, if he should be forced to make Water when Company is by. Thus having cunningly put himself in order, he hides the Ink-horn again, and returns to his Bed.

The Impostor discovered.

The Man that was appointed to watch him seeing all this, discovered it to the Bishop at his coming home, who came to him presently, and ask'd him how he did? He, according to his usual manner, pointed to his Water, looked ghastly on it, and mutter'd out his old howling Tone. The Bishop, that meant now to deal roundly with him, said Sirrah, you have Ink in your Bed-straw, which you make use of to black your Water, and your Knavery is found out; and calling in his Man, he took out the Ink-horn where the Boy had hid it, and the Man justified, that he saw him make Water through the Cotton; which (with the Bishop's threatening to send him to the House of Correction) struck the Boy with such a sudden Terror, that he arose from his Bed, fell upon his Knees, and humbly besought the Bishop to pardon him, and he would discover to him the whole Truth. And as he put on his Clothes, the Bishop laid open the Grievousness of his Sin, which wrought so upon his Spirit, that he melted into Tears, crying to God for Mercy. A very strange Alteration! That, what he did but counterfeit, the Devil had so hardened in him, that all the Torments and Pains inflicted by Man could not produce a Tear, till God, that melted the Rock, had first touched the Heart.

His Confession.

Then he confess'd, a Pedlar with a Pack on his Back met him when he was going to School, and with many inticing Words perswaded him to go to Mr. *Gifford's* House, assuring him of good Entertainment; and by his Allurements he went thither with him. There he found four Romish Priests, who gave him Money, and many fair Words, promising him great Matters, if he would be conformable to their Instructions. They were three Days teaching him how to demean himself, and after he was well tutor'd, and had practis'd his Tricks there privately, then they sent him home to his Father (who thought he had been lost, and was much troubled for him) to exercise them in a more publick way. He came home in a very distracted manner, to the Amazement of his Parents, and in short time drew much Company to visit him; and his Parents being poor, got Money from many charitable People, which did encourage him to persist in that way. But when the Fame of his being possess'd with an evil Spirit was sufficiently bruited abroad, the Priests came to dispossess him; but he found so much Sweetness in the Ease, and Profit of that Life, that he would not be dis-inchanted by them, tho' they charmed never so cruelly; for they beat him, and pinch'd him, and us'd him bitterly ill, to make him desist. Thus were the Deceivers deceiv'd! The Bishop ask'd him, Why he accus'd the poor old Woman of Witchcraft? He answer'd, The Priests told him he must lay the Cause of his being possess'd upon some old Woman, and she being known to him, and of a scolding Humour, he fix'd it on her. Then the Bishop ask'd him, How he came to fall into his Fits a little before the Woman appear'd in the Room, both at her Examination and Arraignment, his Back being towards her? For the first, at *Litchfield*, he said, He heard some about him mutter, *She is here*; which made him cry out, *She comes, she comes*: And for the second, at *Stafford*, He heard the People remove, and her Chains gingle as she came, which gave him the Sign. Lastly he was ask'd, How he made his Throat swell? And he shew'd, it was by thrusting his Tongue (being very long) down his Throat, which Trick he found out himself, the rest were taught him by the Priests. Thus did the Bishop preserve an innocent old Woman condemned by the Law to die, discover the abominable Forgeries of the Priests, and convert a wicked Boy, whom afterwards he bound Apprentice, and proved a good Man. This Story I heard from the Bishop's own Mouth, almost thirty Years before it was inserted here. And the Result of all is, That Falshood with her painted Countenance appears often as beautiful as Truth it self, deceiving many, specially in this Point of Witchcraft, which is a Structure established in the Vulgar Fancy, that hath many odd Passages and Ways opening to it, and is many Airy Stories high; but being well examined, it will prove (for the most part, I will not say always) Paper-proof, as there may be occasion to express in another place.

The King discovers many Impostors.

The King took Delight by the Line of his Reason to found the Depth of such Brutish Impostors, and he discover'd many: For in the Beginning of his Reign, *Richard Haydock*, of *New-College* in *Oxford*, practised Physick in the Day, and preached in the Night in his Bed. His Practice came by his Profession, and his Preaching (as he pretended) by Revelation; for he would take a Text in his Sleep, and deliver a good Sermon upon it; and tho' his Auditory were willing to silence him, by pulling, hauling, and pinching, yet would he pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still. The Fame of this Sleeping-Preacher flies abroad with a light Wing; which coming to the King's Knowledge, he commanded him to the Court, where he sate up one Night to hear him: And when the time came that the Preacher thought it was fit for him to be asleep, he began with a Prayer, then took a Text of Scripture, which he significantly enough insisted on a while; but after made an Excursion against the Pope, the Cross in Baptism, and the last Canons of the Church of *England*, and so concluded sleeping. The King would not trouble him that Night, letting him rest after his Labours; but sent for him the next Morning, and in private handled him so like a cunning Chirurgeon, that he found out the Sore; making him confess not only his Sin and Error in the Act, but the Cause that urged him to it, which was, That he apprehended himself as a buried Man in the University, being of a low Condition, and if something Eminent and Remarkable did not spring from him, to give Life to his Reputation, he should never appear like any body, which made him attempt this Novelty to be taken notice of. The King finding him ingenuous in his Confession, pardoned him, and (after his Recantation publickly) gave him Preferment in the Church. Some others, both Men and Women, inspired with such Enthusiasms, and Fanatick Fancies, he reduced to their right Senses, applying his Remedies suitable to the Distemper, wherein he made himself often very merry (being happily practiced, to be taken notice of by him); but some of their Stories being a little coarse, are not fit to be here related. And truly the Looseness and Carelesness of Publick Justice sets open a Door to such flagitious and nefarious Actions, as severer Times would never have prepetrated.

About

A. Reg. 15.

An. Chriſti 1617.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's Weſt-Indian* Voyage

About this time, that gallant Spirit, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, (who in his Receſſes in the Tower had preſented in lively Characters the true Image of the Old World) made Acceſſes to the King, whereby he got Leave to viſit the New World in *America*: Captain *Kemiſh* (one of his old Seamen and Servants) ſhewing him a Piece of Ore in the Tower, of a Golden Complexion, (a glittering Temptation to begin the Work) aſſuring him, he could bring him to a Mine in *Guiana* of the ſame Metal; which (together with Freedom, the Crown of Life and being) gave Riſe to this Enterpriſe.

The King looking on *Raleigh* as a Man whoſe Abilities might better the Nation, if improv'd the right way, gave him Liberty, and a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, to equip and ſet forth Ships and Men for that Service. His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Eſtates and Perſons upon the Deſign; and being gallantly furniſhed with all things neceſſary, either for Peace or War, they ſet out; and met no Difficulties till they came to Cape *Vert* in *Africa*; and then they found the Winds averſe to them, (contrary to the uſual Nature of it) with many violent Storms, which much impeded their Voyage: For they that uſually navigate betwixt Cape *Vert* and *America*, run it in leſs than twenty Days; but it took them double the time. And being driven from the Iſle of *Bravo* by a Tempeſt, there left they Cables, Anchors, and Water-Cask behind them; ſo that by the Length of the Time, Heat of the Climate, and their Want of water, great Sickneſs fell among them, and ſwept away many of their ableſt Men, both for Sea and Land.

But with much Patience and Hardſhip, getting ſight of the Coaſt of *Guiana*, they came to an Anchor in five Degrees, at the River *Caliana*, where they landed their ſick Men, ſet up Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of *England* in Quarters, waſhed their Ships, and took in freſh Water, being fed and aſſiſted by the *Indians* that Sir *Walter Raleigh* had formerly known; who (in this general Contagion, having grappled long with Sickneſs, and not yet able to move, otherwiſe than he was carried in a Chair) gave Order to five ſmall Ships to ſail into the River *Orinoque* (having Captain *Kemiſh* for their Conductor) towards the Mine, the Star that directed them thither. And in theſe five Ships were five Foot-Companies, under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brothers to the Lord *Monteagle*, and the Lord *North*; Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's eldeſt Son; Captain *Thornhurſt*, and Captain *Chidley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in ſuffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. Major *Piget* died in the miſerable Paſſage, and Sir *Warham Santleger* (who was Lieutenant-Colonel) lay ſick, without hope of Life; ſo that the Command of the five Companies being conferred upon *George Raleigh*, the General's Nephew, (made Major in *Piget*'s room) he was not ſo well obey'd as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſs'd up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and ſhot at the Ships, both with their Ordnance and Musket; but they landed their Forces, without any great Loſs, near unto a Town upon the River, called St. *Thome*, and gallantly charged the Enemy to the very Ports; where finding ſome little Oppoſition, they at laſt forced a Paſſage, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town. In the Aſſault, Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's Son, (a Man of Fire and Courage, fitter to execute, than to order his Valour) was ſlain, to the great Grief of the Conquerors.

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The other five Ships ſtaid with the General at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The firſt was commanded by the General himſelf; the ſecond by Captain *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral; the third by Sir *Warham Santleger*; the fourth by Sir *John Fern*; the fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devonſhire*. The General had twelve Ships in all ſet out with him; but Captain *Whitney* and Captain *Welleſton* mutiny'd againſt him, and ran home again from the Granadoes. With theſe five Ships they daily attended the *Armada* of *Spain*, and had they ſet upon them, their Force divided, (one half being in *Orinoque*, a Hundred and fifty Miles from them) they in *Trinidado* had not only been endangered, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed. And tho' theſe five Ships with the General were but of little Defence againſt ſo ſtrong a Power as the King of *Spain*'s Gallions, yet they would have given them their Hands full; for they were all reſolved to have burned, and died by their ſides. But the *Armada* ſtaid for them at *Margarita*, by which Iſland they expected them to paſs towards the *Indies*.

The Deſign diſcovered to *Gondemar*.

For the King unwilling to diſpleaſe his Brother of *Spain*, commanded Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to ſet down under his Hand, the Country and the River which he was to enter, the compleat Number of his Men, Burthen of his Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried: Which being made known to the Count *Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and by him in Poſt to the King of *Spain*, a Diſpatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters ſent from *Madrid*, before Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his Fleet departed out of the River *Thames*. For the firſt Letter, ſent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of *March*, 1617. at *Madrid*. The ſecond Letter was ſent by a Carvell to *Diego de Palomeque*, at *Trinidado*. The third Letter by the Biſhop of *Puerto Rico*: And the fourth was ſent by the Farmer and Secretary of the Cuſtoms, at the ſame time. By that of the King's Hand, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeedy levying of Three thouſand Men, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be ſent from *Puerto Rico* for the Defence of *Guiana*. Theſe Proviſions were made to entertain the *Engliſh*, and had they met them, they would have found a harſh Banquet.

But the *Spaniards* at St. *Thome* (their Supplies being not come) were not ſo numerous as to defend both the Town and the Paſſages to the Mines; therefore they quitted the Town, and fortified the way to the Mines near the Town. But the Paſſages leading to the Mine that *Kemiſh* had in his Eye, were *Aſpera & Fragoſa*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* expreſs'd them; and *Kemiſh* found the River ſo low, that he could not approach the Banks, in moſt places near the Mine, by a Mile; and where he found an Aſcent, a Volley of Muſquets came from the Woods, and at one time ſlew two of the Rowers, hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valliant Gentleman, Captain *Thornhurſt* in the Head, of which he with great Difficulty recovered. *Kemiſh* ſeeing ſo much Hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Paſſage to it being full of thick and impaſſable Woods; and thinking the *Engliſh* that were left in the Town of St. *Thome* would not be able to defend it, eſpecially if the Enemy ſhould be recruited, the Country being all in Alarm, he gave over the Enterpriſe, and returned: For if

he

A. Reg. 15. An Christi 1617. he should have discovered the Mine, he had no Men (as he pretended) to work in it; and being a great way up into the Land, Men would have been got thither with much Danger and Difficulty. And that was true. The *Spaniards* themselves complain for want of Negroes to work in their Mines; for the *Indians* cannot be constrained, by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth; and the *Spaniards* will not, neither can they endure the Labour. But this was ill advised, to take so much Pains, and run so much Hazard, to get and possess that, which, when they had it, they could not make use of; so that which *Kemish* pleaded (when he returned) for an Excuse, reflected upon him as a great Miscarriage. As soon as he came to St. *Thome*, the *English* pillaged the Town, carried away the best and most portable Things; and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they set it afire, leaving behind them an infinite Mass of Treasure, which, either for want of Knowledge or Power, they could not attain to: For there were two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Roderigo de Parama*, the other by *Herman Frontino*, and a Silver Mine by *Francisco Fashardo*: To preserve and fortify which, they employed all their Strength and Industry; so that they needed not have gone so far up the River to find a new Mine, when they had so many nearer them, that either Ignorance or want of Strength made them neglect.

Raleigh troubled. The General with the News of the Death of his Son, and *Kemish*'s Return without effecting his Work, was perplexed to the very Soul, telling *Kemish* he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King, past recovery; but he must think (he told him) to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himself; for he must avow that *Kemish* knew the Mine, and that with little Loss he might have possessed it. *Kemish*, much troubled in his Mind, retires to his Cabin, which he had in the General's Ship, and presently after his being there, he shot himself with a Pistol: The General hearing the Noise, ask'd what Pistol it was? Answer was made, That Captain *Kemish* shot it off in his Cabin to cleanse it; but *Kemish*'s Man going into the Cabin, found his Master lying in his own Blood. The Pistol having a little Bullet, did only crack the Rib; which being too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in after it up to the Haft; and with him the Glory of the Voyage expired: For the Design being thus broken, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and missing of those Golden Showers they gaped after, (that Radical Moisture which fills the Veins of the Affections, and gives Life and Vigour to all Actions) some of the Men began to mutiny against the General, others were for him; some would have him go home, others would have him stay; the major part forced him to swear not to go home but by their Allowance; and yet his Ships dwindled away one after another, (his Strength was best discovered by his Weakness) ten Ships being reduced to four, and those would do what they list. Some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, few for *England*, fearing the *Spanish* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*. Thus they were shatter'd in Judgment, with a greater Tempest than the Seas or Winds could produce. *Miserable is that Government where the Multitude is Master!* At last he is brought to *Kinsale* in *Ireland*.

Kemish kills himself.

Gondemar incenses the King against Raleigh, 1618. The News of taking and burning St. *Thome* coming to *Gondemar*, he besieges, and, as it were assaults the King with Importunity for Reparation: For he was a Man not only of an insinuating and glosing Spirit, but of a violent and fiery Temper, when any cross Accident blew up the Humour. The Matter is aggravated with the highest Circumstances by those of the *Spanish* Faction, as if this Irruption of *Raleigh*'s not only tended to the Breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, (that was then in motion) but to the Infringement of the Peace and Amity established betwixt the two Crowns. The King's Fears being heighten'd to Anger, he disavows the Action; and lest others of his Subjects should by this Example take the Boldness to attempt the like Hostility against the King of *Spain*, he puts out a Proclamation, wherein he shews his Detestation of such Proceedings, and threatens severe Punishment to the Enterprisers, thereby to deter them: Which gave *Gondemar* some Satisfaction; whose Design being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home, after this Brush) vented little Passion; but so cunningly skinned over his Malice, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found nor heard of no such great Difficulties, (Dangers often flying upon the Wings of Rumour) but that he might appear in *England*; and the Men not willing to be banished their own Country, (tho' some of them had *France* in their Eye) put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no sooner ashore, but he had private Intimation, which gave him cause to suspect, the Smoothness of the Beginning would have a Rough End: Therefore he attempted an Escape from thence in a Bark of *Rochel*: But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukley* (his Kinsman) who had private Warrant and Instructions to that purpose, (so unnatural and servile is the Spirit, when it hath an Allay of Baseness, there being many others fitter for that Employment) he is brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower.

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He is committed to the Tower. He was no sooner in the Tower, but all his Transactions in this Business are put to the Rack, and tender'd by his Adversaries. They say he knew of no Mine, nor did *Kemish* know that the Mine he aimed at was Gold; but *Kemish* bringing him a Piece of Ore into the Tower, he fobb'd a Piece of Gold into it in dissolving, making the poor Man believe the Ore was right, that by these Golden Degrees he might ascend to Liberty; promising the King to fetch it where never *Spaniard* had been. But when *Kemish* found by better Experience he was cozen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the Mine: And *Raleigh* knowing that none but *Kemish* could accuse him, made him away. This Vizard was put upon the Face of the Action, and all the Weight of the Miscarriage was laid upon *Raleigh*'s Shoulders.

Gondemar, that looked upon him as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Animosity enough to do his Master Mischief, (being one of those Scourges which that old *Virago* (the late Queen) as he call'd her, used to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his Baits about the King. There is a strange Virtue in this Spirit of *Sol*! The Intenseness makes Men firm; the Ductilness brings them to be active. *French* Crowns are not so pure, nor so piercing, as *Spanish* Pistoles. *Auri sacra fames! Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* The King, that loved his Peace, is incensed by them that loved their Profit, and the poor Gentleman must lay down the Price of his Life upon the old Reckoning.

In *October* this Year he is brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar at *Westminster*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were open'd; and Demand was made, Why Execution should not be

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be done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounced against him; To which, in way of Answer, he began to justify himself in the Proceedings of the late Voyage; but the Lord Chief Justice wished him to spare that Trouble; for there was no other Matter in question but the former Judgment, which the King would have executed upon him, for some Occasions best known to himself, unless he could shew good Cause to the contrary.

Raleigh answered, That he was told by his Council, that Judgment was void, by the Commission his Majesty was pleased to give him since under the Great Seal for his last Employment, which did give him a new Vigour and Life to that Service. The Lord Chief Justice replied, That he was deceived, and that the Opinion of the Court was to the contrary. Then he desir'd, that some reasonable time might be allowed him to prepare for Death; but it was answered, That the time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himself for Death long since. *Raleigh* having a Courageous Spirit, (finding the Bent of the King's Mind, and knowing Disputes to be in vain, where Controversies are determined) acquiesc'd, was conveyed to the *Gate-house*, and the Day following was brought to the *Old Palace-yard* at *Westminster*, and, upon a Scaffold there erected, *.* lost his Head.

And Beheaded.

His Character and Description.

He had in the outward Man a good Presence, in a handsome and well-compacted Person, a strong natural Wit, and a better Judgment, with a bold and plausible Tongue, whereby he could set off his Parts to the best Advantage. And to these he had the Adjuncts of general Learning, which (by Diligence and Experience (those two great Tutors) being now Threescore Years of Age) was augmented to a great Perfection, being an indefatigable Reader, and having a very retentive Memory. At his Arraignment at *Winchester*, his Carriage to his Judges was with great Discretion; humble, yet not prostrate; dutiful, yet not dejected: Towards the Jury affable, but not fawning, not in despair, nor believing, but hoping in them; carefully perswading them with Reasons, not distemperately importuning them with Conjurations; rather shewing Love of Life, than Fear of Death. Towards the King's Council patient, but not insensibly neglecting, nor yielding to Imputations laid against him in Words, (which Sir *Edward Coke*, then the King's Attorney, belched out freely) and it was wondred a Man of his high Spirit could be so humble in suffering, not being much overtaken in Passion. And now at his last, when Death was presented before him, he looked upon it without Affrightment, striving to vindicate his Actions, by taking off the Veil that false Reports had cast upon them, (especially the Imputation of his glorying, and rejoycing in the Fall, and at the Death of the late Earl of *Essex*, which had stuck so many Years in his Breast; and this new Miscarriage of *Kemish*'s, of a later Date, imputed to him) for having provided himself privately for Heaven, clearing his Accounts with God before he came to the Scaffold, he publickly at last reckon'd with Man, (being to quit all Scores) and so made an end.

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Disunion in the United Provinces.

Times of Peace are accounted the happiest Times; and tho' they are great Blessings, proceeding from the Influence of Supreme Mercy, and the Showers of Grace, yet the Branches of the Tree of Knowledge, (growing by this Sunshine) for want of due pruning, do often become so exuberant, that their very Fruits are not only their Burthen, but sometimes their Ruine. Prosperity is of an Airy Constitution, carried about with the Breath of strange Fancies, which mount sometimes as high as Omnipotency; but there finding Resistance, they come down amain, and beat the lower Region with a Tempest of Strife and Malice. When the *Romans* wanted Enemies, they digged them out of their own Bowels. Active Spirits will be set on work.

Our Neighbours of the *Netherlands* (that had so long bounded the *Spanish* Power, and humbled their Pride so far, as to acknowledge them a Free-State, before they would so much as listen to an Overture of Peace) had a Fire kindled in their own Bosoms. It is now some time since the Twelve Years Truce betwixt *Spain* and them began, being in the Wane and Last Quarter. While they had their Hands full of Business, they had not their Heads full of old Cu-

. As Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s *Conspiracy* before had been a *Riddle of State*, so his Death now was a *Sacrifice of State*. King *James* was at this time openly in the *Spanish* Interest, and some Steps had been already made towards a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which a little after was made publick. *Condomar* was then a *Favourite*, as well as an *Ambassador*, and had acquir'd so great an Ascendant over King *James*, that he was led into his most secret Counsels, and, in conjunction with *Buckingham*, entirely govern'd him.

Raleigh was the last of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Captains, and had done her Signal Services against *Spain*. After King *James*'s Accession to the Crown, tho' then a Prisoner, and under the Sentence of Death, he had writ several *Memorials* to him against *a Peace with Spain*, laying open the Advantages accruing to *England*, and the Disadvantages to *Spain*, in continuing the War. This was what the Court of *Spain* could never forgive him; and so upon Pretence of his Sacking of St. *Thomas*, a Colony of theirs in the *Indies*, they got rid of his working Head.

I am apt to believe there was something of a Personal Prejudice in King *James* against him, that concurr'd with *Condomar*'s Sollicitations to bring about the Fate of this Great Man. He had during his Imprisonment made Applications to Prince *Henry*, who contracted a particular Esteem for him, kept a constant Correspondence with him by Letters and Messages, and had again and again sollicited the King for his Liberty.

When the Prince fell into his last Illness, the Queen sent for Sir *Walter Raleigh* for some of his Cordial, which she her self had taken in a Fever some time before, with Remarkable Success. *Raleigh* sent it, together with a Letter, to the Queen, wherein he expressed a tender Concern for the Prince; and boasting of his Medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an Expression to this purpose, *That it would certainly cure him, or any other of a Fever, except in case of Poyson.*

The Prince dying, tho' he took it, the Queen, in the Agony of her Grief, shew'd *Raleigh*'s Letter, and laid so much Weight on the Expression about Poyson, that to her dying Day she could never be disswaded from the Opinion, That her belov'd Son had had foul Play done him.

It's certain Sir *Walter Raleigh* lov'd the Prince with an Esteem next to Idolatry; his Death putting an end to the First, and indeed the only remaining Part left us of his Noble History, which he sums up in these Words. *Lastly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls it self, The First Part of the General History of the World, implying a Second and Third Volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out: Besides many other Discouragements perswading my Silence, it hath pleased God to take that Glorious Prince out of the World, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never-enough lamented Loss hat taught me to say with* Job, *Versa est in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in Vocem flentium.* But tho' Sir *Walter Raleigh* was Great in most other Things, it was both Vanity and Indiscretion in him to lay such a Stress on this Medicine of his, as to suppose nothing but Poyson could resist the Power of it; and at the same time to start such a Suspicion in a fond Mother, that perhaps he had no true Ground for, and might in the Consequence prove fatal to himself.

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A. Reg. 16. An. Christi 1618. riosities. Now, like Plethorique Bodies that want letting Blood, they break out into Distempers; a Schism in the Church, and Faction in the State.

The first Author of the Schism, was *Arminius*; of the Faction, *Barnevelt*; Persons of great Parts and Power (tho' of different Natures.) The one had been Divinity-Professor at *Leyden*, the other the Manager of all the great Affairs of the State. Distempers in Kingdoms and States are like Madness in Bodies, which do not break out till some Accident doth stir the Humour. *Arminius* died just upon the beginning of the Treaty, which was in the Year 1609. leaving behind him the Seeds of this *Pelagian* Heresy, which tho' it were cherished much by some, in whose Bosoms he had sown it, yet happily it might never have taken Root, had not Peace and Ease manured it, and made it fruitful. The Mysteries of Predestination, and the ineffable Essence of God, (*Quæ tremenda & admiranda sunt, sed non scrutanda* (to use our King's own Words) which are to be trembled at, and admired, not pried into) are the great Theme. Such Intuitions are too high for Flesh and Blood: Yet what will not Pragmatical Spirits do, when they proudly look into Divine Things with the Eye of Reason, not humbly with the Eye of Faith?

This Rupture in the Bowels of the Church grew so great, that it endangered the Body of the State. The Chief Rulers and Magistrates in the several Provinces being tainted with this Error, strove to establish it by Power; among whom *Barnevelt* was a Principal Agent, who, by the Assistance of *Hoogenberts* of *Leyden*, *Grotius* of *Rotterdam*, and *Leidenburgh* Secretary of *Utrecht*, with others their Adherents, drew on the Design, which was to suppress the Protestant Reformed Religion, and establish the Tenents of *Arminius*, being fomented by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, as the immediate way to introduce Popery. This went on so smoothly, that the Orthodox Ministers were expelled out of their principal Towns, and none but *Arminians* admitted to Preach to the People, which in some Places bred many Combustions, that tended to nothing but Popular Confusion.

Our King forewarns them of it Anno 1611. But long before this time, our King saw the Storm coming upon them: For in the Year 1611. he forewarns the States; telling them, That by the unhappy Succession of Two such Prodigies in one Sphere, as *Arminius* and *Vorstius*, some dreadful Mischief would succeed. For *Arminius* was no sooner Dead, but those that drew on the Design had an Eye on *Vorstius*, his Disciple, to make him Divinity-Professor in his Place; which the King hearing of, and having read some of *Vorstius*'s Blasphemous Writings, sends to his then Ambassador Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Resident there, to let the State know, that *Vorstius* rather deserved Punishment than Promotion; that the Head of such a Viper should be trod upon and crush'd, that was likely to eat his way through the Bowels of the State. And if they (nevertheless) would persist to prefer him, he would make known to the World publickly in Print, how much he detested such abominable Heresies, and all Allowers and Tolerators of them.

The Ambassador urging the King's Desires, they returned a long Answer in Justification of *Vorstius*.

The States Answer. First, 'That the Curators of the University 'of *Leyden* (according to their Duty, and the 'ancient Custom ever since the Foundation of 'that University) having diligently made Enquiry for some Doctor to be chosen in the 'Place of Divinity-Professor there, at that 'time void; after Mature Deliberation, they 'made Election of *Conradus Vorstius* to that Place, 'Which Election and Calling, was countermin'd presently after by certain Persons, to 'whose Office or Disposal the Business did nothing at all belong; who charged the said '*Vorstius* with Unsoundness of Doctrine; whereupon the Curators thought fit (with the good 'liking of *Vorstius* himself) that both at *Leyden*, 'and at the *Hague*, he should appear in his own 'Justification, to Answer all Accusers; which 'he did; and there came none to Charge him. 'But not long after, six Ministers undertook to 'prove, That *Vorstius* had publish'd False Doctrine, who being heard in a full Assembly of 'the States of *Holland* and *Westfrizaland*, they 'could by their Arguments find no Reason, 'why the Execution of what was done by the 'Curators lawfully, ought to be hindred or impeached. And they do assuredly believe, That 'if his Majesty of *Great Britain* were well informed of the true Circumstances of this Business, he would, according to his High Wisdom and Prudence, conceive favourably of 'them, they proceeding in this Business with all 'Reverence, Care and Respect, to his Majesty's serious Admonition. Dated at the *Hague*, '1 *October*, 1611.

Vorstius's Books burned by the King. The King seeing which way the States went, by the Print of the Footing that *Vorstius* had set among them, caused his Books publickly to be burned in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and both the Universities. And not giving it over, he writes to them again, to be mindful of the Glory of God, and not suffer such Scandalous Members to remain in the Body of the true Reformed Church, that maintain such execrable Blasphemies, as to deny the Eternity and Omnipotency of God: Furthermore, he desires them so much to consult their own Honour and Safety, as to Extirpate such Atheisms and Heresies. But if they suffer such Pestilent Hereticks to nestle among them (who dare take upon them the licentious Liberty to fetch again from Hell ancient Heresies long since condemned, and invent new ones of their own, to the Depravation of the true Catholick Church) he should be constrained publickly to protest against them, Dated at *Theobalds*, 6 *October*, 1611.

Sir *Ralph Winwood* represented this Letter to the States; and finding them cold and backward in proceeding any further against *Vorstius*, according to the King's Directions to him, he made this Remonstrance to them.

My Lords,

Sir Ralph Winwood's Remonstrance to the States. 'If ever the King of *Great Britain*, my Master, 'hath merited any thing of this State, (and 'how much he hath merited, in respect of his 'great Favours and Royal Assistances, your 'Lordships acknowledging them with all Gratitude, can best Judge and Witness) he hath surely merited at this present, having by his Letters full of Zeal and Piety, which he hath 'written unto you, endeavour'd to procure the 'Establishment of that Religion only within 'your Provinces, which the Reformed Churches 'of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Germany*, by a mutual Consent have generally Imbraced. For 'what is it to his Majesty, whether Dr. *Vorstius* 'be admitted Professor in the University of '*Leyden*, or not? Or whether the Doctrine of '*Arminius* be preached in your Churches? Saving that as a Christian Prince, he desires the Ad-

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'Advancement of the Gospel; and as your best 'Friend and Ally, the Strengthening of your 'Commonwealth, whose *first Foundations were 'cemented with the Blood of his Subjects*; and which 'in his Judgment can no way subsist, if wit-'tingly and willingly you suffer the Reformed 'Religion to be (either by the Practices of your 'Doctors sophisticated, or by their Malice) de-'praved. If therefore Religion be as it were 'the *Palladium* of your Common-wealth; and 'that to preserve the One in her Glory and 'Perfection, be to maintain the Other in her 'Purity, let your selves than be Judges, in how 'great a Danger the State must needs be at 'this present, so long as you permit the Schisms 'of *Arminius* to have such Vogue (as now they 'have) in the Principal Towns of *Holland*; 'and if you suffer *Vorstius* to be received Di-'vinity-Professor in the University of *Leyden* '(the Seminary of your Church) who, in scorn 'of the Holy Word of God, hath, after his own 'Fancy, devised a new Sect, patch'd together 'of several Pieces of all sorts of Ancient and 'Modern Heresies. *The Fool said in his Heart, 'there is no God*: But he that with an open Mouth, 'of set Purpose, and prepensed Malice, hath 'let his Pen run at random, to disgorge so 'many Blasphemies against the sacred Majesty 'of God, this Fellow shall wear the Garland 'of all that ever yet were heard of, since the 'Means of the Gospel, the Light of Christian 'Religion hath shined unto the World. If any 'Man doubt of it, see here what his Majesty, 'with his own Hand, hath collected out of his 'Writings. *And then presenting them a Paper, he proceeded.*

'These are, in part, the Opinions of that 'great Divine, who is chosen to domineer in 'the Chair at *Leyden*: In opposition whereun-'to, I mean not to say any thing, but that 'which the *Roman* Orator did once pronounce 'in the like Case, *Mala est, & impia consuetudo, 'contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive si-'mulate*; It is an evil and wicked Custom to 'dispute against God, whether it be in earnest, 'or in jest.

'Now my Lords, I address my self unto you, 'and according to the Charge which I have re-'ceived from the King my Master, I conjure 'you by the Amity that is betwixt his King-'doms, and your Provinces, to awaken your 'Spirits, and to have a Careful Eye at this As-'sembly of *Holland* (which is already begun) '*ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*, that the Com-'monwealth take no harm; which undoubted-'ly at one time or other will be turned upside 'down, if you suffer such a dangerous Conta-'gion to harbour so near you, and not remove 'it as soon as possibly you may. The Disci-'ples of *Socinus* (with whose Doctrine *Vorstius* 'hath been suckled in his Childhood) do seek 'him for their Master, and are ready to em-'brace him. Let him go, he is a Bird of their 'own Feather, *Et dignum sane patella operculum*, 'a fit Cover for such a Dish.

'On the other side, the Students in Divinity 'at *Leyden*, to the Number of Six and Fifty, 'by a dutiful Remonstrance, presented unto 'the States of *Holland* the Sixteenth of *October*, 'the last Year, being 1610, did most humbly 'beseech the said States, not to use their Au-'thority in compelling them to receive a Pro-'fessor, who both by the Attestations of the Di-'vinity-Colleges at *Basil* and *Heidleberg*, as also 'by manifest Evidence out of his own Writings, 'is convinc'd of a Number of manifest Here-'sies.

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'These Reasons therefore, namely, the enor-'mous and horrible Heresies maintained by 'him; the Instance of his Majesty, ground-'ed upon the Welfare and Honour of this 'Country; the Requests either of all, or of the 'most part of your Provinces; the Petitions 'of all the Ministers (excepting those only 'which are of *Arminius*'s Sect) should methinks 'prevail so far with my Lords the States of '*Holland*, as they will at the last apply them-'selves to the Performance of that, which both 'the Sincerity of Religion, and the Service of 'their Country requireth at their Hands.

'Furthermore, I have Commandment from 'his Majesty, to move you in his Name, to set 'down some certain Reglement in Matters of 'Religion throughout your Provinces, that this 'licentious Freedom of Disputation may be re-'strain'd, which breeds Factions and Par-'takings; and that you would absolutely take 'away the Liberty of Prophesying, which '*Vorstius* doth so much recommend unto you in 'the Dedicatory Epistle of his *Anti-Bellarmine*, 'the Book whereof his Patrons do boast so 'much.

'And his Majesty doth exhort you, seeing 'you have heretofore taken Arms for the Li-'berty of your Consciences, and have endur'd 'a violent and bloody War, the space of Forty 'Years, for the Profession of the Gospel; that 'now, having gotten the upper Hand of your 'Miseries, you would not suffer the Followers 'of *Arminius* to make your Actions an Example 'for them to proclaim throughout the World 'that wicked Doctrine of the Apostacy of the 'Saints. The Account which his Majesty doth 'make of your Amity, appears sufficiently by 'the Treaties which he made with your Lord-'ships, by the Succours which your Provinces 'have received from his Crowns by the De-'luge of Blood, which his Subjects have spent 'in your Wars. *Religion is the only Soldier of this 'Amity.* For his Majesty being, by the Grace 'of GOD, *Defender of the Faith*, doth hold 'himself obliged to defend all those who pro-'fess the same Faith and Religion with him: 'But if once your Zeal begins to grow cold 'therein, his Majesty will then straightways 'imagine, that your Friendship towards him, 'and his Subjects, will likewise freeze by little 'and little.

This was the Effect of Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Remonstrance; to which, after six Weeks Delay, he received this cold and ambiguous Answer:

'THat the States General had deliberated up-'on his Majesty's Proposition and Letter, 'dated the 6th of *October*, 1611. and do give 'him humble Thanks for the continuance of his 'Royal Affection towards the Welfare of their 'Country, and Preservation of Religion. And 'that they had entred into Consultation con-'cerning the Articles charged against *Vorstius*; 'and the Curators of *Leyden*, did thereupon 'make an Order Provisional, That *Vorstius* 'should not be admitted to the Exercise of his 'Place, but remain in *Leyden* only as an Inha-'bitant and Citizen. And in case *Vorstius* should 'not be able to clear himself from those Accu-'sations which were laid to his Charge, at or 'before the next Assembly (which was to be 'holden in *February* following) that then they 'would decide the Matter with good Con-'tentment to his Majesty. *The States Answer.*

But this Answer still savouring of Delays, could not in effect be esteemed less than an absolute Refusal to yield to the King's Desires; besides

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besides, the specious Separation of *Vorstius* as a Citizen, was only to satisfy the King at present; for he (after) notwithstanding exercised his Place of Professor. Whereupon Sir *Ralph Winwood* knowing the King's Mind, made this Protestation in their Publick Assembly.

Sir Ralph Winwood's Protestation.

My Lords,

'THere is not any one of you, I suppose, in this Assembly, that will not acknowledge the Brotherly Love wherewith the King, my Master, hath always affected the Good of your Provinces, and the Fatherly Care which he hath ever had to procure the Establishment of your State. In which respect, his Majesty having understood, that *Vorstius* was elected Divinity-Professor of *Leyden*, a Person attainted by many Witnesses, *Juris & Facti*, of a Number of Heresies, is therewith exceedingly Offended. And for the timely prevention of an Infinite of Evils, did give me in charge to exhort you (which I did the 21st of *September* last) to wash your Hands from that Man, and not suffer him to come within your Country. To this Exhortation your Answer was, *That all due Observance and Regard should be had unto his Majesty*: But his Majesty hath receiv'd so little Respect therein, that instead of debarring *Vorstius* from coming into the Country, which even by the Laws of Friendship his Majesty might have requir'd) the Proceedings have been clean contrary; for he is permitted to come to *Leyden*; hath been received there with all Honour; taken up his Habitation; Treated, and Lodg'd, in the Quality of a Publick Professor. His Majesty perceiving his first Motion had so little prevailed, writ a Letter to you to the same Purpose, full of Zeal and Affection; perswading you, by many Reasons, not to stain your own Honour, and the Honour of the Reformed Churches, by calling unto you that wretched and wicked Atheist. These Letters were presented to this Assembly the Fifth of *November* last, at which time, by his Majesty's Command, I used some Speech my self to the same effect. Some Six Weeks after, I received an Answer, but so Confused, Ambiguous, and Impertinent, that I have Reason to conceive there is no meaning at all to send *Vorstius* away, who is at present in *Leyden*, received, acknowledged, respected and treated as Publick Professor: Whether it be to grace that University instead of the Deceased *Joseph Scaliger*, or whether to give him means to do more Mischief in Secret, which perhaps for Shame he durst not in Publick, I cannot tell. For these Reasons, according to that Charge which I have received from the King, my Master, I do in his Name, and on his Behalf, Protest in this Assembly, against the Wrong, Injury, and Scandal, done unto the Reformed Religion, by receiving and retaining *Conradus Vorstius* in the University of *Leyden*, and against the Violence offered unto that Alliance which is betwixt his Majesty and your Provinces; which being founded upon the Preservation and Maintenance of the Reformed Religion, you have not omitted to Violate, in the Proceeding of this Cause. Of which Enormous Indignities committed against the Church of God, and against his Majesty's Person, in preferring the Presence of *Vorstius* before his Amity and Alliance, the King, my Master, holds himself bound to be sensible; and if Reparation be not made, and that speedily (which cannot be by any other Means, than by sending *Vorstius* away) his Majesty will make it appear unto the World, by some Declaration which he will cause to be Printed and Published) how much he detests the Atheisms and Heresies of *Vorstius*, and all those that Maintain, Favour and Cherish them.

To this, the States promised a better Answer at their next Assembly; but that producing no good Effect, the King writes a Declaration against *Vorstius*, which is extant in his own Works, collected by Doctor *James Mountague*, Son to Sir *Edward Mountague*, of *Bowghton* in the County of *Northampton*, Knight, then Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dean of his Majesty's Chappel; in which Volume is depainted the King's excellent Spirit, and many Royal Graces tending to Religion and Piety.

Thus the States let in a Deluge of Impiety, by being so pertinaciously affected to *Vorstius*; and though he lived not long among them, yet what he had planted grew up abundantly, and were the bitter Roots of these present Divisions.

Our King writes to the States in 1613.

And after, in the Year 1613, there were many Discords among them, which our King hearing of, he incited the States by Letters again (so willing he was to have Unity among them) that this War of the Tongue might be pacified, rather by Publick Authority than School Disputations; and, by his Mediation, for a good time the Humour was abated, or rested, as in the Interpolate Fits of Agues; but the Rancour broke out again more than ever.

And now in 1618.

For this Year 1618. (as formerly expressed) the Distemper came to the State, or Height, and had ever after a Decline. Our King hearing of the Disorders and Tumults among them, look'd upon them (now) as so many ill Omens, portending not only the Ruine of the *Netherlands*, but the Tempest growing greater, might beat too soon upon the *British Shores*. To stay therefore the swelling Progress of this Gangrene Humour, he prohibits the Subjects by Proclamation to send their Children to *Leyden*, and sollicites the States by Letters again, not only to forbid the Preaching of these Controversies, (the Pulpits being made but the Bellows of Dissention) but commands his Ambassador, Sir *Dudley Carleton*, to shew them their Disease, and then prescribes them the Cure. Their Disease was this; Schism in the Church, which usher'd in a Faction in the State, Jealousy and Disaffection among the Magistrates; Hatred and Heart-burning among the Common People; Contempt of the Orders and Decrees of the chiefest Courts of Justice; Distraction among the Soldiers, being tied to several Forms of Oaths; Insurrections and Commotions among the Companies new levied, not well Disciplin'd, (as likewise among the Common People) which have extended to Blood, to the Affrightment, Fear and Trouble of all the Provinces; at which the Enemy smiles (who happily have a Hand in the Design) and their Friends lament to see it so. To cure which Malady, there is no other way than to call a National Council, where these Waters of Strife being kept in due bound, the asperous Edge of Opinion might be taken off, by grave and weighty Reason, to abate the Passion both in Church and State.

Barnevelt opposes the Prince of Orange.

The *Remonstrants* (which the *Arminians* called themselves) carrying on their Resolutions with a full sail, would by no means alter their Course, or consent to the calling of a Council; either fearing their Party in Council would prove the Weakest,

A. Reg. 16. An. Christi 1618. Weakest, or knowing their Partakers in Action would be the Strongest; for most of the States and Governors of Provinces had tasted of this infected Cup. And *Barnevelt* (the Head of them) being an active Person, and having a nimble Tongue, distilling into them a Jealousie, that *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (who had the Command of all their Garrisons, as General of their Army) affected to make himself (by his Power) sole Lord and Monarch over them; that the freedom which they had purchased with their Bloods, was now ready to be trampled on; he that was their Servant, aspiring to become their Master; having all Power both by Sea and Land, in his own hand; all Governments, and Offices at his own dispose, so that he wanted nothing but the Title to make him Absolute. These Sparks took Fire with many, and yet they could not well see by that Light, because *Barnevelt* drew these Pretences as a Curtain, to get as much Power in the Militia, as he had in their Councils, the better to bring his Ends about. Whereupon, to Ballance the Prince of *Orange*'s Power, new Companies are levied in some of the Provinces secretly, especially in *Utrecht*, meaning to make that the Stage to act their bloody Parts on: Which Town being much corrupted with the Leaven of bad Doctrine, they soon closed with the Corruption of as bad Manners.

The Prince of *Orange* goes to *Utrecht*.

The Prince of *Orange*, and some others affected to him, did cut out their Time to the length of the others Endeavours, proportioning their Prevention suitable to the others Action; so the advance of the one Party ran upon the same Parallel with the other, being ready to tread on their Heels for haste. And now the time being ripe, the Prince goes to *Utrecht*, accompanied with some of the States his Intimates, Count *Ernest* of *Nassau*, and some other Commanders of the Army, to Seise upon, or Disband those new raised Forces; in which he was opposed by *Leydenburgh* and other States of the Town, who incited the Governour, Sir *John Ogle*, our Country-man, to deny the Prince entrance; but he was too much a Friend to the Honour of his Name, and Nation to falsify his Trust. So that the Prince encountred only with those, whose Unwillingness had Power enough if they had had Hearts to oppose him. But he finding it would be an ill Precedent to the rest of the Towns to meet a Repulse here, had order'd Five hundred Foot from *Arnham*, and the next Garrisons, to meet him there, who entred the Town that Evening peaceably, and the next Morning about Four a Clock Disbanded the new levied Companies, before the Towns-Men were well awake.

25 July.

The Prince had no great Reason to trust the Garrison of the City, considering the *Reformed Religion* was totally kept under *Hatches*, and the *Arminian* got upon the *Deck*. The Governor himself suspected, and complying to outward Appearance, and the Common Soldiers running with the *Stream*. But he knew (it seems) their *Temper* ascended to no higher *Notions*, than Thirty *Stivers* a Week was able to purchase. Therefore he summon'd them all over Night into the Market-place, without Beat of *Drum*, who, with the other Five hundred, struck such a Terror into the new levied Companies, that, at the first Word of *Command*, they laid down their *Arms* and submitted. They were in that City in all Nine hundred Men, that knew they were raised to oppose the Prince's Power, pick'd up of several Nations, that hoped to carve their *Fortunes* out of *Bloody Tumults*, and back'd by a numerous *Multitude* of *Citizens*; yet they all shrunk in their *Heads* before the *Face* of *Authority*.

This giving some Stop to the *Career* of the *Remonstrants* in *Utrecht*, the rest of the Towns took up, though they had rung long uncurbed. And now the Prince and State thought of nothing more than of composing the *Disorders* of the *Church*, by a *National Council*; which *Barnevelt* and his *Faction* opposing, they resolved to take away those *Impediments* that hindred the *Peace* and *Tranquility* of the *Provinces*. So that on the 19th of *August*, the prime King-leaders of the Sedition, *Barnevelt*, *Hoogenberts* and *Grotius*, were seized on at the *Hague*, as they were entring the Senate, and committed to several Prisons. This cast a general Damp upon the *Spirits* of the *Remonstrants*, as if they had been crushed in the Head. And some few Days after, *Leydenburgh* was sent from *Utrecht* with a strong Guard. These being the Four chief Pillars whereupon this confused Building stood, they being taken away, it fell to the Ground; *Leydenburgh*, to prevent their *Mercy*, stabbed himself in Prison with a Knife, that opened a Passage to let out his Life. *Hoogenberts* and *Grotius* found something of Mercy by waiting for it, but they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in the Castle of *Lovestein*. And the latter of them (*Grotius*) after some time of Imprisonment, made his Escape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended, to the Soldiers of the Castle, to be full of *Arminian Books*, which she would send away, because they should not trouble her Husband's Head. But the *Capital Offender*, *Barnevelt*, was beheaded at the *Hague* the 14th of *May* following, being 1619.

Barnevelt's Sentence and Death.

His Sentence of Death was this, That for so much as he had endeavou'd to disturb the Peace of the Land, and had opposed himself against the wholsom Advice of divers Princes, Lords, and excellent Persons, as well without as within the Land, and that he had injured some of their *mightiest Allies* by his secret Practices, namely, by calumniating the King of *Great-Britain*, as though he had been the Author of these Troubles in the *Low-Countries*: For that he had kindled the Fire of Dissention in the Provinces; had raised Soldiers in the Diocese of *Utrecht*; had disreputed his *Excellency* as much as lay in his Power; had revealed the Secrets of the Council; and had received Presents and Gifts from Foreign Princes: Finally, For that by his Machinations and Plots, new States have been erected in the State, new Governments against the Government, and new Unions and Alliances against the ancient Union, to the general *Perturbation*, as well of *Policy*, as of *Religion*; to the exhausting of the Treasures of the Land; to the Jealousy and Dislike, not only of the *Confederates*, but of the *Natives* of the *Country*, who by this Means were brought into Danger, that they were like to fall into final *Ruine*.

His Imployments.

He was born in *Amersford*, descended from the Ancient Family of *Olden Barnevelt*: In his Fortune, a private Gentleman; but by his Industry, Travels, and Studies at Home and Abroad, he made himself capable of managing the highest Affairs, which he did almost for Forty Years together. He was Five times *Extraordinary Ambassador* into *England* and *France*; had been in the Field with the Princes of *Orange*, and the *Army*, as one of the States, Thirty two several *Leaguers*; nothing was acted without his Advice: Indeed he was the *Tongue* and *Genius* of the *State*. But whether *Ambition* (now in his Old Age) mounted him to grapple with the

the *Prince* for *Power*; or whether that wild and frantick *Fancy*, that Men often brand their *Spirits* with, and call it *Conscience*, (but is nothing but Pertinacy in Opinion); into the Wings of his Affections we cannot discover, being only the secret Companions of his own Breast, and let them dye with him. But thus he ended in the Seventy first Year of his Age.

A Synod at *Dort*. He lived to see (that which he had so much oppofed) a *National Synod* held at *Dort*, * whither our King sent Doctor *George Carlton*, Bishop of *Landaff*; Doctor *Joseph Hall*, Dean of *Worcester*; Doctor *John Davenant*, *Professor Regius* in *Cambridge*, and Master of *Queen's College*; and Doctor *Samuel Ward*, Regent of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*: *Divines* of great *Reputation*, found *Learning*, and well grounded *Faith*. Where they met with divers *Divines* from *Switzerland* and *Germany*, besides the *Natives* of the *Netherlands*; who altogether, in a full Synod, quashed, as much as in them lay, the *Arminian Opinions*: And though they could not utterly extirpate the Roots of the *Heresie*, yet they laid them so low, that they never broke out there since into exuberant Branches; though some of the *Fibræ*, the small Veins left behind, much tainted our *Nation*; as shall be expressed hereafter.

A Blazing Star. And now the *Heavens* declare the Glory of God: A mighty Blazing *Comet* appears in *Libra*, whose bearded *Beams* covered the Virgin Sign. It began on *Wednesday* Morning, the 18th of *November* this Year, and vanished away on *Wednesday* the 15th of *December* following; making, in 28 Days Motion, its *Circumgiration* over most *Parts* of the known *World*, extending its *radiant Locks* (by the Observation of *Astronomers*) sometimes 45 *Degrees* in length. And as our Doctor *Bambridge* observed toward the *Declination* of it, about the 11th of *December*, it pass'd over *London* in the Morning, and so hasted more Northwards, even as far as the *Orcades*.

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus Æther,

They make not their Course in vain. ⁂ These Apparitions do always portend some horrid Events here Below, and are Messengers of *Mischief* to poor *Mortals*: The *Divine Wisdom* pointing to us what we should do, to prevent these threatned *Dangers*, that we may have our *Lives* for a *Prey*. It appears first in *Libra*, the *Emblem* of *Justice*, and streams over the Virgin *Astrea*, which (as the Poet saith) was last of all the Virtues left the Earth,

Ultima Cælestum terras Astrea reliquit.

We must by this Admonition from Heaven, learn to do *justly*; and it is for *Injustice* that these sad *Omens* threaten us. What miserable Effects of War, Ruine, and Devastation, in most Parts of the known *World*, followed at the Heels of this *stupendious Harbinger*, is obvious to all; and so far as relates to us, may be declared (God willing) in the Progress of this *History*: But I hope the *Operation* and *Power* of it is almost at an End; for it began in *Germany*, took *France* and *Spain* in the way, and pass'd over *England* to the *Orcades*, and so vanished; as *Banbridge* relates in the Description of it, *Fol.* 7.

Fulgura non semper, nec semper prælia durant.
——Let's count it almost past,
For War, like Lightning, doth not always last.

The Death of Queen *Anne*. The first remarkable Accident that happened in *England* after this Prodigious Fore-runner, was the Death of Queen *Anne*, who died of a *Dropsie* at *Hampton-Court*; and thence brought to her *Palace* in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant *Glory* of her *Obsequies*. The common People, who naturally admire their *Princes*, placing them in a *Region* above ordinary *Mortals*, thought this great Light in *Heaven* was sent as a *Flambeau* to her *Funeral*; their dark Minds not discovering, while this Blaze was burning, the Fire of War that broke out in *Bohemia*, wherein many Thousands perished.

A short Character of the Queen. She was in her great Condition a good Woman, not tempted from that height she stood on, to embroil her Spirit much with things below her (as some Busie-bodies do) only giving her self content in her own House, with such Recreations as might not make Time tedious to her: And though great Persons Actions are often pried into, and made Envy's Mark, yet nothing could be fixed upon her that left any great Impression, but that she may have engraven upon her Monument a Character of Virtue.

Northumberland set at Liberty. About this time *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been a Prisoner in the *Tower* ever since the Powder Plot (a long Recluse) was set at Liberty. The Cause of his Confinement was upon a Sentence in the *Star-Chamber*, for nourishing in his House *Thomas Piercy* his Kinsman, who was one of the Complotters of the Treason. And though nothing could be prov'd against the Earl to endanger his Life; yet upon the Presumption of his Knowledge of it, he was Fined in Thirty thousand Pounds, and Imprisoned in the *Tower*. He was married to *Dorothy*, Eldest Daughter to *Walter* Earl of *Essex*, by whom he had a Noble (yet surviving) Issue, two Sons, and two Daughters; *Algernon*, now Earl of *Northumberland*, and

* For all this mighty Pother King *James* made against *Arminius* and his Doctrine, its remarkable that towards the end of his Reign, and much more in his Sons, the best way to obtain Preferments in the Church was to be of that Principle; and those that were not, were branded with the odious Name of *Puritans*.

⁂ The Notice our Author takes of this Comet, as presaging, forsooth, mighty Events, is an instance, how far a popular Error, or the prejudice of Education, may Byass even Men of good Sense and Learning, for such certainly the Author was. This puts me in mind of an Accident that happened about this time in *Scotland*, which the Historians of that Country interpreted each of them to their own Sence and Purpose.

King *James* had prevail'd with the General Assembly of that Church which sat at *Perth*, to come to an Agreement with the Church of *England*, in Five material Articles, which were ever since call'd, *The Five Articles of Perth*. The Presbyterians exclaim'd against them, and opposed them with all their might; as the Episcopal Party stood firm for them, as the greatest Point they had gain'd since the Reformation. When these Articles came afterwards to be Ratified in Parliament, just as the King's Commissioner Touching the Act with the Scepter, (which is the manner of giving the Royal Assent in that Kingdom) there happen'd a mighty Clap of Thunder, attended with such an unusual Storm of Wind and Rain, that the like had not been known in many Ages before nor since

Their Ecclesiastical Writers of both sides, when they come to mention this Accident, are pleas'd to give it a turn suitable to their own Genius or Interest. The Presbyterians say; *And that God from Heaven, by the Voice of Thunder, express'd his Abhorrence of what was then done upon Earth.* Those of the other side are not behind with them; for, say they, *That God, by the Voice of Thunder, Ratified in Heaven what was done on Earth.* Its after this manner we poor Mortals put what Construction we please upon the Phœnomena's of Nature, and adapt them to our narrow Capacities and Concerns.

Henry,

A. Reg. 17. An. Christi 1619. *Henry*, both in these Times young. *Dorothy*, the Eldest Daughter, married *Robert* Viscount *Lisle*, after the Death of his Father Earl of *Leicester*, by whom he had a numerous Issue, like Olive-Branches about his Table. The Younger Daughter, *Lucy*, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, (solemnized in the Poems of the most exquisite Wits of her time) married the Lord *Hayes*, (now made Viscount *Doncaster*) against her Father's Will, (who aimed at higher Extraction) during his Imprisonment; which the old Earl's stubborn Spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and *Doncaster*, whose Affection was above Money (setting only a Valuation upon his much-admired Bride) strove to make himself Meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his Father-in-Law, that he got his Release. But the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a Release from his hand, so that when he had liberty, he restrained himself; and with importunity was wrought upon, by (such as knew the Distempers of his Body, might best qualifie those of his Mind) perswading him, for some Indisposition, to make a Journey to the *Bath*, which was one special Motive to accept of his Son-in-Law's Respects.

The variousness of Times. The stout old Earl, when he was got loose, hearing that the great Favourite, *Buckingham*, was drawn about with a Coach and Six Horses, (which was wondred at then as a Novelty, and imputed to him as a Mastring-Pride) thought if *Buckingham* had Six, he might very well have Eight in his Coach, with which he rode through the City of *London* to the *Bath*, to the vulgar Talk and Admiration; and recovering his Health there, he lived long after at *Petworth* in *Sussex*, bating this over-topping Humour, which shewed it rather an affected Fit, than a Distemper. Nor did this addition of Two Horses by *Buckingham* grow higher than a little Murmur. For in the late Queen's time there were no Coaches, and the first had but Two Horses; the rest crept in by Degrees, as Men at first venture to Sea. And every new thing the People disaffect, they stumble at, sometimes at the Action for the Person, which rises like a little Cloud, but soon vanishes. So after, when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair upon Men's Shoulders, the clamour and noise of it was so extravagant, that the People would rail on him in the Streets, loathing that Men should be brought to as servile a Condition as Horses. So irksom is every little new Impression, that breaks an old Custom, and rubs and grates against the publick Humour! But when Time had made those Chairs common, every loose Pimp, or Minion, used them; so that, that which gave at first so much Scandal, was the Means to convey those privately to such Places, where they might give much more. Just like long Hair, at one time decried as abominable, at another time approved of as beautiful. So various are the Fancies of the Times! And that strong Reason is only able to manage this Beast, that can best curb its own Appetite.

Stirs in *Germany*. But now War breaks in upon us, following that blazing Fore-runner; the House of *Austria* (like *Pyrrhus* and *Lysander*, extending their Dominions no further than the Sword could reach) having long feathered their Nests with the Eagles Plumes, grew formidable to the Princes and States of *Germany*. And because they found the Popes had shrewdly plumed some of their Predecessors, till they had wrested most Parts of *Italy* from the Empire, they were content to maintain their Grandeur by the Pope's Power; and, to ingratiate themselves the more, became great Persecutors of the Reformed Religion.

A little before this time, *Ferdinand* (Uncles Son to *Matthias* the Emperor) was Crowned King of *Bohemia*, with this Reservation, That he should not Exercise the Power of a King, as long as the old Emperor lived. This kind of crowning of Kings (one in the Life of another) was the great Chain, that (Link by Link) held the Empire, and the two Kingdoms of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia* together in the *Austrian* Family; so that the State of either Kingdom could not, or durst not, put forth their Strength to shake them asunder. The Emperor kept his Court at *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* at *Gretz* in *Stiria*; so that the Government of *Bohemia* rested in such Counsellors as the Emperor *Matthias* left there for the Management of Publick Affairs. These Counsellors and Ministers, with the Archbishop of *Prague*, broke out about this time, not only to demolish the Protestant Churches, but by the help of the Jesuits, (their bitter Enemies) strove to undermine the Religion it self. An. 1617.

The Protestant States, and Nobles of the Country, summoning an Assembly, to redress their Grievances, were opposed by some of the Emperor's Ministers of State, the very day of their Meeting; which exasperated them to such a height of Passion, (being back'd by some Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief Justice, *Smetsansius* one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius* a pragmatical Secretary, from a high Window in the Castle, down into the Court, though some of them took little hurt, and lived (as Reports go) to this time. This rash Action the *Bohemians* strive to palliate by Apologies to the Emperor; but withal strengthned themselves, making Levies both of Horse and Foot, the better to secure their own Peace, and banishing those Firebrands the Jesuits out of *Prague*, whose malicious and distemper'd Zeal first kindled the Flame. The Emperor hearing of these Mischiefs, raises an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Protestant States finding the Emperor exasperated, raise two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, the other by Count *Mansfeldt*: Some Bickrings pass'd betwixt the *Imperial* Army and the *Bohemians*, some Towns taken on both sides; and in the heat of this stir the old Emperor dies.

Ferdinand King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of old *Matthias*, meeting (after Summons) at *Frankford*, with the Three Electors of *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Trevers*, and only with the Representatives of the other Three Electors: The Church carried it for him, and he was chosen King of the *Romans*. The States of *Bohemia* disclaimed the Election as invalid, because he could not be an Elector himself as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in Possession of the Crown. And tho' their Dissent could not lessen *Ferdinand's* Election to the Empire, yet they protested by Oath never to acknowledge him for their King. These Eruptions made a Noise all over *Christendom*, and most knowing Men looked on this heavenly Torch, the late Comet, as fit Fuel to give Fire to such a Train. Aug. 18.

Our King, fearing the Clap would fall heavy upon the Protestant Party, sent the Viscount *Doncaster*, Extraordinary Ambassador, to mediate a Reconciliation betwixt the Emperor and Doncaster Ambassador.

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the *Bohemians*. But the Afperity and Bitternefs was too great to find an Allay by his fweet and candid Compliments, being fitter for the Bofoms of Lovers, than the armed Breafts of Uproars and Tumults.

Ferdinand infinuated with the Princes of *Germany*, efpecially the Duke of *Bavaria*, to corroborate his Party; the *Bohemians* made Election of our King's Son-in-Law, the Prince Elector *Palatine*, to be their King, hoping his great Alliance would ftrengthen theirs. Some little Paufes were in the Acceptation, (though a Liquorifh Bait) the Elector *Palatine* being fearful to ingage himfelf to fnatch a Crown out of the Fire: But the *Bohemian* States wrought the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earl of *Holoch*, and the Baron *Done*, the *Palatine's* Intimates, in their Forge (of great Promifes and Preferments) to fuch a Temper, that by their Affiftance (flighting the Danger) he reach'd at the Crown, before either he or his Friends were well advifed of it. His Election was upon the 26th of *Auguft*, his Entrance into *Prague* the laft of *October*, and his Coronation the Fourth of *November* following. But as foon as he had accepted, and fwallowed the Royal Bait, he fent the Baron *Done* to our King, to excufe the fuddennefs of the Acceptation, before his Counfels were well concocted; but the emergency of the Caufe (as he pretends) would admit of no Deliberation. As fome hafty Phyficians, or cholerick Patients, to prevent a Feaver, bring the Body to a Hectick.

1619.

Our King, that looked upon his own Condition through the Optick of the People's mutable and unftable Affection, would by no means countenance fuch a Precedent as fhould give them Power to difpofe of an eftablifhed Royal Dignity at their Pleafure, and upon every change of Humour; for fo he might fhake his own Foundation, which made the Baron's Addreffes crude and naufeous to his Appetite, till Time had a little digefted them. And then he difpatched two Ambaffadors into *Bohemia*. One was Sir *Richard Wefton*, who was afterwards Lord High Treafurer of *England*, and left to his Pofterity the Earldom of *Portland*; a Man of a haughty Spirit, yet knew how, by fuppling it, to make his way to the height he arrived at: For his Religion gave place to his Policy, and mounted him till he became one of the great Grievances of the Kingdom. The other was Sir *Edward Conwey*, a Man of a groffer Temper; bred a Soldier, being Governor of *Brill*, when *England* gave over her Intereft in the Cautionary Towns, who was after made a Vifcount, and Secretary of State, a rough impolifhed Piece for fuch an Employment. But the King, that wanted not his Abilities, would often make himfelf Merry with his imperfect Scrouls in writing, and hacking Expreffions in reading; fo that he would break into Laughter, and fay in a facetious way, *Had ever Man fuch a Secretary, that can neither Write nor Read?* Thefe two were fuited for the Employment, happily upon defign: *Wefton* being a kind of Papift, and *Conwey* a Proteftant, the better to clofe up the Breach between the Emperor, and the King of *Bohemia*.

Wefton and *Conwey* fent Ambaffadors into *Bohemia*.

1620.

But *Ferdinand* being ftartled with the flaring Glory of this new King, to caft a damp upon it, and to terrifie him and his Adherents, he caufed this Profcription to be publifhed againft them

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The *Palatine* profcribed.

'WE *Ferdinand*, &c. To all Electors, Princes, &c. but efpecially to the Subjects of *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector, &c. fend Greeting. Becaufe it is not known unto you, how that *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, &c. hath made himfelf Head of that perfidious and rebellious Crew of our Kingdom of *Bohemia*: Wherefore we proclaim the faid *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, &c. Guilty of High-Treafon, and iterate Profcription, and of all the Penalties which by Law and Cuftom are depending thereon. We conclude him out of Our and the Imperial Peace, and are firmly refolved to execute the faid Penalties againft the faid *Frederick*, which calleth himfelf Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, as againft one publickly profcribed, an Enemy and Adverfary to us, and to the Empire, and as one which hath fuffered himfelf to be made a Head of our Difobedient and Perfidious Rebels, who is a Contemner and Oppugner of our Imperial Authority, and Majefty, who is an Infringer of Publick Peace, and Tranquillity, and of other Ordinances and Laws of the Empire. Commanding you, under pain of Life, that in no way you give any Aid, Succour, Affiftance, neither in Money, Provifion, Munition, nor any way elfe, neither openly, nor covertly, under what colour or pretext foever, to the faid *Frederick*, who calleth himfelf Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. And if one or more of you fhould ferve, or be in pay of the faid *Frederick*, his Complices or Helpers, We command him, or them, to forfake the Service of the faid profcribed *Frederick*, and of his Helpers. And We Command you the Eftates, Dependents, Alliances, Subjects and Vaffals of the faid profcibed *Frederick*, that henceforth you yield unto him no Obedience, Help, nor Aid, in Affifting him any further; nor partake of his Rebellion, Difobedience, and Crime, but utterly to forfake him in it, and to affift us with true and faithful Aid and Succour, to reduce the Difobedient, Difloyal, Rebellious, profcribed *Frederick*, and his Helpers, to due Obedience, any Treaty, Confederacy, Amity and Alliance notwithftanding. And We abfolve you that are Vaffals of the faid profcribed *Frederick*, or which are in his Protection, or which are his Natural Subjects, or Strangers, from all your Oaths and Duties; promifing to all thofe which fhall be Obedient unto this our Mandate, all Imperial Favour, Grace, and Security. We will likewife, that none fhall Protect, Defend or Secure the faid banifhed *Frederick*, and his Helpers and Affiftants in nothing that may be profitable to them. For we exclude the faid banifhed *Frederick*, together with his Adherents, from all Favour, Liberties, Promifes, Security, publick Peace, Confederacies, Alliances, Laws, Privileges, Immunities and Cuftoms, heretofore given unto him and them, by our Anceftors the Roman Emperors. But he that fhall be Difobedient unto this our Will and Command, and fhall affift, take part, or aid in any fort, either privately or publickly, under what colour foever, the faid *Frederick*, who calleth himfelf Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, We declare by thefe Prefents guilty of High Treafon, and iterate Profcription, no lefs than himfelf. And this let every one take notice of, to keep themfelves from danger. *Given in our City of* Vienna, &c.

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Saxony executes the Imperial Ban.

The Duke of *Saxony* took the Field with an Army of Twenty thousand Men, to execute this Imperial Ban, and reduced most part of *Lusatia*. But before this, the Earls of *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt*, with a great Army, stood the Shock of the Imperial Power in divers Assaults: But when the King was established in *Bohemia*, and his Counsels managed by the Prince of *Anhalt* and the Earl of *Holoch*, then *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* were eclipsed by the Brightness of their Power; for *Anhalt* must be General, and *Holoch* Lieutenant-General. This taking Impression in the Region of gallant Minds, drew up some ill Vapours of Discontent, which tended to a fiery Exhalation, that, like ill Omens, did presage an unhappy Event.

Preparations for War.

While they were thus grappling in *Bohemia*, the Marquis *Spinola* was forming an Army in *Flanders*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, Confederates to the *Palatine*, (calling themselves the Princes of the Union) raised Forces for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, and their own Interest, under the command of the Marquis of *Anspach*. But our King made no Preparations; yet he sent to his Ambassador at *Brussells*, commanding him to enquire for what purpose *Spinola*'s Army was called together, the Truce continuing betwixt *Spain* and the *Low Countries*; but the Ambassador could receive little Satisfaction, the *Spanish* Subtilty having sealed up *Spinola*'s Commission, which he was not to open till the Army were ready to march. But Men of ordinary Understanding might apprehend, that an Army of 26000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, with all Military Provisions, were not to lie still; and though our King had divers Arguments presented to him, that did assure him that Army was intended for the *Palatinate*, yet would not his Spirit be set on work to preserve his Childrens Patrimony: *So odious was the Name of War to him!* But at length, with much ado, one Regiment of Foot (to join with the Princes of the Union, and make a little Noise and Bustle) was extorted from him by Importunities. This Regiment was the gallantest for the Persons, and outward Presence of Men, that in many Ages (I think) hath appeared either at home or abroad: It consisted of 2200 compleat; the Chief Commander Sir *Horatio Vere*, (who was after Baron of *Tilbury*) a Person bred up in the School of War, and a known Master in the Art of Victory. He was accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, young and daring Spirits, whose Honour not only descended from a long Series of Noble Progenitors, but they made it their own. And out of Respect to them as well as Love to the Service, this Regiment was almost furnished with Gentlemen, who went to make themselves capable of better Employment; the *English* for many Years having been Truants in that Art. The two Earls had 250 Men apiece in each Company; and so many flocked to *Essex* out of Love, (and he loath to put them off) that he carried 300 Men into the *Palatinate*, paying 50 of them with his own Money. The King being drawn to consent, that two Regiments more should follow for these two Noblemen, which gave the more Encouragement to this petty Enterprize.

The March of the *English* into the *Palatinate*.

‡†‡ The *English* followed *Spinola*, but at a distance; for he being nearer to the *Palatinate*, got much the start of them, tho' they went out of *England* before he presented the Arch-Duke with the Civilities of his Departure, which was upon the 8th of *August*. And upon the last of the same Month, by the Assistance of *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and the Benefit of a Bridge of Boats a little below *Wesel*, they passed the *Rhine* under the Conduct of Prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, who, with 2000 Horse, and 400 Musqueteers, taken out of *Gulick* and the adjacent Garisons, cleared the Country before them, marching through *Gulickland*, and the barren Mountains of *Collenland*, till they came near to *Coblentz*, which Town stands upon the Center of two Rivers, the *Rhine* and *Mosell*: Giving out in the March as if the Army intended to pass the *Mosell*; but the Prince (to divert the Enemies Intelligence) upon the 16th of *September* drew two Miles back from *Coblentz*, and passed the *Rhine* in Punts, a kind of Lighter, advancing forward on the other side of the River three *English* Miles that Night, to a Village called *Hembach*, where the Foot stay'd till the Horse passed the River. And this sudden Change of Resolution was one of Prince *Henry*'s Master-pieces; for he knew from *Collen*, *Spinola* would have Intelligence by Couriers which way the Bent of their March tended; and they had the *Mosell* in their Eye all the way, but the *Rhine* in Intention. In the Halt before *Coblentz*, one Bullet, among others from the Town, passed between General *Vere* and the Earl of *Essex* standing together, and hit a Gentleman called *Flood* on the Elbow: The Cause of shooting from thence (as was conceived) proceeded from a Skirmish the Night before, that happened betwixt some *English* and the Country People of an adjoining Village on the *Mosel*; for Captain *Fairfax* being sent with a Squadron to them in a peaceable manner, to desire the Accommodation of Bread and Wine for Money, the Boors shot at him, and hurt some of his Men; but he stoutly advancing to them, they took their Boats, and hasted down to *Coblentz*. Some of the Boors were reported to be slain, for which *Fairfax*, upon the Princes Complaint, was committed, to give the Country Satisfaction; but the next day released.

Before the Army passed the *Rhine*, General *Vere* sent Captain *Row* and Captain *Dexter* (with 94 sick Men, some Tents, Trunks, and other Luggage, that were cumbersome) by Water to *Bacrach*, which Town within few days after was summon'd by *Spinola*, and yielded to him, after the Example of *Openheim*, and the other Towns he had taken in the *Palatinate*: So Spiritless were the People in every Place, that he met no Resistance in any thing that he attempted. The *English* taken in *Bacrach* were used with Civility, and, with the Payment of small Ransoms, had Liberty to return home. After the Army, both Horse and Foot, had passed the *Rhine*, they had hard Marches through the pleasant Country of *Nassau*, (whose Amenity and Fruitfulness may rival the Beauties of *France*) shaping their Course towards *Francfort*.

Spinola attempts to intercept the *English*.

Spinola finding himself deluded on one side of the *Rhine*, passed the River *Main* with all his Horse, and 4000 Foot, intending to snap them on the other; but the Stream being too high, his Waggons with Ammunition took wet, and some Field-pieces miscarried, which could not be recover'd with the Loss of some of his Men; which Disasters happening, they admonished

‡†‡ The Author's Account of the War in the *Palatinate* agrees with the other Historians of that time, and may be rely'd upon on his own Score; he being along with the Earl of *Essex* in that Expedition, and staying with him all the time the Earl was beyond Seas.

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him to a Retreat; otherwise, in all probability, he had cut off those Forces before they could have joined with the Princes of the Union. The 24th of *September*, Prince *Henry* with his Horse, and General *Vere* with the Foot, passed the River *Main*, at a Ford not far from *Frankfort*, the Foot for the most part marching up to the middle through the Stream; and that Night they stood in Arms, having two Alarms of *Spinola's* Approach, not hearing yet he was retired. The next day they had a long March to recover *Darmstadt*, one half of which Town belongs to the King of *Bohemia*, the other part to the Landgrave of *Hessen*. There Prince *Henry* and the *Dutch* Companies left the *English*, and returned into the *Netherlands* again; and 1500 *German* Horse, commanded by Collonel *Meran*, met them, by Order from the Princes of the Union. The 27th of *September* they came to *Beinsheim*, being the first entire Town in the *Palatinate* they arrived at; and upon the first of *October* passed over the *Rhine* by *Worms*, upon a Bridge of Boats; and that day were met by the Marquis of *Anspach*, and some others of the Princes of the Union, who stay'd to see them march by, wondering at the Gallantry of such Foot, who were with them the meanest of the People.

The English join with the Princes.

After two Days rest, the Princes with part of their Army, being 4000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, joined with the *English*, and together marched towards *Altzi*, (a Town in the *Palatinate* that the Enemy had taken in) which they intended to surprize. But hearing by their Scouts that the Enemy had quitted the Town, as not tenable, and that *Spinola* with his whole Army was marching towards them, they faced about to make his way the shorter, and within three Hours their Scouts and the Enemies were in Skirmish; but the *German* Princes, not having their whole Army, were not forward to engage, *Spinola* seeing them march towards him, (being as weary as they) took the Advantage of a Hill, and forced their Horse with his Cannon to retreat; but the Princes drew their Cannon up another Hill on the right Hand of the Enemy, there being a large Bottom, and a Hill of Vineyards betwixt the two Armies, which were not visible but from thence, for the one Hill drowned the other to them in the bottom. As soon as they saw how the Enemy strove to secure themselves, and that they were loth to come on, they judged their Strength not to be great, and therefore took a Resolution to set upon them. The *Dutch*, in Courtesy, yielded the Van-guard to the *English*, which before they stood upon, as a Punctilio of Honour. The *English* General drew out of every Division 80 Musqueteers to give the Onset, who were encouraged by that Reverend Divine Dr. *Burges*, (of whom mention is formerly made) who accompanied the General from *England*, and was an Instrument of much good to that Regiment; tho' they needed no Encouragement at that time, being Spirits willingly prepared for such Enterprizes.

And prepare for a Charge.

Standing thus ready, expecting the Command of the Marquis of *Anspach* to begin the Charge, and the Evening hasting with a sable Foil to excuse his Slowness, General *Vere*, tired with his Delays, rode up the Hill, accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, and there they saw the Enemy began to march away, their Waggons marching in two Ranks, and the Foot on the further side of them, the Waggons serving as a Bulwark for them; their Horse brought up the Rear; and the March was without Drum or Trumpet, till the last Division moved; and then they made the Air shake with the Noise of their Shouts, which was apprehended to be for Joy of their Escape: For the Princes afterwards had Intimation, that they were not above 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and that they had marched all Night, hoping to have found them in some Security at *Altzi*, that they might have beaten up their Quarters before they had been settled. But the *Spaniard*, like a cunning Miner, finding them in a Posture to entertain him, was loth to engage, fearing their Strength, and seeking Advantages. And if their *German* Heads had countermined with him, and interposed betwixt him and *Oppenheim*, (his Head Quarter, whither he was marching) being nearer to it than he, they might have either forced him to fight, or forced the Town from him. The Earl of *Essex* being informed of this by some that knew the Country, pressed the Marquis of *Anspach* to it, desiring him not to let slip an Opportunity so happily put into his Hand. He, not well pleased to be urged to a thing so contrary to his Humour, replied angerly, *There is a Fort betwixt us and the Town, and we must pass thither under the Mercy of their Cannon.* Sir *Horatio Vere* hearing the Marquis's Reason, said, *When shall we then fight, if we shun the Cannon?* But no Perswasion can be prevalent, where Power and Disaffection join their Force. The *Dutch* Horse skirmished with the Rear of the *Spanish*, and took 5 or 6 Horse, and some straggling Foot; that was all the Hurt done them.

Spinola and the Princes hunt one another.

The next Day they marched to Quarters again, where the Souldiers found the Country Roots, Fruits and Wine in the Must, no good Preservatives: But after they had stay'd by it 7 or 8 Days, *Spinola* led them a Dance for Digestion, pretending for *Kaisers Lutter*, a Town in the borders of the *Palatinate*, which made the Princes advance their whole Body to attend him, but as they drew near, he retreated; so that they sported with one another, as Children at Seek and Find, that neither of their Armies could be much pleased with the sharp frosty Nights those desolate and naked Hills exposed them to: Upon the top of one of them, the *English* Commanders one Night burnt a great many of their Waggons to warm them; the Frost was so violent, and the Soldiers lay in Heaps upon the Ground close together like Sheep, cover'd as it were with a Sheet of Snow. Yet they spent the time thus, till their Stoves summon'd them to warmer Lodging. And the *English* Regiment was disposed into three principal Garrisons: General *Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerrard Herbert* in *Heidelburgh*, and Serjeant-Major *Burrows* in *Frankendale*, imprisoning themselves in Walls, while the Enemy roamed round about them, and they had only Power to preserve themselves; for the Princes of the Unions Forces were Garrison'd in their several Countries. I have the more particularly describ'd this Expedition, because I was an Eye-witness of what passed; and if we had not had an Allay of *Dutch* dulness, the *Spaniard* could not have carved to himself so great a Share in that Country, and their Opposers had not mouldred away their Forces as they did afterwards; which makes this Relation harsh and unpleasing.

A sad Fate upon Germany.

But there was a Divine Fate attended not only this Country, but all *Germany*; for the Almighty Wisdom, that is the Author of all Revolutions in the World, hath his set Times for Changes, which often tends to the imbettering of it: For all the *Northern* Conquests of the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Scyths*, and other Barbarous

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rous Nations, were to corroborate the *Southern* Bodies, wasted with Ease and Luxury. And now in *Germany* a Flood of *Books*, that almost tended to an Inundation, overspread the World, and was her great Disease: Besides the Drunken Dropsy, witness their monstrous swelling Tuns and Vessels. In lieu of Books, War brings in Barbarism, which is the First-born before Plague or Famine. These do not always kill, but rectify. Full Bodies are apt to fall sick, and then they must be drawn very low oftentimes, before they come to perfect Health. These Judgments have fallen heavy upon *England*; we drink the Dregs of the Cup; one Sin is not to be pointed at, but all; and tho' it hath been bitter to the tast, yet he that knows the Nature of the Ingredients, may make it wholsome unto those that love him.

A sad Story of Mr. *Duncomb*.

One thing, both pittiful and remarkable, that happen'd in the *Palatinate*, was almost omitted. There was a Gentleman whose Name was *Duncomb*, that was a Soldier in the Earl of *Oxford*'s Company. This young Man left a Gentlewoman behind him in *England*, to whom he had vowed his Heart, and Promise of Marriage; but her Fortune not being fit for his Father's Humour, he threaten'd to disinherit him if he married her: And the better to alienate him from her, he sent him so long a Journey, hoping Time and Absence might wear out those Impressions, that the present Fancy had fix'd upon him; charging him at his Departure never to think of her more, lest with the Thoughts of her he lost him for ever. The young Man being now long absent from her, and having his Heart full with the Remembrance of her, could not contain himself, but let her know, That no Threats or Anger of Parents should ever blot her Memory out of his Thoughts, which was illustrated with many Expressions of Love and Affection. But the careless Man writing at the same time to his Father, superscrib'd his Father's Letter to his Mistress, wherein he renounces her; and his Mistress's Letter to his Father, wherein he admires her. The Father, swoln with Rage and Anger against the Son, sent him a bitter Letter back again, full of Menaces; and whether that, or Shame for the Mistake, that she should see he renounc'd her whom he profess'd to love, did overcome his Reason, is not known; but he killed himself, to the great Grief of all the *English* there. And by this Example, Parents, that are too rigid to their Children, may see what Murderers they are: For it was not the young Man's Hand, but the old Man's hard Heart, that killed him.

Good Success in *Bohemia*.

The Prince of *Anhalt*, General to the King of *Bohemia*, in the beginning of the War, (like a red Morning, that is the fore-runner of a foul Evening) met Victory smiling in his Face: For hearing that *Bucquoy* the Imperial General with his Army was drawing near *Prague*, he interposed to stop his Progress, having not above 12000 Men, a far less Number than the Imperialists. *Bucquoy* had a Wooden Stratagem, and it thriv'd accordingly: He mounted Trees upon Carriages, like Ordnance, to fright his Enemy; but they, as wise as Birds, would not leave their Prey for a whisp of Straw dress'd like a Man, but charg'd upon the Mouths of such Cannon. *Anhalt* us'd a more real Stratagem, that took Effect: He brought his Ordnance up behind his Men, invisibly, loaden with Musquet-bullet; and when they should have charged the Enemy, made them wheel off, that those bloody Engines might break their Ranks, which they performed to purpose, and forced them to retire into a Wood, where pursuing their Advantage, they scatter their main Body.

This was a fair Spring-time, (the Battel being fought upon the 10th of *March*) and might have inhanced the Hopes of a good Autumn: But in *November* following (when the Princes of the Union and *Spinola* were hunting one another among the frosty Hills in the *Palatinate*) the Duke of *Bavaria* coming with a great Army towards *Prague*, and joining *Bucquoy* and *Tillie*, with all their Forces together, like Cruel Hunters, meant either to catch a Prey, or be a Prey. *Anhalt* then had not so closed with Count *Mansfeldt*, as to bring him up to him, (being puffed up with his last Victory) and some of his Soldiers being discontented for want of Pay, it abated the Edge of their Courage; yet he got with his Army betwixt the Imperialists and *Prague*, and stood upon the Advantage of Ground; but all would not do; a Hand went out that gave a Period to that Royalty: For the Enemy breaking through them, forced his way, and put the *Bohemians* into such Confusion, that happy was he that could escape with his Life. The Prince of *Anhalt*, and his Lieutenant-General *Hollac*, were the first that fled, and brought the News of the Defeat of the King at *Prague*, who (with his Queen astonished with the Danger) being in a City not very defensible, among a wavering People, and a Conquering Enemy in the Field, took Time by the Fore-top, and in this Hurly-burly the next Morning, being the 9th of *November*, left *Prague*, taking with him their most portable Things, having load enough within them: But the Queen, the more Gallant and Royal Spirit, carried it with most Undauntedness; the King suffer'd doubly as he went, being blamed for keeping his Soldiers without Pay, having such a Mass of Money by him, which he was forced to leave behind to his Enemies; and the Imputation stuck upon him: But flying upon the Wings of common Fame, I shall not lure it into this Relation as a known Truth.

The King censured.

But by a sad Accident that some Years after happen'd to this unfortunate King, it was obvious that he left not all behind him; for going to visit the Bankers of *Amsterdam*, where his Treasure lay brooding, and passing in the Night over *Haerlem-Mere*, the Winds and Darkness, in a Conspiracy, made a cross Hoigh to run against the King's, and bulged it in the Sea: But before it sunk, the King and others got to the Mastering Vessel, and saved themselves; but the Prince his Son (being of a pregnant, hopeful Puberty) with too severe a Fate, was left to the broken Boat, which they durst not approach again, tho' they heard his Cries, so that he was abandoned to be tormented to Death, which was more grievous than Death it self; for the Waters being shallow, and the Hoigh sinking not far, the next Day they found him frozen to the Mast, embracing it as his last Refuge, his Body half above, half under the Water. This Story, melting with Pity, is here inserted, because the Glory of this King expires.

The loss of his Son.

And since there will be occasion to mention him no more, because his Actions afterwards never mounted up one Story high, take this brief Character of him: He was a comely Personage for Body, of a good Stature, his Complexion of a duskish Melancholy, the Constitution of his Mind rather fitted for those little Besoigns of Accounts and Reckonings, than any Vigorous or Masculine Heat, to solder up the crack'd Title of a Crown: He was a handsome, well built, but slight Edifice, set on an ill Foundation,

The King's Character

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dation, that could not ſtand long. The King of *Great Britain* (that the *Bohemians* built upon) was not of ſo firm a Temper, as to ſupport a Fortreſs (weakly made) that muſt endure the rigorous Shock of War; which made it at the firſt or ſecond Aſſault thus totter and fall.

Weſton and *Conway* return home.

The two *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, *Weſton* and *Conway*, which our King ſent to mediate for the *Bohemians*, could make little uſe of their Oratory, being ſcatter'd with the reſt in the Cloud of this Confuſion: But they brought the King and Queen to *Limburgh*, the firſt Days Journey; and after they were gone towards the *Netherlands*, the Ambaſſadors procure a ſafe Conduct from the Duke of *Bavaria* to return to *Prague*; but there they could find no Words ſo prevalent and penetrable, as the Steel of a Conquering Enemy; and ſo they returned home, *re infecta*, no wiſer than they went out.

The Princes of the Union ſubmit to *Ferdinand*.

This Defeat coming to the Ears of the Princes of the Union, quailed their Courage, made them look back into their own Condition; and having not ſo much Faith as to depend upon our King for Aſſiſtance, before the Spring they ſubmitted themſelves to the Emperor, leaving the almoſt-ruin'd *Palatinate* as a Prey to an inſulting Enemy; the *Engliſh* only giving Spirits to the Vital Parts of it, conveyed by the Conduct of thoſe Inſtruments, *Vere*, *Herbert* and *Burrowes*; Men fitter to command Armies, than to be confined within the Walls of Towns.

So doth *Anhalt*.

As ſoon as *Anhalt* had done the King his Maſter this Diſſervice, he retires; applies himſelf by Mediation to the Emperor, is received with Favour, and admitted to be one of his Generals. No wonder that the War thriv'd no better, when it was only made for Worldly Intereſts! It was not the Badneſs of the Cauſe altogether, but the Men, that ſtruck the deadly Blow. The Proteſtant Rage at *Prague* was not juſtifiable in the *Star-Chamber* of *Heaven*, tho' the Popiſh Inſolence might too much exaſperate. The Counſels muſt be well weighed in all the Courts of Juſtice, when War is put into the Scale? for he that holds it, ſits above, can turn it which way he pleaſes, and picks out Men to manage it, ſuitable to his own Ends. If the Proteſtant Party had been Conquerors, it ſhould not have been by the Means of a General that could fight for it, and preſently after take Arms againſt it. Such Luke-warm Tempers are not of a Heavenly Conſtitution! Therefore in all great Actions, reſpect the Men as well as the Cauſe; for God ſeldom doth any great thing for his People by wicked Inſtruments.

Mansfeldt vexeth the Emperor ſtill.

Mansfeldt only, that was rejected and ſlighted by *Anhalt*, makes good his Fidelity, by bearing up againſt the Power of the Emperor: Not that he was able to grapple with his whole Force; but being an active ſpritely Man, and having a nimble moving Army of 14 or 15000 Men, he did harraſs the Countries, force Contribution from the Cities; and when any greater Power came againſt him, he got from them into another Country, and harrowed that, to their perpetual Vexation: So that he was as Goads in their Sides, and Thorns in their Eyes. And thus he continued in deſpight of the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria* for almoſt two Years after, till they were conſtrained to purchaſe their Peace of him at a dear Rate; to which *Mansfeldt* was alſo enforced, not finding Aſſiſtance nor Supplies to ſupport him.

Eſſex ſolicites our King for more Forces.

As ſoon as the Princes in the *Palatinate* were retir'd to their Quarters, before the great Loſs at *Prague* came to their Knowledge, the Earl of *Eſſex*, with a Convoy of Horſe to *Swiebruken*, paſſed into *Lorrain*, and through *France* poſted for *England*, to ſollicite the King to ſend thoſe Regiments promiſed, and other Supplies, (if poſſible) that the *Engliſh* there, and the whole Country might not be expoſed to Ruine. But when he came into *England*, he found the Court Air of another Temper, and not as he left it; for it was much more inclined to the *Spaniſh* Meridian. And tho' *Gondemar*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, at the departure of one of his Agents into *Spain*, facetiouſly bad him commend him to the *Sun*, for he had ſeen none here a long while; yet we had the *Spaniſh* Influence hot among us, the King himſelf warmed with it; then what will not the Court be?

Obſtructed by *Gondemar*.

The King and his Miniſters of State had ſeveral Ends, and drive different Deſigns. His was, for the matching of his Son with ſome great Princeſs, aiming at no other Glory, tho' he debaſed himſelf to purchaſe it. For preſently after he received a Denial in *France*, he ſent to Sir *John Digby*, his Lieger Ambaſſador in *Spain*, to treat of a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta Maria*, Siſter to that King, which was in 1617. No Blood but Blood Royal can be a propitiatory Offering for his Son; yet the beſt Sacrifice is an humble Spirit. No matter what Religion, what Piety; that is not the Queſtion. When Kings have Earthly Aims, without conſideration of God, God looks to his own Glory, without reſpect of Man. The little Foundation of Hope they built upon at that time, was now raiſed to a formal Building, by the cunning Practices of *Gondemar*, who aſſured the King, It was his Maſter's real Intention the Prince ſhould marry the *Infanta*. And he wiſhed the King his Maſter had all the Palatinate in his Power, to preſent it as a Donative to the Prince with his fair Miſtreſs.

The King (that now heard all was loſt in *Bohemia*, and ſaw little poſſibility of injoying the *Palatinate* quietly, but by the Treaty of a Marriage) was lulled aſleep with *Gondemar*'s windy Promiſes, which Sir *John Digby* ſeconded, being lately made Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Baron of *Sherborn*, and a great Manager of the Affairs at Court. Sir *Walter Aſton* being ſent Lieger Ambaſſador into *Spain*, for the general Correſpondence. And the King, anchoring his Hopes upon theſe ſhallow Promiſes, made himſelf unable to prevent a Tempeſt of War that fell on the *Palatinate*, tying up his own Hands, and ſuffering none to quench the Fire that devoured his Children's Patrimony.

Spaniſh Penſioners.

On the other ſide, the great Courtiers that were our King's Intimates, and had his Ears, either through Eaſineſs willing to pleaſe his Humour, and not daring to oppoſe it; or elſe, being Papiſts and Penſioners to *Spain*, ſtriving to promote the Catholick Cauſe, out of Love to it, or being ſuppled by that inſinuating Miniſter *Gondemar* (who had his Maſter's Purſe at command, and purchaſed ſuch as he thought to be moſt uſeful to his Ends) were content to let the King go which way the Stream of his Affection carried him, and ſome of them put Hand to the Oar. Thoſe that were looked on under the name of *Spaniſh*, were *Arundel*, *Worceſter*, *Digby*, *Calvert*, *Weſton*, and ſome others Popiſhly affected; then *Buckingham*, and all the Train he ſwept along with him (except that Party which his Mother managed) advanced the *Spaniſh* Match out of Love to their Maſter. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs *Hamilton*, both *Scotchmen*, and old Servants, of great Credit with

him

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him, and intereft in his Counfels, were not fo active; no more was *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, who after *Somerfet*'s fall (by the late Queen's Mediation) was made Lord Chamberlain to the King; a Man that merited the higheft Employment: For thefe finding the King's Genius tending to the *Spanifh* Match, and he a known Mafter of his own Reafon, did not oppofe him with a contefting Spirit, but gave him fome little hints, that he might know they were not of his Mind. And he being able to fteer his own Courfe, looked after no other Pilot but *Gondemar*, and thofe that knew the Chanel: Making *Buckingham* his Inftrument and only Bofom Counfellor in thofe Affairs, which afterwards brought the Hatred of the People with the more Violence upon him: For they look not upon the King in any Mifcarriage with an Eye of Anger (fuch was the *Englifh* Modefty, if Kings had been fenfible of it) but upon fuch intimate Minifters, as he makes active in thofe things which are contrary to their Affection. And though there were general Murmurs in the Breafts of the People, which found vent enough in Corners, yet the *Council-Table* and *Star-Chamber* are fuch Terrifiers, that (as one faid) *None durft run Riot*, but keep at the Stirrop, at excellent Command, and come in at the leaft Rebuke or Check.

Papifts flourifh.

It was thought the Papifts did much contribute to *Gondemar*'s Liberality; for they began to flourifh in the Kingdom, he having procured many Immunities for them; and they ufed all their Induftry to further the Match; hoping, that if the Prince did not adhere to *Rome*, yet his Off-fpring might; and at prefent looked for little lefs than a Toleration.

Gondemar's Power.

No ftubborn piece of either Sex ftood in *Gondemar*'s way, but he had an Engine to remove them, or fcrew them up to him. None that complied with him, but found the Effects of his Friendfhip; many Jefuits fared the better for his Interceffion, he releafing Numbers, among the reft one *Bauldwin*, an Archprieft, accufed to have had a Hand in the Gun-powder Treafon, and had been feven Years in the *Tower*; a Man of a dangerous and mifchievous Spirit, who was (after his Releafe) made Rector of the Jefuits College at *St. Omer*'s. By his Artifices and Negotiations (having been time enough Ambaffador in *England* to gain credit with the King) he got Sir *Robert Manfel* (the Vice-Admiral) to go into the *Mediterranean* Sea, with a Fleet of Ships to fight againft the *Turks* at *Algier*, who were grown too ftrong and formidable for the *Spaniard*, (moft of the King of *Spain*'s Galleons attending the *Indian* Trade, as Convoys for his Treafures, which he wanted to fupply his Armies) and he tranfported Ordnance, and other Warlike Provifions, to furnifh the *Spanifh* Arfenals, even while the Armies of *Spain* were battering the *Englifh* in the *Palatinate*; fo open were the King's Ears to him, fo deaf to others: For Sir *Robert Nanton*, one of his Secretaries (a Gentleman of known Honefty and Integrity) fhewed but a little diflike to thofe Proceedings; and he was commanded from Court, and *Conway* was put in his Place. And *Gondemar* had as free accefs to the King, as any Courtier of them all (*Buckingham* excepted) and the King took delight to talk with him; for he was full of Conceits, and would fpeak falfe Latine on purpofe in his merry Fits to pleafe the King; telling the King plainly, *He fpoke Latine like a Pedant, but I fpeak it like a Gentleman:* And he wrought himfelf fo by fubtilty into the King's good Affections, that he did not only work his own Will, but the King's, into a Belief that the Treaties in agitation, were (though flow) Real and Effectual. So eafily may wife Men be drawn to thofe things their Defires with Violence tend to.

Prevails with both Sexes.

And he caft out his Baits not only for Men; but if he found an *Atalanta*, whofe Tongue went nimbler than her Feet, he would throw out his golden Balls to catch them alfo. And in thefe Times there were fome Ladies, pretending to be Wits (as they called them) or had fair Nieces or Daughters, which drew great Refort to their Houfes; and where Company meet, the Difcourfe is commonly of the Times (for every Man will vent his Paffion) thefe Ladies he fweetned with Prefents, that they might allay fuch as were too foure in their Expreffion, to ftop them in the Courfe, if they ran on too faft, and bring them to a gentler Pace. He lived at *Ely-Houfe* in *Holborn*, his paffage to the Court was ordinarily through *Drury-Lane* (the *Covent-Garden* being then an inclofed Field) and that Lane and the *Strand* were the Places where moft of the Gentry lived; and the Ladies as he went, knowing his times, would not be wanting to appear in their Balconies or Windows, to prefent him their Civilities, and he would watch for it; and as he was carried in his Litter, or Bottomlefs Chair (the eafieft Seat for his *Fiftula*) he would ftrain himfelf as much as an old Man could to the humbleft Pofture of Refpect: One Day paffing by the Lady *Jacob*'s Houfe in *Drury-Lane*, fhe expofing her felf for a Salutation, he was not wanting to her; but fhe moved nothing but her Mouth, gaping wide open upon him. He wondred at the Ladies Incivility, but thought it might be happily a yawning Fit took her at that time; for Tryal whereof, the next Day he finds her in the fame Place, and her Courtefies were again accofted with no better Expreffions than an Extended Mouth. Whereupon he fent a Gentleman to her, to let her know, That the Ladies of *England* were more gracious to him, than to encounter his Refpects with fuch Affronts. She anfwer'd, It was true, that he had purchafed fome of their Favours at a dear Rate, *And fhe had a Mouth to be ftopt as well as others.* *Gondemar* finding the Caufe of the Emotion of her Mouth, fent her a Prefent as an Antidote, which cured her of that Diftemper.

Vanity of this Age.

Thefe kind of Spirits were let loofe to be fuitable to the Times they lived in, and they wrought ftrange Effects, for this being a Widow, and of no good Fame, with her Subtilties intrapt in her Nets, and married a famous Lawyer, a Man of great Reputation, and a pregnant Wit; and many other young Gentlewomen (whom their Parents Debaucheries drive to Neceffities) made their Beauties their Fortunes, coming to *London* to put them to Sale; and fome of them had fo good Markets, that they obtained great Penfions during their Lives, and afterwards were married to Men of eminent Parts and Fortunes, accounted Wife, Gallant, and Heroical Spirits. Such filly Fate often intermingles with thofe Parts, though never fo Excellent, when the Senfitive Faculties get predominance over the Reafon! And fuch Men as were affected to Wantonnefs, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a Lady's Fame, and their own (I cannot fay) Innocence: For fome would fay, and vent it, as an Apothegm, *I would rather be thought to enjoy fuch a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it.* Such

Pride

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Pride was taken in Sin, and so Brazen-fac'd and Impudent such Crimes were then! And though Men thought them small and trivial, yet they were of such Weight, that they pressed those down that practised them (though great in the World's Eye) to be now in little better esteem than the meanest of the People. But as *Tacitus* modestly covered the Faults of some that followed *Nero* in his Folly, and Madness; *Ne nominatim tradam majorum eorum tribuendum puto*, for the Honour (he saith) of their Ancestors; so though I name the Vices, I shall spare the Persons, out of respect to their Posterity.

Buckingham rules all.

The Earl of *Buckingham*, as great in Title as in Favour, was now grown a Marquis; and lying all this while in the King's Bosom, every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles. As the King bought off *Worcester*, to make him Master of the Horse; so he bought off *Nottingham*, to make him Admiral. What may not he have, that is not only Master of his Horse, and Ships, but his Heart also? His Mother is created a Countess by Pattent, and her second Husband, Sir *Thomas Compton*, had no other Title but an Unworthy one, which the People (either out of their Anger, or her Misdemeanour) imposed upon him. Her eldest Son, first made Sir *John Villers*, after, Viscount *Purbeck*, married to the Daughter and Heir of the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton*, by Sir *Edward Coke*; a Lady of transcending Beauty, but accused for Wantonness. *Purbeck* not well able to look down from these great Heights, got a Giddiness in his Head, which confined him to a dark Room. Her other Son, first made Sir *Christopher Villers*, was after created Earl of *Anglesey*, whose Honour, mixt with a Weak Brain, could not buoy him up from sinking into that Distemper that drowns the best Wits. Her Daughter presently after, also shin'd in the same Sphere with her; her Husband being from a private Gentleman made Earl of *Denbeigh*. Happy is he that can get a Kinswoman, it is the next way to a thriving Office, or some new swelling Title. The King, that never much cared for Women, had his Court swarming with the Marquesses kindred so, that little ones would dance up and down the privy Lodgings like Pharies; and it was no small Sap would maintain all those Suckers.

A Duel betwixt *Compton* and *Bird*.

And now we have named Sir *Thomas Compton*, there will follow a Story of his youthful Actions, which, though done long since, will not be uncomely to croud in here. He had the remark of a slow-spirited Man when he was young, and truly his Wife made him retain it to the last, But such as found him so in those Vigorous Days of Duelling, would trample on his Easiness; and there could not a worse Character be imprinted on any Man, than to be termed a Coward. Among the rest, one *Bird*, a roaring Captain, was the more bold and insolent against him, because he found him slow, and backward (which is a Baseness of an Over-daring Nature) and his Provocations were so great, that some of *Compton*'s Friends taking notice of it, told him, It were better to die nobly once, than to live infamously ever; and wrought so upon his cold Temper, that the next Affront that this bold *Bird* put upon him, he was heartned into the Courage to send him a Challenge. *Bird*, a massy great Fellow, confident of his own Strength (disdaining *Compton*, being less both in Stature and Courage) told the Second that brought the Challenge, in a Vapouring manner, That he would not stir a Foot to encounter *Compton*, unless he would meet him in a Saw-pit, where he might be sure *Compton* could not run away from him: The Second, that look'd upon this as a *Rodomontado*-Fancy, told him, That if he would appoint the Place, *Compton* should not fail to meet him. *Bird* making choice both of the Place and Weapon (which in the vain formality of Fighters was in the Election of the Challenged) he chose a Saw-pit, and a single Sword; where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being both together in the Pit, with Swords drawn, and stript ready for the Encounter: *Now*, Compton, (said *Bird*) *thou shalt not escape from me*; and hovering his Sword over his Head, in a disdainful manner, said, *Come*, Compton, *let's see what you can do now*: *Compton* attending his Business with a watchful Eye, seeing *Bird's* Sword hovering over him, ran under it, in upon him, and in a moment run him through the Body; so that his Pride fell to the Ground, and there did sprawl out its last Vanity. Which should teach us, that strong Presumption is the greatest Weakness; and it's far from Wisdom in the most arrogant Strength, to slight and disdain the meanest Adversary. There is yet in Bleeding Memory (even in these Times of Just Severity against this Impious Duelling) one of the same Family of the *Compton's*, in some part guilty of *Bird's* Crime; for the Provoker to such horrid Encounters seldom escapes, the *Divine Justice* permitting such violent Madness to tend to its own Destruction. But to return to our Story.

Two Lord Treasurers in one Year.

Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Justice (as the Reports of those Times lively voted) laid down Twenty Thousand Pounds for the Office of Lord Treasurer; and before the Year expir'd, it was conferred upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who had been a Citizen of *London*, bred up in the *Custom-house*, and knowing the secret Contrivances of those Officers, was thought fittest to manage the King's Revenue: For in expensive and wanting Courts, those great Officers are most acceptable, that by their Finenesses and Projects can bring in that, which with Riot and Prodigality goes out. But the great step to his Office, was *Cranfield's* marrying one of the Marquis's Kindred, which mounted him presently after to be Earl of *Middlesex*. The Lord Chief Justice for his Money was made a Precedent, as some jested; the King finding him a Man intelligent in all the great Affairs of State, made him Lord President of the Council, Viscount *Mandevill*, and Earl of *Manchester*, and, after the Death of *Worcester*, was Lord Privy Seal.

The Countess of *Buckingham* rules her Son.

But though the Marquis of *Buckingham* in appearance acted all these Removes, and Advancements, yet his Mother, the Countess, wrought them in effect, for her Hand was in all Transactions, both in Church and State; and she must needs know the Disposition of all Things, when she had a feeling of every Man's Pulse; ‖ for most Addresses were made to her first; and by her conveyed to her Son (for he looked after his Pleasure more than his Profit) which made *Gondemar* (who was well skill'd in Court Holy-Water) among other his witty

‖ In one of King *James*'s Original Letters in the above-mention'd *Collection* to the Duke of *Buckingham* there is a Passage that plainly confirms this. The King tells him, *That the Treasurer had made too low a Bargain with the* East-India Company *for a Present to his Mother: But that he* (the King) *had had better luck in taking the Management of it out of the Treasurer's Hands, and had got of them Two thousand Pounds for her.*

Pranks

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Buckingham a lover of Ladies.

Franks, write merrily in his Dispatches into *Spain*, *That there was never more hope of* England'*s Conversion to* Rome *than now; for there are more Prayers and Oblations offered here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

For the Marquis himself, as he was a Man of excellent Symmetry, and proportion of Parts, so he affected Beauty, where he found it; but yet he looks upon the whole Race of Women as inferior Things, and uses them as if the Sex were one, best pleased with all: And if his Eye cull'd out a wanton Beauty, he had his Setters that could spread their Nets, and point a Meeting at some Ladies House, where he should come (as by Accident) and find Accesses, while all his Train attended at the Door, as if it were an Honourable Visit. The Earl of *Rutland*, of a Noble Family, had but one Daughter to be the Mistress of his great Fortune; and he tempts her; carries her to his Lodgings in *Whitehall*; keeps her there for some time, and then returns her back again to her Father. The stout old Earl sent him this threatning Message, *That he had too much of a Gentleman to suffer such an Indignity; and if he did not marry his Daughter to repair her Honour, no Greatness should protect him from his Justice.* *Buckingham*, that perhaps made it his Design to get the Father's good Will this way (being the greatest Match in the Kingdom) had no reason to mislike the Union, therefore he quickly salved up the Wound, before it grew to a Quarrel: And if this Marriage stopt the Current of his Sins, he had the less to answer for. This young Lady was bred a Papist by her Mother; but after her Marriage to the Marquess, she was converted by Doctor *White* (as was pretended) and grew a Zealous Protestant; but, like a Morning Dew, it quickly vanished: For the old Countess of *Buckingham* never left working by her sweet Instruments the Jesuits, till she had placed her on the first Foundation. So that the Marquess, betwixt a † Mother and a Wife, began to be indifferent, no Papist, yet no Protestant; but the *Arminian Tenets* taking Root, were nourished up by him; and those that did not hold the same Opinions, were counted Puritans. These new Indifferences now grew so hot in *England*, that the Protestant Cause grew very cold in *Germany*. Which made the Spirits of most Men rise against the *Spanish* Faction at home, and *Spain*'s incroaching Monarchy abroad.

The King calls a Parliament.

And though the King sped ill the last Parliament of *Somerset*'s Undertaking, and thought to lay them by for ever (as he often expressed) looking upon them as Incroachers into his Prerogative, and Diminishers of his Majesty and Glory, making Kings less, and Subjects more than they are: Yet now finding the Peoples desires high-mounted for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would look only up towards that, and liberally open their Purses, which he might make use of; and this Unanimity and good Agreement, betwixt him and his People, would induce his Brother of *Spain* to be more Active in the Treaty in Hand; and so he should have Supply from the One, and Dispatch from the Other. But Parliaments that are like Physicians to the Bodies of Commonwealths, when the Humours are once stirred, they find Cause enough many times to administer sharp Medicines, where there was little appearance of Diseases. For in this Recess and Ease, Time-servers and Flatterers had cried up the Prerogative: And the King, wanting Money for his vast Expences, had furnished himself by unusual Courses. For Kings excessive in Gifts, will find Followers excessive in Demands; and they that weaken themselves in giving, lose more in gathering, than they gain in the Gift: *For Prodigality in a Sovereign, ends in the Rapine and Spoil of the Subject.* To help himself therefore, and those that dreined from him, he had granted several Patents to Undertakers and Monopolizers, whereby they preyed upon the People by Suits and Exactions, milk'd the Kingdom, and kept it poor; the King taking his Ease, and giving way to Informers; the Gentry grown Debauched, and Fashion-mongers; and the Commons, sopt and besotted with Quiet and Restiness, drunk in so much Disability, that it might well be said by *Gondemar*, England *had a great many People, but few Men*: And he would smile at their Musters; for through disuse they were grown careless of Military Discipline; ill provided of Arms; Effeminate; Officers neglecting their Charges and Duties, conniving for Gain at their Neighbours Miscarriages. Some of the Officers in the Militia, and Justices of the Peace, not a few, being Church-Papists, floating upon the smooth Stream of the Times, overwhelming all others that opposed them, Stigmatizing them with the Name of *Puritans*; and that was Mark enough to hinder the Current of any Proceeding or Preferment aimed at, or hoped for either in Church or State.

Sir Robert Cotton, Hen. 3.

Jesuits swarm.

And the Jesuits rangeing up and down (like Spirits let loose) did not now, as formerly, creep into Corners, using close and cunning Artifices; but practised them openly, having admission to our Counsellors of State; for when Secretaries, and such as manage the intimate Counsels of Kings, are Jesuitical and Clients to the Pope, there can be no tendency of Affection to a contrary Religion or Policy. Those were only most active in the Court of *England*, that courted the King of *Spain* most, and could carry the Face of a Protestant, and the Heart of a Papist; the rest were contented to go along with the Cry: For they hunted but a cold Scent, and could pick out, and make nothing of it, that drew off, or cross'd, or hunted Counter. Which raised the Spirits of the People so high against them that were the Chief Hunters in these Times, that they brought the King himself within the Compass of their Libels and Pasquils, charging him to love his Hounds better than his People. And if this bad Blood had been heated to an itch of Innovation, it would have broke out to a very sore and incurable Malady: every Man seeing the Danger, few Men daring to prevent it. The Pulpits were the most bold Opposers; but if they touch'd any thing upon the *Spanish* Policy, or the intended Treaties (for the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was included in the Marriage before it was the *Spaniards* to give) their Mouths must be stopt by *Gondemar*, without the Lady *Jacob*'s Receipt, and (it may be) confined, or imprison'd for it: So that there was no plain downright Blows to be given, but if they cunningly, and subtily, could glance at the Misdemeanors of the Times, and smooth it over Metaphorically, it would pass current, though before the King himself.

† I do not find the Dutchess of *Buckingham* own'd her self a Roman Catholick while her first Husband liv'd: But marrying afterwards the Marquis of *Antrim* in *Ireland*, she ever after publickly profess'd that Religion.

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For about this time, one of his own Chaplains preached before him at *Greenwich*, took this Text, Mat. 4. 8. *And the Devil took Jesus to the top of a Mountain, and shewed him all the Kingdoms of the World, saying, All these will I give*, &c. He shewed what Power the Devil had in the World at that time, when he spake these Words; and from thence he came down to the Power of the Devil now. And dividing the World into Four Parts, he could not make the least of the Four to be Christian; and of those, how few went God's way? So that he concluded the Devil to be a great Monarch, having so many Kingdoms under his Command; and no doubt he had his Vice-Roys, Council of State, Treasurers, Secretaries, and many other Officers, to Manage and Order his Affairs; for there was Order in Hell it self; which after he had mustered together, he gives a Character of every particular Officer, who were fit to be the Devil's Servants; running through the Body of the Court; discovering the Correspondencies with Jesuits; secret Pensions from Foreign Princes; betraying their Masters Counsels to deserve their Rewards, working and combining to the Prejudice of God's People. And when he came to describe the Devil's Treasurers Exactions and Gripings, to get Money, he fixed his Eye upon *Cranfield*, then Lord Treasurer (whose Marriage into the House of Fortune, and Title of Earl, could not keep him from being Odious to the People) and pointing at him with his Hand, said with an *Emphasis, That Man* (reiterating it) *That Man, that makes himself rich, and his Master poor, he is a fit Treasurer for the Devil*. This the Author heard, and saw, whilst *Cranfield* sat with his Hat pulled down over his Eyes, ashamed to look up, lest he should find all Mens Eyes fixed upon him; the King, who sat just over him, smiling at the quaint Satyr so handsomly coloured over. It seems *Neile*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, was not by him then; for when any Man preached that had the Renown of Piety (unwilling the King should hear him) he would in the Sermon time entertain the King with a merry Tale (that I may give it no worse Title) which the King would after laugh at, and tell those near him, he could not hear the Preacher for the old B. Bishop, We must confess this Relation smells too rank, but it was too true, and hope the Modest Reader will excuse it (we having had divers Hammerings and Conflicts within us to leave it out) seeing it proceeds not from any rancour of Spirit against the Prelacy, but to Vindicate God's Justice to Posterity, (who never punishes without a Cause) and such-like Practices as these were doubtless put upon the Score, which afterwards gave a Period to that Hierarchy. This Man's Hand helped to close up the Countess of *Essex*'s *Virginity*, when he was *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; His Heart had this kind of Vanity when he was *Lincoln*; and when he was Archbishop of *York*, his Head was so fill'd with *Arminian* Impiety, that in the next King's Reign he was looked upon by the Parliament to be one of the great Grievances of the Kingdom; as will follow in the Tract of this Story.

A Satyrical Sermon.

Jesuitrices.

But *England* was not only Mann'd with *Jesuits* (all Power failing to oppose them) but the Women also began to practise the Trade, calling themselves *Jesuitrices*. This Order was first set a-foot in *Flanders*, by Mistress *Ward*, and Mistress *Twittie*, Two *English* Gentlewomen, who cloath'd themselves in *Ignatian* Habit, and were Countenanced and Supported by Father *Gerard*, Rector of the *English* College at *Liege*, with Father *Flack* and Father *More*. But Father *Singleton*, Father *Benefield*, and others, opposed them, and would not bless them with an *Ite, prædicate*; for their Design was to preach the Gospel to their Sex in *England*. And in short time this Mrs. *Ward* (by the Pope's Indulgence) became the Mother-General of no less than Two hundred *English* Damsels of good Birth and Quality, whom she sent abroad to Preach; and they were to give account to her of their Apostolick Labours. This Spawn out of the Mouth of the Beast, and many other fine Jesuitical Exploits, are more particularly related by *Wadsworth* in his *Spanish Pilgrim* (who was Son to that *Wadsworth*, that went over Chaplain into *Spain* with our King's first Leidger Ambassador Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, and there perverted by the Jesuits) which young Man being bred up at St. *Omer's*, in the Nursery of Jesuitism, discover'd all their Machinations. Such a brood of Vipers being then nourished in the Bowels of this Kingdom.

The Parliament meet the 20th Jan.

The King, that either thought these Instruments were not so active, or that they would not be discovered, was resolved upon a Parliament, for the former Reasons, which began the Twentieth of *January* this Year, yet not being ignorant of some Miscarriages that passed by his Allowance, he strives to palliate them; and gives the Parliament some little Touches of them by the way, that when they should find them, they might (by his Anticipation) appear the less. And being loth to have the Breach between Him and his People made wider, he thus strives to stop the Gap.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

'MY Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and you the Commons, *Cui multiloquio deest peccatum?* In the last Parliament I made long Discourses; especially to them of the Lower House, I did open the true Thought of my Heart. But I may say with our Saviour, *I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and you have not lamented*. Yet as no Man's Actions can be Free, so in me, God found some Spices of Vanity, and so all my Sayings turned to me again, without any Success. And now to tell the Reasons of your Calling, and this Meeting, apply it to your selves, and spend not the Time in long Speeches. Consider, That the Parliament is a Thing composed of a Head and a Body; the Monarch, and the Two Estates. It was first a Monarchy, then after a Parliament; there are no Parliaments but in Monarchical Governments; for in *Venice*, the *Netherlands*, and other Free Governments, there are none. The Head is to call the Body together; and for the Clergy, the Bishops are Chief; for Shires, their Knights; and for Towns and Cities, their Burgesses and Citizens. These are to treat of difficult Matters, and counsel their King with their best Advice, to make Laws for the Commonweal; and the Lower-House is also to Petition the King, and acquaint him with their Grievances, and not to meddle with their King's Prerogative. They are to offer Supply for his Necessity; and he to distribute, in recompence thereof, Justice and Mercy. As in all Parliaments, it is the King's Office to make good Laws (whose Fundamental Cause is the Peoples ill Manners) so at this time. That we may meet with the new Abuses, and the incroaching Craft of the Times, Particulars shall be read hereafter.

'As touching Religion. Laws enough are made already; it stands in Two Points, Per-

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'swasion and Compulsion. Men may Perswade, 'but GOD must give the Blessing. *Jesuits*, '*Priests*, *Puritans* and *Sectaries*, erring both on 'the Right-hand and Left-hand, are forward to 'perswade unto their own Ends; and so ought 'you the Bishops, in your Example and Preach-'ing; but Compulsion to obey, is to bind the 'Conscience.

'There is a talk of the Match with *Spain*: 'But if it should not prove a furtherance to 'Religion, I am not worthy to be your King. 'I will never proceed, but to the Glory of God, 'and Content of my Subjects.

'For a Supply to my Necessities. I have 'reigned Eighteen Years, in which time you 'have had Peace; and I have received far less 'Supply than hath been given to any King since 'the Conquest. The last Queen, of Famous Memo-'ry, had one Year with another above a Hun-'dred thousand Pounds *per Annum* in Subsidies: 'And in all my time I had but Four Subsidies, 'and Six Fifteens. It is Ten Years since I had 'a Subsidy, in all which time I have been spa-'ring to trouble you. I have turned my self 'as nearly to save Expences as I may. I have 'abated much in my Houshold-Expences, in 'my Navies, in the Charge of my Munition: 'I made not choice of an old beaten Soldier for 'my Admiral, but rather chose a young Man, 'whose Honesty and Integrity I knew; whose 'Care hath been to appoint under him sufficient 'Men to lessen my Charges, which he hath done.

'Touching the Miserable Dissentions in *Chri-stendom*. I was not the Cause thereof; for 'the appeasing whereof, I sent my Lord of '*Doncaster*, whose Journey cost me Three thou-'sand Five hundred Pounds. My Son-in-Law 'sent to me for Advice, but within Three Days 'after accepted of the Crown; which I did 'never approve of for Three Reasons.

'First, For Religion sake, as not holding 'with the Jesuits disposing of Kingdoms, rather 'learning of our Saviour to uphold, not to 'overthrow them.

'Secondly, I was no Judge between them, 'neither acquainted with the Laws of *Bohemia*, '*Quis me judicem fecit?*

'Thirdly, I have treated a Peace, and there-'fore will not be a Party. Yet I left not to 'preserve my Childrens Patrimony; for I had 'a Contribution of my Lords and Subjects, 'which amounted to a great Sum. I borrowed 'of my Brother of *Denmark* Seven thousand 'five hundred Pounds to help him, and sent as 'much to him as made it up Ten thousand: 'And Thirty thousand I sent to the Princes 'of the Union to hearten them. I have lost 'no time; had the Princes of the Union done 'their Part, that handful of Men I sent had 'done theirs. I intend to send by way of per-'swasion, which, in this Age, will little avail, 'unless a strong Hand assist. Wherefore I pur-'pose to provide an Army the next Summer, 'and desire you to consider of my Necessities, as 'you have done to my Predecessors. *Qui cito 'dat, bis dat*. I will engage my Crown, my 'Blood, and my Soul in that Recovery.

'You may be informed of me in things in 'course of Justice; but I never sent to any of 'my Judges to give Sentence contrary to the 'Law. Consider the Trade, for the making 'thereof better; and shew me the Reason why 'my *Mint*, for these Eight or Nine Years, hath 'not gone. I confess, I have been Liberal in 'my Grants; but if I be informed, I will a-'mend all hurtful Grievances: But who shall 'hasten after Grievances, and desire to make 'himself Popular, he hath the Spirit of Satan. 'If I may know my Errors, I will reform them. 'I was in my first Parliament a Novice; and 'in my last, there was a kind of Beasts, called '*Undertakers*, a Dozen of whom undertook to 'govern the last Parliament, and they led Me. 'I shall thank you for your good Office, and 'desire that the World may say well of our 'Agreement.

Physicians have an Aphorism, *Si caput infirmum, cætera membrum dolent*. This Head is not a weak one, but subtil enough for the Body. The Parliament knew well whom they had to deal with, and managed their Business in the Beginning, that they were the readier to grapple with him in the End. They would not stir a Stone of that Foundation his Prerogative rested on; but those Men that had wrought themselves in, to supplant and undermine the Common Liberties, they fell sore upon them.

The Parliament comply with the King.

Doncaster's Ambassy expensive.

The King was modest, and almost asham'd to tell the Parliament, how much Money the Viscount *Doncaster*'s Journey cost; therefore he minces it into a small proportion. But this we know, when he landed at *Rotterdam*, the First Night and Morning, before he went to the *Hague*, his Expences at those two Meals in the Inn where he lay, came to above a Thousand Gilders, which is a Hundred Pounds *Sterling*. And the Inn-keeper at the Peacock at *Dort* (hoping he would make that his way into *Germany*) made great Provisions for him, upon no other Order, but a bare Fancy; and the Ambassador taking his way by *Utrecht*, the Inn-keeper of *Dort* followed him; complaining, That he was much prejudiced by his baulking that Town: For hearing of a great Ambassador's coming, and what he had expended at *Rotterdam*, I made, (saith he) Preparations suitable, and now they will lye on my Hands: Which coming to *Doncaster*'s Ear, he commanded his Steward to give him Thirty Pounds *Sterling*, and never tasted of his Cup. And we have been assured by some of his Train, that his very Carriages could not cost so little as Threescore Pounds a Day; for he had with him a great many Noblemens Sons, and other Personages of Quality, that the *Germans* might admire the Glory of the *English*, as well as the *French* did in his last Ambassage. And he was out so long following the Emperor, in his Progresses from City to Camp, and from Camp to City, a poor humble Sollicitor, if not Petitioner, that his Expence could not amount to less than Fifty or Threescore thousand Pounds.

He is feasted by the Prince of Orange.

When he was at the *Hague*, had made his Visits, and filled the Town with the Admiration of his Bravery and Feasts: Some intimates to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, advised him to Feast the great *English* Ambassador. *Yes, yes*, (saith the Prince) *bid him come*. When the Prince's Steward had notice of the Invitation (from other Hands, for the Prince gave no Order in it) he comes to the Prince and tells him, There will be great Preparations expected, for the Ambassador's ordinary Meals were Feasts; and he had a numerous and splendid Train of Nobles and Gentry that did accompany him. *Well*, (said the Prince) *fit me a Dinner such as I used to have, and let me see the Bill of Fare*. When the Steward brought the Bill, the Prince liked it well; but the Steward said, Sir, *This is but your Ordinary Diet; now you should have something Extraordinary, because this is an Extraordinary Ambassador*. The Prince think-ing some Reason in the Steward's Arguments,

and

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and finding but one Pig nominated in the bill, commanded him to put down another Pig, and that was all the Additions he would make. Which Dish, as it is not very pleasing and acceptable to the *Scots* Nation for the most part, so we know not whether it were by Accident, or on Purpose, to displease him. But this is well known, there could be nothing more contemptible to the Morose and Severe Temper of the Prince's Spirit, than this Comportment of *Doncaster*'s, which most Men interpreted Pride and Prodigality. But truly (let those Vanities of Grandure aside for the Honour, though not Profit of his Master) he was a Gentleman every way compleat. His Bounty was adorned with Courtesy, his Courtesy not affected, but resulting from a natural Civility in him. His Humbleness set him below the Envy of most, and his Bounty brought him into Esteem with many. A true Courtier for complying, and one that had Language enough to be Real as well as Formal; for he could Personate both to the height of Expression. So that he was very fit for his Employment, though it were purchased at a dear rate.

His short Character

But to leave this Digression. Some small time after the Parliament began, the King, according to his Intentions and Expressions in his Speech to them, dispatched away the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the Emperor, where he was to press for a punctual Answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, or War.

Digby goes into *Germany*.

And now expecting his return, and the Emperor's Answer, the Parliament go on with their Work, receiving divers Petitions from several Persons imprison'd and ruined, by the violent Extortions of such Ministers and Informers as were active to promote the illegal Exactions, that the King's Necessities and ill-advised Councils drive him to. For he was grown very low, not having had the Assistance of his People in Ten Years, as he himself Notes) so that he was forced to lessen his Houshold, and bring his Expences down, not being willing to call a Parliament to supply him. Like *Henry* the Third of *England*, whose Life and Reign, Sir *Robert Cotton* (that able Understander and Lover of Antiquities) wrote about this time, wherein he presents that King so fearful of calling Parliaments, that he would rather pawn his Crown-Jewels, give over his House, *& cum Abbatibus, & Prioribus prandere*, Dine and Eat with the Monks, rather than be beholden to his People. And some thought this Piece of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s a Parallel for these Times. But our King was not so much necessitated, though his Wants were the Greater, because they confined the Greatness of his Mind.

The King's Wants.

The main Things which the Parliament insisted on (though many others came by the by) were the Three great Patents; for Inns, Ale-houses, and Gold and Silver Thread. Upon every Inn, and Ale-house, there was a great Fine and Annual Revenue set throughout the Kingdom; and that they would not pay so much as the Patentees assessed them at, their Goods and Persons were seized on, till they gave them Satisfaction according to their Voraginous Humours. And they found out a new *Alchimistical* way to make Gold and Silver Lace with Copper, and other Sophisticate Materials, to cozen and deceive the People; and no Man must make, or vent any but such Factors as they imployed; so that they engrossed all the whole Trade of that Ages Vanity (which was enough) and gave them counterfeit Ware for their Money. And if any Man were found to make any other Lace than what was allowed by them, they were made to know (to their dear Experience) the Power of these Engrossers. And so poisonous were the Drugs that made up this deceitful Composition, that they rotted the Hands and Arms, and brought Lameness upon those that wrought it; some losing their Eyes, and many their Lives, by the Venom of the Vapours that came from it.

The Peoples Grievances.

The chief Actors in this Pestilent Business, were Sir *Giles Mompesson*, and Sir *Francis Michell*. These two moved all the Under-wheels. *Mompesson* had Fortune enough in the Country to make him happy, if that Sphere could have contained him; but the Vulgar and Universal Error of Satiety, with present Enjoyments, made him too big for a Rustical Condition; and when he came at Court, he was too little for that: So that some Novelty must be taken up, to set him (if he knew his own Mind) in *Competition* to the Place he was in; no matter what it was, let it be never so Pestilent and Misclevous to others, he cared not, so he found Benefit by it. To him *Michel* is made Compartner, a poor sneaking Justice, that lived among the Brothels near *Clerkenwell*, whose Clerk and he pick'd a Livelihood out of those Corners, giving Warrants for what they did; besides Anniversary Stipends (the frequent Revenue of some Justices of those Times) for Connivancy. I know how necessary and how splendent it is for Men of Publick Minds to flourish in the Execution of Justice, for weeding out, and extirpating Vitious Habits, radicated in every Corner; but this Thing was a poisonous Plant in its own Nature, and the fitter to be an Ingredient to such a Composition: Therefore he is brought to Court, Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters-Patents, whereby he took liberty to be more Ravenous upon poor People, to the grating of the Bones, and sucking out the very Marrow of their Substance.

Mompesson and Michel Actors in them.

These Oppressions were throughly ripped up, and laid open by the House of Commons. But, together with these Proceedings, they took Notice of the King's Wants, and thought fit something to sweeten his Temper, that they might not take from him the little Profit he had by those Patents, but they would make it up some other way; therefore they gave him two entire Subsidies, which were very acceptable to him: For those Contributions that flow from the Peoples Love, come freely like a Spring-Tide; but illegal Taxes racked from their Bowels (coming through so many Promoters and Catchpoles hands) run very low, and the King hath the least Share.

The Parliament's goodness.

The King hearing these Patents were anatomized in the House of Commons, and willing to comply with his People, whom he found so bountiful unto him; he comes to the House of Lords to close gently with them, and excuse the Granting of those Patents, shewing some Reasons why he did them, and the Instructions he gave for the Execution of them, by which he hoped to take off that sharp Reflection that might light upon him. But the Modesty of Parliaments seldom impute any of these Miscarriages to the Prince, but the Actors under him must bear the Burthen of it: And the time drawing near that the Lords assigned for judging the Malefactors, the King comes again to the House upon the Twenty Sixth of *March*; and thus passed his Sentence upon the Patents, before the Lords should pass theirs upon the Executioners of them.

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The King's Speech to the Lords

My Lords,

'THE last time I came hither, my Errand was to inform you (as well as my Memory could serve me of things so long passed) of the Verity of my Proceedings, and the Caution used by me in passing those Letters Patents, which are now in question before you, to the effect that they might not be abused in the Execution: And this I did by way of Declaration. But now I am come (understanding the time of your Censure at hand) to express my readiness to put in Execution (which is the Life of the Law) those things which ye are to Sentence, (for even the Law it self, is a dead Letter without Execution) for which Office God hath appointed me in these Kingdoms. And tho' I assure my self, That my former Behaviour, in all the Course of my Life, hath made me well known for a just King; yet in this special Case, I thought fit to express my own Intentions, out of my own Mouth, for Punishment of Things complain'd of: The first Proof whereof I have given, by the diligent Search I caused to be made after the Person of Sir *Giles Mompesson*, who tho' he were fled, yet my Proclamation pursu'd him instantly: And as I was earnest in that, so will I be to see your Sentence against him put in Execution.

'Two Reasons move me to be earnest in the Execution of what ye are to Sentence at this time.

'First, that Duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and tied me to the Care of Government, by that Politick Marriage betwixt me and my People: For I do assure you in the Heart of an honest Man, and by the Faith of a Christian King, (which both ye and all the world know me to be) had these Things been complained of to me before the Parliament, I would have done the Office of a just King, and out of Parliament have punished them as severely, and peradventure more than ye now intend to do. But now that they are discovered to me in Parliament, I shall be as ready in this way, as I should have been in the other: For I confess, I am asham'd (these Things proving so as they are generally reported to be) that it was not by good Fortune to be the only Author of the Reformation and Punishment of them, by some ordinary Courts of Justice. Nevertheless, since these Things are now discovered by Parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could so well have discovered otherwise, in regard of that Representative Body of the Kingdom, which comes from all Parts of the Country, I will be never a whit the slower to do my Part for the Execution. For (as many of you that are here have heard me often say, and so I will still say) so precious unto me is the publick Good, that no private Person whatsoever (were he never so dear unto me) shall be respected by me by many Degrees as the Publick Good, not only of the whole Commonwealth, but even of a particular Corporation, that is a Member of it. And I hope that ye, my Lords, will do me that Right, to publish to my People this my Heart and Purpose.

'The Second Reason is, That I intend not to derogate or infringe any of the Liberties or Privileges of this House, but rather to fortify and strengthen them: For never any King hath done so much for the Nobility of *England* as I have done, and will ever be ready to do. And whatsoever I shall say, and deliver unto you as my Thought, yet when I have said what I think, I will afterwards freely leave the Judgment wholly to your House. I know you will do nothing but what the like hath been done before; and I pray you be not jealous that I will abridge you of any thing that hath been used: For whatsoever the Precedents (in Times of good Government) can warrant, I will allow: For I acknowledge this to be the Supreme Court of Justice, wherein I am ever present by Representation. And in this ye may be the better satisfied by my own Presence, coming divers times among you: Neither can I give you any greater Assurance, or better Pledge of this my Purpose, than that I have done you the Honour to set my only Son among you, and hope that ye with him shall have the Means to make this the happiest Parliament that ever was in *England*.

'This I profess, and take Comfort in, That the House of Commons, at this time, have shewed greater Love, and used me with more Respect, in all their Proceedings, than ever any House of Commons have heretofore done to me, or I think to any of my Predecessors. As for this House of yours, I have always found it Respective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did, favour you, as you well deserved. And I hope it will be accounted a Happiness for you, that my *Son doth now* sit among you; who, when it shall please God to set him in my Place, will then remember that he was once a Member of your House, and so be bound to maintain all your Lawful Privileges, and like the better of you all the Days of his Life. But because the World at this time talks so much of Bribes, I have just Cause to fear the whole Body of this House hath bribed him to be a good Instrument for you upon all Occasions: He doth so good Offices in all his Reports to me, both for the House in general, and every one of you in particular. And the like I may say of one that sits there, *Buckingham*: He hath been so ready upon all Occasions to do good Offices, both for the House in general, and every Member in particular. One Proof thereof, I hope, my Lord of *Arundel* hath already witnessed unto you, in his Report made unto you of my Answer touching the Privileges of the Nobility, how earnestly he spake unto me of that Matter.

'Now, my Lords, the time draws near of your Recess; whether Formality will leave you Time for proceeding now to Sentence against all, or any of the Persons now in question, I know not. But for my part, since both Houses have dealt so lovingly and freely with me, in giving me, as a Free Gift, two Subsidies, in a more loving manner than hath been given to any King before, and so accepted by me: And since I cannot yet retribute by a General Pardon, which hath by Form usually been reserved to the end of a Parliament; the least I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do something in present, for the Ease and Good of my People. Three Patents at this time have been complained of, and thought great Grievances.

'1. That of the Inns and Hosteries.

'2. That of Ale-houses.

'3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

'My Purpose is to strike them all dead; and that Time may not be lost, I will have it done presently. That concerning Ale-houses, I would have to be left to the managing of Justices of the Peace, as before. That of Gold and Silver Thread was most vilely executed, both for Wrong done to Mens Persons, as also for Abuse in the Stuff; for it was a kind of false

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'false Coin. I have already freed the Persons that were in Prison, I will now also damn the Patent; and this may seem instead of a Pardon. All these three I will have recalled by Proclamation, and wish you to advise of the fittest Form to that purpose.

'I hear also, there is another Bill among you against Informers, I desire you my Lords, that as you tender my Honour, and the Good of my People, ye will put that Bill to an end as soon as you can, and at your next Meeting to make it one of your first Works: For I have already shew'd my Dislike of that kind of People openly in the *Star-Chamber*, and it will be the greatest Ease to me, and all those that are near about me at Court, that may be: For I remember, that since the beginning of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found such Quiet and Rest, as in this time of Parliament, from Projectors and Informers, who at other times miserably vexed him at all Hours.

'And now I confess, That when I looked before upon the Face of the Government, I thought (as every Man would have done) that the People were never so happy as in my time. For even as at divers times, I have looked upon many of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outside very thick, and well-grown unto me; but when I turned into the midst of them, I found them all bitten within, and full of Plains and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear, fair and smooth without, but when ye cleave it asunder, you find it rotten at the Heart: Even so this Kingdom, the external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am sure, as learned Judges as ever it had, and I hope as honest, administring Justice within it; and for Peace, both at home and abroad, I may truly say, more settled, and longer lasting, than ever any before, together with as great Plenty as ever; so as it was to be thought, that every Man might sit in Safety under his own Vine and Fig-tree: Yet I am asham'd (and it makes my Hair stand upright) to consider, how in this time my People have been vexed, and polled, by the vile Execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and such like, which, besides the Trouble of my People, have more exhausted their Purses, than Subsidies would have done.

'Now, my Lords, before I go hence, since God hath made me the great Judge of this Land under him, and that I must answer for the Justice of the same, I will therefore, according to my Place, remember you of some Things, tho' I would not teach you, for no Man's Knowledge can be so good, but their Memories will be the better to be refresh'd. And now, because you are coming to give Judgment, (all which moves from the King that you may the better proceed) take into your Care two Things.

'1. To do it *Bonum*.

'2. To do it *Bene*.

'I call *Bonum*, when all is well prov'd, whereupon ye judge, for then ye build upon a sure Foundation. And by *Bene*, I understand, that ye proceed with all Formality and Legality, wherein you have fit occasion to advise with the Judges, who are to assist you with their Opinions in Cases of that Nature; and woe be to them if they advise you not well. So the Ground being good, and the Form orderly, it will prove a Course fitting this High Court of Parliament.

'In Sentence, ye are to observe Two Parts: First, To recollect that which is worthy of Judging and Censuring: And secondly, To proceed against these, as against such like Crimes properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you, some complained of out of Passion, and some out of just Cause of Grievance: Weigh both, but be not carried away with the Impertinent Discourses of them, that name as well innocent Men as guilty. Proceed judicially, and spare none, where ye find just Cause to punish: But let your Proceedings be according to Law, and remember that Laws have not their Eyes in their Necks, but in their Foreheads. For the Moral Reason for the Punishment of Vices in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, is, because of the Breach of Laws standing in force; for none can be punished for Breach of Laws by Predestination, before they be made.

'There is yet one Particular that I am to remember you of; I hear that Sir *Henry Yelverton* (who is now in the Tower upon a Sentence given in the *Star-Chamber* against him for deceiving my Trust) is touched concerning a Warrant *Dormant*, which he made while he was my Attorney: I protest I never heard of this Warrant *Dormant* before, and I hold it as odious a Matter, as any is before you. And if for Respect to me ye have forborn to meddle with him, in Examination, because he is my Prisoner, I do here freely remit him unto you, and put him into your Hands.

'And this is all I have to say unto you at this time, wishing you to proceed justly and nobly, according to the Orders of your House: And I pray God to bless you, and you may assure your selves of my Assistance; wishing, that what I have said this Day among you, may be entred into the Records of this House.

Thus the King strove to mitigate the Asperity and Sharpness of the Humours contracted in the Body of the Kingdom, that they might not break out to disgrace the Physician: For he looked upon himself as an able Director, and yet he found he might be deceived: And therefore he brings the Lords into a Wood, comparatively to tell them, That they appeared to him well grown, and fair, but searching into them, he found them otherwise. But he that pretended to the Knowledge of all things, (as, give him his due, he was well known in most) could not be ignorant that the Patents he granted were against the Liberties of the People; but whether the Execution of them, to that Extremity came within his Cognizance, cannot be determined: His damning of them shews his Dislike at present, condemning that which he knew would be done to his hand, if he had not done it; and this must not be known only at *Westminster*, and left upon Record to Posterity there, but he commanded his Speech to be Printed, that all his People might know how willing and forward he was to abolish any Act of his that tended to a Grievance. And tho' he did not accuse the Marquess of *Buckingham* for giving way to Informers, yet he was much troubled with them till the Parliament began; and in that numerous Crowd, those that brought Profit were doubtless admitted with the first. These Considerations upon the King's Speech buzzed up and down, and many of the Parliament-Men looked upon the Marquess as the first Mover of this great Machine; but the Wisdom of the House did not rise so high as to strike at the uppermost Branches, but they pruned those roundly they could reach. *Buckingham*, tho' he

The King's Speech descanted on.

Buckingham Master of the Work.

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he were well grown, had not yet Sap enough to make himself swell into Exuberancy, as he did afterwards; nor was the Peoples Malice now against him so fertile, as to make every little Weed a dangerous and poysonous Plant, being subtile enough (yet) to crop off any, that might appear venumous in relation to himself, that the mischievous Operations might work upon others: For all the World knew *Mompesson* was his Creature; and that notwithstanding the King's Proclamation for his Interception, he got out of the Kingdom by his Key: For *Buckingham* ruled as a Lord Paramount, and those that complied with him, found as much Refuge as his Power could secure unto them; those that oppos'd him, as much Mischief as Malice could pour upon them. Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the King's Attorney, had found the Effects of his Anger, by not closing with his Desires in such Patents as he required: So that all his Actions being anatomiz'd, some Miscarriages are made Criminal, he is committed to the Tower, and another put in his Place that should be more observant. The King now lays upon him a Warrant *Dormant*, which did not much startle him; for he was not long after released, and made a Judge, carrying with him this Character of Honesty, That he was willing to lay down his Preferment at the King's Feet, and be trod upon by the growing Power of *Buckingham*, rather than prosecute his Patron *Somerset*, that had advanced him, as his Predecessor *Bacon* had spitefully done his. But whether that Dialogue betwixt *Buckingham* and *Yelverton* in the Tower, mentioned in our King's Court, have any thing of Truth, cannot be asserted here, *Buckingham* being not arrived yet to the Meridian Height of his Greatness, tho' the King had afterwards Cause enough to be jealous of his Actions.

Michell censured.

But now comes the old Justice, Sir *Francis Michell*, to his Censure, and the Crime he had committed arguing a base Spirit, he is fitted with as suitable a Punishment. First, he is degraded, with all the Ceremonies of Debasement; but that being most proper to his Nature, he was but eas'd of a Burthen, his Mind suffer'd not: But then his keckish Carcass was made to ride Renvers, with his Face to the Horse-tail, (with a Paper on his Breast and Back, that pointed at the Foulness of the Cause) through the whole City, suffering under the Scorn and Contempt of Boys, and Rabble of the People, besides the squeezing of him by Fine and Confinement to Prison, that he might never be more capable of Mischief. The same Sentence had Sir *Giles Mompesson*, but he was so provident as not to be found to pay it in his Person, tho' he paid it in his Purse. Some others also, their Instruments, tho' not so sharply dealt with, had great Mulcts laid upon them, according to their Demerit; and so this Gangrene was healed up.

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon* questioned.

Not long after, comes the great Lord Chancellor *Bacon* to a Censure, for the most simple and ridiculous Follies that ever entred into the Heart of a wise Man. He was the true Emblem of Humane Frailty, being more than a Man in some Things, and less than a Woman in others. His Crime was Bribery and Extortion, (which the King hinted at in his Speech, when he facetiously said, *He thought the Lords had bribed the Prince to speak well of them*) and these he had often condemned others for as a Judge, which now he comes to suffer for as a Delinquent: And they were proved, and aggravated against him with so many Circumstances, that they fell very foully on him, both in relation to his Reception of them, and his Expending of them: For that which he raked in and scrued for one way, he scattered and threw abroad another; for his Servants being young, prodigal and expensive Youths, which he kept about him, his Treasure was their common Store, which they took without stint, having free Access to his most retired Privacies; and his Indulgence to them, and Familiarity with them, open'd a Gap to infamous Reports, which left an unsavoury Tincture on him; for where such Leeches are, there must be putrid Blood to fill their craving Appetites. His Gettings were, like a Prince, with a weak Hand; his Expences, like a Prodigal with a strong Hand; and 'tis a wonder a Man of his Noble and Gallant Parts, that could fly so high above Reason, should fall so far below it; unless that Spirit that acted the first, were too proud to stoop to see the Deformities of the last. And as he affected his Men, so his Wife affected hers: Seldom doth the Husband deviate one way, but the Wife goeth another. The Things came into the publick Mouth, and the Genius of the Times (where Malice is not corrival) is the great Dictator of all Actions: For Innocency it self is a Crime, when Calumny sets her Mark upon it. *How prudent therefore ought Men to be, that not so much as their* Garments be defiled with the soure Breath of the Times!

This poor Gentleman, mounted above Pity, fell down below it, his Tongue, that was the Glory of his Time for Eloquence, (that tuned so many sweet Harangues) was like a forsaken Harp, hung upon the Willows, whilst the Waters of Affliction overflowed the Banks. And now his high-flying Orations are humbled to Supplications; and thus he throws himself, and Cause, at the Feet of his Judges before he was condemned.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Parliament in the Upper House assembled.

The humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor.

May it please your Lordships,

His Supplication.

'I Shall humbly crave at your Hands a benign 'Interpretation of that which I shall now 'write; for Words that come from wasted Spi'rits and oppressed Minds are more safe, in be'ing deposited to a Noble Construction, than 'being circled with any reserved Caution.

'This being moved (and, as I hope, obtained 'of your Lordships) (as a Protection to all that 'I shall say, I shall go on; but with a very 'strange Entrance, as may seem to your Lord'ships at first; for in the midst of a State, of as 'great Affliction as I think a mortal Man can 'endure, (Honour being above Life) I shall 'begin with the professing of Gladness in some 'Things.

'The first is, That hereafter the Greatness of 'a Judge or Magistrate shall be no Sanctuary or 'Protection to him against Guiltiness, which is 'the beginning of a Golden Work.

'The next; That, after this Example, it is like 'that Judges will fly from any thing in the like'ness of Corruption, (tho' it were at a great 'distance) as from a Serpent; which tends to 'the purging of the Courts of Justice, and re'ducing them to their true Honour and Splen'dour. And in these two Points (God is my 'Witness) tho' it be my Fortune to be the An'vil upon which these two Effects are broken 'and wrought, I take no small Comfort. But

'to

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'to pass from the Motions of my Heart (whereof God is my Judge) to the Merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are Judges, under God and his Lieutenant; I do understand, there hath been heretofore expected from me some Justification; and therefore I have chosen one only Justification, instead of all others, out of the Justification of *Job*: For after the clear Submission and Confession which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say and justify with *Job*, in these Words, *I have not hid my Sin, as did* Adam, *nor concealed my Faults in my Bosom*. This is the only Justification which I will use.

'It resteth therefore, that without Fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge, That having understood the Particulars of the Charge, not formally from the House, but enough to inform my Conscience and Memory, I find Matter sufficient and full, both to move me to desert my Defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lorpships, by singling those Particulars, which I think might fall off. *Quid te exempla juvant spinis de pluribus Uva?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the Proofs, where they come not home, or the Scruple touching the Credits of the Witnesses. Neither will I represent to your Lordships, how far a Defence might in divers things extenuate the Offence, in respect of the Time, and manner of the Guilt, or the like Circumstances; but only leave these things to spring out of your own more Noble Thoughts, and Observations of the Evidence, and Examinations themselves; and charitably to wind about the Particulars of the Charge, here and there, as God shall put into your Minds, and so submit my self wholly to your Piety and Grace.

'And now I have spoken to your Lordships as Judges, I shall say a few Words unto you as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending my Cause to your Noble Minds and Magnanimous Affections.

'Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but Parliamentary Judges; you have a further Extent of Arbitary Power than other Courts; and if you be not tied by ordinary Course of Courts, or Precedents in Points of Strictness and Severity, much less in Points of Mercy and Mitigation. And yet if any thing which I shall move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy End, (the Introducing a Reformation) I should not seek it; but herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a Story.

'*Titus Manlius* took his Son's Life, for giving Battel against the Prohibition of his General. Not many Years after, the like Severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the *Dictator*, against *Quintus Maximus*; who being upon the Point to be sentenced, was, by the Intercession of some particular Persons of the Senate, spared. Whereupon *Livy* maketh this grave and gracious Observation, *Neque minùs firmata est Disciplina Militaris, periculo* Quinti Maximi, *quàm miserabili supplicio* Titi Manlii; The Discipline of War was no less established by the questioning of *Quintus Maximus*, than by the Punishment of *Titus Manlius*. And the same Reason is in the Reformation of Justice: For the questioning of Men in eminent Places, hath the same Terrour, tho' not the same Rigour with the Punishment. But my Cause stays not there; for my humble Desire is, That his Majesty would take the Seal into his Hands, which is a great Down-fall, and may serve, I hope, in it self for an Expiration of my Faults. Therefore if Mercy and Mitigation be in your Lordships Power, and no way cross your Ends, why should I not hope of your Favour and Commiseration? Your Lordships will be pleased to behold your Chief Pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of incomparable Clemency, and whose Heart is inscrutable for Wisdom and Goodness. And your Lordships will remember, there sate not these Hundred Years before a Prince in your House, and never such a Prince, whose Presence deserveth to be made Memorable by Records and Acts, mix'd of Mercy and Justice. Your selves are either Nobles (and Compassion ever beateth in the Veins of Noble Blood) or Reverend Prelates, who are the Servants of him that would not break the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoaking Flax. You all sit upon a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be sensible of the Changes of Humane Conditions, and of the Fall of any from high Place.

'Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *Vitia Temporis*, as well as *Vitia Hominis*; and the beginning of Reformation hath the contrary Power to the Pool of *Bethesda*; for that had Strength to cure him only that was first cast in, and this hath Strength to hurt him only that is first cast in: And for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further. (Extortion and Bribery the Vices of the Times.)

'Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have a noble Feeling of me, as a Member of your own Body, and one that in this very Session had some taste of your loving Affections, which I hope was not a Lightning before the Death of them, but rather a Spark of that Grace, which now in the Conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble Sute to your Lordships is, That my penitent Submission may be my Sentence, the Loss of my Seal my Punishment, and that your Lordships would recommend me to his Majesty's Grace and Pardon for all that is past. *God's Holy Spirit be among you.*

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Your Lordships
Humble Servant,
and Suppliant,
Fran. St. Albans, *Can.*

Thus was his great Spirit brought low, and this Humiliation might have raised him up again, if his Offences had not been so weighty as to keep him down. He lost his Peerage and Seal, and the Scale was wavering whether he should carry the Title of *Viscount of St. Albans* to his Grave, and that was all he did; having only left a poor empty Being, which lasted not long with him, his Honour dying before him. And to heighten his Misery the more, many others were crush'd to pieces by his Fall; for he had a vast Debt lay upon him, which they were forced to pay; and tho' he had a Pension allow'd him by the King, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where his Loneness and desolate Condition wrought upon his Ingenious, and therefore then more melancholy Temper, that he pined away. And had this Unhappiness, after all his Height of Plenitude, to be denied Beer to quench his Thirst: For having a sickly Taste, he did not like the Beer of the House, but sent to Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, in the Neighbourhood (now and then) for a Bottle of his Beer, and after some (His Censure.)

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some grumbling, the Butler had Order to deny him. So sordid was the one, that advanc'd himself to be call'd Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Friend, and so Friendless was the other, after he had dejected himself from what he was.

His Description and Character.

He was of a middling Stature; his Countenance had indented with Age before he was old; his Presence grave and comely; of a high-flying and lively Wit, striving in some things to be rather admir'd than understood; yet so quick and easy where he would express himself, and his Memory so strong and active, that he appear'd the Master of a large and plenteous Store-house of Knowledge, being (as it were) Nature's Midwife, stripping her Callow Brood, and cloathing them in new Attire. His Wit was quick to the last; for *Gondemar* meeting him the *Lent* before his Censure, and hearing of his Miscarriages, thought to pay him with his *Spanish* Sarcasms and Scoffs, saying, *My Lord, I wish you a good Easter*; *And you my Lord*, reply'd the Chancellor, *a good Passover*: For he could neither close with his *English* Buffonry, nor his *Spanish* Treaty, (which *Gondemar* knew) tho' he was so wise as publickly to oppose neither. In fine, he was a fit Jewel to have beautified and adorned a flourishing Kingdom, if his Flaws had not disgraced the Lustre that should have set him off.

Parties in Parliament.

In this very time of Parliament, when the King carried all things with a full Sail, the Pilots of the Commonwealth had an Eye to the Dangers that lay in the way; for in both Houses the King had a strong Party, especially in the House of Lords: All the Courtiers, and most of the Bishops, steer'd by his Compass, and the Prince's Presence (who was a constant Member) did cast an Awe among many of them, yet there were some gallant Spirits that aim'd at the publick Liberty, more than their own Interest. If any thing were spoken in the House that did in the least reflect upon the Government, or touch (as the Courtiers thought) that *Noli me tangere*, the Prerogative, those that moved in it were snapt up by them, tho' many times they met with stout Encounters at their own Weapon; among which the Principal were, *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Spencer*, and divers others, that supported the old *English* Honour, and would not let it fall to the Ground.

Oxford was of no Reputation in his Youth, being very debauched and riotous, and having no Means, maintain'd it by sordid and unworthy Ways, for his Father, hopeless of Heirs, in Discontent with his Wife, squandred away a Princely Estate; but when she and his great Fortune were both gone, he married a young Lady of the ancient Family of the *Trenthams*, by whom he had this young Lord, and two Daughters; she having a Fortune of her own, and Industry with it, after her Husband's Death married her Daughters into two Noble Families; the Earl of *Montgomery* married the one, and the Lord *Norris*, after Earl of *Berkshire*, married the other. And finding her Son hopeless, let him run his Swing till he grew weary of it; and thinking he could not be worse in other Countries than he had been in his own, she sent him to travel, to try if change of Air would change his Humour. He was not abroad in *France* and *Italy* above three Years, and the Freedoms and Extravagancies there (that are able to betray and inshare the greatest Modesties) put such a Bridle upon his Inordinateness, tho' look how much before he was decry'd for a mean and poor Spirit, so much had his noble and gallant Comportment there gain'd, that he came over refin'd in every Esteem; and such a Valuation was set upon his Parts and Merit, that he married the Lady *Diana Cecil*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter*, one of the most eminent Beauties and Fortunes of the Time.

† *Southampton*, tho' he were one of the King's Privy-Council, yet was he no great Courtier; *Salisbury* kept him at a bay, and pinch'd him so, by reason of his relation to old *Essex*, that he never flourish'd much in his time; nor was his Spirit (after him) so smooth shod, as to go always the Court pace; but that now and then he would make a Career that was not very acceptable to them; for he carried his Business closely and slily, and was rather an Adviser than an Actor.

Essex had ever an honest Heart; and tho' Nature had not given him Eloquence, he had a strong Reason that did express him better: His Countenance to those that knew him not, appear'd somewhat stern and solemn; to Intimates, affable and gentle; to the Females, obligingly courteous; and tho' unfortunate in some, yet highly respected of most, happily to vindicate the Virtue of the Sex. The King never affected him, whether from the Bent of his Natural Inclination to Effeminate Faces, or whether from that Instinct or secret Prediction that Divine Fate often imprints in the Apprehension, whereby he did fore-see in him (as it were) a Hand raised up against his Posterity, may be a Notation, not a Determination: But the King never liked him, nor could he close with the Court.

Warwick, tho' he had all those excellent Endowments of Body and Fortune, that gives Splendour to a Glorious Court, yet he used it but as his Recreation; for his Spirit aimed at more publick Adventures, planting Colonies in the *Western* World, rather than himself in the King's Favour: His Brother Sir *Henry Rich* (about this time made Baron of *Kensington*) and he, had been in their Youths two emulous Corrivals in the publick Affections, the one's Brownness being accounted a lovely Sweetness, transcending most Men; the other's Features and pleasant Aspect equalled the most beautiful Women; the younger having all the Dimensions of a Courtier, laid all the Stock of his Fortune upon that Soil, which after some Years Patience came up with Increase; but the elder could not so stoop to Observances, and thereby became his own Supporter.

Say and *Seal* was a seriously subtile Piece, and always averse to the Court ways, something out of Pertinaciousness; his Temper and Constitution ballancing him altogether on that side, which was contrary to the Wind; so that he seldom tack'd about, or went upright, tho' he kept his Course steady in his own way a long time: Yet it appear'd afterward, when the Harshness of the Humour was a little allay'd by the sweet Refreshments of Court Favours, that

† These Characters of the Earls of *Southampton*, *Essex* and *Warwick*, the Lord *Kensington* (afterwards Earl of *Holland*) and the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, do all of them agree in the main with those given them many Years after by the Earl of *Clarendon* In his History. *Wilson* has drawn their Pictures in Miniature, and that other Noble Historian has done them at length; which is a convincing Proof of our Author's penetrating Judgment, and of his being perfectly acquainted both with Men and Things.

those

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those stern Comportments, supposed Natural, might be mitigated, and that indomable Spirits by gentle Usage may be tamed and brought to Obedience.

Spencer, (like the old *Roman* chosen Dictator from his Farm (made the Country a Virtuous Court, where his Fields and Flocks brought him more calm and happy Contentment, than the various and mutable Dispensations of a Court can contribute: And, when he was called to the Senate, was more vigilant to keep the Peoples Liberties from being a Prey to the encroaching Power of Monarchy, than his harmless and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures.

There were many other Noble Patriots concentrique with these, which like Jewels should be preserved and kept in the Cabinet of every Man's Memory, being Ornaments for Posterity to put on; but their Characters would make the Line too long, and the Bracelet too big to adorn this Story.

Spencer and *Arundel* quarrel.

About this time *Spencer* was speaking something in the House that their great Ancestors did; which displeas'd *Arundel*, and he cuts him off short, saying, *My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your Ancestors were keeping Sheep* (twitting him with his Flocks which he took Delight in): *Spencer* (instantly reply'd, *When my Ancestors (as you say) were keeping Sheep, your Ancestors were plotting Treason.*

This hit *Arundel* home, and it grew to some Heat in the House; whereupon they were separated, and commanded both out of the House, and the Lords began to consider of the Offence. There was much bandying by the Court-Party, to excuse the Earl of *Arundel*; but the Heat and rash Part of it beginning with him, laying such a Brand upon a Peer that was nobly descended, he could not be justified, but was enjoined by the House to give the Lord *Spencer* such Satisfaction as they prescrib'd, which his Greatness refusing to obey, he was by the Lords sent Prisoner to the Tower, and *Spencer* re-admitted into the House again.

Arundel committed.

When *Arundel* was well cooled in the Tower, and found that no Power would give him Liberty, but that which had restrain'd him, (rather blaming his Rashness, than excusing his Stubbornness) his great Heart humbled it self to the Lords, betwixt a Letter and a Petition, in these Words.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Higher House of Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

His Submission.

WHereas I stand committed here by your Lordships Order, for having stood upon performing some part of that which was enjoined me by your Lordships; which I did rather in respect the time was short for Advice, than out of any Intent to disobey the House, for which I have suffered in this Place till now: I do therefore humbly beseech your Lordships to construe of what is past, according to this my Profession, and for the time to come to believe, that I both understand so well your Lordship's Power to command, and your Nobleness and Tenderness to consider what is fit, as I do, and will wholly put my self upon your Honours, and perform what is, or shall be enjoined me. So beseeching your Lordships to construe these Lines, as proceeding from a Heart ready to obey you in what you command, I rest

Tower, June 2. 1621.

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

Thomas Arundel.

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Upon this Submission, the Lords commanded him to be sent for, and presenting himself at the Bar of the House, with the accustomed Humility that Offenders do, he thus express'd himself, *Because I have committed a Fault against this House, in not obeying all the Order that your Lordships commanded me, I do here acknowledge this my Fault and ask your Lordships Pardon for the same, and am ready to obey all your Lordships Commands.*

Thus this great Lord (tho' he flutter'd in the Air of the Court, and mounted by that means upon the Wings of Passion) was glad to stoop when Consideration lured him to it, lest by the Heat that he himself made, melting the Waxen Plumes that he thought would have supported him) his Suffering might have been a greater Mischief to him than his Submission: So sour and severe a School-master is Passion, to be both Author and Punisher of our Errors; yea, making the best Natures (often) correct themselves most.

The Parliament adjourned.

The fourth of *June* this Year the Parliament had a Recess, the King being to go his Progress; wherein some Lords, and others of the Parliament, were to attend him: For it seems his Business was not yet ripe for the Parliament, and he was loth they should have too much leisure; therefore they were not to meet again till the eighth of *February* following, which being a long time of Vacancy, the House of Commons, before they parted, took the Miseries of the *Palatinate* into serious Debate; and tho' they felt the King's Pulse, and knew the Beat of his Thought, when he spake of providing an Army this Summer for the Recovery of it, and would engage his Crown, Blood and Soul for it, (finding him apt to say what he had no Will to do) yet they were so wise as not to slacken or draw back in so good a Work; that if there were a Failing, it should not be on their side, knowing how much Religion was concerned in it (for to the Appearance of Reason, the Triumphing Emperor, and Universal King, would quickly tread all under foot); therefore with one Voice (none daring to oppose) they made this Declaration.

The Commons Declaration.

THE Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into most serious Consideration the present State of the King's Children abroad, and generally afflicted Estate of the true Professors of the same Christian Religion, professed by the Church of England *in Foreign Parts; and being touch'd with a true Sense and fellow-feeling of their Distresses, as Members of the same Body, do with unanimous Consent, in the Name of themselves and the whole Body of the Kingdom, (whom they represent) declare unto his most Excellent Majesty, and to the whole World, their hearty Grief and Sorrow for the same; and do not only join with them in their humble and devout Prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true Church, and to avert the Dangers now threaten'd, but also with one Heart and Voice do solemnly protest, That if his Majesty's pious Endeavours by Treaty, to procure their Peace and Safety, shall not take that good Effect which is desir'd in Treaty, (wherefore they humbly beseech his Majesty not to suffer any longer Delay) that then, upon Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure in Parliament, they*

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ſhall be ready, to the utmoſt of their Powers, both with their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſiſt him ſo, as that, by the divine Help of Almighty God, (which is never wanting unto thoſe, who in his Fear ſhall undertake the Defence of his own Cauſe) he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable Courſe ſhall not be effected.

The King pleaſed with it.

The King took this Declaration of the Commons in very good Part, and meant, when Occaſion ſerv'd, to make good uſe of it: For as he found them forward enough to begin a War, ſo he knew his own Conſtitution backward enough, (the Sword being in his Hand) and did fore-ſee an Advantage ariſing from a Medium betwixt the Parliament and him, if he could bring his Ends about, which he after put in practice; but it broke all to pieces; and now away he goes on his Progreſs.

Towards Winter the Lord *Digby* returns from his ſoliciting Journey in *Germany*: His firſt Addreſſes he made to the Emperor, his ſecond to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and his laſt to the *Infanta* at *Bruſſels*, and all to as little purpoſe as if he had ſtay'd at home; that three-fold Cord, twiſted by the Power of *Spain*, was not eaſily to be broken. Some little Twilight and Scintil of Hope was given him by the Emperor for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, yet not ſo much as would diſcover the Error of our eaſie Belief: But the *Bavarian* had already ſwallowed the Electorate, and his Voraginous Appetite gaped after the Poſſeſſion of the Country, tho' the *Engliſh* there were Bones in his way.

Digby's Return.

Digby being arriv'd at Court, and bringing with him doubtful Anſwers from the Emperor, and ſullen ones from the Duke of *Bavaria*, the King thought it good Policy to ſhorten the long Receſs till *February*, and to re-aſſemble the Parliament the 20th of *November*; that meeting before their Time, it might more amaze them, and intimate ſome extraordinary Cauſe, which happily might produce ſome extraordinary Effect, if well manag'd. And, as incident thereunto, he gave Order to *Digby*, as ſoon as the Parliament aſſembled, to make Relation to the Houſes of his Proceedings there; which he did in theſe Words:

His Relation to the Parliament.

IT pleaſed his Majeſty to command me to give you an Account of my laſt Foreign Negotiation with the Emperor; who (you know) being much exaſperated with the Invaſion of Bohemia, *(to which the King never gave Encouragement in the Attempt, nor Countenance in the Proſecution) hath, upon the Advantage of his fortunate Succeſs there, invaded into the Inheritance of his Son the* Palatine: *Whereupon I was directed by his Majeſty's Commiſſion to Treat, if Peace might be compaſſed with fair Endeavours, to which the Emperor ſeemed very inclinable. Albeit, ſlow in giving Audience, by reaſon that the Diet in* Germany *was deferr'd, and he depended upon ſome Anſwer from the Princes. But in Concluſion, I receiv'd ſuch Satisfaction, as promis'd Reſtitution of the* Palatinate, *which only was granted by Commiſſion to the Duke of* Bavaria, *until it was ſetled by abſolute Peace, or further War. And being addreſs'd by the Emperor with Letters to the Duke of* Bavaria, *wherein he wiſh'd his tractable Condeſcent to all good Terms of Peace; Upon which Occaſion I urged, That I had Authority from the Count* Palatinate, *to cauſe the Count* Mansfield *to deſiſt from War, and likewiſe from the King to his Body of War under the Government of Sir* Horatio Vere. *The Duke of* Bavaria *reply'd, That he had becalmed* Mansfield *with great Sums of Money; and when he is quiet, my Peace is made. To which ſcornful and ſlight Reply ſomething I anſwer'd, and departed to the* Infanta *to* Bruſſels, *who ſeemed to underſtand by the Emperor's Letters, that he did rather prepare for War than Peace, and would give no direct Anſwer till ſhe heard from the King of* Spain, *who, I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, hath ſtood clear a Neutral, according to his Promiſe: Yet is he now ſo ſtrong prepar'd for War, (having at this inſtant five great Armies in motion) that it will not miſ-become the Wiſdom of the State to fear the worſt: And to conclude, ſuch hath been the Care of the King for his own Honour, and Son's Right, that he preſumes you will chearfully apply your ſelves to the Neceſſity of the Times, and this Occaſion; and not only afford him Aid for his preſent Support, but ſuch further Supply as may help to re-inveſt his Son into his Inheritance.*

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Which Relation of *Digby's* being ſeconded by ſome of the King's great Miniſters of State, who had Inſtructions ſuitable to their Errand) they let the Parliament know how juſtly and neceſſary it was, and how forward the King would be to accompliſh that by War, which he could not recover by Peace; and they ſet it off with all the ſlippery Oratory they could to draw in Money; for that being the main Ingredient, if that were provided, the reſt of the Simples would eaſily be purchaſed, to make up the Compoſition. Seconded.

Thus the King's Suits and Intreaties were ſlighted, and diſregarded abroad; and his Intentions ſuſpected, and feared at home. Princes that do graſp Poſſeſſions with Iron Hands, will not be ſmoothed out of them by fair Words; the Sword, as it is the beſt Determiner, ſo it is the moſt honourable Treater. And tho' the King incited the Parliament by theſe his Miniſters to contribute towards a War, yet they found his Inclination bent towards Peace, both in reſpect of *Gondemar's* Power with him, (upon whoſe ſandy Promiſes he built a good Foundation of Hope) and in regard of ſome Letters which the King had lately written to the King of *Spain*, wherein great Indulgencies were promiſed to the Papiſts, whereby they ſaw he was too much tranſported with a Deſire to the Match: And the King, finding *Digby's* Endeavours fruitleſs in *Germany*, intended to ſend him into *Spain*, Extraordinary Ambaſſador to that King, whom he looked upon as the great Wheel that moved the others which way he pleaſed: For he was reſolved to cloſe ſome way with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, either by Marriage or Intreaty, to piece and make up the Breach the War had made. But the King had to do with cunning Gameſters, that ſmiled to ſee how earneſt he was at it; for they had the Sign given out of his Hand, and ſaw all the Game he play'd: So faithleſs was the Council about him.

The King prevails not abroad, nor at home.

The *Engliſh* in general, except Papiſts, were averſe to this Match, as boding ſome evil Event, becauſe the Papiſts did prune themſelves, flutter up and down, and ſpread their Trains ſo publickly. This almoſt univerſal Averſion of the People had a natural Influence upon the Repreſentative, the Parliament; who conſidering that the King (by *Digby* and others) did inform them how formidable the King of *Spain* was, and did require them to apply themſelves to the Neceſſity of the Times, and further him with Help to re-inveſt his Son in his Inheritance, thought there was no better Means to be uſed than to try effectually the King's Spirit, and ſtir him up to a War; for ſo they ſhould know which way their Money went, at leaſtwiſe his Mind, before they tamely parted with it. And therefore (like

The People and Parliament againſt this Match.

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The Parliament thought it strange that the King in a Recess should call them together before the appointed Time of Meeting; pretending Emergent Occasions, and (by his Ministers of State) perswade and incite to a War, and when (in Obedience to this Command) they shall proceed in their Advice, only to prevent the Dangers abroad, and establish Security at home, they shall be accounted Presumptuous and Insolent. But by this they discover, (and which the King plainly expresses in his Answer) that he required none of their Advice, he wanted only their Money; if they had furnish'd him with that, instead of Counsel, it would have been a golden Remonstrance. They are to be his Bank, his Merchants, he needs no other Directions; let them find Money, he knows how to dispose of it. This was the great Fault, which this Petition strives to mitigate, accompanied with the Remonstrance it self, and the Petition against Recusancy, for both which it was an Intercessor; but it could not with all its Humility procure Acceptance for its Companions, though sent by Twelve select Members of the House, and the leading Man Sir *Richard Weston* (who was really the King's) chosen by the Commons to make their Petitions the more acceptable. And the House finding it a great Discouragement to them to proceed in any Business, when there was so great a Distance betwixt the King and them, (the King thinking their Actions an Intrenchment upon his Prerogative, and they thinking the King's Expressions an Infringement of their Liberties) they resolved to give over all Business, till they had an Answer of their Petitions; for they thought they had as good do nothing, as have that they do undone again. Which the King hearing of, was vexed at the Heart, and entertained their Messengers very roughly; and some say he called for Twelve Chairs for them, saying, Here are Twelve Kings come to me. But after he had consider'd their Desires in their last Petition (rejecting the others) he returns them this Answer to all.

The King wanted Money, not Advice.

The King's Answer.

'WE must here begin in the same Fashion that we would have done, if your first Petition had come to our Hands before we had made a stay thereof, which is to repeat the first Words of the late Queen, of Famous Memory, used by her in Answer to an insolent Proposition, made by a *Polonian* Ambassador unto her; that is, *Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus*. For we had great Reason to expect, that the first Message from your House should have been a Message of Thanksgiving for our continued Gracious Behaviour towards our People since your last Recess: Not only by our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were contained Six or Seven and thirty Articles, all of several Points of Grace to the People; but also by the Labour we took, for the Satisfaction of both Houses, in those Three Articles recommended unto us in both their Names by the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise for the good Government of *Ireland* we are now in hand with at your request. But not only have we heard no News of all this, but contrary, great Complaints of the Danger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly implying our ill Government in this Point. And we leave you to judge, whether it be your Duties, that are the Representative Body of our People, so to distaste them with our Government; whereas, by the contrary, it is your Duty, with all your Endeavours, to kindle more and more a Dutiful and Thankful Love in the Peoples Hearts towards us for our Just and Gracious Government.

'Now whereas in the very Beginning of this your Apology, you tax us in fair Terms of trusting uncertain Reports, and partial Informations concerning your Proceedings: We wish you to remember that we are an Old and Experienc'd King, needing no such Lessons, being in our Conscience freest of any King alive from hearing or trusting idle Reports, which so many of your House as are nearest us can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to some Tribunitial Orators among you. And for proof in this Particular; We have made your own Messengers confer your other Petitions sent by you with the Copy thereof, which was sent us before, between which there is no difference at all, but that since our receiving the first Copy you added a Conclusion unto it, which could not come to our Hands, till it was done by you, and your Messengers sent, which was all at one time. And if we had had no Copy of it before-hand, we must have received your first Petition to our great Dishonour, before we had known what it contain'd, which would have inforced us to have returned you a far worse Answer than now we do. For then your Messengers had returned with Nothing, but that we have judged your Petition unlawful and unworthy of an Answer: For as to your Conclusion thereof, it is nothing but *Protestatio contraria facto*, for in the Body of your Petition you usurp upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with Things far above your reach, and then in the Conclusion you protest the contrary; as if a Robber would take a Man's Purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. For first, you presume to give us your Advice concerning the Match of our dearest Son with some Protestant, we cannot say Princess, for we know none of these fit for him, and disswade us from his Match with *Spain*, urging us to a present War with that King, and yet in the Conclusion, forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our most Undoubted and Regal Prerogative; as if the Petitioning of us in Matters that your selves confess ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

'And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited to this Course by the Speeches of Three Honourable Lords; yet by so much as your selves repeat of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded, but that we were resolved by War to regain the *Palatinate*, if otherwise we could not attain unto it. And you were invited to advise forthwith upon a Supply for keeping the Forces in the *Palatinate* from Disbanding, and to fore-see the Means for the raising and maintaining of the Body of an Army for that War against the Spring. Now what Inference can be made upon this? That therefore we must presently denounce War against the King of *Spain*, break our dearest Son's Match, and Match him to one of our Religion; Let the World judge! The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a Merchant that we had great need to borrow Money from him for raising an Army; that thereupon it should follow, that we were bound to follow his Advice in the Directions of the War, and all Things depending thereupon. But yet not contenting your selves with this

'Excuse,

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Excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold Water, you come after to a direct Contradiction to the Conclusion of your former Petition, saying, That the Honour and Safety of us and our Posterity, and the Patrimony of our Children invaded, and possessed by their Enemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State of our Kingdom, are Matters at any time not unfit for your deepest Considerations in Parliament. To this Generality, we Answer with the Logicians, *That where all things are contained, nothing is omitted.* So as this Plenipotency of yours invests you in all Power upon Earth, lacking nothing but the Pope's, to have the Keys also both of Heaven and Purgatory. And to this vast Generality of yours, we can give no other Answer; for it will trouble all the best Lawyers in the House, to make a good Commentary upon it: For so did the Puritan Ministers in *Scotland* bring all kind of Causes within the compass of their Jurisdiction, saying, That it was the Churches Office to judge of Slander, and there could no kind of Crime or Fault be committed, but there was a Slander in it, either against God, the King, or their Neighbour; and by this means they hooked into themselves the Cognizance of all Causes. Or like *Bellarmine*'s distinction of the Pope's Power over King's, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, whereby he gives them all Temporal Jurisdiction over them.

'But to give you a direct Answer to the Matter of War, for which you are so earnest; We confess, we rather expected you should have given us Thanks for the so long maintaining a settled Peace in all our Dominions, when as all our Neighbours about are in miserable Combustion of War. But *Dulce Bellum inexpertis:* And we indeed find by Experience, that a Number of our Subjects are so pamper'd with Peace, as they are desirous of Change, though they know not what.

'It is true, that we have ever profess'd (and in that Mind, with God's Grace, we will live and die) that we will labour by all Means possible, either by Treaty, or by Force, to restore our Children to their ancient Dignity and Inheritance; and whatsoever Christian Princes, or Potentates, will set themselves against it, we will not spare any Lawful Means to bring our so Just and Honourable Purpose to a good End. Neither shall the Match of our Son, or any other Worldly Respect, be preferred to this our Resolution: For by our Credit, and Intervention with the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Dutchess, and her Husband now with God, we preserved the *Lower Palatinate* one whole Year, from any further Conquering in it; which in any Eight Days space in that time, might have easily been swallow'd up by *Spinola*'s Army, without any Resistance: And in no better Case was it now at our Ambassador the Lord *Digby*'s coming through *Heidelbergh*, if he had not extraordinarily succoured it.

'But because we conceive, that ye couple this War of the *Palatinate* with the Cause of Religion, we must a little unfold your Eyes herein. The Beginning of this Miserable War, which hath set all Christendom on fire, was not for Religion, but only caused by our Son-in-Law's hasty and rash Resolution, following Evil Counsel, to take to himself the Crown of *Bohemia:* And that this is true, himself wrote Letters unto us at that time, desiring us to give Assurance both to the *French* King and State of *Venice*, that his [illegible]ting of the Crown of *Bohemia* had no re[illegible]rence to the Cause of Religion, [illegible] reason of his right of Election (as he called it.) And we would be sorry that that Apprehension should come upon our Religion, as to make it a good Pretext for Dethroning of Kings and usurping their Crowns. And we would be loth that our People here should be taught that Doctrine: No, let us not so far wrong the Jesuits, as to rob them of their sweet Positions, and Practice in that Point. And upon the other Part, we assure our self so far of your Charitable Thoughts of us, that we would never have Constantly denied our Son-in-Law both the Title and Assistance in that Point, if we had been well perswaded of the Justice of his Quarrel. But to conclude, this Unjust Usurpation of the Crowns of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* from the Emperor, hath given the Pope, and all that Party, too fair a Ground, and open'd them too wide a Gate, for curbing and oppressing of many Thousands of our Religion in divers Parts of Christendom.

'And whereas you excuse your touching upon the King of *Spain*, upon occasion of the Incidents by you repeated in that Place, and yet affirm, *that it is without any touch to his* Honour; we cannot wonder enough that ye are so forgetful, both of your Words and Writs: For in your former Petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth, than which there can be no more Malice uttered against any great King; to make all other Princes and Potentates both Envy and Hate him. But if ye list, it may be easily tried, whether that Speech touched him in Honour or not: If we shall ask him the Question, whether he means to assume to himself that Title or no? For every King can best judge of his own Honour. We omit the Particular Ejaculations of some Foul-mouth'd Orators in your House, against the Honour of his Crown and State.

'And touching your Excuse of not determining any thing concerning the Match of our dearest Son, but only to tell your Opinions, and lay it down at our Feet: First, We desire to know how you could have presumed to determine in that Point, without committing of High-Treason. And next, You cannot deny, but your talking of his Match after that manner, was a direct breach of our Commandment and Declaration out of our own Mouth, at the first sitting down of this Parliament, where we plainly professed, that we were in Treaty of his Match with *Spain*, and wished you to have that Confidence in our Religion and Wisdom, that we would so manage it, as our Religion should receive no Prejudice by it. And the same we now repeat unto you, professing that we are so far engaged in that Match, as we cannot in Honour go back, except the King of *Spain* perform not such Things as we expect at his Hands: And therefore we are sorry that ye should shew to have so great Distrust in us, or to conceive that we should be cold in our Religion; otherwise we cannot imagine how our former publick Declaration should not have stopp'd your Mouths in this Point.

'And as to your Request, That we would now receive your former Petition, we wonder what could make you presume, that we would not receive it; whereas in our former Letter, we plainly declar'd the Contrary unto you; and therefore have justly rejected

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that Suit of yours. For what have you left unattempted in the highest Points of Sovereignty in that Petition of yours, except the striking of Coin? For it contains the Violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War, and the Marriage of our dearest Son, both Negative with *Spain*, nay, with any other Popish Princess. And also Affirmatively, as to the Matching with one of our Religion; which we confess is a Strain beyond any Providence or Wisdom God hath given us, as Things now stand.

'These are unfit Things to be handled in Parliament, except your King should require it of you; for who can have Wisdom to judge of Things of that Nature? but such as are daily acquainted with the Particulars of Treaties, and of the variable or fixed Connexion of Affairs of State, together with the Knowledge of the secret Ways, Ends, and Intentions of Princes in their several Negociations; otherwise, a small mistaking in Matters of this Nature may produce more Effects than can be imagined. And therefore, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* And besides, the intermeddling in Parliament with Matters of Peace or War, and Marriage of our dearest Son, would be such a Diminution to us, and to our Crown, in Foreign Countries, as would make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either in Matters of Peace or Marriage, except they might be assured by the Assent of Parliament. And so it proved long ago with a King of *France*; who, upon a Trick, procuring his States to dissent from some Treaty, which before he had made, was after refused treating with any other Princes, to his great Reproach, unless he would first procure the Assent of his Estates to their Proposition.

False Play justly rewarded.

And will you cast your Eyes upon the late Times, you shall find that the late Queen, of Famous Memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry: But her Answer was, That she liked their Petition well, because it was simple, not limiting her to Place or Person, as not befitting her Liking to their Fancies; and if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it a high Presumption in them. Judge then what we may do in such a Case? having made our publick Declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.

'Now to the Points in your Petition, whereof you desire an Answer, as properly belonging to the Parliament. The first and the greatest Point is that of Religion, concerning which at this time we can give you no other Answer than in the general; which is, That you may rest secure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for the Propagation of our Religion, and Repressing of Popery. But the Manner and Form you must remit to our Care and Providence, who can best consider of Times and Seasons; not by undertaking a publick War of Religion through all the World at once; which, how hard and dangerous a Task it may prove, you may judge. But this puts us in Mind how all the World complain'd the last Year of Plenty of Corn, and God hath sent us a cooling Card this Year for that Heat. And so we pray God, that this Desire among you of kindling Wars (shewing your Weariness of Peace and Plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the Miseries of both. But, as we already said, our Care of Religion must be such, as on the one part we must not, by the hot Persecution of our Recusants at home, irritate Foreign Princes of contrary Religion, and teach them the way to plague the Protestants in their Dominions, with whom we daily intercede, and at this time principally for Ease to them of our Profession, that live under them. Yet upon the other Part, we never mean to spare from due and severe Punishment any Papist that will grow insolent, for living under our so mild Government. And you may also be assured, We will leave no Care untaken, as well for the good Education of the Youth at home, especially the Children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter the Youth that are or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous Places, and so poison'd in Popish Seminaries. And as in this Point, namely, concerning the good Education of Popish Youth at home, we have already given some good Proofs, both in this Kingdom and in *Ireland*; so will we be well pleased to pass any good Laws that shall be made, either now, or any time hereafter, to this purpose.

Wars good to prevent Wars.

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'And as to your Request of making this a Session, and granting a general Pardon, it shall be in your Defaults, if we make not this a Session before *Christmas*.

'But for the Pardon, ye crave such Particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, lest otherwise we give you back the double or treble of that we are to receive by your entire Subsidy, without Fifteens. But the ordinary Course we hold fittest to be used still in this Case, is, That we should of our Free Grace send you down a Pardon from the Higher House, containing such Points as we shall think fittest, wherein we hope ye shall receive good Satisfaction.

'But we cannot omit to shew you how strange we think it, that ye should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some Words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament. Truly, a Scholar would be ashamed so to misplace and misjudge any Sentences in another Man's Book. For whereas in the end of our former Letter we discharge you to meddle with Matters of Government and Mysteries of State; namely, Matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Son's Match with *Spain*; by which particular Denominations we interpret, and restrain our former Words: And then after, we forbid you to meddle with such Things as have their ordinary Course in Courts of Justice; yet couple together those two distinct Sentences, and plainly leave out these Words, *Of Mysteries of State*; so as ye err, *à bene divisis ad male conjuncta*. For of the former part, concerning Mysteries of State, we plainly restrained our Meaning to the Particulars that were after mentioned. And in the latter, we confess we meant it by Sir *Edward Coke*'s foolish Business. And therefore it had well become him, especially being our Servant, and one of our Council, to have complained unto us; which he never did, tho' he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had Access refus'd unto him.

'And altho' we cannot allow of the Stile, calling it, *Your ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*, but could rather have wished that ye had said, *That your Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permission of our Ancestors and us* (for most of them grow from Precedents which shews rather a Toleration than Inheritance); yet we are pleased to give you our Royal Assurance, That as long as you shall contain your selves within the Limits of your

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'Duty, we will be as careful to maintain and 'preferve your lawful Liberties and Privileges, 'as ever any of our Predeceffors were, nay, 'as to preferve our own Royal Prerogative: So 'as your Houfe fhall only have need to beware 'to trench upon the Prerogative of the Crown; 'which would enforce us, or any juft King, 'to retrench them of their Privileges, that 'would pare his Prerogative and Flowers of the 'Crown. But of this, we hope there fhall be 'never Caufe given. This was the Effect of the 'King's Anfwer, which was dated at *New-market* 'the 11th of *December*, 1621.

The King and People Competitors.

Thus the King acted his part; and tho' his Anfwer might be the Refult of his Thoughts, yet it was fome tranfcendent Caufe that puts it into Words; for his Nature was apt enough to fear the Sound of its own Impreffions. But now his Spirit was mounted, either the Breach of the Treaty with *Spain*, or the Breach (as he thought) upon his Prerogative, gave Wing to raife his Anger higher than his Fear. Princes that never knew how to obey, ride their Paffions with a loofe Rein, and are eafieft carried by that Impulfion. The Prince and the People are here Competitors, both jealous of Encroachments, both ftriving to prevent them. Liberty is a Power that gives a Well-being and Life to the People. Power is a Liberty that Princes take to be the very Life of their Being. Kings are like the Sea, and the People like the Land, the Induftry of the one ftriving with the Piles, and Banks of good Laws and Precedents, to bound the often Spring-Tides, and over-flowing of the other. In *Scotland* the Land was high, Rocky, and inacceffible for his Waves, tho' never fo boifterous: Here he finds a fmooth Shore, and the People as tame in their Obedience, as they were in their Sufferings, which makes him the bolder with them.

Difcourfes upon the King's Anfwer.

But the Parliament (weighing the King's Anfwer by the Ballance of Reafon, not Paffion) found that there was little for them to do. For how is this a mix'd Government, when Kings do what they pleafe; They call their People to a Parliament, where the three Eftates are faid to be the mix'd Government; but what is their Errand? To get Money. If they touch upon Mifcarriage in Government, it difparages him to his People (for now the infide of his Copfes are well grown again). If upon Religion, he knows well enough how to order that, if the Treaty with *Spain* goes on. And for the Affairs of State, he feems to imply, as if there were fome hidden and fecret Art in thofe Myfteries of King-craft, that the Parliaments Apprehenfion cannot reach. For, who can have Wifdom (faith he) to judge of Things of that Nature, but thofe that are traded in them? Every Man in his Profeffion! So the Priefts by their old Oracles did ftrive to keep the World in Ignorance, as the *Romifh* Factors do now. Whereas the true way of Treaties is with Chriftian, not *Machiavellian* Policy. This we require, this Anfwer we expect, you fhall have this Retribution from us. If you go about to cozen and cheat us by Delays, and fpin out Time for Ends, fuch Syrens muft not be liften'd after. Every State muft ftand upon the Foundation of its own Reafon and Power, and not build Caftles of Paper-Hopes upon deceitful Promifes, unlefs there be fuch redundant Caufes of Dependency upon them, as it is impoffible to fubfift without them. It was obferved by *Comines*, that in all Treaties betwixt the *Englifh* and the *French*, the *Englifh* ever had the worft; but in all Wars and Conflicts, the *Englifh* had the better; intimating, that Subtilty may deceive, but plain down-right Honefty is *beft*, and will prevail. Falfenefs is fit for fuch Spirits as Pope *Alexander*, or his Nephew *Cæfar Borgia*. *Scipio*, tho' a Heathen, in his Pactions with *Spain* and *Carthage*, fcorn'd it, and the old *Roman* Senate were fo Gallant, as to rebuke *Lucius Marcius*, their Ambaffador and General, becaufe, in the managing of his Wars and Treaties with *Perfeus* King of *Macedon*, he went about by Subtilties to circumvent him. And now an Ambaffador (as one faith) lies abroad, *Reipublicæ Causâ*, for the Good of his Country, which tends rather to the Hurt of it.

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The Parliament the King's Merchants.

But now they find that the King would only make Merchandize of the Commonwealth; yet Merchants look for their Money again with Advantage, and therefore their Counfel in difpofing it may be well fpared. But the Parliament, if they raife Money from the People, (which is never to be repay'd) there is good Reafon they fhould know, not only to what purpofe it is levied, but how prudently and fitly laid out; otherwife, as the King tells them in the Comparifon of the Robber, (tho' in relation to his Prerogative) if they fhould be fummon'd to levy Money of the People without Confideration of what it is for, or how it fhall be difpos'd for the Good of the Kingdom, they may very well fay and profefs, That they meant not to take it from them fo; that is, not to rob them of it. But the King's Neceffities muft come under the Common Emergencies, which he would not have known; and what will one Subfidy without Fifteens do? The Proteftants want in the *Palatinate*, fo doth he in *England*: But he had lately a great Affiftance from his People; never King of *England* found greater Love, (as he faith of himfelf) yet he wants ftill, and would have Supply for it under the Notion of a War. They muft *confider* what Money is fit, what Foot, what Horfe is neceffary; but they muft not know for what. All that they can imagine, is, that the King wants Money for his Favourite *Buckingham*, and his Kindred, to furnifh them againft *Chriftmas*, for Feafting, Gaming, and Bravery, the three main Pillars of the Times, Licentioufnefs raifed up to a ftupendious and exceffive Height, or to fend out his Ambaffadors, or help his indigent and expenfive Courtiers, and then the Wars are ended; for Want is a great War. But if the Good of the Kingdom, the Eftablifhment of Religion, the Happinefs of the King and his Pofterity, be not fit Themes for them to difcourfe of, why are they called?

The late Queen, (whofe Memory will be for ever Famous) by the King's own relation, liked the Parliaments, Petition well, when they humbly befought her to marry, becaufe they did not prefcribe her Place and Perfon, but left that to her Election; if they had done otherwife, fhe would have thought it Prefumption in them. The King thinks it Prefumption in the Parliament, humbly to befeech him (for the Good of Religion) to permit his Son to marry with a Proteftant Princefs; if they had fix'd upon Place or Perfon, he would have thought it High Treafon. So many Degrees high was the King's Spirit mounted above a Woman's to humble Subjects, and fo many Degrees lower than hers was his Spirit to daring Enemies.

Some of thefe Things were publickly difcourfed of among them in the Houfe, and otherfome mutter'd and talk'd of in private (for full Breafts will find vent); but the main Bufinefs

that

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[That] the Commons insisted on, was the King's [en]croachment upon their Liberties, debarring the[m] Freedom of Speech in Parliament, which was a natural, reasonable, and uncontroul'd Immunity, as long as they kept themselves within the Limits of their Duty, which the House was to be the sole judge of. And who can tax any particular Member with Miscarriages that way, that the House hath not censured hitherto? for now the Heat is but new broke in among them, and this Liberty of Speech stuck most with them; for if any Man should speak any thing to displease the King, (tho' it tended never so much to the good of the Kingdom) it might be termed insolent Behaviour, and be liable to Punishment after Parliament, (if not then) as the King threatens in his Letter; which carried such a Terror and over-awing with it, that they resolved to give over all Business, lest they should offend: Which the King hearing of, writes again to his Secretary *Calvert*, and the Speaker, to take of the Edge of those sharp Expressions he used in his Letters, thinking to cool the Heat among them.

The higher House offended.

But before this Heat was in the House of Commons, the Lords began to consider how cheap they were made by the multitude of *Irish*, and *Scotch* Earls and Viscounts, the King had accumulated, not the Natives of those Kingdoms, but private *English* Gentlemen, who had procured and assumed those Titles, to perch above the *English* Baronry, to their great Regret and Dishonour. And after some Debate, and canvassing in it, they resolved, That tho' they could not debar the King from making such Swarms of Nobles with Outlandish Titles, yet they would let him know what Prejudice it was to them, and if it produced no other good Effect, the King might at least see they took Offence, and were not well pleas'd with it; which made them present him with this Petition, thus Subsign'd.

The Humble Petition of the Nobility of *England*.

The Petition.

That whereas Your Majesty, at the Importunity of some natural Subjects of this Realm of England, *hath been pleased to confer upon them Honours, Titles, and Dignities, peculiar to other Your Majesty's Dominions, by which all the Nobility of this Realm, either in themselves, their Children, or both, find they are prejudiced. Our humble Desire is, That, with your gracious Allowance, we may challenge and preserve our Birth-rights; and that we may take no more notice of these Titulars to our Prejudice, than the Law of this Land doth; but that we may be excused, if, in civil Courtesy, we give them not the Respect or Place as to Noblemen-Strangers, seeing that these being our Country-men, born and Inheritanced under our Laws, their Families and Abode among us have yet procured their Translation into Foreign Names, only to our Injury.*

But in this Address to Your Sacred Majesty, it is far from us to meddle with, much less to limit, or interpret the Power of your Sovereignty, knowing that Your Majesty (being the Root whence all Honour receives Sap, under what Title soever) may collate what you please, upon whom, when, and how you please: Wherefore, in all Humbleness, we present this to your Gracious View, confident of your Majesty's equal Favour herein.

1. *Oxford.* 4. *Lincoln.* 7. *Warwick.*
2. *Huntington.* 5. *Dorset.* 8. *Abergavenie.*
3. *Essex.* 6. *Salisbury.* 9. *Dacres.*

10. *Darcie.* 18. *Scroop.* 26. *Dudley.*
11. *Stafford.* 19. *Cromwell.* 27. *Hunsdon.*
12. *Willoughby.* 20. *Sturton.* 28. *Denny.*
13. *Sheffield.* 21. *Howard.* 29. *Spencer.*
14. *Windsor.* 22. *St. John.* 30. *Haughton.*
15. *Gray.* 23. *Paget.* 31. *Stanhope.*
16. *Wentworth.* 24. *Russell.* 32. *Say.*
17. *Mordant,* 25. *Gerrard.* 33. *Noell.*

The King angry.

Thus we see the Errors of Princes are sometimes put into the Scale, and they bring with them so much Trouble and Vexation, that they often wear down their Glory and Happiness; for no Man can feel the Load and Burthen of it, but he that wears a Crown. The King was conscious to himself that he had done these Noblemen Injury, especially the Barons, to advance their Inferiors above them, for a little Profit either to himself or his Courtiers. And if he had not heard of this Petition before, such a Troop of Attendance together might have startled him; but being prepar'd for it, he muster'd up his Spirits, thinking it too great an Abasement for his Majesty to stoop at their Summons, being so publick an Action; or to lessen or recall what he had done. Yet was he troubled, not knowing what Quarrels the Strife for Place and Precedency might produce; or what ill Blood the Discontent of so many of the Nobility at one time might ingender: Therefore he sent for them all, or the most eminent and leading Men of them, some Days after, and expostulated the Business with them, one by one, in private, knowing he could deal best with them so, beginning with some of them roughly; yet still he closed with them at last, his Anger being (as it were) raised to make them humble, and reconcile themselves to him, that he might the better reconcile himself to them. And to the Earl of *Essex* he vented this Expression, *I fear thee not* Essex, *if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadst Forty thousand Men at thy Heels.* Which Words he utter'd, as if he had chid himself that they made an escape from him. And tho' this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of those Creations past, yet the King willingly restrain'd himself for the time to come.

The Commons Discontent.

But the House of Commons found the King's Letters to entangle the Way, rather than make a free Passage to their Liberties; for that which was their Birth-right, would now come to be derived from his Ancestors. And for all the King's Finenesses, they thought Religion very unsecure: For as long as the Bent of his Affections tended to the *Spanish* Match, there must needs be a wide Gap open as an Inlet to Popery; and if it may be made Treason for his Parliament to advise him from it, they saw but a very small Door left open to Liberty. But whatsoever befel them, they resolved to leave to Posterity some Prints and Foot-steps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges, left them by their great Ancestors, that tho' they could not preserve them entire, those that succeed them might at least find some Relicks and Ruines of what they had; which made them make this Protestation, Recorded in their Journal-Book, 19. *Dec.* 1621.

Their Protestation.

THE Commons now Assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges of Parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this Protestation following, That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the

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Subjects of England, *and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of* England, *and the Maintenance and making of Laws, and Redress of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and Matter of Counsel, and Debate in Parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of those Businesses, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have, Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat reason, and bring to Conclusion the same. And that the Commons in Parliament have likewise Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters, in such Order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest. And that every Member of the said House hath like Freedom, from all Impeachment, Imprisonment, and Molestation, (other than by Censure of the House it self) for, or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Business. And that if any of the said Members be complain'd of, and question'd for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shew'd to the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give Credence to any private Information.*

The King's Trouble increases.

The King was again alarm'd by this Protestation, and He that naturally lov'd Peace, both at home and abroad, found a loud War in his own Breast, which indeed was in effect rais'd by himself; for no Wisdom could resolve the Intricacies of his Resolutions but his own; for he would have a War with the Emperor in Contemplation, and a Treaty with the King of *Spain* in Action, both at one time, who were (as it were) one Person; and because the Parliament, like wise Mathematicians, would use the Practical Part as well as the Theory, he was enraged against them, and his Prerogative stept in as a Stickler, and broke out, like an Exhalation, in Thundering and Terror, to the Astonishment and Fear of his People, which made them shrowd themselves from those Storms, by creeping under the Shelter of their Native Liberties. And now the King flies from his hot and Intemperate Region, to some cool Considerations. If he should yield by Silence or Connivance to this Protestation, it would remain as an impregnable Bulwark for the People to Posterity. And what is this terrible Thing? their just Liberties. If he should oppose it with Rigour, it might produce such an intestine Division at home, as with all Industry he strove to prevent abroad. Break the Treaty with *Spain* he would not, his Heart was too much set upon it, for he could find no Protestant Princess good enough; the high and elated Extraction of Kings will raise the People up to a kind of Adoration (as the old Heathens did the Race of their Gods and Heroes.) whereas true Honesty and Piety finds out such Matches, as may as well bring Glory to God as to Man, not Worldly Blessings only, but Heavenly also. Lose the Love of the People he was loth; for he thought his peaceable Reign gained upon them, and that no King had ever deserved better of a People than he. But Peace is a kind of Soft Rayment, or Masking-Dress, not always to be worn: Standing Lakes beget Corruption. The Pool of *Bethesda* had no Virtue till it was stirred. War is necessary as Physick for unsound Bodies. *Justum id Bellum quibus necessarium.*

The Parliament is dissolved.

When the King had weighed every particular Scruple, by the Ballance of his own Reason, and Council about him, he took a Resolution to dissolve the Parliament; which he did by Proclamation, the 6th of *January*, being 15 Days after the Protestation was made. So much Time he measured out by the Scale of Consideration, before he would pull down such a Structure of Love, as never was built by the People for any of his Predecessors; which he implies in his Proclamation, laying there all the Blame upon the House of Commons, and not on them in general, but on some ill-temper'd Spirits, (as he call'd them) that sowed Tares among the Corn, and frustrated the Hopes of a plentiful Harvest: Striving by these Imputations to take away the Odium that such a Dissolution might produce.

A Proclamation against Talking.

The Parliament (and consequently the Union between the King and People) being thus dissolved, every Man's Tongue is let loose to run Riot. And tho' the King loved Hunting above all other Exercises, and had many good Hunters about him; yet all those, and the Strength of a Proclamation, (put out to forbid talking of State Affairs) could not restrain them from mouthing out, That *Great Britain* was become less than little *England*; that they had lost Strength by changing Sexes; and that he was no King, but a Fidler's Son; otherwise he would not suffer such Disorders at home, and so much Dishonour abroad. *So dangerous it is for Princes, by a flegmatick Remissness, to slacken the Ligaments of the Peoples Tongues*; for such an over-flux of bad Humour may bring their Obedience to a Paralytick! And the Story of *David Ritius*, written by the King's own Tutor, *Buchanan*, had died in every *English* Opinion, if it had not had a new Impression by these Miscarriages.

Sets Peoples Tongues a-work.

And they say further, Why should he assume to himself the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, that suffers the Protestants of *Germany* and *France* to be extirpated. That he might almost have purchased such a Country as the *Palatinate*, with the Money spent on Ambassages; and that his promising the *French* Protestants Assistance, (by their Agents that interceded for them) made them the more resolute, and confident to their Ruine: So that they might well call *England* the *Land of Promise*. And all that he got by his Lip-labour Assistance from the *French* King, was, That his Ambassador, Sir *Edward Herbert*, was snapp'd up by *Luynes*, the young Constable and Favourite there; with, *What hath your Master to do with us and our Business?* Whereas the *English* Fleet's the Glory of the World, if employ'd) would have taught the *French* Pride to know, that a Looker on sees more than the Gamester; and he that strikes with Passion, will many times thank them that take him off by Friendly Admonition. Such Discourses as these flew up and down from Lip to Lip, that it was almost Treason to hear, much more to speak.

Oxford and Southampton committed.

The Earl of *Oxford* was betray'd, and accus'd by one *White*, a Papist, (who was vulgarly call'd after in Derision by the Name of *Oxford White*) to have spoken some Words to the Dishonour of the King, and Disparagement of his Government, and was committed to the Tower. The Earl of *Southampton* was also committed to the Dean of *Westminster*. *Oxford* lay by it a great while, and being an active Man, the King sent him at last to Sea, to be one of *Buckingham*'s Vice-Admirals for the *English* Coast, while Sir *Robert Mansell* guarded the Coasts of *Spain* from being infested with the *Turks* of *Algier* and *Sally*.

Sir Edw. Coke in Disgrace.

Sir *Edward Coke*, that was looked upon as one of the great Incendiaries in the House of Commons, is put from the Council-Table with Disgrace: The King saying, He was the fittest Instrument for a Tyrant that ever was in *England*,

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land. And yet in the House he call'd the King's Prerogative, a great Over-grown Monster. And how can these agree; unless because the King would not take his Counsel, he hanged himself on the other side. But whether the King had Cause to say the one, I know not; but he (it seems) found Cause enough to say the other.

Some punished, some preferred

Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Dudly Digges*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, Men of great Repute and Knowledge, active in the House, were sent into *Ireland*, and joined with others in Commission, to enquire into Misdemeanours committed there, but (it was thought) as a Punishment for what they had commited here; for they were long detained from their own Occasions, under the Colour of an honourable Employment; and Sir *Peter Hammon* of *Kent*, and others, were sent into the *Palatinate*. This kind of Punishment beginning now to be in Fashion; and not long after this, Sir *John Savile*, the Knight of *Yorkshire*, that carried all the Country at a Beck, and a powerful Man in the House, is taken off by the King, made Comptroller of his Houshold, a Privy-Councellor, and not long after a Baron: So the King found out two ways of silencing those that were able to do him Mischief. Active Spirits, that come too near him, must either come nearer to him, or be sent further from him, which he doubts not will take off the Edge, and bate the Sharpness of the Humour another time. And these Preferments and Punishments were also practised by his Successor, with this Experiment in both, That the most popular Men, as soon as they wore the Court Livery, lost the love of the People; but those that suffered for them, were the more beloved and admired by them: The Commons of *England* having more than an ordinary Genius to support and strengthen the Pillars of their Liberties.

The King dishonoured abroad.

And as these Troubles bred Disturbance at home, so they begot Discredit abroad; for now (by this Breach) they undervalued the King's Power as much as they did before his Spirit; yea, even in the King of *Spain*'s own Towns, (whilst this beloved Treaty was in heat) they in their Comedies presented Messengers bringing News in haste, That the *Palatinate* was like to have a very formidable Army shortly on foot: For the King of *Denmark* would furnish him with a Hundred thousand Pickel'd-Herrings, the *Hollanders* with a Hundred thousand Butter-Boxes, and *England* with a Hundred thousand Ambassadors. And they picture the King in one place with a Scabbard without a Sword: In another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, tho' divers stand pulling at it. At *Brussels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and never a Penny in them nor in his Purse, turned upside down. In *Antwerp* they pictured the Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Irish* Mantler, with her Hair hanging about her Ears, and her Child at her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of these Pictures had several Motto's, expressing their Malice. Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him the whole Nation.

And now the Treaty goes on amain. The Lord *Digby* is sent into *Spain* Extraordinary Ambassador. To relate the manner of whose Entertainment, after his Arrival there, it may not be impertinent; for by it may be discovered the Course-grain of *Spanish* Civility, and how much our Ambassador went against the Hair then, tho' happily the Way may be smoother now.

He landed at St. *Andrea* in *Biscay*, a poor Maritime Town, where the People for the most part go all bare-foot; and there his Lordship had the Patience to stay a Fortnight, expecting the Court Civilities, which were then upon Remove from *Madrid* to *Lerma*, (being part of the way to St. *Andrea*) without any Intention to meet his Lordship. When his Expectations were tired with attending their Formalities, he sent his Secretary, *Simon Digby*, to *Madrid*, to be a Solicitor to the Duke of *Lerma*, (who then bore the Sway) that he might have his first Audience at *Lerma*. And after some waiting time, (tho' he had our King's Agent, Mr. *Cottington*, for his Assistant) he was returned with a *Spanish* Shrug, That the King would by no means admit of his Desire, because he knew the Ambassador came about Business, and he went to *Lerma* only for Pleasure. This was a Rub in his Lordship's way; and being impatient till it were removed, he sent again to Court a second Petition, which was to be presented with all the Power *Cottington* could make; and his Importunity got the upper Hand of the *Spanish* Resolution, (tho' much against their Minds) that he might come to *Lerma*; for which his Lordship was so elevated in his Spirits, that he pleased himself in an endeavouring way to express, That the King of *Spain* would not have done this Favour to any Ambassador, but the King of *England's*, nor to any that our King should have sent, but himself. And it may be partly true, for none (it is hoped) would have begg'd it so shamefully as he did; for there was no Business to be expected; that must be turned into Feasting and Jollity; and if he had not hunted after the King of *Spain* for the Favour, they would have let Don *Juan* (as they call'd him) dance Attendance at *Madrid* till all their Sports at *Lerma* had been finished: For all his Train (many of them Knights, and Gentlemen of good Quality) murmured to see him so slighted by the *Spaniard*; that being known to be a whole Month in the Country, he had not the least Message or Civility from the Court; which extraordinary Miscarriage would have put any but an Extraordinary Ambassador out of Countenance. But his Lordship made *Bonne mine*, and Pleased himself with the great Favours he should receive at *Lerma*, and so came forward to *Burgos*, which is within 20 *English* Miles of *Lerma*. And tho' the Court had been a Fortnight at *Lerma*, yet there was no more News of his Reception at *Burgos*, than if he had been still at St. *Andrea*.

And now his Lordship fearing they would wholly neglect him, thought it his best course to send *Cottington* (who met him at *Burgos*) to *Lerma*, to learn what their Pleasure was to do with him; who returning, brought word, that the next Day he should have advice what Order would be taken. And accordingly, one of the Duke of *Lerma*'s Secretaries sent a poor Fellow with a Letter, that the next Day (being Sunday) there should be two Coaches sent, to bring his Lordship on Tuesday following to *Villa Manza* (a Village a Mile short of *Lerma*) where his Lodgings should be ready, and the King's Harbingers attending to prepare all Things with Diligence. This gave new Life to his Lordship's Spirits; the Coaches came according to the time, and to *Villa Manza* they went, every Man furnished in his best Accoutrements, hoping to see the Court that Night: But they only found a pitiful, poor, ragged Village; where, enquiring for the Lord Ambassador's House, the honest Country People told them, surely they were mistaken; they knew

knew of no House, nor Harbinger, nor what they meant; being as much amazed at the strange Questions of the *English*, as they had cause to be at their strange Entertainment.

The *English* romed up and down the Town, and could discover no House fit for the Ambassador to go into; so that he was forced to sit in the Coach, and sent || *Walsingham Greisley* in all haste to *Lerma*, to know how he should be disposed of: *Greisley* returned, and told the Ambassador, They were all so busie in seeing a Play, that he could not come to Speak with any Man that understood any thing relating to his Lordship: Which so distracted him, that he began to doubt whether *Villa Manza* were the Place; and it begot a new Scrutiny; but the Scruple was quickly removed, by finding *Villa Manza* in the Letter in very legible Characters. And now he could no longer dissemble like an Ambassador; but supplying with Impatience what he wanted in Authority, commanded the Coach-man in a very hasty manner to drive back to *Burgos*, which they very punctually refused; whereupon his Lordship leap'd out of the Coach, and in a great Choler mounted on Horse-back, crying to his Company, Away. The Coach-men seeing him resolute, and fearing to lose their Reward, told his Lordship, They would venture a Chiding to do him Service; which dismounted him again, and he entred the Coach; but before the Wheels turned about, his Mind changed, and by some little whispering Advice of *Cottington's*, he now determined to tarry there all Night: So that after sitting still four Hours in a Coach, he made a worse Choice, entring into a poor Cottage, where bare Walls, and want of such fitting Furniture as helps Nature's Weariness, might tell his Lordship, that the Commons of *England* stand on a better Foundation than wooden Shoes. Yet the Owner of this House welcomed his Lordship with as much Gravity, as if it had been a well provided Castle; so that there was little Pleasure to be taken, to hear one so over-furnish'd with Words that had such empty Rooms.

But now News was brought, that a Harbinger was come, who said, there was a House, and all things provided; so that his Lordship composed his Countenance as well as he could upon such a sudden Warning, and commanded the Harbinger to be brought to him; who excusing himself for not coming time enough to attend his Lordship, said, He was glad to see his Lordship had lighted upon the right House. My Lord something dashed with the ill Accommodation, asked him, How he knew it to be the right House? He answered, That himself and one of his Fellows had been there the Day before to bespeak it. The Master of the House being questioned about it (having formerly deny'd it) made good his first Assertion, denying there was any Body at his House: Which put his Lordship into such a Fit of Anger, that he threatned to throw the Harbinger out of the Window for Lying. The Man, affrighted, quickly got down the Stairs, leaving his Lordship to his shifts, and He and his Train that Night were but slenderly provided for.

The next Morning *Cottington* went to Court betimes, where he spake with the Duke of *Lerma*, representing to him the Disorder that had been at *Villa Manza*, whereat the Duke seemed highly offended with the Officers; and as he was in his Heat, in comes the Harbinger, who being question'd for this Miscarriage, told the Duke (before *Cottington's* Face) That the Ambassador expected Two or Three Grandees should be sent to receive him, which failing in, he grew so Cholerick, that when he came to do his Service, he threatned to throw him out at the Window. The Duke, Perhaps glad of the Occasion, gave (by way of Diversion) good Ear to the Fellows words; and putting on the severest Countenance, told *Cottington*, He did not think that so great a Counsellor, as Don *Juan*, would have so miscarried with Passion, as to menace and affront the King's Officer in that manner: So that *Cottington's* Business was quite preverted; for whereas he came to complain of the Wrongs his Lordship had received, he was now driven to excuse the Error he had committed. So that the Duke of *Lerma* left him in his old House a Day or Two, to consider well of it, and then the Conde *de Salazar*, one of the King's *Major Domo's*, was sent to accompany him to the Court. These were the Glories of the *Spanish* Entertainments, the Honour they gave the *English*, and the Groundwork of that Union betwixt the Nations, whereon they built up some great *Formalities*, which (like Royal *Shadows*) *vanished in the End*, and came to nothing.

As the Lord *Digby* is sent into *Spain* to smooth the way over the *Pyrene*, so *Gage* is sent to *Rome* to make the *Alpes* accessible; for the Dispensation must be had from thence for the Marriage. *That Man of Sin, as the Primum mobile*; he turns about all inferior Orbs at his Pleasure; usurping a Terrene Deity, and holds it by the Chains of Conscience, even now when the Light of Learning and Knowledge, with a Marvellous Influence, shines over the Christian World. At home, the Prisons are set open; Priests and Jesuits walk about at noon-day to deceive; and *Gondemar* vaunts of Four *thousand* Recusants that his Intercession had *released*, either *to* make his Service the more acceptable to his *Master*, or to let *him* see how willing our King is to do any thing to advance that Match that they never intend. Who is not so nice, but that he can stay for a Dispensation from *Rome*; to expedite which, he writes to some of the activest Cardinals there, and receives Answers from them, by *Gage* his Agent, full of alluring Hopes. (Car. *Bandino*, Car. *Lervisa*.) And, that he might give some more publick Testimony of his Indulgence, he commands Dr. *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, to pass Writs under the Great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge all such Papists as were imprisoned for Recusancy. Whereupon the Lord Keeper issued out these Writs; and, to let the Judges see how well he was pleased with this Command, he corroborates their Authority with this Letter, signed with his own Hand.

(Lord Keeper's Letter to the Judges.)

After my hearty Commendations to you. His Majesty having resolved (out of deep Reasons of State, and in Expectation of like Correspondence from Foreign Princes to the Professors of our Religion) to grant some Grace and Connivance to the Imprison'd Papists of this Kingdom, hath commanded me to pass some Writs under the Broad Seal to that Purpose: Requiring the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge the said Prisoners, according to the Tenor and Effect of the same. I am to give you to understand (from his

|| In the above-mentioned Collection of Original Letters that passed between King *James* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, I find one *Greisley* often nam'd, as the Bearer of several of these Letters from *Madrid* and back again.

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Majesty) how his Majesty's Royal Pleasure is, that upon Receipt of these Writs, you shall make no niceness, or difficulty, to extend that his Princely Favour to all such Papists as you shall find Prisoners in the Goals of your Circuits, for any Church Recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the Oath of Supremacy, or dispersing Popish Books, or hearing, saying of Mass, or any other point of Recusancy, which doth touch or concern Religion only, and not Matters of State. And so I bid you farewel.

Westminster Coll. 2 *Aug.* 1622. *Your loving Friend,* JO. LINCOLN.

His Preferment, Character and part of his Story.

This Bishop succeeded the Lord *Verulam*, not as Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal, he having, been by *Buckingham*'s means, made Dean of *Westminster*, and Bishop of *Lincoln*, upon *Neil's* remove to *Durham*; and for a long time had very gracious Acceptance with the Countess of *Buckingham*, who was a great Means to smooth his Passage to all these Places; and the Marquess her Son was the rather induced to it, because he was his Creature, and could mould him (as he thought) to serve his own Turn; though when he had sifted and tried him, he found some Pharisaical Leaven in him, and afterwards in the next King's Reign threw him by. For though, he were composed of many Grains of good Learning, yet the Height of his Spirit (I will not say Pride) made him odious, even to those that raised him; happily, because they could not attain to those Ends by him, that they required of him: For great and good Officers ought to be just to their own Principles, and not deviate from them for any Worldly Respects.

But being of a comely and stately Presence, and that animated with a great Mind, made him appear very proud to the Vulgar Eye; but that very Temper raised him to aim at great Things, which he effected, for the old ruinous Body of the Abbey-Church at *Westminster* was new clothed by him, The fair and beautiful Library of St. *John's* in *Cambridge*, was a Pile of his Erection; and a very compleat Chapel built by him at *Lincoln-College* in *Oxford*, meerly for the Name of *Lincoln*, having no Interest in, nor Relation to that University. These were Arguments of a great Mind, how far from Ostentation in this frail Body of Flesh, cannot be determined, because the Benefit of publick Actions smooths every Stone that makes up the Building.

* But that which heightned him most in the Opinion of those that knew him best, was his bountiful Mind to Men in Want, being a great Patron to support, where there was Merit that wanted Supply. Among the rest, Monsieur *de Molin*, a very famous Minister of *France*, (in the Persecution there) driven into *England* for Refuge. The Bishop hearing of him, spoke to Doctor *Hacket*, his Chaplain, to make him a Visit from him. And because (saith he) I think the Man may be in want, in a strange Country, carry him some Money, not naming the Sum, because he would sound the Depth of his Chaplain's Mind. Doctor *Hacket* finding the Bishop nominate no Proportion, told him, He could not give him less than Twenty Pounds. *I did demur upon the Sum* (said the Bishop) *to try you. Is Twenty Pounds a fit Gift for me to give a Man of his Parts and Deserts? Take a Hundred Pounds and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him my self.* Which he after performed, and made good his Promise, in supplying him during his abode in *England*.

But these great Actions were not publickly visible; those were most apparent that were looked on with an Envious, rather than an Emulous Eye. For the close and intimate Correspondence that was betwixt this Bishop and the old Countess, set many scurrilous Tongues and Pens a-work, though he was (as I have been assured) *Eunuchus ab Utero*; which shews, that nothing can prevent Malice, but such an Innocence as it cannot lay hold on. *For it hath ever been accounted a Crime, not to endeavour to prevent the Voice of Calumny.*

His Breach with *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Disgraces put upon him by the Court, will not fall in here; nor his closing again, and strugling when he saw the Axe laid to the Root of Episcopacy. But by this Man's Actions (as in a Mirror) may be seen, that a great Estate which (besides his Bounty) his Places procured him, is a liquorish Temptation to make a Man, *Proteus*-like, vary from one Shape to another, and to shape no direct Course, but to go still as the Wind blows.

Archbishop Abbot kills a Keeper.

Not long before this, that Reverend Prelate *George* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Man of a Holy and Unblamable Life (meddling with edged Tools that he used not to handle in his Study) by a sad Accident killed a Keeper with a forked Arrow as he was shooting at a Deer. This was a great Perplexity to the good Man, and a heavy Knell to his Aged Spirit, which he petitioned the King might ring a *Requiem* to his retired Thoughts at *Guildford*, his Place of Birth, where he had built a very Munificent Alms-house for poor People, and where he went to bring his Spirit under, to make it more blessed than the Glories of the World can contribute to it. There were very many willing to have him retire to his Rest, that gaped after his Dignity more than Desert; and though Doctor *Laud* was but newly initiated into his Bishoprick of St. *David's* (by other Hands, because those of the Archbishop were tinctured with Blood, as he saith himself) yet his Enmity was not small against him, for being a Means to let the King know, he was reputed a Papist in *Oxford*, and of a dangerous turbulent Spirit: But the King granted out a Commission to enquire, Whether casual Homicide did make the Archbishop irregular? And in the Disquisition of it, he found many Friends that restor'd him from his Alms-house to his Palace. But this he did, and would have done in either Condition. The Widow of the Man that fell by him, was raised by him; and she and her Children (as may be said) built a commodious Being upon his Grave.

Arminianism flourished.

The King's Mercy and Indulgence extending towards the Papists, taught many Men to come as near Popery as they could stretch, finding it the next way to Preferment; so that *Arminius*'s Tenets flew up and down from Pulpit to

* The Character our Author gives of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, agrees with what hath been publish'd many Years after, both in the History of himself, and of Archbishop *Laud*; and we have an Argument, how well our Author was acquainted with the most minute Passages of that time, in what he tells us of the Lord-Keeper's Discourse with his Chaplain *Hacket* about Monsieur *du Moulin*, and of his being *Eunuchus ab Utero*. Neither of which was ever taken notice of by any Writer but himself, till *Hacket*'s Life of *Williams*, publish'd near Forty Years after our Author's Death, made mention of both.

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Pulpit; that, indeed, Preaching was nothing but Declamation, little tending to Edification (such Orthodox Ministers, as strove to refute these Erronious Opinions, being looked on as Puritans and Antimonarchical) which continual rubbing one against another begot so much Heat, as might have blown into a Flame not easie to be quenched. And the King had daily information how the Pulpits rung against the *Spanish* Match. So that to settle these Extravagancies, he directs his Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this manner for Regulating of the Ministry.

The King's Letter for regulating the Ministry.

MOST Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and entirely Beloved Councellor, We greet you well. *Forasmuch as the Abuses and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit have been in all Times repressed in this Realm, by some Act of Council or State, with the Advice and Resolution of grave and learned Prelates; insomuch, that the very licensing of Preachers had beginning, by an Order of* Star-Chamber, *the Eighth Day of* July, *in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of King* Henry *the Eight, our Noble Predecessor: And whereas at this present, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to the scandal of the Church, and disquiet of the State and present Government. We, upon humble Representations unto Us of these Inconveniencies by your self, and sundry other grave and reverend Prelates of this Church; as also of Our Princely Care and Zeal for the Extirpation of Schism and Dissention growing from these Seeds, and for the settling of a Religious and Peaceable Government both in Church and Common-wealth; do, by these Our special Letters, straitly charge and command you, to use all possible Care and Diligence, that these Limitations and Cautions, herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and strictly, from henceforth put in practice, and observed, by the several Bishops within your Jurisdiction. And to this end, Our Pleasure is, that you send them forthwith Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent, and Communicated unto every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer and Minister, in every Cathedral or Parish Church, within their Diocese: And that you earnestly require them, to employ their utmost Endeavours in the Performance of this so important a Business, letting them know, that We have a special Eye unto their Proceedings, and expect a strict Account thereof, both from you, and every of them: And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. Given under Our Signet at Our Castle of* Windsor *the Fourth of* August, *in the Twentieth Year of Our Reign.*

Directions concerning Preachers, sent with the Letter.

'1. THAT no Preacher under the Degree and Calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church, (and they upon the King's days, and set Festivals) do take Occasion (by the Expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever) to fall into any set Discourse or Common Place, otherwise than by opening the Coherence and Division of the Text, which shall not be comprehended and Warranted in Essence, Substance, Effect, or Natural Inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth in 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by Authority of the Church of *England*, not only for a help for the Non-preaching, but withal for a Pattern and Boundary (as it were) for the Preaching Ministers. And for their further Instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of *Articles*, and the Two Books of *Homilies*.

'2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall Preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon *Sundays* and Holidays in the Afternoon, in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged, and approved of, who spend the Afternoons Exercise in the Examination of Children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable Custom of Teaching in the Church of *England*.

'3. That no Preacher, of what Title soever, under the Degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to Preach in any Popular Auditory the deep Points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility, or Irresistibility of God's Grace, but leave those Themes rather to be handled by the Learned Men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of Use and Application, rather than by way of Positive Doctrines, being fitter for the Schools than for simple Auditories.

'4. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of Positive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative and Jurisdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or otherwise meddle with Matters of State, and the Differences between Princes and the People, then as they are Instructed and Precedented in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly to those Two Heads of Faith and Good Life, which are all the Subject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.

'5. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume causelesly, or (without Invitation from the Text) fall into bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches against the Persons of either Papists or Puritans, but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto, by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and the Discipline of the Church of *England* from the Aspersions of either Adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other Infection.

'Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good Cause to blame for this former Remisness) be more wary and choice in their Licensing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary, to pass Licenses in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of *England* (a new Body severed from the ancient Clergy, as being neither Parsons, Vicars nor Curates) be Licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only from a Recommendation of the Party from the Bishop of the Diocese, under his Hand and Seal, with a *Fiat* from the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Confirmation under the Great Seal of *England*. And

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'that such as do transgress any one of these Directions, be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocese, or, in his Default, by the Archbishop of the Province, *ab Officio, & Beneficion*, for a Year and a Day, until his Majesty, by the Advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further Punishment.

Observations upon the Directions.

The Directions the Archbishop recommended to his several Diocesans, that they might be put in Execution with Caution, And then may be observed, that the King's Affections tended to the peaceable Comportment of his People, that both Papist and Puritan might have a quiet Being; which preponderation of his put them in *Æqui-librio*; nay, the Papist was in the prime Scale. But this new thing called a Lecturer, he could by no means endure, unless he pass'd through all the Briers of his several Courts to the Broad Seal, which was a kind of pungent Ordeal Tryal, to which he must put his *Teste me ipso*, and then it was Orthodox; so that though Lecturers were not absolutely forbidden, yet the Charge and Trouble to come to it, made the way inaccessible. Preachers by an Order of *Star-Chamber* in Heaven were first Licensed, with an *Ite, prædicate*, before *Henry* VIIIth's time; and certainly they have a Great Seal from thence for what they do: Therefore it behoves them to take heed what they say, lest that Spirit they receive Directions from bind them not up.

Papists the Fomenters.

But this Animosity of the King's against Puritans, was thought to be fomented by the Papists, whose Agent Bishop *Laud*, was suspected to be, though in Religion he had a Motley Form by himself, and would never, (as a Priest told me plainly in *Flanders*) bring his Neck under the Obedience of the *Roman* Yoak, tho' he might stickle for the Grandure of the Clergy. And now he began to be *Buckingham*'s Confessor, (as he expresseth in his own Notes) and wore the Court Livery, tho' the King had a sufficient Character of him, and was pleased with Asseveration to protest his incentive Spirit should be kept under, that the Flame should not break out by any Preferment from him. But that was now forgotten, and he crept so into Favour, that he was thought to be the Bellows that blew these Fires. For the Papists used all the Artifices they could to make a Breach between the King and his People, that they might enter at the same for their own Ends: Which, to accomplish, they slily close with the Chief Ministers of State, to put the King upon all his Projects and Monopolies displeasing to the People, that they might the more Alienate their Affections from him: Sowing their Seeds of Division also betwixt Puritan and Protestant; so that (like the second Commandment) they quite exclude the Protestant; for all those were Puritans with this High-grown Arminian-Popish Party, that held in Judgment the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, or in Practice live according to the Doctrine publickly taught in the Church of *England*. And they attribute the Name of Protestant,

1. To such Papists, as, either out of Policy or by Popish Indulgence, hold outward Communion with the Church of *England*.

2. To such Protestants, as were either tainted with, or inclinable to their Opinions.

3. To indifferent Men, who imbrace always that Religion that shall be commanded by Authority. Or,

4. To such Neutrals as care for no Religion, but such as stands with their own liking; so that they allow the Church of *England* the Refuse both of their Religion, and ours.

Regians and Republicans.

Then they strive to make a Division of Regians and Republicans: The Regians are the great Dependents upon the Crown, both in Church and State, who swell up the Prerogative, preaching and distilling into the King the Almightiness of his Power. That all that the People hath is the King's, and that it is by his Mercy they have a bare empty Being. And this hoisting up of the King, they knew, would stir up the Republicans to oppose him in his Designs, by which they pinch (as the King thinks) his Prerogative; feeding a Strife betwixt Law and Prerogative, whereby they escape the Dint of both, and hope the Fire they kindle will break out at last to consume their Adversaries. That these Things were acted and fomented by Papists, was very probable, for they were great Sticklers about the Court and Council-Table. But it was too apparent that some of the Clergy (to make their way the smoother to their wished End) began so to adore the King, that he could not be named, but more Reverence was done to it than to the *Name of God*; And the Judges in their itinerant Circuits (the more to enslave the People to Obedience) being to speak of the King, would give him such Sacred and Oraculous Titles, as if their Advancement to higher Places must necessarily be laid upon the Foundation of the Peoples Debasement.

On the other side: The well-affected to Religion (that knew no other Inclination than the Dictates of their own Reason, Experiences of former Times, and the constant Practices of the Romanists for propagating their own Designs) did, by their Writings and Discourses, strive to warm the King's cold Temper, and put fresh Spirits into his chilled Veins; shewing the Tyranny of the incroaching Monarchy of the House of *Austria*, (who was *Rome*'s great Factor) and how just and secure the opposing of such a growing Power will be; That no Sword is so sharp, nor Arms so strong, as those that are cemented with true Religion. The security of Conscience, grounded upon the Word of Truth, being not only a Bulwark to defend, but the best Engine to oppose Idolatry and Ambition. Thus stood the Kingdom divided in it self.

The King active in the Treaty.

But as the King strove (after this Rupture betwixt him and the Parliament) to settle Things at home, and keep his People in Obedience, so he was as active abroad to keep up his own Reputation: For he made a full account to salve up all these Miscarriages by the intended Match with *Spain*, that his People might see he could discern further into the intrinsical Matters of State than they, and so make the Error theirs. Therefore he plied it by his Ambassadors and Agents, and all Indulgences to Recusants were admitted to sweeten their Addresses. The Lord *Vaux*, a Papist, had freedom to transport Four Thousand English, to reinforce the King of *Spain*'s Armies, both against our King's Confederates of *Holland*, (under whose Protection his banished Children had Refuge) and against their Country it self the *Palatinate*, which the King so much endeavoured to preserve.

The Articles of Marriage long a settling.

The Articles of Marriage had taken up much time in Debate, between the Commissioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any Form, and the principal Articles (that concerned Religion) had many various Shapes put upon them, till they were dress'd to their Minds;

Minds: And when they were fitted and fashioned by them, the Pope stripp'd them naked, and put upon them what Garment they pleased: He hath his *Index Expurgatorius* in every thing. And, to dead our King's hopes, the Pope urges, *Quod Ecclesiastici nullis legibus subjaceant, nisi suorum superiorum Ecclesiasticorum*; That the *Ecclesiasticks* should be subject to no Laws, but what they brought along with them; which gave Liberty to do what they pleased, and to be punished for their ill Doing how they pleased. That the Children of the *Infanta* might be brought up in the Popish Religion, *Usque ad Annos nubiles*, till it be well rooted in them: And that she might have a publick Church in the City for all Comers, besides her Chappel in the Court, which extended to little less than an open Toleration. Some other Rubs the Popes threw in the way, which the King stumbled at, not being in the Articles treated on betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, which he insists on to that King, disclaims any Treaty with the Pope, tho' his Agent *Gage* made daily Addresses to him by Cardinal *Bandino*, with whom our King held † Correspondence. And he requires the Lord *Digby* in *Spain* to press that King to a final Resolution, that he might provide some other Match for his Son, if this should not succeed; For (saith he) *We have in a manner already done that which is desired, as all the Roman Catholicks have found; which if the Pope had known, it is to be presumed, he would not so much have insisted upon these Points.* And the sending and resending betwixt *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain*, spends Time, and may serve for a Colour to draw the Treaty *in infinitum*. But yet willing he was to have some Anchor-hold for his Hopes: For in the same Letter he saith, *Neverthelesse if you find it a thing impossible for them to resolve without a Reply to* Rome, *and that they do earnestly desire it, we are contented that you shall yield them two Months time after your Audience, and longer we cannot expect.*

Quæ semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.

Our King's Resolution.

These Resolutions were sent Post into *Spain*, inclosed in this following Letter, which is very necessary to be inserted here, tho' taken from Mr. *Pryn*'s Collection, who had this and others among the Lord *Cottington*'s Papers, (a great Agent afterward in the *Spanish* Affairs) and are the bitter Kernel, preserved by *Cottington* when the Shell of the Treaty was broke.

Sent to *Digby* in *Spain*.

'Right trusty, *&c.* Your Dispatch of the 9th of *August* gave us so much Contentment, and so great Hopes of Satisfaction, in all those Businesses, which you have there to Treat with that King, as we could not expect any further Difficulties: Notwithstanding by that which hath come to our Hands immediately after, as well by *George Gage* from *Rome*, as by our Ambassador Sir *Richard Weston* at *Brussels*, and our Ministers in the *Palatinate*; We find that neither the Dispensation is granted for the Match, nor the Treaty of Cessation so near a Conclusion, as we conceived it would have been, now that the Auxillaries and all other Obstacles are removed. But on the contrary side, that new Delays and Excuses are invented, or Garisons in the *Palatinate* in the meantime blocked up, *Heidelberg* it self actually besieged: Which Proceeding, tho' our Ambassador hath expostulated with the *Infanta* and the Commissioners, as injurious to us, and ill beseeming their Professions hitherto, yet is there not that Readiness shewed to give us such Contentment therein as we might justly expect, but Answers still protracted and put off for Advantage, whilst our Forces there remain in great Distress, and the Town and Castle of *Heidelberg* likely in a few Days to be lost, for it cannot hold out long, as we are informed. This Dealing seems the more strange unto us, for that the late Dispatch of the King of *Spain* was (before the News of the Siege, and that our Ambassador had propounded any concerning it) come unto the *Infanta*. But because you shall be particularly informed of the whole Carriage of the Business, we have given Order that Copies shall be sent you of all the Dispatch, and then you shall see how these Proceeding agree with the Hopes and Promises which are given us from thence.

1622.

Spanish Juggling.

'Hereupon therefore our Pleasure is, That you shall immediately, and with as much speed as you may, crave Audience of that King, and represent unto him the Merit which we may justly challenge unto our self, for our sincere Proceeding with the Emperor, and him, in all the Course of this Business, notwithstanding the many Invitations and Temptations which we have had, to engage our self on our Son-in-Law's Part. That we have had, both from the Emperor and him, Hopes given us, from time to time, of extraordinary Respect, howsoever our Son-in-Law had deserv'd, which we have attended, and expected even to the very last, with much Patience, and in despight (as it were) of all the Opposition that hath been made to shake our Resolution in that behalf. If now when all Impediments are removed, and that the Way is so prepared, as that the Emperor may give an End unto the War, and make some present Demonstration of his Respects towards us, in leaving us the Honour of holding those poor Places, which yet remain quietly and peaceably, until the general Accommodation, the same shall nevertheless be violently taken from us, what can we look for when the whole shall be in his Hands and Possession? who amusing us with a Treaty of Cessation, and protracting it industriously, (as we have Reason to believe) doth in the mean time seize himself of the whole Country; which being done, our Ambassador shall return with Scorn, and we remain with Dishonour.

'I shall not need to furnish you with Arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly Dealing more plainly unto them; your own Reason and Observation will find enough out of the Dispatches, whereof Copies are sent unto you; as namely, The withdrawing of the *Spanish* Forces, and leaving the Business wholly in the Hands of the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*; The Stile of the *Infanta*, in answering our Ambassador with Recriminations, which was not her manner heretofore; The slight and frivolous Answer given by the Marquis of *Bedmar* unto our Ambassador, when he acquainted him with the Siege of *Heidelberg*; The quarrellous Occasion taken by the Emperor for calling the Diet at *Ratisbon*, contrary to his own Promise, which, in his Dispatch to us, he confesseth to have broken,

Austrian Juggling.

† There is oftner than once mention made of the King's and *Buckingham*'s Correspondence with the Cardinals *Ludovisio* and *Barberini*, in the Collection of Original Letters above mentioned. In one of them, *Buckingham* sends to the King a Letter, he had wrote to Cardinal *Ludovisio*, for his Majesty's Amendments,

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'as you will ſee by the Copy. All which, and 'many more, which your own Judgment (in 'the peruſal of the Diſpatches) will ſuggeſt un-'to you, do miniſter unto us Cauſe ſufficient of 'Jealouſy on the Emperor's Part, as you ſhall 'plainly tell that King; altho' we will not do 'him that Wrong as to miſtruſt, that he gives 'the leaſt Conſent to it. In this Confidence, 'with much Earneſtneſs, we ſhall ſtill ſolicite 'him, that, for the Affection he bears us, and 'the Deſire which we ſuppoſe he hath, that 'there may continue for ever a perfect Amity 'betwixt us and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, he 'will not ceaſe to do all good Offices herein; 'letting him know directly, That in theſe Terms 'we cannot ſtand with the Emperor; but that, 'if *Heidelberg* be won, or the Siege continue, 'or the Ceſſation be long unneceſſarily delay'd, 'we muſt recall our Ambaſſador from *Bruſſels*, 'and treat no more, as we have already given 'Order; hoping, that whatſoever Unkindneſs 'we ſhall conceive againſt the Emperor upon 'theſe Occaſions, it ſhall not be interpreted to 'reflect in any ſort upon the entire Affection 'that is at this preſent, and as we hope ſhall al-'ways continue, betwixt us and the Crown of '*Spain*. And therefore, as we have heretofore 'ſundry times promiſed, in Teſtimony of the 'Sincerity of our Proceedings, and of our 'great Deſire to preſerve the Amity inviolable 'between us and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, 'That in caſe our Son-in-Law would not be go-'verned by us, that then we would not only 'forſake him, but take part, and join our For-'ces with the Emperor againſt him; ſo you 'may fairly repreſent unto that King, That in 'like manner we have Reaſon to expect 'the ſame Meaſure from him, that (upon 'the Emperor's Averſeneſs to a Ceſſation and 'Accommodation) he will likewiſe actually 'aſſiſt us, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, 'and Electoral Dignity, unto our Son-in-Law, 'as it hath been oftentimes intimated from '*Spain*.

'To conclude, we ſhall not need to ſay any 'more unto you touching this Point, but to let 'you ſee, That our Meaning is, to carry all 'Things fair with that King, and not to give 'him any Cauſe of Diſtruſt or Jealouſy, if you 'perceive that they intend to go really and 'roundly on with the Match: Wherein never-'theleſs we muſt tell you, that we have no 'great Cauſe to be well pleaſed with the Dili-'gences uſed on that part, when we obſerve, 'that after ſo long an Expectance of the 'Diſpenſation, upon which the whole Buſineſs '(as they will have it) depends, there is no-'thing yet returned but Queries and Objections. 'Yet becauſe we will not give over our Pa-'tience a while longer, untill we underſtand 'more certainly what the Effect thereof is like 'to be, wherein we require you to be very wa-'ry and watchful, conſidering how our Ho-'nour is therein engaged; we have thought fit 'to let you know, how far we are pleaſed to 'enlarge our ſelf, concerning thoſe Points de-'manded by the Pope, and ſet down by way of 'Poſtil unto the Articles agreed upon betwixt '*Spain* and us, as you ſhall ſee by the Power 'which *Gage* brought us from *Rome*, whereof 'we have ſent you a Copy, and our Reſolutions 'thereupon ſigned with our own Hand, for your 'Warrant and Inſtruction. And further than 'that ſince we cannot go without much Pre-'judice, Inconvenience, and Diſhonour to our 'ſelf and our Son, we hope and expect the 'King of *Spain* will bring it inſtantly to an 'Iſſue, without further Delay, which you are 'to preſs with all Diligence and Earneſtneſs, 'that you may preſently know their final Reſo-'lution, and what we may expect thereupon 'But if any Reſpite of time be earneſtly de-'manded, and that you preceive it not poſſible 'for them to reſolve until an Anſwer come from '*Rome*, we then think it fit that you give them 'two Months time after your Audience, that 'we may underſtand that King's final Reſolution 'before *Chriſtmas* next at the furtheſt.

Wanſted, 9 Sept. 1622.

The King abuſed.

This Letter doth not only diſcover the Shuf-fling and Fox-like Contrivances of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to Work and Earth themſelves in the *Palatinate*, but alſo the Scorns and Reproaches put upon our King, and (if I may ſo call them) his Terriers, who (with little Bayings only) let them work till they had got into their Faſt-neſſes and ſtrong Holds, and then they may bay at leiſure, and blame their lazy Belief. But notwithſtanding our King threatens in his Let-ter, if *Heidelberg* be loſt, and the Ceſſation de-lay'd, he will Treat no more; yet the Deſire of the Match was ſo radicated in his Heart, that neither the Loſs of *Heidelberg* or *Manheim* that ſucceeded it, nor the Blocking up of *Franken-dale*, (the laſt ſtrong Hold, of his Son-in-Law's Inheritance) could mortify his Hopes: But as the Emperor beſieged thoſe Towns with his Ar-mies, ſo he beſet the King of *Spain* with his Treaties. And the Lord *Digby*, tho' quicken'd by this Letter, did not lay open the cunning Carriage of theſe Contrivers, (which tended to root out the Reformed Religion in *Germany*) nor preſs home theſe Particulars, as he was en-joined; but only let the King of *Spain* know, *That his late Father, by the Advice of his Eccleſia-ſticks in* Spain, *had conſented to the Articles of Mar-riage, in Matters of Religion, five Months ſince; yet there were Demurs upon theſe Points, notwithſtanding that the King of* Great Britain *complied in all things, then demanded particularly, what he would do in Fa-vour of the Catholicks*; But now, after two Years time, the Pope, of his own accord, without any Intimation to *Spain*) had ſent directly for *England*, propounding to the King his Maſter, not only many Alterations in the Capitulations, (before a Diſpenſation could be granted) but intruded ſomething new, which the King would by no means yield unto: Wherefore, to expe-dite the Buſineſs, (the King having neglected all other Treaties of Marriage for his Son theſe ſix Years paſt, only in reſpect of this Treaty) he is commanded to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, how far the King his Maſter may condeſcend in Matters of Religion; and if that will give Content, to proceed to a Concluſion of the Marriage, without more Delays (ſeeing he hath yielded to much more than was capitu-lated in the late King of *Spain*'s time); if this will not ſatisfy, that then, without Loſs of more Time, the King his Maſter may diſpoſe of his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the *Infanta*, as they pleaſe.

Digby faulty.

Theſe Things were ruminated on by the ſlow-pac'd *Spaniſh* Gravity, and fair and plauſible An-ſwers preſented, that, like Fruits of Diſſimula-tion, gave but ſmall Nouriſhment to Hope, yet it kept it alive, (tho' in a drooping Condition) and it was only ſuſtain'd till they could bring their Ends about. Which our King now ſuſ-pecting, (as he had good Cauſe) from the con-ſtant Intelligences given him, of the Diminu-tion of his own Forces in the *Palatinate*, and the growing Strength of the Enemy, he diſ-patches

A. Reg. 20. An. Christi 1622. patches this second Letter to the Baron *Digby*, to let the King of *Spain* know how sensible he was of being abused, and how loth he was to see it.

Second Letter to *Digby*. 'RIght Trusty, *&c.* There is none better 'knoweth than your self, how we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these unfortunate Troubles of the Empire, (notwithstanding all Opposition to the contrary) to 'merit well of our good Brother the King of '*Spain*, and the whole House of *Austria*, by a 'long and lingering Patience, grounded still 'upon his Friendship and Promises, that Care 'should be had of our Honour, and of our 'Childrens Patrimony and Inheritance. We 'have acquainted you also from time to time, 'since the beginning of the Treaty at *Brussels*, 'how crosly all Things have there proceeded, 'notwithstanding all the fair Professions made 'unto us, both by the King of *Spain* and the '*Infanta*, and all his Ministers, and the Letters 'written by him unto the Emperor, and them 'effectually, (at least as they endeavoured to 'make us believe); but what Fruits have we of 'all these? Whilst we are Treating, the Town 'and Castle of *Heidelberg* are taken by Force, 'our Garison put to the Sword, *Manheim* be'sieged, and all the Hostility used that is in the 'Power of an Enemy, as you may see by the 'Relation which we have commanded our Se'cretary to send you. Our Pleasure therefore 'is, That you immediately, as soon as you can 'get Audience, let that King understand, how 'sensible we are of these Proceedings of the 'Emperor towards us; and withal are not a lit'tle troubled to see, that the *Infanta* (having an 'absolute Commission to conclude a Cessation 'and Suspension of Arms) should now at last, 'when all Objections were answer'd, and the 'former (solely) pretended Obstacles removed, 'not only delay the Conclusion of the Treaty, 'but refuse to lay her Command upon the Em'peror's Generals, to abstain from the Siege of 'our Garisons during the Treaty, upon a Pre'text of want of Authority: So as for avoiding 'of further Dishonour, we have been forced to 'recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chan'cellor of our *Exchequer*, (who is already re'turned to our Presence) as also the Lord *Chi'chester*, who we intended to have sent unto 'the Emperor to the Diet at *Ratisbon*. Seeing 'therefore that, meerly out of our extraordinary 'Respect to the King of *Spain*, and the firm 'Confidence we ever put in the Hopes and 'Promises which he did give us, (desiring no'thing more than for his Cause principally to 'avoid all Occasions that might put us in ill 'Understanding with any of the House of *Au'stria*) we have hitherto proceeded with a sted'fast Patience: trusting to the Treaties, and 'neglecting all other Means, which probably 'might have secured the remainder of our Chil'drens Inheritance, (these Garisons which we 'maintained in the *Palatinate* being rather for 'Honour sake, to keep a Footing until the ge'neral Accommodation, than that we did rely 'so much upon their Strength, as upon his 'Friendship) and by this Confidence and Secu'rity of ours, are now exposed to Dishonour 'and Reproach. You shall tell that King, That 'seeing all those Endeavours and good Offices 'which he hath used towards the Emperor in 'this Business, on the behalf of our Son-in'Law: (upon Confidence whereof that Securi'ty of ours depended, which he continually by 'his Letters and Ministers here laboured to be'get and confirm in us) have not sorted to any 'other Issue, than to a plain Abuse, both of his 'Trust and ours, whereby we are both of us 'highly injured in our Honour, tho' in a dif'ferent Degree; we hope and desire that, out 'of a true Sense of this Wrong offered unto us, 'he will, as our dear and loving Brother, faith'fully promise, and undertake upon his Honour, '(confirming the same also under his Hand and 'Seal) either that the Town and Castle of *Hei'delberg* shall, within Threescore and ten Days 'after your Audience, and Demand made, be 'rendred into our Hands, with all Things there'in belonging, to our Son-in-Law, or our 'Daughter, (as near as may be in the State 'they were when they were taken) and the 'like for *Manheim* and *Frankendale*, if both or 'either of them shall be taken by the Enemy 'while these Things are in Treaty: As also 'that there shall be within the said Term of 'Seventy Days a Cessation and Suspension of 'Arms in the *Palatinate* for the future, upon the 'several Articles and Conditions last propoun'ded by our Ambassador Sir *Richard Weston*, 'and that the general Treaty shall be set a-foot 'again, upon such Honourable Terms and Con'ditions as we propounded unto the Emperor in 'a Letter written unto him in *November* last, 'and with which the King of *Spain* then (as 'we understood) seemed satisfied. Or else, in 'case all these Particulars be not yielded unto, 'and performed by the Emperor, as is here pro'pounded, but be refused or delayed beyond the 'time afore mentioned; that then the King of '*Spain* do join his Forces with ours for the Re'covery of our Childrens Honours and Patri'mony, which upon this Trust hath been thus 'lost. Or if so be his Forces at this present be 'otherwise so employed, as that they cannot 'give us that Assistance which we here desire, 'and (as we think) have deserved, yet that at 'the least he will permit us a free and friendly 'Passage through his Territories and Domi'nions, for such Forces as we shall send and em'ploy in *Germany* for his Service. Of all which 'distinctively, if you receive not from the King 'of *Spain* (within ten Days at the furthest after 'your Audience) a direct Assurance under his 'Hand and Seal, without Delay, or putting us 'off to further Treaties and Conferences; that 'is to say, of such Restitution, Cessation of 'Arms, and proceeding to a General Treaty, as 'is before-mentioned; or else of Assistance, and 'joining his Forces with ours against the Empe'ror; or, at the least, Permission of Passage 'for our Forces through his the said King's Do'minions; that then you take your Leave, and 'return to our Presence, without further stay; 'otherwise to proceed in the Negociation for 'the Marriage of our Son, according to the 'Instructions we have given you,

Gondomar's Master-piece. This Letter was dated the 3d of *October*: And presently after it was sent away, the King recollected himself, and thought it good Policy to make some Advantage of this Breach with *Spain*, (if there were one) by letting his People see, he would no longer wait the *Spanish* Delays; (which they were impatient enough of) therefore his Ambassadors (to hinder the Knowledge of it at home) must conceal the Breach abroad, stay still in the *Spanish* Court, as if the Business were in full Motion, and ripe for projection: And he must break it to pieces here himself, to make it the more acceptable; either to get the more Love or Money from the People, or for what other Intention is unknown. But the very

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very next Day he sends this further Direction by *Endimion Porter*.

Third Letter to *Digby*.

'RIght Trusty, *&c.* We have given you certain Instructions, signed with our Hand, to direct you how to express unto the King of *Spain* the Feeling we have of the Dishonour put upon us by the Emperor, through our Trust and Confidence in that King's Promises, wherein you have Order to come away without further Delay, in case you receive not Satisfaction to your Demands, in such sort as we have commanded you to propound them. Nevertheless, we are to put you in remembrance of that which we have heretofore told you; in case a Rupture happen between the King of *Spain* and us, that we would be glad to manage it at our best Advantage. And therefore however you do not find the Satisfaction which we in those Instructions crave from the King of *Spain*, and have Reason to expect, yet would we not have you instantly come away upon it, but advertise us first, letting us know privately (if you find such Causes) that there is no Good to be done, nor Satisfaction, as you judge, intended us, (tho' publickly and outwardly you give out the contrary) that we may make use thereof with our People in Parliament, as we shall hold best for our Service. And this see you do, notwithstanding any thing in your other Instructions to the contrary. Dated *Octob.* 4. 1622.

Our King's Patience.

The King, in the first of these two Letters, gives Thirty Days more to the King of *Spain* to repent of his bad Dealing with him, than was given to the great City, and yet he repented not. And this positive Command, (limiting but Ten Days after Audience for a Resolution in these Points) one would have thought should have produced an absolute Breach, or a perfect Conclusion. But the *Spaniard* continues in his old Peace still, and would not be spurr'd up, and *Digby* (now made Earl of *Bristol* for his good Services) whistles after him his old Note still, assuring our King, That the King of *Spain* (tho' slow) was real in his Intentions. And if our King had not had a great good Stomach to the Match, he would never have digested this Dealing from a Brother and a Servant; the Pope also at the same time giving him a Bit to chew on, interpreting the Articles where the Children of Marriage were to be brought up, *Usque ad Annos nubiles*, to be Fourteen Years old, which our King would not consent to, in respect of the Scandal it might produce: For he knew Impressions in Youth, settled by Custom, are not easy to remove, especially where they make Dints upon the Conscience; therefore he pressed the King of *Spain*, that the Children might not suck in their Mothers Instructions so long time, being less for his Honour: And they, with much Importunity, brought it down from Fourteen to Ten, and there they stuck. Our King expressed himself willing to have them brought up, *sub regimine matris*, for Seven Years, and that Time should be limited in the publick Capitulations; but if more time were insisted on by the Pope, he would oblige himself privately by a Letter to the King of *Spain*, that they shall be under their Mother's Regiment for Two Years longer. And seeing there is but One Year more that is betwixt them, the King, in another Letter to the Earl of *Bristol*, tells him, That if they would not be contented with Nine, he would not stick to give them another Year.

Dated *Newmarket, Nov.* 24. 1622.

The Palatinate lost.

While they were thus Wire-drawing, Time spun out, *Manheim*, the chief Strength and Fortress in the *Palatinate*, was taken by *Tilly*, the Emperor's General, whereof Sir *Horatio Vere* was Commander, surrendred upon honourable Conditions, having neither Strength of Men, or Means to resist an Enemy. *Heidelberg* before it (as the King expressed) was taken by Assault, Sir *Gerrard Herbert*, the Commander of the Castle, slain, after he had repulsed the Enemy from the Assault, breaking Six Pikes upon them with his own Hand. And now *Tilly*, (Winter coming on) greedy to finish his Work, sits down before *Frankendale*, whereof Major *Burrowes* had the Command, a Man of as much Valour and Experience, as Time the Director, and Spirit the Actor, could make a Man capable of. But all this, and the Strength of the Town to boot, could not have protected them, (their Wants being stronger than their Enemy) if *Tilly*, had not been drowned up in his Trenches, which forced his Remove.

The Palatinate a strong Country.

And tho' our King said in his last Answer to the Parliament's Petition, That the Enemy would have swallow'd up his Forces in the *Palatinate* in Eight Days, if my Lord *Digby* had not succour'd it; yet the weakest of the Three Places, which is *Heidelberg*, was not taken in a Moment: For *Tilly* in *June* last set down before it, and was constrain'd to raise his Siege; being not strong enough; and coming again with a greater Power in the end of *July* following, he was there above Two Months before he took so much as any of their Out-works. And *Manheim* and *Frankendale* are Two such strong Holds, that if they had been well furnished with Men and Provisions, they might have stood out against *Tilly*; nay, the Great Turk, as well, if not better than *Vienna* the Imperial City.

Our King satisfied of *Spain's* good Intentions.

As soon as the King had Notice of the taking of *Manheim*, he gives *Bristol* Intimation of it, and was very well satisfied of the King of *Spain*'s good Intentions for the Relief of it, though Order sent to the *Infanta* arrived not there till the Town was surrendred: Which was the old *Spanish* Plot of *Philip* the Second to get *Portugal* into his Hand; wherein he cheated the Pope himself, delaying his Solicitations, by his Legate Cardinal *Riario*, (for Don *Antonio*, Bastard of *Portugal*) with specious and pleasing Entertainments, till he had gotten the Castle of St. *Julians*, the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, (then besieged by him) into his Power. And yet our King looked upon this Apparition as real, and thanked the King of *Spain* for the Good he never intended.

Articles of Marriage.

And now the Articles of Marriage, that had been long hatching, flew up and down from Hand to Hand: The *French* Historians mention them; so both Mr. *Pryn* in his *Hidden Works of Darkness*, as they were found among the Lord *Cottington*'s Papers. These came to me from the Nest, and I have kept them till this time; and comparing them with other Copies, there is scarce a Feather amiss. Nor should they have pestered this Paper, but to shew what great Pains was taken to little purpose; what huge Pretences shoulder'd in to make way for the *Spanish* Designs which at last dwindled to nothing.

The Articles are these:

1. *THat the Marriage be made by Dispensation of the Pope; but that to be procured by the Endeavour of the King of* Spain.

2. *That the Marriage be once Celebrated in* Spain, *and Ratified in* England, *in Form following: In the*

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Morning, after the moſt Gracious Infanta hath ended her Devotions in the Chappel, She and the moſt excellent Prince Charles ſhall meet in the King's Chappel, or in ſome other Room of the Palace, where it ſhall ſeem moſt expedient; and there ſhall be read all the Procurations, by Virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated in Spain. And as well the moſt Excellent Prince, as the moſt Excellent Infanta, ſhall ratifie the ſaid Marriage celebrated in Spain, with all Solemnity neceſſary to ſuch an Act; ſo as no Ceremony, or other Thing intervene, which ſhall be contrary to the Roman-Catholick Apoſtolick-Religion.

3. That the gracious Infanta ſhall take with her ſuch Servants, and Family, as are conveniently for her Service; which Family, and all Perſons to her belonging, ſhall be choſen and nominated by the Catholick King, ſo as he nominate no Servant which is Vaſſal to the King of Great Btirain, without his Will and Conſent.

4. That as well the moſt gracious Lady Infanta, as all her Servants and Family, ſhall have free Uſe and publick Exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion, in manner and form, as is beneath Capitulated.

The Pope extended this Article, Habeat etiam Eccleſiam publicam Londini, &c.

5. That ſhe ſhall have an Oratory and decent Chappel in her Palace, where, at the pleaſure of the moſt gracious Infanta, Maſſes may be celebrated; which Oratory or Chappel ſhall be adorned with ſuch Decency, as ſhall ſeem convenient for the moſt gracious Infanta; with a publick Church in London, &c.

6. That the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants of the moſt Gracious Infanta, and their Servants, Children, and Deſcendents, and all their Families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her Highneſs, may be freely Catholicks.

7. That the moſt gracious Infanta, her Servants and Family, may be freely Catholicks in form following.

8. That the moſt gracious Infanta may have in her Palace her Oratory, and Chappel ſo ſpacious, that her ſaid Servants and Family may enter and ſtay therein. In which there ſhall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the Infanta may have a paſſage into the ſaid Chappel, where ſhe, and others, as abovesaid, may be preſent at Divine Offices.

9. That the Chappel, Church, and Oratory, may be beautify'd with decent Ornaments, of Altar, and other things neceſſary for Divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the Cuſtom of the Holy Roman Church; and that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Servants, and others, to go to the ſaid Chappel and Church at all Hours, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient.

Holy Roman Church.

10. That the Care and Cuſtody of the ſaid Chappel and Church, ſhall be committed to ſuch as the Lady Infanta ſhall appoint, to whom it ſhall be lawful to appoint Keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any undecent thing.

11. That to the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and to ſerve in Chappel and Church aforeſaid, there ſhall be ſo many Prieſts and Aſſiſtants, as to the Infanta ſhall ſeem fit; and the Election of them ſhall belong to the Lady Infanta, and the Catholick King her Brother. Provided, that they be none of the Vaſſals of the King of Great Britain; and if they be, his Will and Conſent is to be firſt obtained.

12. That there be one Superiour Miniſter or Biſhop, with neceſſary Authority upon all Occaſions which ſhall happen, belonging to Religion; and for want of a Biſhop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and Juriſdiction.

13. That this Biſhop or Superiour Miniſter may Correct, Amend, or Chaſtiſe all Roman Catholicks who ſhall offend, and ſhall exerciſe upon them all Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical; and moreover alſo, the Lady Infanta ſhall have power to put them out of her Service, whenſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.

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14. That it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta and her Servants, to procure from Rome Diſpenſations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces, as ſhall ſeem fit to their Religion and Conſciences; and to get and make uſe of any Catholick Books whatſoever.

15. That the Servants of the Family of the Lady Infanta, who ſhall come into England, ſhall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, provided that there be no Clauſe therein, which ſhall be contrary to their Conſciences, and the Roman Catholick Religion; and if they happen to be Vaſſals to the King of Great Britain, they ſhall take the ſame Oath that the Spaniard doth.

16. That the Laws which are or ſhall be in England againſt Religion, ſhall not take hold of the ſaid Servants. And only the foreſaid Superior Eccleſiaſtical Catholick may proceed againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, as hath been accuſtomed by Catholicks. And if any Secular Judge ſhall apprehend any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon for any Offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be delivered to the fore-ſaid Superior Eccleſiaſtick, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the Canon Law.

17. That the Laws made againſt Catholicks in England, or in any other Kingdom of the King of Great-Britain, ſhall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and, though they be Catholicks they ſhall not loſe the Right of Succeſſion to the Kingdom and Dominions of Great Britain.

18. That the Nurſes which ſhall give ſuck to the Children of the Lady Infanta (whether they be of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other Nation whatſoever) ſhall be choſen by the Lady Infanta, as ſhe pleaſeth, and ſhall be accounted of her Family, and enjoy the Privileges thereof.

19. That the Biſhop, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and Religious, of the Family of the Lady Infanta, ſhall wear the Veſtment and Habit of his Dignity, Profeſſion and Religion, after the Cuſtom of Rome.

20. For ſecurity that the ſaid Matrimony be not Diſſolved for any Cauſe whatſoever, The King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are equally to paſs the Word and Honour of a King: And moreover, that they will perform whatſoever ſhall be propounded by the Catholick King for further Confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

21. That the Sons and Daughters, which ſhall be born of this Marriage, ſhall be brought up in the company of the moſt Excellent Infanta, at leaſt until the Age of Ten Years, and ſhall freely enjoy the Right of Succeſſion to the Kingdoms, as aforeſaid.

22. That whenſoever any Place of either Man-ſervant or Maid-ſervant, which the Lady Infanta ſhall bring with her (nominated by the Catholick King her Brother) ſhall happen to be void, whether by Death, or by other Cauſe or Accident, all the ſaid Servants of her Family are to be ſupplied by the Catholick King, as aforeſaid.

23. For Security that whatſoever is Capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are to be bound by Oath, and all the King's Council ſhall confirm the ſaid Treaty under their Hands. Moreover, the ſaid King and Prince are to give their Faiths in the Word of a King, to endeavour, if poſſible, that whatſoever is Capitulated, may be eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

24. That conformable to this Treaty, all theſe Things propoſed are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an Apoſtolical Benediction, and a Diſpenſation neceſſary to effect the Marriage.

But though our King and Prince ſubſcribed theſe Articles (as they were ſent to them by the Earl of Briſtol) in this manner; Hos ſupra memoratos

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morates Articulos omnes ac singulos approbamus, & quicquid in iis ex nostrâ parte, seu nostro nomine conventum est, ratum atque gratum habemus, approving and expressing them to be very acceptable unto them. And after they had wrought the King to Sign these large Immunities to the Papists, *viz. Quod Regnorum suorum Romanorum Catholici persecutionem nullam patientur, molestiave efficientur, Religionis suæ causa, vel ob exercitium illorum ejusdem Sacramentorum, modò iis utantur absque scandalo, (quod intelligi debet inter privatos parietes) nec juramentis, aut sub alio prætextu qualicunque ordinem Religionis spectante vexabuntur:* That the Roman Catholicks should not be interrupted in the Exercise of their Religion, doing it privately without Scandal, not be vex'd with any Oaths in order to the same. *What rested but a Closing of both Parties?* Yet all would not do; for the *Spaniard* never intended the Match at all, as is evident by a Letter of the King of *Spain's*, written to his Favourite the Conde of *Olivares*, dated the Fifth of *November*, 1622. found among the Lord *Cottington's* Papers.

Spanish Delusion.

The King of *Spain's* Letter to *Olivares*.

THE *King my Father declared at his Death, That his intent never was to marry my Sister, the* Infanta Donna Maria, *with the* Prince of Wales, *which your Uncle* Don Baltazer *understood, and so treated this Match, ever with intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that (considering all the Aversness of the* Infanta *to it) it is time to seek some means to divert the Treaty, which I would have you find out; and I will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all other things, procure the Satisfaction of the King of* Great Britain *(who hath deserved much) and it shall Content me, so it be not in the Match.*

Thus was our King's Plain-Heartedness deluded, his Honour blemished, his Love among his Subjects diminished, the Time for a positive Answer for the Dispensation from *Rome* long expired and prolonged; his Childrens Patrimony destroyed, and he left so unsatisfy'd, that the Prince himself, and the Marquess of *Buckingham*, must go into *Spain* to unfold this Riddle; where they found it as full of *Ænigma's* as at first. He that went to tye a Knot there, found it so intangled, that he took some time there to clear it; and when it was clear, he thought it best, *Scindere nodum*, to cut that at last, which he could not unloose at first.

Bergen besieg'd by *Spinola*.

The Marquis *Spinola* having long since left the *Palatinate* to the Imperial Generals, with a great Army, consisting of above Thirty thousand Men, the last Summer sits down before *Berghen-op-Zome*, a Town of very great Strength and Importance, upon the Borders of *Brabant*, and incloses himself with two strong Lines of Circumvallation, notwithstanding all the Power the Town could oppose from within, or Prince *Maurice* General of the States Army without. And though he were well intrenched for his own Security, yet the Works of the Town were so Impregnable, that he could find no way to gain it, but by starving them; and that could not be done, but by commanding the River; and those Batteries that he planted, to hinder the Access of Shipping with Relief into the Town, were within reach of their Cannon; so that he found there was little good to be done, tending to the Reducing of it. This struck the Marquis to the Heart, that he should bury his Honour, as he had done a great part of his Army, in those bloody Trenches; and therefore he gave scope to his Resolution, to make use of his Time, for he converted his Intentions of Starving, to Assaulting, and his Assaults were the more Furious, because he found they would not last long; and old *Morgan*, that Gallant Colonel, with his *English* Brigade, gave them their Hands full, the *Scots* did Gallant Service in the Town, and their Colonel *Hinderson* was slain, but many of the Enemy fell on every side; for it is a great Disadvantage for living Bodies to fight against dead Walls, being so high, and unassaultable. A General that goes to besiege a City should have his Access to it (in his Apprehension) as plain as a Mathematician hath a Demonstration (except it be upon some emergent Cause) otherwise there is an Error in his Account; and there cannot be Two, for the Honour dies in the first, which touched the Marquis near, being his great Trouble, and made him and his Enterprize both droop.

Mansfeldt comes into *Brabant*.

But while he lay there digging Graves, Count *Mansfeldt's* ranging Army that he brought out of *Bohemia*, and those Forces that remained of *Christian* Duke of *Brunswick's*, after he was beaten by *Tilly* and *Cordova*, meeting in the *Palatinate*, and finding themselves able to do little good there (the Country being ruined, and wanting Provisions to supply them) resolved to bring their Army into the *Low Countries*, being invited thereunto by the Prince of *Orange* and the *States*, to counterpoise the formidable Armies that the King of *Spain* had then in Motion; for though *Spinola's* Hands were ty'd to the Trenches, yet *Cordova* with one Army on one side, and Count *Henry van de Berg* with another Army on the other side, were dreadful to the *Netherlands*. The *Mansfeldters* were not above Twelve thousand strong, Horse and Foot; the Horse were only arm'd with Pistols, the Foot with Muskets; scarce a Pike, or Corslet among them (for *Brunswick's* Men upon their Defeat for the most part had thrown away their Arms) Money and Provisions they had very little) their Store being now spent) but what they could get by the Sword, or purchase from the Towns and Cities (by Terror) as they passed; Order there was little among them, for Want makes Men Brutish and Ravenous; and there was no way for them but to cut themselves out a Passage into a plentiful Country. On their way, divers of *Mansfeldt's* Horse mutiny'd for Money, and came swarming about his House where he was quartered, threatning Violence, and were ready to break open his Doors. *Mansfeldt* having a Spirit full of Magnanimity (and finding Courage best able to quail such Attempts) would not stay so long as to have his Doors broke open, but opened them himself (attended only by those of his Family) with a Case of Pistols in his Hands, and presented himself before them, and his very Presence daunted them; for he did with sweet and affable Language let them know, his own Wants were as great as theirs; and thus when they wanted other Provisions, he fed them with Hopes. But many of these Brunts he had born formerly. Soldiers are like Gamesters, they get a deal of Money at one time, and have none at all another; and when Want pinches, it rages; his House hath been often beset by Mutineers, that threatned to tear him in pieces; and he hath opened his Doors, thrown himself (as it were) among them, and demanded stoutly, *What they would have?* and having a Case of Pistols always by him, those near him that called for Money were sure to have those Pistols discharged in their Guts: And then he

would

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would ask them again, *Who would have Money?* and they would all slink away, and not a Man dare to open his Mouth; so high and over-powring a Spirit he had! and that only kept him from the Rage of Mutiny, for he knew his own Integrity, that when he had Money he distributed it freely, and the more Ingenuous part of them knew what Money he had, which was brought in great Sums from such Towns and Cities as redeemed themselves from the Plunder of his Soldiers; so that it was not his Hoarding and Covetousness, but real Want made them suffer, and that imboldned his Spirit: For a General that would be safe, when his Soldiers are in want, should not take Refreshment so much as with the tip of his Rod, unless they may be Partakers in it.

The Battle of *Fleury*.

But with many Necessities, in their March through *Lorrain* and *Lutzenburgh*, they came to *Fleury*, within Eight Miles of *Namur*, where *Corduba* with a *Spanish* Army strove to hinder their Passage; The Conflict was great betwixt them, and many Slain on both sides, and both triumphed in the Victory. For *Corduba* kept the Field, and *Mansfeldt* kept his way. But *Mansfeldt*'s Victory was the compleatest, because he attained to his End, which was, to break through *Corduba*; But *Corduba* did not attain to his End, which was, to hinder *Mansfeldt*. Yet the *Spanish* Bravery was highly exalted with Bonfires, and Rejoycings both at *Madrid* and *Brussels*. The Duke of *Brunswick* lost his Bridle Arm in that Service, and many Gentlemen, both *English* and *Scots*, out of Love to the Queen of *Bohemia*, behaved themselves gallantly, and let the *Spaniard* know, it was more than an ordinary Shock they encountred with. Among whom, Sir *Charles Rich*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was a principal Person, whose voluntary Spirit, not Necessity, made Danger his Companion, where Honour attended it. Sir *James Heyes*, *Knevet*, *Humes*, *Hisborn*, and other Commanders, striving for Corrivalship in Bravery.

Brunswick his Arm shot off

Spinola raises his Siege.

Spinola hearing that *Mansfeldt* was broken through *Corduba*'s Army and come into *Brabant*, made the Court Splendour of *Corduba*'s Conquest appear but *Ignis fatuus*, which also something extinguish'd the Glory of his own Fame. For he thought it good Policy (seeing he should be necessitated to leave the Siege of *Berghen*) to do it at that time, when there might be cause to think it occasion'd by that Accident more than his Default. And therefore as soon as the Prince of *Orange* and *Mansfeldt* had joined Forces, though *Corduba* came to him and reinforced his army, yet Winter drawing on, and his Army almost wasted, he trussed up his Baggage in haste, set his Camp a-fire and departed, leaving to his hungry Enemies good Store of Wine, and other Provisions, in his burning Quarters. And thus stood the Ballance this Year betwixt the King of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*.

Buckingham's Medicine to Cure the King's Melancholy.

But our King receiving so many Delays and Dissatisfactions from *Spain* and *Rome*, they begot him so much Trouble and Vexation, that crowding into his Thoughts, press'd upon his Natural Temper some Fits of Melancholy, which those about him with facetious Mirth, would strive to mitigate; And having exhausted their Inventions or not making use of such as were more pregnant, the Marquis and his Mother (instead of Mirth) fell upon Prophaneness, thinking with that to please him, and perhaps they were only mistaken in the unseasonableness of the time, being not then suitable to the Humour. For they caused Mrs. *Aspernham*, a young Gentlewoman of the Kindred, to dress a Pig like a Child, and the old Countess, like a Midwife, brought it in to the King in a rich Mantle. *Turpin* that married one of the Kindred (whose Name was renowned for a Bishop in the Romances of the Emperor *Charlemain*) was dress'd like a Bishop in his Sattin Gown, Lawn Sleeves, and other Pontifical Ornaments, who (with the *Common Prayer* Book) began the Words of Baptism, one attending with a silver Basin of Water for the Service; the King hearing the Ceremonies of Baptism read, and the squeaking Noise of that Brute he most abhorred, turned himself to see what Pageant it was; and finding *Turpin*'s Face, which he well knew, dress'd like a Bishop; and the Marquis, whose Face he most of all loved, stand as a Godfather; he cried out, *Away for shame, what Blasphemy is this?* And turning aside with a Frown, he gave them Cause to think, that such ungodly Mirth would rather increase than cure his Melancholy.

The King's Choler.

Another time, at *Theobalds*, the King wanted some Papers that had Relation to the *Spanish* Treaty, so hot in Motion, which raised him highly into the Passion of Anger that he should not know what he had done with them, being things so Material, and of such Concernment: And calling his Memory to a strict Account, at last he discharged it upon *John Gib*, a *Scotchman*, who was of his Bed-chamber, and had been an old Servant to him. *Gib* is called for in haste, and the King asks him for the Papers he gave him; *Gib* collecting himself, answer'd the King, he received no Papers from him. The King broke into extream Rage, (as he would often when the Humour of Choler began to boil in him) protesting he had them, and reviling him exceedingly for denying them; *Gib* threw himself at the King's Feet, protesting his Innocency, that he never received any, and desired his Life might make Satisfaction for his Fault, if he were guilty. This could not calm the King's Spirit, tossed in this Tempest of Passion; and overcharged with it, as he passed by *Gib* (kneeling) threw some of it upon him, giving him a Kick with his Foot. Which Kick infected *Gib*, and turned his Humility into Anger, For, rising instantly, he said, Sir, *I have served you from my Youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deserved this from you, nor can I live longer with you with this Disgrace; Fare ye well,* Sir, *I will never see your Face more:* And away he goes from the King's Presence, took Horse, and rode towards *London*. Those about the King put on a sad Countenance to see him displeased, and every Man was inquisitive to know the Cause: Some said, the King and *Gib* were fallen out; but about what? some Papers of the *Spanish* Treaty, the King had given him, cannot be found. *Endimion Porter* hearing it, said, The King gave me those Papers, went presently and brought them to the King, who being becalmed, and finding his Error, called instantly for *Gib*; Answer was made, he was gone to *London*: The King hearing it, commanded with all Expedition to send Post after him to bring him back, protesting never to Eat, Drink, or Sleep till he saw *Gib*'s Face. The Messenger overtook him before he got to *London*; and *Gib* hearing the Papers were found, and that the King sent for him with so much Earnestness, returned to the Court. And as he came into the King's Chamber, the King kneeled down upon his Knees before *Gib*, intreating his Pardon,

His Sanguine.

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don, with a sober and grave Aspect, protesting he would never rise till *Gib* had forgiven him; and though *Gib*'s modesty declined it with some humble Excuses, yet it would not satisfie the King, till he heard the Words of Absolution pronounced. So Ingenuous was he in this Piece of Passion! which had its sudden Variation from a stern and furious Anger, to a soft and melting Affection, which made *Gib* no Loser by the Bargain.

His Flegmatick Humour. Thus the King's Melancholy, Cholerick, and Sanguine Constitution appeared. But of all the Humours, Flegm was now the most predominant, which made him so tamely swallow those raw Fruits of *Spain*, that all his Exercise could not well digest.

A Diet at *Ratisbone*, *Jan.* 7. In *January* this Year, the Diet which the Emperor had summoned (contrary to his Promise, as our King intimates) met at *Ratisbone*, where the Electors and divers other Princes of *Germany* assembled, either in their own Persons, or by their Deputies. The Imperial Design was to take off the Edge of the Prince's Dissatisfaction, for his harsh Proceedings against the Prince *Palatine*; wherein he makes him the Ground-work and Cause of all the Wars and Miseries that have happen'd in the Empire. And thinking no Man (as he said) would take the boldness to mediate the Restitution of the proscribed *Palatine* into the Electoral College, he could do no less than dispose of the Electorate, now (*pleno jure*) devolved unto him, as Emperor, which he had bestowed on the Duke of *Bavaria* for spending his Treasure, and hazarding his Blood in his Service, against his own Nephew, the expulsed *Palatine*. Wherefore he requests the illustrious Presence of Electors and Princes, to give their Opinions, how the Peace of the Empire may be established to prevent all Commotions for the future.

The Opinion of the Protestant Princes. The Princes took this Proposition of the Emperor into Debate, and the Protestant Princes desired *Cæsar* to consider the Importance of the Business. 'That though his Imperial Majesty, 'in his own Judgment, may have had Cause 'enough to publish the Ban against the Prince '*Palatine*; yet they are of Opinion, that in his 'particular Cause, which so nearly concerned 'the disposing of an Electorate of the Empire, 'and so principal a Person of the Electoral 'College, (the sudden doing whereof might 'occasion long and tedious Wars, dangerous 'to the *Roman* Empire) that *Cæsar* should not 'of himself have proceeded so rigorously, nor 'without the Advice and Consent of all the 'rest of the Electors, according as it was a'greed upon in the Capitulation Royal, which 'is holden for a Fundamental Law of the Em'pire. Which Course of *Cæsar*'s, even for the 'manner of proceeding in it, was distasted by 'divers, because the Prince *Palatine* had never 'been legally summoned, but uncited and 'unheard without all knowledge of his Cause, 'and contrary to all ordinary Course had 'been Condemned, and against all Equity op'pressed by the Publication of that Imperial 'Ban. We purpose not to call the Power Im'perial into question, yet we cannot but re'member your Majesty of that Promise made 'in your Capitulation unto the Electors; and 'humbly we admonish *Cæsar* to stand unto his 'own Word, and not to intermit the Perfor'mance of it. And as for the disposing of the 'Electorate, we desire nothing more, than that 'we could gratify *Cæsar* with our Suffrages; 'but perceiving so many and so great Diffi'culties in it, we cannot but admonish your 'Majesty of the Danger of it. This being the 'Opinion of our Electors, that seeing your 'Majesty hath graciously called the Diet for 'restoring Peace in the Empire, that it were 'altogether necessary first to remove the Ob'stacles of Peace. And seeing that all the 'Stirs began in *Bohemia*, *Cæsar* should do well 'to labour first for the quieting of that King'dom, and command a stay to be made of the 'severe Reformation, and frequent Executions 'there; that so the Hearts of your Subjects, 'being overcome with Grace and Mercy, 'might be sweetly joined to you, and all Fear 'and Distrust utterly taken away: Without 'which, we see no Hope, either how your 'Majesty can sit sure upon your Imperial 'Throne, or how the Electors and Princes can 'be freed of their Fears; being evident, that 'the *Bohemians*, and others, made desperate by 'the Extremity of their Sufferings, will take 'any Occasion to begin new Troubles, and to 'involve the Empire with new Dangers. All 'the *Lutheran* States of the Empire likewise, 'which follow the *Augustan* Confession, have 'their Eyes upon this *Bohemian* Reformation, 'which though it were given out to be for pri'vate Justice, yet it is so link'd with the pub'lick Cause, that unless it be speedily ended, 'and the two Churches at *Prague* (granted by '*Rodolphus* II. not in favour of some private 'Men alone, but of *Christian* Elector of *Saxony*, 'and which had continued free until of late) 'were again opened, and the free Exercise of 'Religion generally permitted, we see no sure 'Peace likely to be in the Empire, but utter 'Ruine rather, and final Desolation, may every 'day be feared. Seeing it was apparently 'known, that it was not those that professed 'the Reformed Religion, who began these 'Troubles; but the Noblemen and great Officers, 'whose Designs, the other were compelled to 'obey.

'And for the Prince *Palatine*, seeing he is 'already sufficiently punished, it were far more 'commendable in your Majesty, that now at 'last, upon his Submission, you would be plea'sed to restore him to his Lands and Dignities, 'otherwise there is no likelihood of restoring 'Peace to the Empire. And in the transferring 'of the Electorate, this main thing were fit 'to be considered; Whether the Prince *Pala*'*tine*, excluded in his own Person, doth debar 'his Children, who (by the Providence of '(their Ancestors) had, before this Act of their 'Father, *jus adquisitum*, an Hereditary Right 'unto the Electorate; or the Brother of the 'Prince *Palatine*, who hath no way offended 'your Majesty, nor, by reason of his Mino'rity, could not; Or others of the Kindred 'of the Prince *Palatine*, should be, or ought to 'be in this Case neglected? If they be, it will 'be hardly taken of other Electors and Princes, 'and occasion various Distrusts betwixt the 'Head and the Members. For the Princes 'allied unto the Prince *Palatine*, who have been 'quiet hitherto, (upon Confidence of *Cæsar*'s 'Clemency) now perceiving all hope of that 'Dignity unto their Family taken away, must 'needs have Recourse unto Arms, and endea'vour the Recovery of it by force. And if '*Cæsar* should die, this Controversy being not 'compounded, it may well be feared, many 'Inconveniences will fall out contrary to '*Cæsar*'s Desire. For though upon the Advan'tage of his Victories he hath had the Law in 'his own hand, if the Wheel should turn, that 'Side which is lowest will get up again.

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'Therefore we hold it more Wisdom to advise *Cæsar*, not to proceed too suddenly, but rather to accept the Intercession of other Electors and Princes, as in such Cases hath hitherto been done. Considering the Prince *Palatine* was then but young, abused by ill Council, and no ways the Author of those Stirs in *Bohemia*, they being in an Uproar before his coming among them. And if his Majesty would Pardon the Prince *Palatine*, he should ever oblige the whole Electoral College, and all the Kings and Princes allied unto him; and the Prince himself, and all his Posterity, would be advised (when they remember their Exile) how they Embroil themselves in such Business. Whereas if he saw the Door of Mercy quite shut, and nothing left him but his Life, it would make both him, and his, desperate to attempt, so as there would be no end of the Troubles in the *Roman* Empire. *Cæsar* therefore should do far righter, if for his own Honour, and the Publick Good, he would prefer Mercy before Severity, and not pursue these Extremities.'

The Opinion of the Popish Princes.

To these things, the Catholick Princes said, *That* Cæsar *had shewn Causes enough which he had to deprive the* Palatine, *and the* Palatinate *being devolved to him, he might dispose of it, without having regard to the* Palatine *Line, according to his own Pleasure. That his Majesty could not well hold any Terms of Amity with him, though he were restored; and this Impunity would give occasion unto others to offend. As for the matter of Punishment, there would be little difference between the Emperor and the* Palatine, *seeing that his Majesty's Lands and Dominions are no less wasted than the others, and yet there is great difference in the Cause; for this fell out to* Cæsar *without his Demerit, and the* Palatine *did the other, having no necessity to it. That he had refused Mercy, in not acknowledging his Fault, nor seeking for Favour. And it is an unequal Request for* Cæsar *to accept of any Reconciliation, whilst his General* Mansfeldt *is yet in the Field, and prosecutes his Cause by force of Arms. The Safety of the Empire consisting in the filling up of the Electoral College,* Cæsar *hath done very well in a speedy resolving on it, and other Emperors in the like Cases have done the same before.*

The Reply of the Protestant Princes.

To which, the other Party answered, *That for the Security of the Imperial Dignity, and Safety of the Empire, there is no question, but that it consisted in the Concord of the Electoral College, with the Emperor. And the Prince* Palatine *hath (as you say) done amiss, yet if* Cæsar *shall still use Rigour, the Princes of the* Lower Saxony *are of Opinion, there can be no Peace established in the Empire, the good of which being most worthy to be preferred,* Cæsar *should do wisely to suffer himself to be intreated, and change Rigour into Clemency, making the Empire by that means glad with a desired Peace, otherwise new Flames were likely to break out in those Places which yet are preserved from burning. That* Cæsar *had now, by the Aid of the Electors and Princes, recovered his lost Provinces, and wanting nothing but quiet Possession of them, which, this desired Reconciliation was the best Means to effect. The hand of War may be lifted up, but who knows where the Stroak will fall? And Victory is so long uncertain, as the adverse Party hath power to reinforce his Arms. And for the renewing of the War, there is yet a fair Pretence left, for that in bestowing the Electorate, the Prince* Palatine's *Sons and Brother have been neglected, and with these Principles are the Minds of many of the Princes of the Empire already possessed. The King of* Great Britain *besides could not but take it ill, that he should now see all his Endeavours take no good effect, but his only Daughter and her Children left in Exile. And as for the manner of this Reconciliation, there might be a particular Treaty and Consultation, wherein* Cæsar's *Prerogative Imperial being reserved, all Parties might receive Satisfaction, and the Empire once again flourish in Peace. If these Remedies be not applied, it will produce ill Blood, yea Heart-burnings and Distrusts, in the Electoral College it self.*

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The Emperor's Reply.

The Elector of Saxony.

These several Answers, delivered to the Emperor the 20th of *January*, he replied unto, thanking them for their Consultations. *And though some* (saith he) *have wisely heretofore resolved us, that our Proceedings in Proscribing the* Palatine *was both legal and necessary; yet now we perceive some of you are of Opinion, that, according to our Capitulation Royal, we ought not to have proceeded so far, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Electors. But as we have no ways gone beyond this our Capitulation, but even, before we set out the Ban, punctually considered all that was necessary to be taken notice of; so did we also desire nothing more than that a Diet might be convoked, for the due treating and advising upon this Business. Which Meeting being impeded by the Prosecution of the War by the* Palatine, *we could do no less, to take down his Courage, than publish the Ban against him: Which Course of ours, seeing it was never intended to be prosecuted to the prejudice of the Electoral College, or against our own Capitulation, we hope that the Electors will not take it otherwise; being that we promise withal so to moderate it, that no Detriment or Prejudice shall result thereby unto the Dignity Electoral.*

As for the Translation of the Electorate, and your Advice for Restoring of the Palatinate, *there is (I perceive) some difference in your Opinions. One Part wisely, and in favour of us, affirming the great Reason we have to do it: But for the other Party, which adviseth his Restoring, we purpose not so far to Consent unto it, as to the restoring of him to the Electoral Dignity, seeing that in the disposing of it other where, we are resolved that we shall do no more than we have just reason to do; nor will we defer the filling up of the Electoral College, because the dispatching of it doth so much concern the Common Good. But for the Restitution of the Person of the* Palatine, *you shall see how much our Mind is inclined towards Clemency, and how far we will declare our self to gratifie the King of* Great Britain, *the King of* Denmark, *the Elector of* Saxony, *and other Electors and Princes, interceding for him.*

And as concerning our forbidding the Exercise of the Lutherian *Religion in the City of* Prague; *we do not see how it any way concerns this Diet to enquire of, our Letter having signified the Causes that moved us to begin it unto the Elector of* Saxony; *nor can we think that what we have done there, any of the Neighbour States or Territories need be suspicious of, seeing that we have Sworn oftner than once, in the Word of an Emperour, that we will most Religiously observe the Peace, both of Religion and Civil Government, throughout the Empire. And thus much we could not but advertise this Illustrious Presence of Electors and Princes, and you the Ambassadors of those that are absent.*

The Protestants Answer.

The Protestant Electors, and Princes, still persisted in their Resolution, That the Emperour could not translate the Electorate legally; the Words of the Capitulation being clearly these: *In all difficult Business, no Process ought to be made, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Electors; and that, without ordinary Process, no Proscription should go out against any one of the States of the Empire, before the Cause were heard.* This is the fundamental Law of the Empire, which required no more but to be constantly observed, nor is to be drawn into further Dispute, or Deli-

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Deliberation. And it ſtood the Electors upon, to be open-eyed, to ſee to the Obſervation of it, being it concerned the Three Secular Electors eſpecially, whoſe Dignity did by an Hereditary Right deſcend unto their Poſterity, to keep it ſafe and entire, which they hoped that *Cæſar* would not contradict.

Reſult of all. But the Emperor would not be perſuaded from his own Reſolution; yet in Concluſion, to gratifie the Princes, he was contented to confer the Electorate, with a Priviſo, that the Inveſtiture of the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhould not be prejudicial to the Children of the *Palatine*; and ſo the Diet ended.

Feb. 23. The Duke of *Saxony* was one of the firſt that executed the Imperial Ban againſt the Prince *Palatine*, aſſiſting the Emperor with a great Army, to level the Power of his fellow Elector when he mounted to be a King, and came ſo near him as *Prague*; but when he was brought thus low, he would willingly have raiſed him up again, and then the Hand that had done him ſo much Miſchief, was not permitted to do him any Good. But by the Carriage of the Buſineſs (though the Emperor gave fair words) it did after appear, the *Auſtrian* Policy aimed at the Extirpation of Religion, as well as at the Excluſion of the *Palatine* and his Children; for he never meant them Title, nor Territory, unleſs he could ſettle both upon a Popiſh Foundation: And to that end there was a private Treaty broached in *England*, and carried on by ſome of our King's Miniſters of State; That the young Prince *Palatine* ſhould be bred up in the Emperor's Court, under pretence of marrying his Daughter, but in effect to be trained up in the *Popiſh* Religion: And our Prince *Charles* at the ſame time muſt fetch his Wife in *Spain*; where they hoped the Influence of that Air, their viſible Piety, and their inviſible Plots, would ſweetly inſinuate their *Popiſh* Principles into him. So impiouſly cunning they are to make others as miſerable as themſelves.

Auſtrian Policy.

The Prince's Journey into Spain. The ending of the Diet in *Germany*, and our Prince's Journey into *Spain*, were much about a time. He went with the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* privately from Court the 17th of *February*, to *New-Hall* in *Eſſex*, the Marqueſs's Houſe, (purchaſed of that unthrift, *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*) and from thence the next day by *Graveſend*, the ſtraight way to *Dover*, attended only by Sir *Richard Graham*, Maſter of the Marqueſs's Horſe; where they were to meet Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the Prince's Secretary, and *Endimion Porter*, who was then taken from the Marqueſs's Bed-Chamber to wait upon the Prince. *Cottington* was, at firſt, Clerk to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*'s Secretary, when *Cornwallis* was Ambaſſador in *Spain*; and being left there an Agent, in the Intervals of Ambaſſadors, was by that means trained up in the *Spaniſh* Affairs: *Porter* was bred up in *Spain* when he was a Boy, and had the Language, but found no other Fortune there, then brought him over to be Mr. *Edward Villers*'s Man in *Fleet-ſtreet*, which was before either the Marqueſs or his Maſter were acceptable at *Whitehall*. And *Graham* at firſt was an Underling of low Degree in the Marqueſs's Stable. It is not hereby intended to viliſie the Perſons, being Men (in this World's Lottery) as capable of Advancement as others; but to ſhew in how poor a Bark the King ventured the rich Freight his Son, having only the Marqueſs to ſteer his Courſe.

The Prince and *Buckingham* had falſe Beards for Diſguiſes to cover their ſmooth Faces, and the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, which they paſs'd with, leaving behind them Impreſſions in every Place (with their Bounty and Preſence) that they were not the Perſons they preſented; but they were not ſo rudely dealt with as to be queſtioned till they came to *Dover*, and there the Mayor in a Supercilious Officiouſneſs (which may deſerve the Title of a careful Magiſtrate) examined them ſo far, (being jealous they were Gentlemen going over to Fight) that the Marqueſs (though Admiral was glad to veil his Beard to him in private, and tell him he was going to viſit the Fleet; ſo they had liberty to take Ship, and landed at *Bullaign* the ſame day, making ſwift Motion by Poſt Horſes (which Celerity leaves the leaſt Impreſſion) till they came to *Paris*; There the Prince ſpent one day to view the City and Court, ſhaddowing himſelf the moſt he could under a buſhy Peruke, which none in former times but Bald People uſed, but now generally intruded into a Faſhion; and the Prince's was ſo big, that it was Hair enough for his whole Face. The Marqueſs's fair Face was ſhadowed with the ſame Pencil, and they both together ſaw the Queen-Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the evening they had a full view of the Queen *Infanta*, and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with moſt of the Beauties of the Court, at the Practice of a Masking Dance, being admitted by the Duke of *Montbaſon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, in Humanity to Strangers, when many of the *French* were put by. *There the Prince ſaw thoſe Eyes that after inflamed his Heart, which increaſed ſo much, that it was thought to be the Cauſe of ſetting Three Kingdoms a-fire: But whether any ſpark of it did then appear, is uncertain; if it did, it was cloſely raked up, till the *Spaniſh* Fire went out; the Heat whereof made him neglect no time till he came to *Madrid*.

By Dover.

Paris.

At *Bourdeaux*, the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, Governor there, out of a noble freedom to Strangers, offered them the Civilities of his Houſe, which they declined with all baſhful Reſpects, and Sir *Francis Cottington*, who always looked like a Merchant, and had the leaſt Mien of a Gentleman, (fitteſt for ſuch an Imployment) let him know, they were Gentlemen that deſired to improve themſelves, and had not Breeding ſuitable to his Grandure; which took off the edge of his Invitation, whoſe ſubtile Eye by Converſe might have pried through thoſe fictitious Outſides, to diſcover more than did appear. Bourdeaux.

They paſſed with ſome Difficulties alſo at *Bayonne*, where the Count *de Gramont* was Governor, (being the utmoſt part of *France*, and the Key that opens the Way into *Spain*) he being a pregnant Man read more than ordinary in them; but where Peace is the School- Bayonne.

* In one of the Original Letters of the Prince and *Buckingham* to the King, in the Collection abovementioned, the Prince tells him he had been at this Ball, and ſays, *Of all that Court there was none to be compar'd for Beauty to the young Queen, which made him more earneſt to ſee her Siſter, his long deſired Miſtreſs.* So that it does not appear (at leaſt by that Letter) he had any particular regard to the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* at that time, as the Author ſuppoſes.

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Master, Jealousie the Pragmatical Usher hath little to do; therefore out of common Civility he let them pass. And within a small time after they had taken Post, (before they had well passed the Bounds of *France*) he had Notice by a Courier (that brought Advice thereof to the King of *Spain*) from Don *Carlos de Coloma*, Extraordinary Ambassador of *England* (*Gondemar*, for his good Service, being sent for home, and advanced) that the Prince of *England* was among them. *.* This Hazard the Prince ran, upon Post-Horses, that if he had been discovered, it would not only have questioned his Judgment in the managing of so great an Affair, but he must have remained at the *French* Mercy, which would have given an Eclipse to the Glory he shined in, in the Court of *Spain*; for they looked upon this sprightly Journey as a high Remark of a Gallant and Noble Spirit: And happily some *Spanish* Fancy may now be framing, how many Giant-Difficulties he conquer'd in the way, and what Inchantments he passed among the Beauties of *France*; for such Romances are frequent among those barren Rosemary Mountains, the Fume whereof is pleasant and helpful to the Brain.

At *Madrid*. Upon *Saturday* the 6th of *March*, they arrived at *Madrid*. The Prince and Marquess came thither one Day before *Cottington* and the others, to make the less Noise in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Bristol*'s House in the Evening, and the Marquess brought in the *Portmantua*; but his Master stay'd without with the Guide, till he had prepar'd a Way for Privacy. The Earl of *Bristol* was astonish'd at the Sight; but after he had collected himself, his Diligence attended his Duty, and the Prince wanted nothing but Counsel how to order himself, which they took time (till the next Day towards the Evening) to deliberate on. All that Morning the Town was filled with Rumours of the Arrival of some great Prince; and tho' the King of *Spain* had Intimation by his Letters, yet he kept all private till the Prince express'd himself, which was done that Evening: For *Buckingham* and *Bristol* went to the Court, and had private Audience of the King, who sent his Grand Favourite *Olivares* back with them to congratulate the Prince's coming, who let the Prince know, how happy the King his Master was in the Enjoyment of him there, and what Addition of Grandure his Presence would contribute to the Court of *Spain*; and that the Obligation was so great, that he deserved to have the *Infanta* thrown into his Arms. All this while kneeling, kissing his Hands, and embracing his Thigh! the huge and swelling Expressions of *Spanish* Humility. And from him he went to the Marquess of *Buckingham*, telling him, That now the Prince of *England* was in *Spain*, his Master and he would divide the World betwixt them, with other Rodomontado Fancies. And after he was gone, about Ten of the Clock that Night, the King of *Spain* came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having Intimation of his coming, (such secret Hints among Princes being suitable Invitements) he met him in the Way, and there they spent some time in those sweet, yet formal, Caresses and Embraces, that are Incidents to the Interviews of great Princes, tho' their Hearts and Tongues do seldom accord.

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Gondemar, in Consort, was not without his Strain of Compliment: For he told the Prince upon a Visit next Day, That he had strange News to tell him; which was, That an *English-man* was Sworn a Privy-Councellor to the King of *Spain*; meaning himself, who he said was an *English-man* in his Heart, and had lately receiv'd that Honour.

The next Day the King and Prince had some Interviews in their Coaches passing to the *Parada* to take the Air, where also he had a Glimpse of his fair Mistress; but the Formality of the Prince's Entertainment was deferred till his Lodgings were made ready in the Court, which was the *Sunday* following, being that Day invited to Dinner to St. *Hierome*'s Monastery, where the King commanded divers of his Great Officers to attend upon the Prince, which they did bare Headed, and they say it was according to the old Custom of *Castile*; but King *Philip* when he was in *England* found that Respect, and retain'd it ever after in *Spain*. The Prince would have prevented their Ceremony to him; but they are stubborn, and pertinacious in their very Humility. After Dinner the King came in Person, with his Favourite *Olivares*, and divers others of the Nobility in Coaches, with Intention on Horseback (for the more State) to conduct the Prince through the Town to the Court, having Horses and all Accoutrements fit for such a Loyal Train. And thus mounted they rode in great Glory through the Streets, (being adorned with rich Tapistry and rare Pictures) as their Kings do to their Coronation. The *Spanish* Civility plac'd the Prince on the Right Hand of the King, under a rich Cloth of State, supported by many Persons of Quality; *Olivares* and *Buckingham* went next the Canopy, and after them the rest of their Grandees in their several Degrees, most Glorious every where to behold, the choice Beauties of the Town and Court presenting themselves to see, and to be seen. At the Court-Gate they dismounted, and then a new friendly Strife began who would enter first; and because that should breed no Difference, they went both together. The Queen and the *Infanta*, from a Window in the Court, saw them come riding in Triumphant Equipage; and when they alighted, the *Infanta* retired, and the Queen went to her Chamber, expecting a Visit; and when the King and Prince entred her Chamber, she rose to meet them, making an Obedisance to the Prince suitable to her Greatness and his; and he bowing to the Ground almost in Obedience to her, were both as great Patterns of Civility and Courtesy to the rest of their Train. And after some Compliments, they sate down in Three Royal Seats prepared for them, the Queen in the Middle, the Prince on her Right Hand, and the King on her Left. And in this Stately Posture they discours'd away some half an Hour's time, and then parted. The Queen brought the Prince to the utmost extent of her Chamber, and the King to a Chamber prepar'd for him, (with many Rooms of State, sumptuously adorned) where he left him to his own Attendance, and some great *Spanish* Condes, as Principal Officers of his Houshould *Gondemar* ever being one about him, Two Days after the Prince was invited to run at the Ring, where his fair Mistress was a

Rides in State to the Court.

. That the King was in great Perplexity lest the Prince might be discovered and arrested in *France*, appears by a Letter in the foresaid Collection, sent by *Griffith* the next Day after he left *Dover*; in which he encloses one to the *French* King, which he desires the Prince to deliver in case he be discover'd. But if otherways, he desires him, whenever he arrives in the *Spanish* Territories, to write back to that King a Letter of Excuse, for not waiting on him in his Passage thro' his Country.

Specta-

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Spectator, and, to the Glory of his Fortune, and the great Contentment both of himself and the Lookers on, he took the Ring the very first Course. So seasonable are these little empty Joys, when they are suitable to our Minds and Wishes.

His Royal Entertainment.

All that the *Spanish* Court could do, was heighten'd into Gallantry and Civilities to the Prince; yet he saw not his fair Mistress but at an undiscerning Distance, and in *transitu*, as she came from Church. But after all these Splendid and Glorious outside Ceremonies of Entertainment were grown a little old, the Prince began to mind the Business he came about, and desired a more intimate Access to his beloved *Infanta*, which *Olivares* promised from Day to Day to accomplish, but still delay'd; and at length, when unperform'd Promises were heighten'd into Shame, he plainly confess'd, That it was agreed by the King and his Council, that he might not see her as a Lover till the Dispensation came, for it would give Scandal to admit him before; yet not to starve him quite in his Desires, (but to keep him short, that he should not surfeit) he had now and then Access to her as a Prince, in a publick way, the King of *Spain* being always present, and the Earl of *Bristol* Interpreter; so that nothing could be spoken but those little superficial Compliments, that served as Baits rather to nibble on, then satisfy. But these small Repasts kept up the Appetite.

The English Nobility flock into Spain.

And now the Glories of the *English* Court left the Northern Sun declining to the West, and came to see the Sun rising in *Spain*. The Marquess of *Buckingham*'s new Title of Duke came to him also, (that he might be in the highest Rank among the *Spanish* Grandees) to beard the proudest of them; which afterwards he did. And the Viscount *Doncaster* (lately made Earl of *Carlile)* came in all his Glories; of which Two, it was observed by knowing Men, That *Buckingham* came into *Spain* of the *Spanish* Faction, and returned into *England* of the *French* Faction: *Carlile* came into *Spain* of the *French* Faction, and returned into *England* of the *Spanish*: Thus varying the Scene by Fits, and acting their Parts as the present Fancy moved them. The Lord *Kensington*, Captain of the Guard to our King, came also to see the Prince, so did the Earl of *Denbigh*, *Edward*, Son and Heir to the now Earl of *Manchester*; the Viscount *Mandevill*, the Viscount *Rochford*, and divers others of the Nobility: And the Prince was so circled with a splendid Retinue of his own People, that it might be said, There was an *English* Court in the King of *Spain*'s Palace.

The Spanish strive to pervert the Prince.

But, together with these specious Entertainments, there were underworking Hopes to have the Prince turn Papist; for (in intervenient Discourses) *Olivares* and others would press him (with all the Arguments the Court had instructed them in) to a Conversion; intimating, how smooth a Path it would make to the *Infanta*'s Affections; for when he, that was to be Lord of her Heart, and the best Friend she had, would be an Enemy to her Religion, it could not but be a great Obstacle to her Love. And when the Danger of it was proposed to them, as likely to bring a Rebellion in the Nation, if their Prince should be perverted; they promised to assist him with an Army against such Rebellious People. But if he would not admit of a present and sudden Alteration publickly, yet that he would be indulgent, when the *Infanta* came into *England*, as to listen to her in Matters of Religion; which the Prince promised to do. Nay, his own familiar Friend *Bristol* (as it was Articled against him afterwards by *Buckingham*) did strive with a gentle Hand to allure him that way, as bringing with it an Addition to the Grandure of the Kings of *England*, That none of them could ever do great Things that were not of that Religion.

Thus was the Prince beset, and Time ran away in Discourses; the Dispensation being purposely delay'd; for some at that time in the *Spanish* Court said it was come, and sent back again to *Rome*, (being too forward and active) that it might have more Weight put upon it, and then it would not make so much hast; for now it came too soon to dispatch their Work: For they Subtilly consider'd, that Time and continual Dropping might leave those Impressions upon the Prince's Spirit, that Dispatches cannot effect. Therefore they made new Queries, that clapp'd new Remora's upon the Articles, that being tangled in Disputations betwixt *England* and *Spain*, and in Controversies of Religion betwixt the Prince and some of their cunning Sophisters, (which they set a-work) that before the Way could be well cleared on both sides, their Design (which was the Prince's Perversion) might mature and ripen. For the Earl of *Bristol* confessed afterwards, That it was a general receiv'd Opinion in the *Spanish* Court, that the Prince came thither with Intention to be a Roman Catholick: And *Gondomar* pressed *Bristol* not to hinder so pious a Work, assuring him, they had the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Assistance therein.

So doth the Pope.

And it was evident enough their Hopes were great, by the Pope's Letter to the Bishop of *Conchen*, Inquisitor-General in *Spain*; wherein he excites him not to slip the Opportunity Providence had put into his Hand, of extending his Piety to the outermost Nations. The Prince of *England* being now in the Court of *Spain*, that glorious Temple (as it were) that hath been a Bulwark to the Pontifical Authority, and an Academy for Propagation of Religion, he desires he may not stay there in vain; but that some of the Impressions of the Piety of so many Catholick Kings as have lived there may be imprinted on him, that he may be won with all Sweetness, as many of his Noble Ancestors have been, who have submitted their Crown'd Heads and Imperial Power to the *Roman* Obedience. And to this Glorious Victory, and Eternal Triumph of Celestial Beatitudes, the Treasures of Kings, and Legions of Soldiers, cannot contribute; but the Weapons of Light, that must come from Heaven, whose Splendour enlightening the Prince's Eyes, shall dazle his Errors, and establish his Mind in Meekness. And he charges the Bishop and all his Fraternity to use the best Strength and Industry they can to this purpose. So that the Prince was continually laid at, by the insinuating Orations of cunning Jesuits; the feigned and couzening Miracles of reclused Holiness; the splendid and specious Solemnities of their formal Processions; the rare and admirable Pictures of their reputed Saints; besides many other painted Devices and subtle Artifices brooded among them.

And the Pope used all the Rhetorick of his Cabalistical Consistory of Holy Chair to charm him to his Obedience, as may be seen by this Letter, which he writ to him himself.

By his Letter

'MOst Noble Prince, Health and Light of
' Divine Grace. Forasmuch as *Great Bri-*
' *tain* hath always been fruitful in Virtues, and

Men

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'Men of Merit, having filled the one and the 'other World with the Glory of her Renown, 'she doth also very often attract the Thoughts 'of the Holy Apostolical Chair to the Conside-'ration of her Praises. And indeed the Church 'was but then in her Infancy, when the King 'of Kings did choose her for his Inheritance, 'and so affectionately, that it is thought the '*Roman* Eagles prevailed not so much as the 'Banner of the Cross. Besides, that many of 'her Kings, instructed in the Knowledge of 'the true Salvation, have preferred the Cross 'before the Royal Scepter, and the Discipline 'of Religion before Covetousness, leaving Ex-'amples of Piety to other Nations, and to the 'Ages yet to come; so as having merited the 'principal and chief Places of Blessedness in 'Heaven, they have obtained on Earth the 'Triumphant Ornaments of true Holiness. 'And altho' now the State of the *English* Church 'be alter'd, yet we see the Court of *Great Bri-'tain* adorn'd and furnish'd with Moral Virtues, 'which might serve to support the Charity that 'we bear unto her, and be an Ornament to the 'Name of Christianity; if withal she could 'have for her Defence and Protection the Or-'thodox and Catholick Truth. Wherefore, by 'how much the Glory of your most Noble Fa-'ther, and the Apprehension of your Royal 'Disposition, delights us, with so much more 'Zeal we desire that the Gates of the Heavenly 'Kingdom might be open'd unto you, and that 'you might purchase to your self the Love of 'the Universal Church. Moreover, it being 'certain that *Gregory the Great*, of most blessed 'Memory, hath introduced to the *English* Peo-'ple and taught their Kings the Law of the 'Gospel, and the Respect to Apostolical Au-'thority; we as inferior to him in Holiness 'and Virtue, but equal in Name and Degree of 'Dignity, it is very reasonable that we, follow-'ing his blessed Steps, should endeavour the 'Salvation of those Provinces, especially at this 'time, when your happy Design (most Noble 'Prince) elevates us to the Hope of an extraor-'dinary Advantage. And as you have taken a 'Journey into *Spain* to the Catholick King, 'with Desire to Ally your self to the House of '*Austria*; so we do commend your Design, and 'indeed do testify openly in this present Busi-'ness, That you are he that takes the principal 'Care of our Prelacy. For seeing that you de-'sire to take in Marriage the Daughter of *Spain*, 'we may easily from thence conjecture, that 'the ancient Seeds of Christian Piety, which 'have so happily flourish'd in the Hearts of the 'Kings of *Great Britain*, may (God prospering 'them) revive again in your Soul. And in-'deed it is not to be believed, that he that loves 'such an Alliance, should hate the Catholick 'Religion, and delight to oppress the Holy 'Chair. To that purpose we have commanded 'to make continually most humble Prayers to 'the Father of Lights, That he would be pleas-'sed to put you as a fair Flower of *Christendom*, 'and the only Hope of *Great Britain*, in Pos-'session of that most Noble Heritage that your 'Ancestors have purchased for you, to defend 'the Authority of the Sovereign High Priest, 'and to fight against the Monsters of Heresy. 'Remember the Days of old, enquire of your 'Fathers, and they will tell you the Way that 'leads to Heaven, and what Way Temporal 'Princes have taken to gain an Eternal King-'dom. Behold the Gates of Heaven opened, 'the most Holy Kings of *England* (who came 'from *England* to *Rome* accompanied with An-'gels) did come to Honour and do Homage to 'the Lord of Lords, and to the Prince of the 'Apostles, in the Apostolical Chair; their 'Actions and Examples, being as so many 'Voices of God, speaking and exhorting you 'to follow the Course of the Lives of those, to 'whose Empire you shall one Day attain.

'Is it possible that you can suffer Hereticks 'should hold them for impious, and condemn 'those whom the Faith of the Church testifies 'to Reign in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and 'have Command and Authority over all Prin-'cipalities and Empires of the Earth? Behold 'how they tender you the Hand of this truly 'happy Inheritance, to conduct you safe and 'sound to the Court of the Catholick King; 'and now desire to bring you back again into 'the Bosom of the *Roman* Church; beseeching, 'with unspeakable Sighs and Groans, the God 'of all Mercy for your Salvation, and do stretch 'out to you the Arms of the Apostolical Cha-'rity, to embrace you with all Christian Af-'fection; even you, that are her desired Son, 'in shewing you the happy Hope of the King-'dom of Heaven. And indeed you cannot give 'a greater Consolation to all the People of the 'Christian World, than to put the Prince of the 'Apostles in possession of your most Noble 'Island, whose Authority hath been held so 'long in the Kingdom of *Britain* for the De-'fence of Kingdoms, and for a Divine Oracle; 'the which will easily arrive, and without Dif-'ficulty, if you open your Heart to the Lord 'that knocks, upon which depends all the Hap-'piness of that Kingdom. It is from this our 'great Charity that we cherish the Praises of 'the Royal Name; and that which makes us 'desire that you and your Royal Father might 'be stiled with the Name of *Deliverers* and *Re-'storers* of the Ancient and Paternal Religion of '*Great Britain*. This is it we hope for, trusting 'in the Goodness of God, in whose Hands are 'the Hearts of Kings, and who causeth the 'People of the Earth to receive Healing; to 'whom we will always labour with all our 'Power to render you gracious and favourable. 'In the Interim take notice by these Letters the 'Care of our Charity, which is none other 'than to procure your Happiness; and it will 'never grieve us to have written them, if the 'reading of them stir but the least Spark of Ca-'tholick Faith in the Heart of so great a Prince, 'whom we wish to be filled with long continu-ance of Joy, and flourishing in the Glory of 'all Virtues. Given at *Rome*, in the Palace of St. *Peter*, the 20th of *April*, 1623. in the Third Year of our Popedom.

The Pope's Cunning.

This Letter of the Pope's expresses not only the sleek and smooth Ways that Soul-Merchant takes to purchase his Proselytes, but the End he proposes to himself; which is, to bring them under the *Roman* Obedience; otherwise, whatsoever they do or profess is Heresy. And to build up the Towers of this great *Babel*, the Name of the most high God is brought down among them, and used as a Master-Builder. Every Profession lays that Name as a Foundation, tho' the Superstructure be but Straw and Stubble of Hypocrisy, which a Whirlwind shall scatter; and the Time is coming that her Lovers shall be destroy'd, and fiery-cloven Tongues shall confound their Language. The Prince was not slack in answering this Letter, which happily he might think would quicken the Pope to dispatch the Dispensation, when he should find so little Cause for Delays, by his closing so nearly

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nearly with him: Which whether out of Policy, or real Intention, cannot be asserted; but the Letter was thus:

The Prince's Answer.

MOST Holy Father, *I received the Dispatch from your Holiness with great Content, and with that Respect which the Piety and Care wherewith your Holiness writes doth require. It was an unspeakable Pleasure to me to read the generous Exploits of the Kings my Predecessors, to whose Memory Posterity hath not given those Praises and Elogies of Honour that were due to them. I do believe that your Holiness hath set their Example before my Eyes to the end that I might imitate them in all my Actions; for in Truth they have often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair: And the Courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the Care and Thought which I have, to the End that the Peace and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in* Christendom, *might be bound with a Band of true Concord: For like as the Common Enemy of Peace watcheth always to put Hatred and Dissention between Christian Princes, so I believe that the Glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater Honour to be descended from so Great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety: In which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and Will of our Thrice Honoured Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his Catholick Majesty, to give a happy Concurrence to so laudable a Design: For it grieves him extreamly to see the great Evil that grows from the Division of Christian Princes, which the Wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the Marriage, which you pleased to Design, between the Infanta of* Spain *and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a Good: For 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreamly affectionate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that hath the same Apprehension of the true Religion with my self. Therefore I entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partisan of any Faction against the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all Occasions to take away the Suspicion that might rest upon me; and that I will employ my self for the time to come to have but one Religion and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in One Jesus Christ. Having resolved in my self to spare nothing that I may have in the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to the hazarding of my Estate and Life, for a Thing so pleasing unto God. It rests only, that I thank your Holiness for the Permission which you have been pleased to afford me, and that I may pray God to give you a blessed Health here, and his Glory, after so much Travel which your Holiness takes within his Church.* †‡†

Signed,

CHARLES STUART.

A fatal Letter.

It may well be a Quere, Whether this Profession of the Prince, in suffering all Discommodities, even to the hazarding of State and Life, did not rest upon him at his Death? as may be said hereafter: But there is a long Race for him to run before he come to that End. It seems he had either a good Will to write this Letter, or a bad Council to indite it, or both conjoined, that were as careful to please the Pope, as they were hopeful it would never come to see the Light, till the Flame of it would be too visible. For if the Prince intended really (when he had Power) to Introduce Popery into *England*, this Letter in a bloody Colour too apparently would have been discovered; and if his Intentions were formal, and only to close with the Pope for his present Accommodation, How black would every Character of this Letter look to the Roman Rubrick, and what a Tincture of Scandal would it leave upon the true Religion? for *Fallere fallentem* may be a fit Motto for a bad Man, not a good Christian; so that whatsoever his Intentions were, the Act was evil: And I could suspect it as a forged Letter, but that it hath been asserted by so many Authors both at home and abroad.

The Dispensation comes to *Madrid*.

The Pope finding by this Letter, and some other private Intimations, the Prince's good Affections to the Roman See, thought it high time to dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with the Cords of Love; therefore he dispatches the Dispensation to his Nuncio at *Madrid*, six Months after the Prince's Arrival

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†‡† I shall not venture to say any thing for or against the Truth of this Letter to the Pope, it being generally agreed upon, that there was one in Answer to another of the Pope's.

But its but doing Justice to the Memory of this Prince to take Notice, that in all that Collection of Original Letters I have so often quoted, there is no mention made of any Letters from the Prince to the Pope, nor of the Pope to him, though at the same time the most minute Accidents that happened to the Prince at *Madrid* are there set down.

It's likewise observable, that in all that Collection, and in all the other Letters I have seen of King *Charles*, when Prince of *Wales*, he constantly subscrib'd *Charles* P. and never *Charles Stuart*.

It's true, there is in that Collection a Letter of *Buckingham*'s before the Prince went to *Spain*, wherein, as I said elsewhere, he desires the King's Amendments to one of his to Cardinal *Ludovisio*, but not a Word of any to the Pope.

It's likewise true, that in a Letter in that Collection, dated at *Madrid*, *March* 10. 1623. the Prince and *Buckingham*, after having told the King all the Remora's they met with in their Business, and how difficult it would be to get the Pope's Dispensation; they add this Expression, *If the Pope will not grant the Dispensation, then we desire to know how far we may engage you in the Acknowledgement of the Pope's Spiritual Power: For we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope chief Head under Christ, that the Match will be made without him.* But what Answer King *James* made to this Letter, does not appear in that Collection.

It must also be own'd, That the Truth of the Concessions mention'd by our Author to have been made by King *James* to the Court of *Rome*, in order to facilitate the *Spanish* Match, were never call'd in question by any other Author of Repute. And in a Letter contain'd in the aforesaid Collection, King *James* acquaints the Prince and *Buckingham*, then at *Madrid*, with his sending over Two Chaplains, *Maw* and *Wren*, with Ornaments for the Prince's Chappel, whom he had fully instructed how to demean themselves there; *That so* (says he) *their Behaviour and Service may be decent and agreeable to the Primitive Church, and yet as near the Roman Form as can lawfully be done: For it has ever been my Way* (continues he) *to go with the Church of* Rome *Usque ad aras*; meaning, as I suppose, as far as the Mass, or Sacrifice of the Altar exclusive.

There must certainly have been Transactions on foot at that time that were not fit to be made publick, nor even to be communicated to the Council. This is clear from another Letter in that Collection of King *James*'s, wherein he desires the Prince and *Buckingham* to continue to write to him always in one and the same Letter; assuring them, *He would be very wary not to acquaint his Council with what Secrets they should write. But* (says he) *I have been troubled with* Hamilton (meaning the Marquess) *who being present by chance when I received your first and second Packets from* Madrid, *would needs peer over my Shoulder* (for that is his Word) *when I was reading them, offering to help me to read any hard Word: And in good Faith* (continues he) *he is in this Business, as in all things else, as unstable and uncertain as the Moon.*

there,

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there, with a little Bob at the Tail of it, yet to amuse them; which was, That the King of *Great Britain* and the Prince should give Caution to perform what was stipulated between them and the King of *Spain*, especially in those Articles which were in Favour of the Roman Catholicks in *England*, and other his Majesty's Dominions; requiring at least some Sovereign Catholick Prince should engage for them by Oath. This made some little Demur; for being sent into *England*, the King answered, That he could give no other Caution but his own and the Prince's Royal Words and Oaths, confirmed by his Council of State, and exemplified under the Great Seal of *England*: But this would not satisfy: Therefore the King of *Spain* undertook it; and it was thought a *Spanish* Device, That, by undertaking such an Engagement, he might not only the more endear himself to the King of *Great Britain*, and to the Prince his Brother, but have a more colourable Pretext to make War against *England*, if the Roman Catholicks there had not full Satisfaction and Freedom according to the Articles: And the King of *Spain*, knowing or assuring himself that no Catholick Prince would take such an Oath, offered himself to satisfy the Pope. And a Committee of Ecclesiasticks in *Spain* were appointed to debate the Case in relation to the King's Conscience, Whether he might take such an Oath for them? and they (being doubtless, resolved on it before) concluded affirmatively: And that if the King of *Great Britain* and Prince should fail in the Performance of these Capitulations, the King of *Spain* might save his Oath, by vindicating the Breach thereof upon them with his Sword. And now this Monster-difficulty being overcome by the *Spanish* Bravery, the very same time, Articles, that our King and Prince had signed, (as are before related) were sent into *England* for our King and his Privy-Council to swear to; and there was not a Rub left for either Party to stumble at.

But whilst these things were in motion in *Spain*, they were much regretted and badly resented in *England*; the Spirit almost of the whole Nation being averse to this Union, which made many vent their Passion by their Pens, as well as their Tongues. Amongst the rest, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, knowing that a Toleration was to be admitted, (though he stood tottering in the King's Favour, and had the Badge of a Puritan clapt upon him) thought it better to discharge his Conscience, though he hazarded all, rather than be silent in such a Cause, where the Glory of God, and the Good of the Kingdom, were so highly concerned. Therefore he writes this Letter to the King,

The Archbishop's Letter to the King against Toleration.

May it please your Majesty,

I *Have been too long silent, and am afraid by my Silence I have neglected the Duty of the Place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave Leave I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my Duty to Your Majesty; and therefore I beseech Your Majesty to give me Leave freely to deliver my self, and then let Your Majesty do with me what You please. Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion: I beseech you, Sir, take into your Consideration what the Act is, next what the Consequence may be. By your Act You labour to set up that most Damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *the Whore of* Babylon. *How hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good Subjects, the true Professors of the Gospel, that your Majesty, who hath often disputed and learnedly written against those wicked Heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen hath told the World, and your Conscience tells your self, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable? Add hereunto what You have done in sending the Prince into* Spain, *without the Consent of your Council, the Privity and Approbation of your People. And though, Sir, You have a large Interest in the Prince, as the Son of your Flesh, yet hath the People a greater, as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after Your Majesty) their Eyes are fixed, and Welfare depends: And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as, believe it, Sir, however his Return may be safe, yet the Drawers of him to that Action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned and unpunished. Besides, this Toleration which you endeavour to set up by Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majesty would let your Subjects see, That You will take unto your self a Liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at your Pleasure. What dreadful Consequence these things may draw after them, I beseech Your Majesty to consider. And, above all, lest by this Toleration, and Discontinuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many Years flourished, Your Majesty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Indignation. Thus, in Discharge of my Duty towards God, to your Majesty, and the Place of my Calling, I have taken humble Boldness to deliver my Conscience. And now, Sir, do with me what You please.*

Thus did our *Solomon* in his latter time (though he had fought with the Beasts at *Ephesus*, as one saith of him) incline a little too much to the Beast; yet he made his Tale so good to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (what Reservations soever he had) that he wrought upon the good old Man (afterwards) in the Conclusion of the Work, to set his Hand as a Witness to the Articles. And his Desires were so heightned to the Heats of *Spain*, (which boil'd him to such a Distemper) that he would listen to nothing, and almost yield to any thing, rather than not to enjoy his own Humour.

Arguments for and against a Toleration.

Divers of his intimate Council, affecting Popery, were not slack to urge him to a Toleration, and many Arguments were used inciting to it; as, That Catholicks were the King's best and most peaceable Subjects, the Puritans being the only Sticklers and the greatest Disturbers of the Royal Peace, trenching too boldly upon the Prerogative, and striving to lessen the Kingly Power: But if the King had Occasion to make use of the Catholicks, he should find them more faithful to him than those that are ever contesting with him. And why should not Catholicks with as much Safety be permitted in *England*, as the Protestants are in *France*? That their Religion was full of Love and Charity, (where they could enjoy it with Freedom;) and where Charity lays the Foundation, the upper Building must needs be Spiritual. But these Arguments were answer'd, and many Reasons alledged against them, proving the Nature of the Protestant Religion to be compatible with the Nature of the Politick Laws of any State, of what Religion soever; because it teacheth, That the Government of any State, whether Monarchical or Aristocratical, is Supream within it self, and not Subordinate to any Power without; so that the Knot of Allegiance thereunto is so firmly tied, that no humane Power can unloose or dissolve it. Whereas, on the contrary, the Roman Religion, acknowledging

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knowledging a Supremacy in another, above that Power which ſwayeth the State, whereof they are Members, muſt conſequently hold, that one Stroke of that Supream Power is able to unſinew and cut in ſunder all the Bonds which tye them to the Subordinate and Dependent Authority; and therefore can ill accord with the Allegiance which Subjects owe to a Prince of their own Religion, which makes Papiſts intolerable in a Proteſtant Common-wealth. For what Faith can a Prince or People expect from them, whoſe Tenet is, *That no Faith is to be held with Hereticks?* That the Proteſtants in *France* had merited better there than the Papiſts had done in *England*; the one, by their Loyalties to their Lawful King, having ranſomed that Kingdom with their Bloods, in the Pangs of her deſperate Agonies, from the Yoak of an Uſurper within, and the Tyranny of a Foreign Scepter without; the other ſeeking to write their Diſloyalties in the Heart-blood of the Princes and beſt Subjects of this Kingdom. That the Number and Quality of the Profeſſors of theſe different Religions in either Kingdom is to be obſerved: For in *France* the Number of the Proteſtants were ſo great, that a Toleration did not make them, but found them, a conſiderable Party, ſo ſtrong, as they could not have been ſuppreſſed without endangering the Kingdom: But a Toleration in *England* would not find, but form, the Papiſts to be a conſiderable Party, (witneſs their Encreaſe by this late Connivancy; a Thing which ought mainly to be avoided: For the Diſtraction of a State into ſeveral powerful Parties is always weakning, and often proveth the utter Ruin thereof.

The Match concluded in *England*.

Theſe things were laid open to the King, but all were waved by the King of *Spain*'s Offering His Engagement to the Pope, by Oath, That he and the Prince his Son ſhould obſerve and keep the Articles ſtipulated betwixt them, did exceedingly affect him: And the Articles now coming to cloſe up all, they were engroſſed, with a long Preamble, declaring to all the World the much deſired Union betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, by the Marriage of his Son to the Infanta *Maria*, Siſter to the King: To which end he had ſent his Son into *Spain*, to treat and conclude the Match; together with *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, *John* Earl of *Briſtol*, Sir *Walter Aſton* and Sir *Francis Cottington* Baronets, Commiſſioners on his Part for the ſaid Treaty; and on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, *John de Mendoza* and *Luna*, Marquis of *Monſtes Claros*, *Didaco Sarmiento de Acuna* Earl of *Gondemar*, and *John de Ciriza* Secretary to the Secret Council: Which Commiſſioners for both Parts, qualified by a Diſpenſation from his Holineſs, after long and deliberate Diſpute in ſo ſerious a Matter, *Communi conſenſu atque judicio in aliquas capitulationes & conditiones, ad rem terminandam & adſtipulandam accommodatas, quae ſic ſe habent, convenerunt*, by one Conſent and Judgment, had determined and concluded the ſame.

The Preamble to the Articles.

Then followed the before-recited Articles, after which this long Poſtſcript atteſting them.

The Poſtſcript to the Articles.

THE Treaty aforeſaid, and all and ſingular the Capitulations in the ſame contained and ſpecified, are acceptable to Us; and from Our certain Knowledge, ſo as much as doth concern Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do approve, allow, confirm and ratify, all and every of them: And We do promiſe by theſe Preſents, bona fide, *in the Word of a* King, *laying aſide all Exception and Contradiction, inviolably, firmly, well and faithfully, to keep, obſerve and fulfil the ſame, and to cauſe them with Effect to be kept, obſerved and fulfilled: And laying Our Hand upon the Holy Evangeliſts, We do confirm the ſame by Oath; in the Preſence of the Illuſtrious and Noble-Men*, John de Mendoza *and* Carolus à Colonna, *Ambaſſadors of his Majeſty the Catholick King, reſident in our Court; notwithſtanding all Opinions, Sentences and Laws to the contrary. In Faith and Witneſs that theſe Articles, and all and ſingular the Premiſſes, were ſubſcribed with Our own Hand, We have cauſed Our Great Seal to be put to them, in the Preſence of the most Reverend Father in Chriſt*, George *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England; *the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt*, John, *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *Keeper of the Great Seal of* England; *and Our beloved Couſins*, Lionel, *Earl of* Middleſex, *Lord High Treaſurer of* England, Henry *Viſcount* Mandevil, *Preſident of Our Council*; Edward *Earl of* Worceſter, *Keeper of Our Privy Seal*; Lodowick *Duke of* Richmond *and* Lenox, *High Steward of Our Houſhold*, James *Marqueſs* Hamilton, James *Earl of* Carliſle; Thomas *Earl of* Kelley; Oliver *Viſcount* Grandiſon, *and the Reverend Father in Chriſt*, Lancelot, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *Dean of Our Royal Chappel, and Our Beloved and Faithful*, George *Baron* Carew *of* Clopton, *Maſter of our Great Ordnance of* England; Arthur *Baron* Chicheſter *of* Belfaſt, *High Treaſurer of Our Kingdom of* Ireland; *Sir* Thomas Edmonds *Kt. Treaſurer of Our Royal Houſhold*; *Sir* John Sucklin *Kt. Comptroller of Our Houſhold*; *Sir* George Calvert *Kt. One of Our Principal Secretaries*; *Sir* Edward Conwey *Kt. another of Our Principal Secretaries*; *Sir* Richard Weſton *Kt. Chancellor and Sub-Treaſurer of Our Exchequer*; *and Sir* Julius Cæſar *Kt. Maſter of Our Rolls; all of them of our Privy Council. Dated at Our Palace at* Weſtminſter *the Twentieth Day of* July, *in the One and twentieth Year of Our Reign.*

This Train of Witneſſes are ſet down to ſhew who were then of our King's Council; though ſome of them ſet their Hands to it much againſt their Wills, and ſwore with as little Zeal to obſerve and keep (as much as in them lay) all the aforeſaid Articles; ſuch Power have Kings over Mens Reaſons and Conſciences.

There was ſome little Conteſt betwixt our King and the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſadors, about ſome particular Ceremonies obſerved in ſwearing of theſe Articles; for our King having written and ſpoken againſt the Pope's Holineſs, would not admit him to be ſo ſtiled in his Oath: But the Ambaſſadors refuſed to proceed further, unleſs that Title were conſented unto; ſo that our King, (affected ever to be accounted a Peace-maker) though he were Defender of the Faith, was forced to lay by his Shield, (admitting him to be holy who was moſt unholy;) and ſo the Strife ended. Some other little things were ſtood upon by the Ambaſſadors, but the King's Patience ſurmounted all their Demands. And in the Cloſe of the Buſineſs, he invited the Ambaſſadors to a Royal Feaſt at *Whitehall*; where, after Dinner, retiring into the Council-Chamber, the King took another private Oath, to obſerve certain Articles in Favour of Roman Catholicks, for a free Exerciſe of their Religion in all his Dominions; whereto he proteſted to do what in him lay, that the Parliament ſhould confirm the ſame. And thus was the great Buſineſs accompliſhed, which gave our King ſo much Content, that (being tranſported with an Aſſurance of the Match) he was heard to ſay, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it*; ſo ſecure was he of it in his

Private Articles ſworn to.

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own Opinion: But one that heard him, said to others standing by, *That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were now all gone into* Spain *to make up the Match.*

Jesuites swarm.

This Forwardness of the Union with *Spain*, and Indulgence to Papists, made Jesuites and Priests swarm in every Corner, setting up their subtile Traps to catch wavering Spirits: And they could not hear of a Man of Estate that was sick, (for Persons of Quality were only aimed at) but they would tamper with his weak Conscience, and perswade him to the Charity of their Religion, whereby his Soul (that was tainted with Earthly Corruptions, and must needs be purged by Fire before it can come to God) should escape the Pains of Purgatory; or if it went thither, their Prayers could redeem them thence; with such Stuff as this deceiving many poor Souls. But their most specious juggling Argument (which did catch many Ignorant Persons) was the Visibility of their Church in all Ages, (as they pretended) and their great Question, Where the Protestant Church was before *Luther*? Among the rest, one *Edward Buggs* Esq; living in *London*, aged Seventy Years, and an old professed Protestant, was seduced by them in his Sickness; and after his Recovery, being troubled in Mind, at his Request and Desire there was a Publick Conference and Dispute appointed at Sir *Humphrey Lynd*'s House; *Lynd* being a Friend to *Buggs*, and a Gentleman of great Knowledge and Integrity, who was able to grapple with the Jesuites himself; yet he modestly desired Doctor *White* and Doctor *Featly*, Protestants, to encounter with Father *Fisher*, and Father *Sweet* Jesuites: Where *Featly* laid their juggling Tricks at their Doors; protesting to acknowledge himself overcome by them, if they could prove out of any good Author, (let them brag what they would of the Visibility of their Church in all Ages) that in City, Parish, or Hamlet, within Five hundred Years next after Christ, there was any visible Assembly of Christians to be named, maintaining or defending either the Council of *Trent* in general, or these Points of Popery in special.

Dispute publickly

1. 'That there is a Treasury of Saints Merits, 'and superabundant Satisfactions at the Pope's 'disposing.

2. 'That the Laity are not commanded by 'Christ's Institution to receive the Sacrament of 'the Lord's Supper in both kinds.

3. 'That the Publick Service of God in the 'Church, ought, or may be celebrated in an 'unknown Tongue.

4. 'That private Masses (wherein the Priest 'saith, *Edite & bibite ex hoc omnes*, and yet eateth and drinketh himself only) are according 'to Christ's Institution.

5. 'That the Pope's Pardons are requisite or 'useful, to release Souls out of Purgatory.

6. 'That the Effect of the Sacrament dependeth upon the Intention of the Minister.

7. 'That Extream Unction is a Sacrament 'properly so called.

8. 'That we may worship God by an Image.

9. 'That the Sacred Host ought to be elevated, or carried in solemn Procession.

10. 'That Infidels, and impious Persons, yea 'Rats and Mice, may eat the Body of Christ.

11. 'That all Ecclesiastical Power dependeth 'on the Pope.

12. 'That he cannot err in Matters of Faith.

13. 'That he hath Power to canonize Saints, 'to dispose of Kings and Kingdoms at his Pleasure, *&c.*

Here Mr. *Sweet* interrupted him, saying, These were Scholastical Points, not Fundamental.

To which Doctor *White* replied, *These things which are defined in your Council of* Trent, *are to you Matter Fundamental: And whatsoever Article denied makes a Man an Heretick, is Fundamental.*

But the Denial of any of these, makes a Man an Heretick.

Ergo, *Every one of these Articles is Fundamental.*

To which Argument, nothing being answer'd, Doctor *Featly* proceeded.

But the Jesuites not being able to prove, that any of these things were in practice in the Primitive Times of Christianity, (but that they were fobb'd in by several Popes and Councils in latter Times, to serve their own Turns) waved the Argument, and insisted upon other Particulars, not material to the Point; striving to confound one thing with another, (as their manner is) that they might complicate, and wrap up in Obscurity, all that was spoken: Which Mr. *Buggs* perceiving, rested fully satisfied and confirmed in the Truth.

A great Judgment, of an unfortunate Mishap.

But thus the Jesuits ranged up and down seeking whom they might devour, and their Insolency being greater, and more notorious at this time than at others, the Mischief that fell to them in this Height of their Pride and Greatness, is very remarkable: For at a Sermon in *Black-Friars*, where Father *Drury*, a Jesuite, vented his pestilent Doctrine to an Auditory of near Three hundred People, the Floor of the Chamber (being an upper Room) fell down, and killed the *Preacher*, and almost (*if not*) a full Hundred of his Auditory outright, maiming and bruising most of the rest; many of them lying a long time under the Rubbish, crying for Help, and with much Difficulty recovered their broken Limbs. *Thus many times we might immediately see the Hand of God, (who is the Lord of Life and Death) though through wilful Stupidity (because we must judge modestly) we look upon these Accidents by mediate and second Causes*; thinking an old House can destroy so many Lives, without the Permission of that Supream Authority that orders all things both in Heaven and in Earth.

Brunswick raises an Army.

The Duke of *Brunswick* this Spring, (being healed of his Wounds received in the last Battel with *Mansfield*, and having gotten an Artificial Arm to manage his Horse, which he could do with a great deal of Dexterity) whereby his own Interest and Power, and the Assistance of his Friends, (being but a younger Brother, and having nothing but the Bishoprick of *Halverstat* for his Portion) he raised a great Army in the lower Parts of *Germany*, about *Brunswick* and *Munster*, consisting of about Sixteen thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, every way compleatly armed, and accomplished with a gallant Train of Artillery; the Horses, Wagons, and Carriages in such trim and suitable Equipage, as shewed, by their Suitableness in Furniture, they had not been patched up, nor hastily hurried together. His Design (being invited thereto) was to join with the Prince of *Orange*, to be revenged of the *Spaniard* for the Loss of his Arm the last Year: But the chief Motive (as he always pretended) was his Respects to the Queen of *Bohemia*, who in those Days (whether out of Pity for her suffering so much, or out of Fear that Religion would *yet* suffer much more) carried a great Stream of Affection towards her.

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His Chief Officers.

The Commanders in chief of this Army under the Duke of *Brunswick*, were, Duke *William* of *Wimar*, Marshal-General of the Field; Count *Stirum*, General of the Horse; Count *Isenburg*, General of the Ordnance; and *Kniphuisen*, Serjeant-Major-General; Men acquainted with War, and Danger. But whether the Divine Fate had laid a mouldring Hand upon this gallant Army, or whether the Enemy with a full Hand had charmed some of these great Officers (as by the carriage of the Business may be suspected) to be of his Party, was not discovered; but the Ruine of it was as strange for the Manner, as unknown for the Means: For after *Brunswick* had taken a Resolution at *Kettington* in *Brunswickland*, to join with the Prince of *Orange*, he declined all Occasions of encountring with *Tilly* the Imperial General, who was with an Army at a good distance, attending *Brunswick*'s Motion, not knowing (as may be conjectured) whether he would bend his Course into the *Palatinate*, or into the *Low-Countries*; so that upon *Brunswick*'s March he left him in his Rear. And lest *Tilly* should follow him too close, and interrupt him in his March, he divided his Army into Three Brigades: The Van-guard was commanded by Duke *William*, in which was Three Regiments; his own, Colonel *Mayer*'s, and Colonel *Frenck*'s. *Kniphuisen*, the Serjeant-Major-General, had the ordering of the Batail; the Colonels under him were *Guertsken*, and *Spar*. And the Count *de la Tour* brought up the Rear, with Duke *Bernard* of *Wimar*'s Regiment, the *Rhinegraft*, and Colonel *Spees*; with Direction, that these Three Bodies should keep equal Distance, and observe this Order:

Their Order in Marching.

That having in their March the Enemy at their Backs, if the Rear-guard made a Halt, the Batail should do the same, and consequently the Van-guard, (according to the best Discipline) attending with firm Foot the Cause of the Halt, that they may be ready to put themselves in order for Service, if Occasion were presented. The Army thus coming to pass any Passage, while the Van-guard did advance, the Batail and Rear-guard should make a stand, with the Front towards the Enemy. The Van-guard being pass'd, should face the Passage, and stay for the Batail; which being pass'd also, should do the same for the Rear-guard, that they might be ready upon the approach of an Enemy to assist one another. With this Order and Direction they began to march into *Westfalia*; *Brunswick* trusting to *Stirum*, *Kniphuisen*, and *Frenck*, who being Natives of the Country, gave him Assurance of the Safe-Conduct of his Army by Ways short and commodious. And he commanded, especially the General of the Horse, to send out Parties of Horse every way, that he might have Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions; who gave him Assurance, that the Enemy's Army was not within Thirty *English* Miles, when by other hands, at the same time, he had certain notice, that the Enemy was within Three *English* Miles with his whole Power. This Miscarriage made *Brunswick* haste away to *Newburgh*, the next Town; where resting a little, he took a Resolution to march all Night, to recover Time and Ground again, that *Stirum*'s Negligence had made him lazily lose: And to that end he commanded *Kniphuisen*, and Count *Isenburg*, to make the Baggage march at Eleven a Clock at Night, the Cannon at Midnight, and the Army two Hours after: But *Brunswick* getting up at Three a Clock in the Morning, hoping to find his Commands obeyed, and the Army in a good Forwardness of advance, found nothing done, and these great Officers in their Beds. This Disobedience of his Officers troubled *Brunswick* much; but he was constrained to Diligence, as well as Patience; and hastning them away, they pretended Forwardness, but made it Eight of the Clock in the Morning before the Rear-guard stirred out of their Quarters.

The General of the Horse falters.

From *Newburgh* to *Statloo-Bridge* (a Place of Security) was but Fourteen *English* Miles, and there were in that way Seven Passages or Straits, where a few Men might oppose an Army. The Bagage, Cannon, and Munition, (except Six Pieces with Munition that marched with the Rear-guard) had pass'd them all; and the Foot, Three of them, without disturbance: But Count *Stirum* with the Horse loitered still behind at *Newburgh*, which caused *Brunswick* to make the whole Army face about and stay for the Horse; sending a strict Command to *Stirum*, with all Speed to come up and join with the Foot, and not to skirmish with the Enemy at any rate. But he stayed so long, that the Enemy began to charge him in the Rear, before he advanced to the Third Passage; so that he sent to *Brunswick* for Five hundred Musketeers, to amuse the Enemy, till he had passed the Third Passage with his Horse. The Duke sent these Musketeers according to *Stirum*'s Desire; and advancing his Army forward, he passed the Fourth Passage, and there made the Rear of his Foot face about, the better to favour and receive his Horse: Which having done, he speeds back towards *Stirum*, to see how the Business went with him; and encountring *Kniphuisen*, he asked him what the Enemy had done? who answered, *Nothing; all is well.* But *Brunswick* going forward, found the contrary; for the Enemy had made a great Slaughter, laying almost a Thousand Horse upon the Ground.

This perplexed *Brunswick* exceedingly, so that with some Passion he sent a Command to *Stirum* to advance his Horse towards the Body of the Army, who had stayed Three Hours for them at the Fourth Passage, whither the Duke returned to secure the same; planting Two Pieces of Demi-cannon at the Mouth of the Passage, and leaving Two thousand Musketeers to guard it, for the assistance of the Horse, if the Enemy should come to charge them at the Entrance; and so he marched forward with the rest of the Army. But *Stirum* drew the Horse into a Body under the side of a Wood, which was in the middle of a spacious Plain, betwixt the Two Passages; and that brought the Enemy to a stand: For they suspected the whole Army stood in Battalia behind that Wood, and therefore did not advance; which shewed they watched only for Advantages. And *Stirum* seeing the Enemy at a stand, drew his Horse towards the Fourth Passage; which the Enemy observing made all the haste after that could be, to pelt them in the Rear: But the Horse passed the Fourth Passage before the Enemy came up.

So doth the Serjeant-Major-Generals.

Then *Brunswick* drew off his Cannon, and marched away to the Fifth Passage, leaving *Kniphuisen* (who undertook it voluntarily) with Two thousand Musketeers, to make good that Passage, which was of that Advantage, that half the Men might have done it; and Two Regiments of Horse were left to give assistance to the Foot, to bring them off when they should retire, and join with the Army. But the Van-guard of *Brunswick*'s Army had scarce entred the Fifth Passage, but he discovered some Musketeers running towards a Wood that was on this side, and not far from the Fourth Passage; and

Anno 21. An. Christi 1623. riding back to see whether all stood firm, he met *Kniphuisen*, and ask'd him, If the Passage was made good? Who answer'd, *Take you no Care, trust me.* But presently discovering some of the Officers that had command of the Musketeers running towards the Army, he took a more lively Apprehension that the Passage was lost; and meeting *Kniphuisen*, with some Heat, told him, He had betray'd him: But *Kniphuisen* excused himself, that he could not keep it against an Army, and complain'd, that the Horse had abandon'd him. But, said he, the next Passage is of as great Importance as the last, and I will undertake to keep that, upon Forfeiture of my Head, to redeem my Credit again; and to that end he desired an entire Regiment of Foot, which the Duke granted him; but assur'd him, he should answer it if any Ill succeeded by his Default.

Whilst the Army was passing the Fifth Passage, the Duke sent to know, whether the Horse, placed according to his Direction in the Rear made good their Station; and he had Intimation, that the Horse were retired close to a Wood, and by that means discovered the Foot to the Enemy. And the Army was no sooner passed the Fifth Passage, but *Kniphuisen* quitted it to the Enemy, without so much as a Musket shot from them. And the more, to weaken his Force, (before he quitted the Passage) he comes to the Duke, and tells him, (but it was not true) That the Enemy with 30 Cornets of Horse struck towards the Left Hand, to cut a way to the Bagage, to possess that; And *Brunswick* looking about, perceived in a little Wood not far off a Body of Horse, which proved to be the Prince of *Ouldenburgh*, who was Colonel of a Regiment of 1000 Horse, whom he sent to resist the Enemy, if they should attempt upon the Bagage. And advancing his Army to the Sixth Passage, he passed that also before the Enemy came to it: But here was *Brunswick*'s Error in trusting *Kniphuisen* the third time, which was only, as he said, to redeem his former Faults; for he gave the keeping of this Sixth Passage to him also, which he delivered to the Enemy at their first Approach, as he did the others; and drawing the Rear-guard out of the way on the Right Hand, (contrary to *Brunswick*'s Commands) and the General of the Ordnance striking out on the Left-Hand with his Body and Cannon, and *Stirum* sheltering himself in the Woods with his Horse, the Enemy advanced freely, (seeing them thus scattered) and charged on all sides with his whole Power. But little Resistance being made, (the General Officers leaving the Field) every one shifted for himself. Some escaped over *Statloo* Bridge, many were drown'd in the River, the Slaughter and Ruine was great, so was the Confusion and Fear. Sir *Charles Rich* being with *Brunswick* in this disorderly Business, escaped a great Danger, for in their flight his Horse fell into a Bog, where *Brunswick* and the rest left him sticking; but being a spritely Horse, (that his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had given him) with much Labour he plunged himself out, and saved both himself and his Rider.

Brunswick's Army defeated.

The Relicks of this broken Army that escaped, the Author saw at *Eltem on the Hill* in *Cleveland*, and this Relation was made by the Duke of *Brunswick* to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* for his own Vindication. And from a *French* Copy that the Duke gave to the Earl of *Essex*, he translated it then into *English*, that some of our Nation there might partake of the true Knowledge of his Misfortunes. And the Duke cited his Chief Officers to appear before Prince *Maurice*, where he laid this Accusation to their Charge; but either the Duke had no Power over them, (being in a strange Country) or no Proof against them for this strange Miscarriage, (being accounted among them *La Fortune de la Guerre*, but Chance of War) for they all escaped without Punishment.

And some Years after, *Kniphuisen* was thought fit in the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Voyage to the Isle of *Ree* to be a Field-Officer in the *English* Army, which almost (if not altogether) thriv'd as ill: So uncertain is the true State of intricate Transactions! for that which is obvious and visible, may be believ'd an Error; but secret Mischiefs are left to his Discovery, who only knows the Heart.

The Condition of France.

France about this time had her Wounds bound up, and stanch'd the Bloody Issue, by the Pacification of *Mountpelier*; but it broke out again at *Rochel*, where some *English* Ships did the King of *France* Service, pressed thereto by the Duke of *Guise*, Admiral of *France*; and tho' it carried a bad Savour then, that they should fight against the Protestants, being forced thereto, yet it was not so enormous and dangerous to them, as when the Duke of *Buckingham* afterwards did force the *Vanguard*, a prime Ship of our King's, and Six other gallant Ships, out of the *English* Hands, and put them into *French* Fingering, that they might do the Mischief with them: Which Act was laid upon the Duke's Account, among other heinous Crimes by him committed; and he had dearly pay'd for it, if the Prince, his Fellow-Traveller, (in the First Year of whose Reign it was done) had not acquitted him

But in their intimate and secret Counsels in *France* it was debated, Whether it were not better to pull such a Goad of Hereticks (as they call'd the Protestants) out of the Side of the Kingdom, that stuck there, to their continual Vexation and Trouble, rather than have their Pain perpetually renew'd, being impossible to heal the Sore but by such an Extirpation: So much Rancour and inveterate Malice sprung up in the Popish Party against them of the Religion, that the Animosity of it extended to little less than another Massacre. And tho our King (who may be said to love them) gave them no Countenance, (whatsoever his Promises were) otherwise than by intreating for them, (being a tickle and tender Point (as he thought) to partake with Subjects against their Prince) yet God sent them Deliverance (such are the Dispensations of his Providence) by one that hated their Religion, as much, if not more, than the *French*.

For the King of *Spain* (doubling his Ambition) possess'd himself about this time of some Parts of the *Valtolin*, thinking to bound *France* towards *Italy*, (the *Alpes* being not so high as his Thoughts) as the *Pyrenes* had bounded it towards *Spain*: And the *French* Activity being loth to be cooped up, thought it better to endure a little Inconvenience at home, than so much Prejudice abroad; and therefore, to oppose him, they closed with the Protestants. And what was it brought them in Obedience? The re-edifying of their ruin'd Temples, the restoring and maintaining their banish'd Ministers, and Security in their Religion and Consciences: So that it was not their Rebellion that was Cause of the War, but the War made against their Religion caused it to be call'd a Rebellion. Thus, when all other Means failed, their worst Enemies (tho' much against their Wills) proved to be their best Friends.

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The March concluded in *Spain.*

But to return to the *Spanish* Treaty all this while in Agitation. As soon as the Articles our King had sealed and sworn to observe were come into *Spain*, and the Prince had ratified and confirmed them, and had sworn to another Article there, wherein he ties up his own Hands, and gave leave to Satan and all his Accomplices to buffet him, (which was, To permit at all times that any should freely propose to him the Arguments of the Catholick Religion, without giving any Impediment; and that he would never directly nor indirectly permit any to speak to the *Infanta* against the same) the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain* (as it were) shook Hands to the Agreement. Preparations were made in *England* to entertain the *Infanta*, a new Church built up at St. *James's*, the Prince's House; the Foundation-stone (with much Ceremony) laid by Don *Carlos a Colonna*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, for the publick Exercise of her Religion: Her very Shadows are courted in every Corner; Painters being set a-work to take the Height and Dimensions of this new Star, that was to rise in the North, before it appear'd. Such as hoped to flourish by her Influence, grew up to Exuberancy: What would they do then when they found the Effects of it? Why, be drowned in their own Redundancy: For the moderate Spirit did fore-see what bad Omens this Apparition did threaten. On the other side, in *Spain* the Substance is as much courted, as the Shadow is here, with the Title of *Princess of England*; her Maiden Restraints are taken off, and she may come abroad to publick Meetings, where now their Eyes may prattle loving Stories; tho' the great Courtier *Olivares* gave it no better Title than, *The Prince watches the* Infanta *as a Cat doth a Mouse*; too gross an Expression for a Master of those Ceremonies. And, in fine, there was such an Union betwixt the Two Crowns, that it might well be said, *Philip* and *Jacob* made one Holiday.

The *Palatine* Affairs waved.

But this closing betwixt *England* and *Spain*, made the Breach the wider in the House of the *Palatine*; the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the *Electorate* to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children being waved in the Treaty, and a great Sum of Money proposed as a Dowry, which was also lessen'd after the first Proposition, and some part of it promised to be sent with her in Jewels, (which as one said might be Counterfeit as the rest of their Actions) yet our King accepted of all; so eager was he, and greedy of the Match, that no Obstacle could stand in his way which he did not remove. But there was some under-hand Promise, That the *Infanta*, among the Court-Compliments, should work that Feat, in presenting the Restorative of that Dignity and Country for a Breakfast, to ingratiate her self with the Price her Husband, and as a Pawn of her good Will and Affection to the *English* Nation: And these Promises, with the *Spanish* Stamp, were taken in *England* for current Payment; so that all Things tended to a Conclusion.

New Resolutions on both sides.

But Time in *Spain* came too swift upon them, they were willing the *Infanta* should Winter there; but knew not well how to delay the Prince longer. And as they were in this Plunge, ruminating upon, and striving to find out some new Remora to help them, Pope *Gregory* XV. (that had granted the Dispensation) dies; and then their Subtilties flew upon that Accident to make the Dispensation invalid; yet with a Reserve to keep up our Prince's Spirit, that it should be no hinderance to the Match, for the new Pope would instantly do it: if not, it should be dispatched by the Dean of the Cardinals: And the King of *Spain* assured the Prince, that if he would stay till *Christmas*, the Marriage should be really celebrated then. These Delays coming one on the Neck of another, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having taken some Disgust in *Spain*, presented all Things to our King in the worst Habit he could put upon them; for there had been some Jars betwixt him and *Olivares*. Two great Favourites, tho' of different Kingdoms, could not well squat in one Form. *Olivares* hunted *Buckingham* so close, that he had almost caught him in his own Burrow; but, instead of his Game, he encounter'd some Vermin, (which Darkness could not distinguish) || who bit him shrewdly; and whether it were by this Common-Hunt I know not; but I am sure it was by the Common-Cry, that he was so displeas'd with the *Spanish* for it, that he afterwards much inclined to the *French*. I acknowledge, the Gravity and Dignity of History should not appear in such Metaphorical Habiliments; but that we now live in an Age where Truth is forced to shroud her self in such Attire, lest she should have imprinted on her Face a Mark of Malice against Greatness, which if it be not ballanced with Goodness and Piety, is but an empty and frothy Title.

Buckingham angry.

But it was said, this Tetrical Humour made *Buckingham* dislike all the *Spanish* Proceedings; and just in the Nick, when it was on him, † the Queen of *Bohemia*, by a private Message, gave him some Intimation, that she and her Children were to be thought on, inviting him to be a Witness to the Christening of one of them, which came fit to his Acceptation, not so much out of Affection to the one Party, as in Opposition to the other. And what disrelish'd with him, gave an ill Savour to our King, who having Cause enough to dislike the *Spanish* Delays, and finding the Hearts of the People bent against the Match, and some near him, as the Duke of *Lenox*, made Duke of *Richmond* when *Buckingham* had his Title, that the *Scots* might still precede the *English*; and the Marquess *Hamilton* made Earl of *Cambridge*, to intitle him a Peer the last Parliament, a Man of a gallant and stately Presence, one whom the King much listen'd to, and others having as little Affection to it; the Hopes of a Daughter of *France*, left to give Life yet to a Royal Race, did bate something of our King's keen Edge: So that he wrote to *Buckingham*, *That he could not expect after so long a stay in* Spain, *and so little done, that they had any cordial Intention to perfect the*

|| That Noble Historian the Earl of *Clarendon* has in his History sufficiently ridiculed this Story. Yet our Author can hardly be blam'd for giving Credit to it, considering it was not only a common Report at that time, but the *Spanish* Historians took Pains to publish it, out of Prejudice to the Duke of *Buckingham*, after the Match was broke off.

† There are Two Letters of the Queen of *Bohemia* to the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Collection above-mentioned, writ with an unaffected moving Eloquence. In one, she expresses *her entire Confidence in his Friendship, notwithstanding all Reports to the contrary.* In the other, she implores his good Offices with her Father, and *solemnly protests, That what* Count Dona *or any others had said to him, of her Husband's Diffidence in him, was false; and intreats him to believe no such thing of either her Husband or her.* So low was this Excellent Princess brought, that she was obliged to make Court to her own Father's *Favourite*, in Terms infinitely below the Greatness of her Mind, or of her Birth.

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Treaty; and therefore conjur'd him to bring his Son back with all speed: But if his Son's Youthful Follies should tie him to a long Expectation, he chargeth him by his Allegiance to come away, and leave him there. This Letter the Duke shew'd to the Prince, and it wrought so upon him, that he took a sudden Resolution to go home.

The Duke and Olivarez quarrel.

The Grandees of *Spain* having Notice thereof, were much troubled; for their Design was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping thereby to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that there might have been a Co-union between them, that she being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there till she were deliver'd, that so the Child might be bred up and naturalized a *Spaniard*, both in Affection and Religion; which this sudden Resolution hindering, it somewhat startled them. *Olivarez* told *Buckingham*, That he had promised the Prince should admit of Communion with some Jesuits of theirs in Matters of Religion.

And the Duke answer'd, There had been some already with him; but the Prince (he said) was so well settled in Religion, that he was not to be further alter'd. *Olivarez* reply'd, *You gave me some Assurance and Hope of the Prince's turning Catholick.* The Duke told him, It was false. The Conde in a great Rage broke from him, with so much Impatience, that he was scarce able to contain himself, went to the Prince, and told him how unworthily *Buckingham* had serv'd him: And after his Complaints to him, he found out the Baron *Kensington*, whom he looked on with an Eye of good Respect, his Civilities and Carriage obliging every where, venting his Passion to him; telling him, That *Buckingham* had given him the Lye, and that there was nothing a Man of Honour could be more sensible of: That it bred a great Distraction in him, betwixt his Affection to his Master's Honour and his own: For if any Evil did redound to *Buckingham* by his Hand, (being a Person so near the Prince, who had honoured the Court of *Spain* with his Presence, and run through great and dangerous Hazards, out of Affection to his Master's Sister, upon whose Actions now all the Christian World are gazing) it would reflect upon the Honour of his Master; and when his own Honour comes in competition with his Master's, the least must give way to the greatest; therefore he desired the Lord of *Kensington* to tell the Duke, That he had so much of a Gentleman, as to be sensible of the Injury, and so much Power and Courage as to revenge himself; but rather than his Master's Honour should suffer, he would be the Sufferer. The Duke sent the Conde Word again by the said Lord, That he laid a Thing to his Charge that would not admit of a less sharp Answer; for when his Honour comes in competition with the Conde's, he had rather that should suffer than his own. His Passion was quick, but not durable; hot, but not revengful: And he held so high an Esteem of the Conde, that he was more willing to venture upon his Sword than his Malice.

Buckingham goes to the Ships.

This Business being waved by the Conde's Discretion, and they seeing the Prince's Intention bent homeward, made Preparation of Carriages to the Sea-side. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Departure was sudden, giving them no time to prepare for him, pretending a great Charge to look after the Port of St. *Anderò* in *Biscay*, where the Royal Navy of *England*, under the Command of his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Rutland*, attended his Directions, that all Things might be accommodated for his young Master: not caring a Fig for the Ceremony of a *Spanish* Farewel, which happily he might fear, and therefore strive to avoid, and which their Gravities, as they do all other Things, draw out at full length. But because they should not think he ran away, he gave them a short Signal of his Departure, and left the Prince to manage his own Business. And that the Prince's Change of Soil and Air, the great Volatile of Fancy, might produce no Change in his Affection, the King of *Spain* and he both took solemn Oaths to accomplish the Marriage, and to make the Espousals Ten Days after the Dispensation from the new Pope should arrive. And a Procuration was sealed by the Prince to the King of *Spain* and Don *Carlos* his Brother, and left in the Earl of *Bristol*'s Hand to perfect the Work.

Gifts and Presents on both sides.

Among the Specious Ceremonies indented betwixt these two great Princes, the Richness of the Gifts and Presents that pass'd among them were highly remarkable. The King of *Spain* presented the Prince and all his Noble Train, and the Prince filled the Court of *Spain*, as it were, with Jewels; no Person of Quality or Merit, but his Name was recorded in the Inventory of the Prince's Bounty, as if *England* had disfurnish'd and made bare her own Neck to adorn the Breasts of *Spain*; the Prince presenting his Mistress with such a Necklace of Pearl, that all *Spain* could not parallel: Pearls that had been long pluck'd from their Watry Beds, and had left few Fellows there: For the Eastern and Western Divers throughout the Catholick Empire could never yet find the like. But these upon the Breach were return'd again; tho' it be now indifferent whether the *French* or the *Spanish* have them. The Duke of *Buckingham* was not close Handed in distributing his Jewels to the Beauties of *Spain*; tho' his Farewel was private, his Bounty was publick, more suitable to his Master's Honour than his own; which the Lord Treasurer *Middlesex* found, and repin'd at.

The Prince leaves *Madrid*.

The Prince took Leave of the Queen of *Spain* and the *Infanta*, prepar'd for it in their greatest Magnificence, attended with all their Train of Grandees and Ladies. The Queen spoke her own *Adieu* in *French*, which the Prince return'd in the same Language. But the Earl of *Bristol* was the *Medium* betwixt the Prince and his Mistress, who, if he may be believ'd, set her Heart to make her self grateful, and therefore this Parting could not be acceptable to her; one of her Arguments being, *If the Prince loved me, he would stay for me*: But now the Time of Parting approaching, those Arguments were laid aside, and the superficial Ornaments of publick Interview, like a Cloud, interposed it self betwixt them; so that what was darkly lodged in their Thoughts, could only find Light by the Eyes. Their Tongues (the common Orator) could tell what was fit to say, when there were so many by to hear; and if the Eyes had learn'd the Language of the Heart, they quickly forgot it, because they never met again to practise it.

Comes to the *Escurial*.

The King of *Spain* brought our Prince to the *Escurial*, (which was part of his Way to the Sea side) a House of that Superbous and Elegant Structure, that I cannot pass by it without vailing to it, and spending some time in the Survey of it. The *Spaniards* proudly boast it to be the Eighth Wonder of the World: It was built by *Philip* II. upon a Spiritual Foundation, which heighten'd into Superstition, produces the most stupendious Effects. *Philip* at the Siege of

St. *Quin.*

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St. *Quintin* was perſwaded by his Officers experimented in War, that if ever he would take the Town, he muſt batter down a Monaſtery of Friars (Dedicated to St. *Laurence*) that ſtood in his way; which he was with much Difficulty wrought to; but that Act (tho' it effected the Work) dinted ſuch an Impreſſion upon his Conſcience, that he vowed to make the Martyr a full and ample Reparation. Some ſay, it was for the Battel he gained againſt the *French* near St. *Quintin*, when they came to relieve it upon that Saint's Day; but whether either or both (for they were both accompliſh'd) he built this mighty Fabrick in Form of a Gridiron, (the Emblem and Inſtrument of his Martyrdom) the Handle whereof is the King's palace, of a vaſt Capacity, and the Square of the Gridiron is divided into Twelve ſpacious Quadrangles; in which are Arched Cloyſters, one above, the other below; all Dedicated to Religious Orders, endowed with a Revenue enough to make the beſt Piety proud, every Friar in the Monaſtry having his Man and his Mule; ſo that they live there more like Princes than Prieſts. And in the middle of the Square ſtands a magnificent Cathedral Church, under the High Altar whereof there is a Vault, or rather ſtately Chappel, of moſt excellent poliſhed Marble, built round like an old *Roman* Pantheon, (which, becauſe it reſembled Heaven, the *Romans* placed there the Images of their Gods) and this the Founder made the Burial-place for the Kings of *Spain*, eſtabliſhing this Order, (which is preciſely obſerved) That no Queen ſhall be buried there that is not Mother to a Prince; nor none of the Kings Children but the Firſt-born Son. And round about this Round, in the Marble Wall, plac'd in Stately Order, are many excellently contriv'd Arches, of wrought and burniſh'd Marble, and in every Arch a beautiful and curious Coffin (either of Black Marble or Jet) of whole Stone, covered with the ſame, which are to put the embalmed Bodies in. So that lying there, they ſeem as if they were inthroned, the Beauty of the Place is ſo reſplendent about them: The Richneſs of the Silver Lamps, and Candleſticks blazing with Tapers, adds to the ſhining brightneſs of the Marble, and gives a glorious Luſtre. To ſpeak of the Riches of their Golden Croſſes and Chalices, Wonders of their Giant-like Statues, and the Pleaſure of their Grotto's, Gardens, Walks, Fountains, and Aqueducts, would take up more Time than is fit to allow them here. In fine, it is ſo tranſcendently full of Admiration, that it is to be feared, they that enjoy the Pleaſure thereof, (ſaving their Merits) will look for no other Heaven: For certainly Purgatory (tho' it be the Pope's Kitchen-Garden) hath no ſuch Walks in it, no more had old *Elyzium*; and therefore this cannot be the Way to Heaven, unleſs it be through *Mahomet*'s Paradiſe.

The Deſcription of it

The Prince feaſted there.

Here the Prince being feaſted, ſealed the Proxy, and ſwore to perform the Marriage as aforeſaid: And the Day of Departure being come, there was a Stag lodg'd in the way, whoſe Chace gave the King and Prince ſome Recreation. The Prince was attended by the Lord *Kenſington*, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was the Prince's Interpreter; the King of *Spain* (by Intention) only with *Olivares*, and the Marquis *d'Avila*: *Olivares* was Grand Maſter of the Horſe to the King of *Spain*, and neareſt Attendant to his Perſon; but to ſhew the *Spaniſh* Civility, he always waited on the Prince, and the Marquis *d'Avila*, his Brother-in-Law, attended on the King of *Spain*. After the Ceremonies of the Stag's Death were performed, the King and Prince, with their Train, declining into a little Wood adjoining, found a Table ſpread with Variety of Meats, and excellent Wines, provided for them, which entertain'd them, as well with Wonder how it came there, as with Refreſhment, after the Serenity of the Air and their Exerciſe had quicken'd their Apetites; concluding merrily, as if the Stag had been in the Plot, and had yielded himſelf to Death purpoſely there, becauſe the Prince's neceſſary Accommodations were ſo near. After the Repaſt, the parting Minute approaching, to perfect all, they gave Leave to the Exerciſe of Compliments. The King expreſſing extraordinary Reſpects to the Prince, ſetting a high Valuation upon his Merit, telling him, *Nothing in the World could more oblige him, than the Confidence he had of him, to put himſelf into his Hands, being unuſual with Princes. But he that valued his Honour above all Earthly Things, what the more endeared it to him, in that he gave him, by this Action, an Opportunity to expreſs it*: and proteſted, *That he earneſtly deſired a nearer Connexion of Brotherly Affection with him, for the more intire Unity betwixt them.* The Prince repaying his Noble Expreſſions with the like Civilities, lets him know, how *Senſible he was of thoſe high Favours he had found during his Abode in his Court and Preſence; which had ſet ſuch an Eſtimation upon his Worth, that he knew not how to value it; but he would leave a Mediatrix, that ſhould make good his Defects, if he would do him the Honour, and make him ſo happy, as to preſerve him in the good Opinion of her, his moſt fair, his moſt dear Miſtreſs.* And ſo embracing each other, they parted.

The King's and Prince's Compliments parting.

This kind Farewel was upon the 12th of *September*, the King leaving the Prince to be attended to the Sea ſide, by a numerous Train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers, whereof the Principal were, Cardinal *Zapata*, the Marquis *Aytona*, the Earl of *Gondemar*, the Earl of *Monterey*, the Earl of *Barrajas*, who was Steward of the King's Houſhold, but now the Manager of the Prince's Domeſtical Affairs. Theſe Grandees and others had at St. *Andero* a fair Opportunity to ſee ſome of the Navy Royal of *England*, and were feaſted aboard the Prince's Ship: But at their Return towards the Shore, the Prince being with them in the Barge, a Tempeſt overtook them with that Fury, that they could neither fetch the Land, nor make to the Ships again, and Night and Darkneſs joining with the Storm, the Rowers fainting with Labour, becauſe they thought themſelves at the end of their Work, their Horror and Fear almoſt heighten'd to Deſpair: In this Calamity, yielding themſelves to the Mercy of the Seas, they ſpy'd a Light from a Ship, near which the Wind had driven them, that gave new Life to Hope, and plucking up their Spirits to fetch that Ship, with the Danger of being broken to pieces by the Ship's Side, at laſt they got aboard. This cooled the Heat of their Ceremonies ſo much, that when the Tempeſt was over, they parted: And the Prince arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth* upon the 5th of *October* following, and the next Day at *London*, where the Peoples Joy, elevated above Bonfire-Expreſſions, might teach miſguided Princes, that LOVE is the firmeſt Foundation of Security and Happineſs.

The Prince is in Danger by a Tempeſt.

When the Prince and *Buckingham* met at St. *Andero*, the *Spaniſh* Entertainments did not take them off from minding their buſineſs: The Duke had time in his Receſs to mature his Conceptions; And whether his Adverſeneſs to the *Spaniſh* ill Affection wrought upon the Prince,

A Demur upon the Eſpouſals.

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Prince, or whether the Prince's Affection, that was wrought upon in the *Spanish* Court, lost the Vigour and Virtue, by losing the Object, or whether the united Operations of both, cannot be determined; but one *Clark*, a Creature of the Duke's, was posted back to *Madrid* to the Earl of *Bristol*, to command him not to deliver the Procuration for the Espousals (which the Prince had sealed and sworn to perform) till he had further Order from *England*; pretending that the *Infanta* might after the Espousals betake her self to a Cloyster, and defraud him of a Wife. *Bristol* was much troubled at this Restriction, that a Publick Act of such Eminency, betwixt two such great Princes, highly obliging, should be smothered up by a private Command from one of the Parties that had not Power to do it, having, in true Justice, ty'd up his own Hands, and when the Dishonour of it would so much reflect upon the other Party; and therefore he resolved, (notwithstanding the Prince's Command) if the Dispensation came, to make the Espousals within Ten Days, according to the Agreement: And he would bear himself up, from the Authority he had under the Great Seal of *England*, to perfect this Work, if he had not within the limited time a Command from our King to the contrary.

The Prince comes to Court cold in his Spanish Affection.

The Duke being jealous of *Bristol*, from some particular Discontents and ill Resentments betwixt them, and the Prince, fearing he would be too forward in the Espousals, as soon as they landed in *England*, posted towards the King, (who was then at *Royston*) where they gave him a fair and plausible Narration of their Proceedings, laying the Load upon the *Spanish* Delays, and *Bristol*'s Miscarriages: Which the King, as a Father to his Son, and as a Friend to his Favourite, indulged to, taking their Account without Examination as a good and just Payment. And his good Brother of *Spain* must now be dallied with by Talion Law; not falling off in a direct Line, but obliquely, that the King might thereby measure out to himself a way to his own Ends. And these two great Opposites to *Spain*, the Prince and Duke, must prepare it, by closing with those of the Council about the King, and others of the Nobility, whose Judgment, not Prejudice, made them averse to the *Spanish* Superciliousness, cementing their Power with that Strength, that a Parliament must be call'd, and the People consulted with: That they discovering to the King the fraudulent Proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Integrity and Justice in breaking the Treaty might the more appear to the People, and by that means they should be mounted upon the Wings of the Peoples Affections, as Enemies to that which was so contrary to them. The News of a Parliament to break the *Spanish* Match was quickly carried about, and, according to their Thoughts, it took much with the People, and gained them much Respect and Honour. But the first thing they did, was to procure an absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, to suspend the Delivery of the *Proxy* till *Christmas*, tho' the Dispensation came, which they effected, and sent away with all speed: In which Letter, *Bristol* had Instructions to demand the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, which were both waved and neglected in the Conclusion of the Treaty; but now are set a-foot again, to let the King of *Spain* see the Edge of their Eagerness was taken off. For (saith the Letter) *It would be a great Disproportion for me to receive one Daughter with Joy and Contentment, and leave another in Tears and Sighs.*

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But *Bristol*'s Power of deferring the Espousals till *Christmas* was to be reserved to himself, and not made publick till the Dispensation should come to discover it. And there was a Clause in the Procuration left by the Prince, That the Power of that should be in force but till *Christmas*, and then to expire; so that the Execution of it was to be respited till it were altogether invalid. And the *Spaniard*, for his greater Affront, must make all Provision ready for accomplishing so glorious a Work, that all the Eyes of the Christian World looked upon either with Dislike or Affection: The King of *Spain* (to be his own free Trumpet) sending into *England* with the Prince Don *Mendosa de Alarcana*, to our King, to congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage into *Spain*, and his safe Return into *England*; and from thence he had Instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes and Potentates, Allies to the King of *Spain*, how near the Treaty of Marriage (betwixt the Prince of *England* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*) was to be consummated. And the *Polonian* Ambassador at *Madrid*, that solicited to have the *Infanta* for the Prince of *Poland*, when he saw such Preparations for the Match with *England*, fainted in his Hopes, and returned home. For as soon as the Dispensation came from the new Pope, (which was in the beginning of *December*) Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain* for Joy, and the great Ordnance every where thunder'd out the Noise of it. The 9th of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage-day, a Tarras being erected betwixt the Court and the next Church, almost a quarter of a Mile in length, covered with Tapistry, for the more Magnificence, and all Things appointed in the highest State for so great a Solemnity. Presents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for our King and Prince; the *Infanta*'s Family (to take into *England*) was setled and established; She had used her best Skill among the Sweets of *Spain*, as one of the Principal of them, to cloth her Lord and Husband with some Suits of perfum'd Amber-Leather, some embroidered with Pearl, and some with Gold: She had practis'd long the English Tongue, to make it natural, by the help of her two Jesuite Tutors, *Wadsworth* and *Boniface*, and began to draw the Letters which she intended to have written the Day of her Espousals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law; her Journey into *England* being resolved on about the beginning of *March*.

Preparations are made for the Marriage.

Spanish Delays retaliated.

In this State and Perfection were the Affairs of *Spain*, when our King's Commands, like a Cloud, overshadow'd the Brightness of them: For *Bristol* had now Order to declare positively to the King of *Spain*, That without the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty should proceed no further. Four Messengers, *viz.* Mr. *Killigrew*, *Grosby*, *Wood* and *Davies*, followed each other at the Heels, which raised such a Dust of Discontentment among the People at *Madrid*, that, as some report, they wished they had broken their Necks by the Way: So highly were the Commonalty of *Spain* affected with the Match! And if they felt the Influence of this cloudy Message, what did the Lady *Infanta* and the King do? The one to lose her Lover, the other to lose his Honour: She whose Heart was affected, and he who found himself affronted. But his Answer to *Bristol* was, *The* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to reason, he would Arm himself on our King's*

Of

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Thoughts of a Match with *France*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Insinuation of a long Converse, having brought the Prince up to his own Humour, taught him to look back to the Beauty he had seen in *France*, which was nearer to him, that he might remember the *Spanish* no more, now eloigned from him. But the Treaty with *Spain* must be first dissolved, to give a Tincture of Honour to a proceeding with the other, and nothing but a Parliament [illegible] do that, which they had fore-determined. For a Parliament taking away the Cause, which was a Treaty of Peace, were best able to make good the Effect, which would be a War that must follow it. Therefore a Parliament was summoned to meet the 12th of *February*, but a sad Accident intervened, which made it to be deferred for some few days.

A Parliament summoned.

The Duke of *Richmond* dies suddenly. That Morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of *Richmond*'s Attendance, who being a constant Observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his Limbs to support the Grandure of Majesty, at the first solemn Meeting of a Parliament; and calling for him with earnestness, a Messenger was dispatched to his Lodgings in haste, where the King's Commands, and the Messenger's Importunity, made the Dutchess his Wife, somewhat unwillingly, go to the Duke's Bed-side to awake him, who drawing the Curtain found him dead in his Bed. The suddenness of the Affright struck her with so much Consternation, that she was scarce sensible of the Horrour of it; and it was carried with that Violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself that day to ride in his Glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the Nineteenth of *February* following, dedicating some part of that time to the Memory of his dead Servant, who might serve as a Fore-runner to the King, and an Emblem to all his People; That in the dark Caverns of Man's Body, Death often lurks, which no humane Prudence, or Providence is able to discover: For the Dutchess, to some of her Intimates, confessed afterwards, That she found the Effects of his full Veins that Night that he was found dead the next Morning.

The Dutchess of *Richmond*'s Legend. This Lady was one of the greatest both for Birth and Beauty in her time, but at first she went a Step backwards, as it were, to fetch a Career, to make her mount the higher. She was Daughter to *Thomas* Viscount *Bindon*, Second Son to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Mother was Eldest Daughter to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, both which Dukes striving to become Kings, lost their Heads. Her Extraction was high, fit for her great Mind, yet she descended so low as to marry one *Prannel*, a Vintner's Son in *London*, having a good Estate, who dying, left her Childless, a young and beautiful Widow; upon whom Sir *George Rodney*, a Gentleman in the West, (suitable to her for Person and Fortune) fixing his Love, had good hopes from her to reap the Fruits of it; but *Edward* Earl of *Hertford* being intangled with her fair Eyes, and she having a tang of her Grandfather's Ambition, left *Rodney*, and married the Earl; *Rodney* having drunk in too much Affection, and not being able with his Reason to digest it, summoned up his scattered Spirits to a most desperate Attempt; and coming to *Amesbury* in *Wiltshire*, (where the Earl and his Lady were then resident) to act it, he retired to an Inn in the Town, shut himself up in a Chamber, and wrote a large Paper of well-composed Verses to the Countess in his own Blood, (strange kind of Composedness!) wherein he bewails and laments his own Unhappiness; and when he had sent them to her, as a sad Catastrophe to all his Miseries, he ran himself upon his Sword, and so ended that Life which he thought Death to enjoy, leaving the Countess to a strict Remembrance of her Inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad Spectacle of Frailty. But she easily passed this over, and so wrought upon the good Nature of the Earl her Husband, that he settled above Five thousand Pounds a Year Jointure upon her for Life. In his time she was often courted by the Duke of *Lenox*, who presented many a fair Offering to her, as an humble Suppliant; sometimes in a blue Coat with a Basket-hilt Sword, making his Addresses in such odd Disguises; yet she carried a fair Fame during the Earl's time. After his decease, *Lenox* and *Richmond*, with the great Title of Dutchess, gave period to her Honour, which could not arrive at her Mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent Heights in Speculation: For finding the King a Widower, she vowed, after so great a Prince as *Richmond*, never to be blown with the Kisses, nor eat at the Table of a Subject; and this Vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the Bravery of her Spirit: But this Bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her Aim; and, to make good her Resolution, she speciously observed her Vow to the last.

When she was Countess of *Hertford*, and found Admirers about her, she would often Discourse of her two Grandfathers, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Buckingham*, recounting the time since one of her Grandfathers did this, the other did that: But if the Earl her Husband came in Presence, she would quickly desist; for when he found her in those Exaltations, to take her down, he would say, *Frank, Frank, How long is it since thou wert Married to* Prannel? which would damp the Wings of her Spirit, and make her look after her Feet, as well as gawdy Plumes.

One little Vanity of this great Dutchess (with your Patience) may yet croud in this Story: She was a Woman greedy of Fame, and loved to keep great State with little Cost: For being much visited by all the great ones, she had her formality of Officers, and Gentlemen, that gave Attendance, and this Advantage, that none ever Eat with her; yet all the Of her Visitants.

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Tables in the Hall were ſpread, as if there had been Meat, and Men to furniſh them; but before Eating-time (the Houſe being voided) the Linen returned into their Folds again, and all her People graſed on ſome few Diſhes. Yet whether her Actions came into Fame's fingering, her Gifts were ſuitable to the Greatneſs of her Mind: For the Queen of *Bohemia* (to the Chriſtening of whoſe Child ſhe was a Witneſs) had ſome taſte of them. And being blown up by Admiration for this Bounty, either by her own Deſign to magnify her Merit, or by others in Mockery to magnify her Vanity, huge Inventories of Maſſy Plate went up and down, from Hand to Hand, that ſhe had given that Queen, and moſt believ'd it; yet they were but Paper Preſents; thoſe Inventories had a *non eſt inventus* at the *Hague*; they ſaw the Shell, the Inventory, but never found the Kernel, the Plate. Such difference there is betwixt ſolid Worth, and Airy-Paper Greatneſs. And it is hoped theſe ſlight Intermixtures will be no great Tranſgreſſion, becauſe long ſerious Things do dull the Fancy.

The King having digeſted his ſudden Loſs of the Duke of *Richmond*, and fitted himſelf to make his Mind known to his People in Parliament, he went to the Houſe the 19th, as is ſaid, and opened himſelf to them to this Effect.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

TO teſtify to the World how far my Mind hath been from eſchewing to aſſemble a Parliament, and how willing I have been upon all Occaſions to have the Advice of my People, I have at this preſent called you, to approve unto you the earneſt Deſire I have ever had, and ſtill have, to deſerve the Love of my People, by improving your Truſt, and communicating unto you a Matter of as great Conſequence as ever King imparted to his People, to have their Advice and Counſel in.

I ſhall ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid to the Church, I am your Husband, and you are my Spouſe. And as it is the Part of a good Husband to procure and maintain the Love of his Wife, which he uſually doth by often viſiting her, and upon extraordinary Occaſions communicating the Secrets of his Affairs unto her, and by all gentle and affable Ways to gain her Love; ſo in the Adminiſtration of Government, I deſire to carry my ſelf towards my People. There are two Ways by which a King may ſhew his Love to his People: One is, by a conſtant Adminiſtration of Juſtice according to the Laws eſtabliſhed; the other is, by communicating himſelf to his People, in their Repreſentative, the Parliament. For the firſt, I know there's no particular Man of you that hath not enjoyed the Bleſſing and Benefit of it; which I will ſay nothing of, becauſe you have been all Witneſſes of it; for who hath not found the Fruits of it? If he conſiders the Peace which my Kingdom enjoys, in the midſt of the Miſeries our Neighbours are afflicted with. And tho' I cannot ſay my Government hath been without Error; yet this I can truly ſay, and will avouch it before God, and his Angels, That never King governed with a more pure Sincerity, and uncorrupt Heart, than I have done, far from all Intention and Meaning of the leaſt Error or Imperfection in my Reign.

I have aſſembled you at this time to perform the other part, which is duly to impart unto you a Secret, and a Matter of as great Importance as can be to my Eſtate, and the Eſtate of my Children, I crave your beſt and ſafeſt Advice, and Counſel, as the Writ wherewith you are aſſembled imports, That the King would adviſe with you in Matters concerning his Eſtate and Dignity: *And as I have ever endeavoured by this, and the like Ways, to procure and cheriſh the Love of my People towards me, ſo do I hope, and fully believe, that never any King was more beloved of his People, (whom you my Lords and Gentlemen do here repreſent) ſo I would have you truly repreſent their Loves alſo to me, that in you, as in a true Glaſs, I may perfectly behold it, and not as a falſe Glaſs preſents it, not at all, or otherwiſe than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful Counſel in this matter, which is that of which you have often heard, the Match of my Son: Wherein, as you may know, I have ſpent much Time, with great Coſt, in long Treaty, deſiring always therein (and not without Reaſon, hoping to have effected my Deſires) the Advancement of my Eſtate and Children, and the general Peace of all* Chriſtendom: *Wherein I have always conſtantly laboured, depending too much upon fair Hopes and Promiſes. But at the earneſt Inſtance of my Son, I was contented (altho' it was of an extraordinary Nature) to ſend him to proſecute his Deſires in* Spain; *and for his more Safety, I ſent* Buckingham *(in whom I ever repoſed the moſt Truſt of my Perſon) with him with this Command, To be continually preſent with him, and never leave him, till he returned ſafe again unto me; which he performed, tho' not with ſuch Effect as I expected, yet not altogether without Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wiſdom, that,* Qui verſatur in Univerſalibus, *&c. is eaſily deceiv'd, and it generally brings nothing to good Iſſue; for before any Matter can be fully finiſhed, it muſt be brought to Particulars. I thought before their going, the Affairs had been produced to a narrow Point (relying upon their general Propoſitions); but when they came to the Matter, it prov'd ſo Raw, as if it had been never treated of, the Generals giving them eaſy way to invade, and afford them means to avoid the effecting of any thing.*

The Particulars that paſſed in the Treaty, I mean not now to diſcover unto you, the Time being too ſhort, I refer that to Charles *and* Buckingham, *and the Secretaries, who ſhall relate unto you all the Particulars. And after that,* Super totam materiam, *I deſire your beſt Aſſiſtance and Advice; what is beſt and fitteſt for me to do, for the Good of the Commonwealth, the Advancement of Religion, and the Good of my Son, and my Children of the* Palatine. *And of our Eſtate, I know you cannot but be ſenſible, conſidering your Welfare conſiſts in ours; for you ſhall be ſure to have your Share in what Miſery ſhall befall us: Therefore I need to urge no further Arguments unto you for your choiceſt and cureſt Counſel. And I aſſure you, in the Faith of a Chriſtian King, That it is* Res integra *preſented unto you; and that I ſtand not bound, nor any ways engaged, but remain free to follow what ſhall be beſt adviſed.*

To plant is not ſufficient, unleſs, like good Gardiners you pluck up the Weeds that will choak your Labours; and the greateſt Weeds among you are Jealouſies, root them out: For my Actions, I dare avow them before God; but Jealouſies are of a ſtrange depth. I am the Husband, and you the Wife, and it is ſubject to the Wife to be jealous of her Husband. Let this be far from you! It hath been talked of my Remiſneſs in Maintenance of Religion, and Suſpicion of a Toleration; but as God ſhall judge me, I never thought, nor meant, or ever in Word expreſſed, any thing that favoured it. It is true, that, at Times beſt known to my ſelf, I did not ſo fully put thoſe Laws in Execution, but did wink and connive at ſome Things which might have hinder'd more weighty Affairs: But I never in all my Treaties agreed to any thing to the Overthrow or Diſagreeing of thoſe Laws; but, in all, I had a chief Regard to the Preſervation of that Truth, which I have ever profeſſed. And in that Reſpect, as I have a charitable Conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me alſo, in which I did not tranſgreſs: For it is a good Horſeman's Part not always to uſe the Spur, nor keep ſtreight the Rein, but ſometimes

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to use the Spur, and sometimes to suffer the Rein more remiss: So it is the Part of a wise King (and my Age and Experience have informed me) sometimes to quicken the Laws with strict Execution, and at other times upon just Occasion to be more remiss.

And I would also remove from your Thoughts all Jealousies, that I might or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful Liberties or Privileges: But I protest before God, *I ever intended you should enjoy the Fulness of all those, that from ancient Times give good Warrant and Testimony; of which, if need be, I will enlarge and amplify. Therefore I would have you (as I have in this place heretofore told you, as* St. Paul *did* Timothy) *avoid Genealogies and curious Questions, and Quirks and Jerks of Law, and idle Innovations; and if you minister me no just Occasion, I never yet was, nor ever will be, curious or captious to quarrel with you. But I desire you to avoid all Doubts and Hindrances, and to compose your selves speedily and quietly to this weighty Affair. Carry your selves modestly, and my Prayers shall be to God for you, and my Love shall be always with you, that a happy Conclusion may attend this Parliament. God is my Judge, I speak it as a* Christian King, *never any wayfaring Man, in the burning, dry and sandy Desarts, more thirsted for Water to quench his thirst, than I thirst and long for the happy Success of this Parliament, that the good Issue of this may expiate and acquit the fruitless Issue of the former. And I pray* God *your Counsels may advance* Religion, *the* Publick Weal, *and the* Good of me and my Children.

The Bishop of *Lincoln's* short Harangue.

When the King had thus ended, the Lord Keeper *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Speaker to the House of Peers, (who uses always to make the King's Mind further known if there be Cause) told the Parliament, That after the Eloquent Speech of his Majesty, he would not say any thing, for as one of the *Spartan* Kings being ask'd, Whether he would not willingly hear a Man that counterfeited the Voice of the Nightingale to the Life? made Answer, He had heard the Nightingale. So for him to repeat or rehearse what the King had said, was (according to the Latin Proverb) to ennamel a Golden Ring with Studs of Iron. He doubted not but that the King's Speech had, like *Æschines's* Orations, left in their Minds a Sting; and as an Historian said of *Nerva*, that having adopted *Trajan*, he was immediately taken away, *Ne post divinum & immortale factum, aliquid mortale faceret*: So he would not dare after his Majesty's *Divinum & immortale dictum, mortale aliquid addere.*

This is not inserted to shew the Pregnancy and Genius of the Man, but the Temper of the Times; wherein Men made themselves less than Men, by making Kings little less than Gods. In this the *Spanish* Bravery is to be admir'd, and the *French* do not much come short of them, who do not idolize their Kings with Sacred Sovereign, Immortal, and Oraculous Expressions; but in their humblest Petitions give him the Title *Sir*, tell him their Business, and demand Justice of him. But where these Adulations were admitted, tho' it doth not strike suddenly with some incurable Disease, yet the same Hand can make them consume, and in the end waste away to nothing.

But the Parliament, tho' they knew there was an Intention of a Toleration of Popery upon the close of the *Spanish* Match, sealed up (as it were) their Lips, and would not see the Light that discovered it self through this Cloud that the King cast before it, (tho' some of the Commons had much ado to hold, which he takes notice of at the next Interview, and thanks them for it) but they went on directly to his Business, making it their own, forgetting all former Miscarriages. And upon the 24th of this Month the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with the Prince as his Remembrancer, made a long Relation of all the Transactions of *Spain* to both Houses, with all the Advantage he could, to make good his own Actions, some of the Particulars whereof are already related. And he took the first Discovery of the Intention of the King of *Spain* not to deal fairly with our King (touching the Restitution of the *Palatinate*) from the Arch-Dutchess juggling in the Treaty at *Brussels*, which was managed by Sir *Richard Weston*, our King's Ambassador there, who urged for a Cessation of Arms in the *Palatinate*, (the Arch-Dutchess pretending Power to draw off the *Spanish* Forces, if our King would first draw off his) it came to an Agreement; but in the close (after some Delays) she confessed she had no Power to admit of a Cessation, till she had more particular Warrant for it out of *Spain*.

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Febr. 24. *Buckingham's* Relation to the Parliament.

That these Shufflings made our King send *Porter* into *Spain* for a more resolute Answer, in relation to the Match, and the *Palatinate*, and assigned him but Ten Days to stay there; in which time *Bristol* fed him with Hopes, which he found very empty ones: Whereupon *Porter* went boldly to *Olivares*, who (in an open-hearted way) told him plainly, That *Spain* meant neither the Match, nor Restitution of the *Palatinate*.

Bristol seeing *Porter* would return with this Answer, perswaded him to speak with *Olivares* again, who coming to *Olivares*, found him much incensed for relating the private Intimation he gave him to *Bristol*, the Publick Minister, and deny'd to speak with *Porter* any more.

Bristol still puffs up our King with an Assurance both of the Match, and Restitution of the *Palatinate*; but they proceeding slowly, the Prince desired that he might go himself into *Spain*, which *Buckingham* first broke to the King, who with Reasons laid down for it, was drawn to it.

When the Prince came there, the Match at first was absolutely denyed, unless he would be converted, which *Bristol* perswaded the Prince unto, at least in shew, to expedite his Business.

Then the *Spanish* Ministers urged for a Toleration of Religion in *England*, which they hoped (as some of them expressed) would cause a Rebellion; and they offered the Prince an Army to assist him for the Suppression of the same.

But the Prince finding the *Spanish* did but dally with him, left a Proxy with *Bristol* to conclude the Match, when the Dispensation came, which the Prince forbad him to deliver. *Bristol* nevertheless proceeds; and if *Gresley* had not brought a Revocation of the Proxy from the King over Night, *Bristol* had made the Espousals the next Day. And always at the end of every Point, he would look upon the Prince for his Approbation and Allowance, who still, as the Duke went on, confirmed the same. And so *Buckingham* concluded, That if the drawing of us out of Darkness into Light did deserve Thanks, we all ow'd it to the Prince, who by the Hazard of his Person, and by his great Care and Industry, had done this for us.

The Duke highly esteemed,

The Parliament, that looked upon the Duke with a sour Eye, for tempting the Prince to so dangerous a Journey, when they found what ex-

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excellent Effects it had produced, forgot the old Murmurs buzzed against him, and with elevated Voices could scarce be contained from acknowledging him *The Preserver of the Nation.* This his Discovery is cry'd up every where, and who but the Duke is become the Darling of the Multitude? So dear then was the Prince unto the People, that they tendred his Safety as their own! and so easily might he have retain'd this Love, if by grasping after Shadows he had not lost the Substance: For those People are the soonest deceived that love most to admire.

Little deserved.

The Parliament were but Men, and could at present see no more than the Duke was pleased to shew them through the flattering Glass of this Relation. But when *Bristol* came over, and (as afterwards he) did discover, that the Duke carry'd the Prince purposely into *Spain* to be the better instructed in Popery: That he gave hope to the *Spanish* Ministers of State of the Prince's Conversion, which made them propound far worse Conditions for Religion than had been formerly agreed on: That he professed himself a Papist there, going to Mass, kneeling to and adoring their Sacraments; which the Pope being informed of, sent the Duke a Bull, to persuade and encourage him to pervert the King and Prince, with other pernicious Crimes laid to his Charge in the next King's Reign, (as may appear in due time) none can blame the People for mutable Affections: For when Falshood is so impudent as to hoodwink such an Assembly, with the Veil that Truth her self is wont to put on, who can at an Instant discover it?

The Parliament advise the King to break the Treaties with Spain.

But it was a hard Condition for the banished *Palatine* to have such Mediators as *Buckingham*, *Bristol* and *Weston*, to make Intercession for him, the Temper of whose Spirits was well known, and which way their Affections tended. But now the Load is all laid upon *Bristol*, tho' he were at the distance of not being sensible of it, yet it was so heavy, that most Men thought he would never come to have it taken off.

But all things were passed over by the Parliament that reflected upon Particulars, having in their Eye the general Good of the Kingdom, which they strove to manage with Advantage. And the Treaty of the Marriage with *Spain* being put into their Hands, they crush'd the Brood in the Nest, advising the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War with that King: Which they did not do suddenly, as if they had been eager upon a War, but with good Advice, and deliberate Consideration, as the most immediate Means for the Establishment of Religion, and settled Peace; protesting to assist the King, for the regaining of the *Palatinate*, with their Lives and Fortunes. Upon which Declaration and Resolution, the King determined to send instantly Post into *Spain* to his Ambassadors, to signify to that King, That the Parliament advised him to break off the Treaties, and to recover the *Palatinate* by War; and the Post had his Dispatch to that purpose, when the King repented him of what he had done, and (like the Husband now jealous of his Wife) writes to Secretary *Conway* this Letter, to impede and delay the Business.

The King's Letter to Secretary *Conway*.

I Doubt not but you have heard what a stinging Petition against the Papists the Lower House have sent to the Higher House this Day, that they may jointly present it to me: You know my firm Resolution not to make this a War of Religion. And seeing I would be loth to be Conny-catch by my People, I pray you stay the Post that is going into Spain, *till I meet with my Sone who will be here to morrow Morning. Do it upon Pretext of some more Letters ye are to send by him; and if he should be gone, hasten after him, to stay him upon some such Pretext, and let none living know of this, as ye love me: And before Two in the Afternoon to morrow you shall without fail hear from me. Farewel.*

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Conjectures on the King's Letter.

By this Letter it appears, that the King thought the Petition against Recusants of such high Consequence, that if he should not give the Parliament a good Answer, it might make a Rupture with them; and therefore he will see further in the Nature of this Petition, before he will break with the King of *Spain*; and know more of the Prince his Son's Mind, happily whether he would yet accept of his old Mistress, or expect a new one: Or whether the King feared that the Parliament would not make good their Promises to stand with their Lives and Fortunes in the Gap when this great Breach was made, and so couzen him, may be mystical Conjectures from mystical Expressions, grounded upon the Words of a King: Or whether any or all of these (like the King's Heart inscrutable) are meant in the Letter, is not here determined. *But the King hastens to the House*, and finding no such *terrible Things in the Petition*, (the Lords being not so quick in the Resolution of it, as the King was in the Apprehension of it) he stirs not those Waters, but sounds the Depth of the Parliament's Intentions, by propounding his Doubts, and requiring a Solution to them, in order to a War, with Prudence and Caution.

The King's second Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen all,

'I have Cause first to thank God with my 'Heart, and all the Faculties of my Mind, 'that my Speech which I delivered in Parliament hath taken so good Effect among you, 'as that, with an unanime Consent, you have 'freely and speedily given me your Advice in 'this great Business, for which I also thank you 'all as heartily as I can. I also give my particular 'Thanks to the Gentlemen of the Lower House, 'for that I hear, when some among them would 'have cast Jealousies and Doubts between me 'and my People, you presently quelled those 'Motions, which might have hindred the happy 'Agreement I hope to find in this Parliament. 'You give me your Advice to break off the 'Treaties, as well concerning the Match, as 'the *Palatinate*. And now give me Leave, as 'an old King, to propound my Doubts, and 'hereafter give me your Answer.

'First, it is true, that I who have been all the 'Days of my Life a peaceable King, and have 'had the Honour in my Titles and Impress to 'be stiled *Rex Pacificus*, should without Necessity 'embroil my self in a War; which is so far 'from my Nature, and from the Honour I have 'had both at home and abroad, in endeavouring to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, '(of which too much hath been shed) and so 'much against my Heart, that unless it be upon 'such a Necessity, that I may call it (as some 'merrily say it of Women) *Malum Necessarium*, 'I shall be loth to enter into it. And I must 'likewise acquaint you, that I have had no 'small Hopes given me of obtaining better 'Conditions for Restitution of the *Palatinate*, 'and that even since the setting down of this 'Parliament. But be not jealous, nor think me 'such a King, that would, under Pretext of 'asking your Advice, put a Scorn upon you, 'by disdaining or rejecting it. For you remember

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'ber, that in my first Speech unto you, for Proof 'of my Love to my People, I craved your Advice in this great and weighty Affair. But in 'a Matter of this Weight, I must consider how 'this Course may agree with my Conscience 'and Honour; and next, according to the Parable uttered by our Saviour, (after I was resolved of the Necessity and Justness of the 'Cause) to consider how I shall be enabled to 'raise Forces for this Purpose.

'As concerning the Case of my Children: I 'am now old, and would be glad, as *Moses* saw 'the Land of Promise from a high Mountain, '(though he had not Leave to set his Foot in it) 'so would it be a great Comfort to me, that 'God would so long prolong my Days, as if I 'might not see the || Restitution, yet at least to 'be assured that it would be; that then I might 'with old *Simeon* say, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine!* Otherwise it would be a great Grief 'unto me, and I should die with a heavy and 'discomforted Heart. I have often said, and 'particularly in the last Parliament, (and I shall 'be ever of the Mind) that as I am not ambitious of others Mens Goods or Lands, so I desire not to enjoy a Furrow of Land in *England*, '*Scotland*, and *Ireland*, without Restitution of the '*Palatinate*, and in this Mind I will live and 'die.

'But let me acquaint you a little with the 'Difficulties of this Case: He is an unhappy 'Man who shall advise a King to War; and it 'is an unchristian thing to seek that by Blood, 'which may be had by Peace. Besides, I think 'your Intentions are not to engage me in a War, 'but withal you will consider how many things 'there are requisite thereunto. I omit to speak 'of my own Necessities, they are too well 'known: Sure I am, I have had the least Help 'in Parliament of any King that reigned over 'you these many Years: I have let you know 'that my Disabilities are encreased, by the 'Charge of my Son's Journey into *Spain*, (which 'I was at for his Honour, and the Honour of 'the Nation) by sending Ambassadors, by Maintenance of my Children, and by assisting of 'the Palatinate. I have incurred a great Debt 'to the King of *Denmark*, which I am not able 'to pay. The *Low-Countries* (who in regard 'of their nearness are fittest to help for the Recovery of the Palatinate) are at so low an 'ebb, that if I assist them not, they will be scarce 'able to subsist. The Princes of *Germany*, that 'should do me any good, are all poor, and 'weak, and disheartned, and do expect Assistance from hence.* For *Ireland*, I leave it to 'you, if that be not a Back-door fit to be secured. For the Navy, I thank God it is now in 'a better Case than ever it was; yet more must 'be done; and before it can be prepared as it 'ought to be, it will require a new Charge, as 'well for their own Strength, as for securing of 'the Coasts. My Children (I vow to God) 'eat no Bread but by my means; I must maintain them, and not see them want. My Customs are the best part of my Revenues, and 'in effect the Substance of all I have to live on: 'All which are Farmed out upon Condition, 'That if there be War, those Bargains are to 'be anulled. Subsidies ask a great Time to 'bring in; and if you assist me that way, I must 'take them up before-hand upon Credit, which 'will eat up a great part of them.

'This being my Case, to enter into a War 'without sufficient Means to support it, were 'to shew my Teeth, and do no more. In the 'mean time, *I heartily thank you for your Advice, and will seriously think upon it*; as I pray you to 'consider of these other Points. My Treasurer, 'to whose Office it appertains, shall more at 'large inform you of those Things that concern my Estate.

'Thus freely do I open my Heart to you; 'and having your Hearts, I cannot want your 'Helps; for it is the Heart that opens the Purse, 'not the Purse the Heart. I will deal frankly 'with you, shew me the Means how I may do 'what you would have me; and if I take a Resolution upon your Advice to enter into a War, 'then your own Deputies shall have the disposing of the Money; I will not meddle with it, 'but you shall appoint your own Treasurers.

'I say not this with purpose to invite you to 'open your Purses, and then to slight you so 'much as not to follow your Counsel, nor engage you before I be engaged my self. Give 'me what you will for my own Means; for I 'protest none of the Money which you shall 'give for these Uses, shall be issued but for 'those ends. If upon your Offer I shall find 'the Means to make a War honourable and 'safe, (and that I resolve to embrace your Advice) then I promise you on the Word of a 'King, That although War and Peace be the 'peculiar Prerogative of Kings, yet as I have 'advised with you in the Treaties, on which 'War may ensue, so I will not Treat nor accept of Peace, without first acquainting you 'with it, and hearing your Advice, and there 'in go the proper way of Parliament, in conferring and consulting with you: And happily, Conditions of Peace will be the better, 'when we are prepared for War, according 'to the Proverb, *That Weapons breed Peace.*

'Your kind Carriage gives me much Contentment; and that comforts me which my 'Lord of *Canterbury* said, That there was not a 'contrary Voice among you all, like the Seventy Interpreters, who were led by the Breath 'of God.

'I am so desirous to forget all Rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be my default, if I be not in love with Parliaments, 'and call them often, and desire to end my 'Life in that intercourse between Me and my 'People, for making of good Laws, reforming 'Abuses, and maintaining the good Government of the Commonwealth: Therefore go 'on chearfully, and advise of these Points, and 'my Resolution shall be then declared.

The Parliament close with the King.

None can blame the King for being too cautelous or wary in such an Eruption as this, so contrary to his Nature (as he saith himself) a War was a new World to him, fearing to lay out by it more than he should receive. And in this, he was like the Man, that when his Master gave great Charge to go and gather up his Rents in the Country, and to take a pair of Pistols with him, to bring home his Money with the more Security, After the Master had appointed him to pay so much in one Place,

|| Neither he nor his Son saw the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, it falling out in the Year 1648, when the Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipse, and its King's Head within Two Months of being laid on the *Block*.

* King *James* was mistaken in this: For his Daughter the Queen of *Bohemia*, and her Children, might have starv'd for him, if the *States* of *Holland* and some Foreing Princes had not help'd to support them.

and

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and so much in another, that the Man saw he should not receive so much as he should disburse, *Bid his Master take his Pistols again, he should not use them.* So the King fearing that when the War was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it, *Thanked the Parliament for their Advice, and he would consider better of it.* And they feeling the King's Pulse by his Expressions, resolved now not to let him flag, but to keep up the temper of his Spirit, that a little thing would make decline again: And therefore they seriously settled to their Business, and answered his Expectation fully, which they presented unto him shortly after, in these Words, to his great Satisfaction.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Their Declaration. 'WE your Majesty's most humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do 'first render to your Sacred Majesty our most 'dutiful Thanks, for that, to our unspeakable 'Comfort, you have vouchsafed to express your 'self so well satisfied with our late Declaration 'made unto your Majesty, of our General Resolution, in pursuit of our Humble Advice, to 'assist your Majesty, in a Parliamentary-way 'with our Persons and Abilities. And whereas your Majesty, in your Great Wisdom and 'Judgment, fore-seeing that it will make a 'deeper Impression, both in the Enemies of 'that Cause, and in your Friends and Allies, 'if they shall not only hear of the chearful Offers, but also see the real Performance of your 'Subjects towards so great a Work; Your Majesty was pleased to descend to a particular 'Proposition for the advancing of this great 'Business. We therefore in all humbleness most 'ready and willing to give your Majesty and 'the whole World an ample Testmony of our 'sincere and dutiful Intentions herein, upon 'mature Advice and Deliberation, as well of 'the Weight and Importance of this great Affair, as of the present Estate of this your 'Kingdom, (the Weal and Safety whereof, is, 'in our Judgment, apparently threatned, if your 'Majesty's Resolution for the Dissolving of the 'Treaties, now in question, be longer deferred, and that Provision for Defence of your 'Realm, and Aid of your Friends and Allies, 'be not seasonably made) have with a chearful 'Consent of all the Commons, (no one dissenting) and with a full and chearful Consent of 'the Lords, Resolved, That upon your Majesty's Publick Declaration for the Dissolution 'and utter Discharge of both the said Treaties 'of Marriage, and the *Palatinate*, in pursuit of 'our Advice therein, and towards the Support 'of that War which is likely to ensue: And 'more particularly for those Four Points proposed by your Majesty; namely, for the Defence of this your Realm; the Securing of '*Ireland*; the Assistance of your Neighbours, 'the States of the *United Provinces*, and other 'your Majesty's Friends and Allies; and for the 'setting forth of your Royal Navy; we will 'grant for the present the greatest Aid which 'ever was given in Parliament. That is to say, 'Three intire Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, to 'be all paid within the Compass of one whole 'Year, after your Majesty shall be pleased to 'make the said Declaration; the Money to be 'paid into the Hands, and expended by the 'Direction of such Committees, or Commissioners, as hereafter shall be agreed upon at this 'present Session of Parliament. And we most 'humbly beseech your Majesty to accept of 'these First Fruits of our hearty Oblation, 'dedicated to that Work which we infinitely 'desire may prosper, and be advanced. And 'for the future to rest confidently assured, That 'we, your Loyal and Loving Subjects, will never fail in a Parliamentary-way to Assist your 'Majesty in so Royal a Design, wherein your 'own Honour, and the Honour of your most 'Noble Son, the Prince, the Ancient Renown 'of this Nation, the Welfare and very Subsistence of your Noble and Only Daughter and 'her Consort, and their Posterity, the Safety 'of your own Kingdom and People, and the 'Prosperity of your Neighbours and Allies, are 'so deeply engaged.

The Treaties with Spain dissolved.

The Parliament by this Declaration came up so close to the King, that he could make no Evasion, but rested contented now in his latter time (when the *Almonds* (as it were) begun to Blossom upon his Head) to plunge himself into a War, which brought him again to the Parliament, to thank them for their Readiness to assist him; telling them, That he is willing to follow their Advice in the Annulling and Breach of these Two Treaties. They have given enough to begin a War, but when the end will be, (he said) God knows. Yet he will engage for himself and his Son, his Successor, That no means shall be left unused for Recovery of the *Palatinate*. And for all his old Age (if it might do any good) he would go in Person to further the Business. But, as he his contented to have the Parliament Committees *to dispose of the Moneys by their Directions,* so the *Design must not be acted by publick Councils: For whether he shall send Two Thousand or Ten Thousand; whether by Sea or Land, East or West, by Diversion or Invasion, upon the Bavarian or Emperor, that must be left to the King.* And this he did that there might be no Jealousies, but to smooth every Rub betwixt them.

And to put it in Execution, a Council of War is chosen out of the old and long discontinued Militia of *Ireland*, and some others of the Nobility; and upon Result of their Counsels (after some Debate) it was concluded to send Six thousand Men for the present into the *Low-Countries*, to joyn with the States Forces against the King of *Spain*'s mighty Armies, under the Command of Marquis *Spinola*, that threatned the next Summer to over-run the *Netherlands*, that weakning the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, they might have the more free Access into *Germany*.

The Spanish Ambassador accuses Buckingham of Treason.

‡†‡ The Dissolution of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Preparation for War resounding in every Ear, gave such an Alarm to the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Marquis of *Inoiosa*, that whether out of Truth and Knowledge (as he pretended) or Malice only, cannot be determined: But he sent

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‡†‡ The Story of this Affair Bishop *Hacket* has given us at large from the Lord-Keeper *Williams's Notes* in the History of his Life, which was thus:

The *Spanish* Ambassador *Inoiosa* had found a way to instil into King *James* a Jealousie of *Buckingham*, wherein the Prince himself wanted not his Share. The Things objected against him were chiefly these: 1st, *That the King was so besieg'd by the Creatures of the Prince and Duke, that he could not be acquainted with the Affairs of Court, or Parliament; and was as much a Prisoner as King* John *of* France *in* England, *or* Francis *the First at* Madrid; *and could not be spoke with, but* [illegible] *that watch'd him.* 2dly, *That there was a strong Machination in hand, that had turn'd the Prince, a wise Obedient Son*

A. Reg. 22. *him before, to the quite contrary.* 3dly, *That there was a form'd Design to restrain him from the Exercise of the Government in all* A. Reg. 22.
his Three Kingdoms. 4thly, *That the Duke had brought the King into Contempt with the Parliament and the Court, as a faithful*
An. Christi *and unactive Prince, and addicted to an inglorious Peace while his Daughter and her Children were in the Hands of their Enemies.* An. Christi
1624. 5thly, *That the Duke had divulg'd the King's Secrets.* 1624.

A *Memorial*, containing these and a great many other Articles against *Buckingham*, was secretly put into the King's Hands by an Instrument of *Inojosa's*, and was more then enough to distract a Mind less timorous in it self than his.

Bishop *Hacket* tells us, *That the King, grown with this perplexity, prepar'd to go to* Windsor, *to shift Ground for the better Ease of his Mind; and that, taking the Prince with him, he found a slight Reason to leave* Buckingham *behind him just as the Duke was putting his Foot in the Boot of the Coach. This Disappointment drew Tears from* Buckingham, *and an humble Prayer to the King, That His Majesty would let him know what could be laid to his Charge to offend so Gracious a Master, and vow'd by his Saviour to purge it, or confess it. All he could get from the King in Answer was, that he was the unhappiest Creature alive, to be forsaken by them that were dearest to him: which was utter'd and receiv'd with Tears in his own Eyes, as well as the Prince's and the Duke's.*

This coming to the Lord Keeper *Williams's* Ears, *He made hast* (says *Hacket*) *to* Wallingford-house, *and had much ado to be admitted to the Duke in his sad Retirement, whom he found lying on a Couch in that unmoveable Posture, that he would neither sit up nor Speak, tho' invited twice or thrice with Courteous Questions.* At length the Duke open'd his Case to the Keeper, who advis'd him to make hast after the King to *Windsor* before Night, and never to stir from the King's Person Night nor Day: *For* (said he) *the Dangerous, that some may thrust themselves in, to push on His Majesty to break utterly with the Parliament; and upon that, their next Hopes will be, to see the Duke sent to the* Tower; *and God knows what might next happen.*

The Duke follow'd the Keeper's Advice, while the other in the mean time found out the Occasion of all this Stir from the *Spanish* Ambassador's Secretary, through the means of a Mistress he kept; which ended in a full Reconciliation between the King and *Buckingham*. Thus far *Hacket*.

The Truth is, King *James* had been so long lull'd asleep by the Allurements of the Court of *Spain*, that it was no easie Matter for the Parliament, or *Buckingham* himself, the greatest of Favourites that ever was, to awaken him. But still, it seems, the *Spanish* Match (tho' publickly broke off) kept some Root in his Mind.

There are Two *Original* Letters of *Buckingham* to King *James*, in the above-mention'd *Collection*, which, tho' without Date, appear to me to be writ about this Time. As they sufficiently discover King *James's* Unsteadiness in these Matters, so they express more, in my Opinion, of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Honesty and Fidelity to his Master and the Publick, than all that has been said in his Vindication or Praise either then or since. One of them is endors'd upon the Back with the Prince's Hand; and the other, if I mistake not, by Archbishop *Laud's*, having compar'd it with other Writings of that Prelate. They run thus

Dear Dad and Gossip,

H*Aving more Business than it was fit to speak to you without a Letter, I was once resolv'd to have waited on you my self: But presently came to me the News of the* Spanish *Ambassador's going to you, which hath diverted my Resolution at this Time; because I will not increase that in you, which I have always found too much; and that I will not let the Ambassador think you are distracted, tho' this gives enough and too much to your People. I have, to save your Leisure, writ some Things to* (the Word here is either *Aran*, or *Arun*, I know not which) *by whom I likewise expect an Answer: Only I will trouble your self with this, That I beseech you to send me your plain and resolute Answer, Whether if your People resolve to give you a Royal Assistance, to the Sum of Six Subsidies and Fifteens, with a Promise in case of Necessity, to assist you afterwards with their Lives and Fortunes, whether then you will not accept it, and their Counsel to break the Match, with the other Treaties? And whether or no, to bring them to this I may not assure some of them under hand, (because its fear'd, when your Turns are serv'd, you will not call them together again, to reform Abuses and Grievances, and the making of Laws for the good Government of the Country) That you will be so far from that, that you will rather win them; desiring nothing more than their Love and Happiness, wherein your own is included?* Sir, *I beseech you think seriously of this, and resolve once constantly to run one way: For as long as you waver between the* Spaniard *and your own Subjects, to make your Advantage of both, you are sure to do with neither. I should for my own Contentment, tho' I am sure I do you some Service here, and would be able, if you would do openly and heartily with me, do you more, wait on you oftener; but that you go in Two Ways, and my self only in One. It occasions so much Disputes, that till you be once resolv'd, I think it of more Comfort and Ease to you, and safer for me, that I hide away: For to be of your Opinion, would be Flattery; and not to speak humbly my own, would be Treachery. Therefore I will at this Time, with all the Industry of my Mind, serve you here; and pray for the good Success of that, and the Lengthening your Days, with all the Affections of his Soul that will live and die in Love of you.*

Your Majesty's most humble Slave and Dog,

STEINY.

The other Letter runs thus *Verbatim*:

Dear Dad and Gossip,

N*Otwithstanding this uncharitable Interpretation I find made of a Thankful, Loyal Heart, in calling my Words Cruel and Catonick, in Obedience to your Commands, I will tell the House of Parliament, That you having been in the Fields this Afternoon, have taken such a fierce Rheum and Cough, as not knowing how you will be this Night, you are not able to appoint them a Day of Hearing: But I will forbear to tell them, That, notwithstanding your Cold, you were able to speak with the King of* Spain's *Instruments, tho' not with your own Subjects. All I can say, you must look to your own Safety, and those that depend of yours: I pray God you may at last attain it, otherways I shall take little Comfort in Wife or Child; tho' now I am suspected to look more to the Rising Sun than my Maker and Father.* Sir, *Hitherto I have ty'd my self to a punctual Answer of yours. If I shall give my self leave to speak my own Thoughts, they are so many, that tho' the Quality of them should not grieve you, coming from one you wilfully and unjustly reject; yet the Number of them are so many, that I should not give over till I have troubled you: Therefore I shall only tye my self to that which shall be my last and speedy Refuge, to pray the Almighty to encrease your Joys, and appease the Sorrows of your Heart.*

This Letter is blotted in several Places, and ends thus abruptly: And it is to be regretted that we have not the King's Answers to them, if any there were.

sent to the King, to let him know, that the Duke of *Buckingham* had some dangerous Machination a-foot that tended to his Destruction, and the best he could expect would be a Confinement to a Country-house in some Park during his Life; the Prince being now in full Abilities, and ripe in Government. This Concussion was strong enough to shake an old Building that was of a fearful and tottering Temper; (especially if he consider'd how his Mother was put by her Government, to say nothing of Prince *Henry*) but the Violence of it did not work, because the Operation was somewhat mitigated by the Duke's Protestation of his Innocency: For the King, at the next Interview, saying to him, *Ah! Steiny, Steiny,* (which was the familiar Name he always used to him) *wilt thou kill me?* The Duke, struck into an Astonishment with the Expression, after some little Pause collected himself, and with many Asseverations strove to justify his Integrity; which the good King was willing enough to believe: And *Buckingham* finding, by some Discourse, that *Padre Macestria* the *Spanish* Jesuite had been with the King, he had then a large Theme for his Vindication, turning all upon the *Spanish* Jesuitical Malice, which proceeded from the Ruines of their quashed Hopes. And the King knowing *Inoiosa* and all that Party very bitter against *Buckingham*; and though he did not directly accuse the Prince to be in the Conspiracy with *Buckingham*, yet he reflected upon him; for such an Attempt could never have been

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been effected without his Privity: Therefore out of the Bowels of good Nature he did unbelieve it; and after Examinations of some Persons the Duke's Intimates, and their constant Denial upon Oath, (which they had no good Cause to confess) the King was content (being loth to think such an Enterprize could be foster'd so near his own Bosom) to have the Brat strangled in the Womb: And he presently sent into *Spain*, to desire Justice of that King against the Ambassador's false Accusation, which he said wounded his Son's Honour through *Buckingham*'s Side; which Sir *Walter Aston* represented to the King of *Spain*, (for *Bristol* was coming over to justify his Actions to the Parliament.) But the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Reputation there procured no other Satisfaction than some little Check of Formality: For when *Inojosa* was recalled home, he was not lessen'd in Esteem. Thus was this Information waved; though there might be some Cause to suspect, that the great Intimacy and Dearness betwixt the Prince and Duke (like the Conjunction of two dreadful Planets) could not but portend the Production of some very dangerous Effect to the Old King.

Bristol sent to the Tower.

But the Duke's Reputation, tho' it failed in *Spain*, held footing in *England*; for *Bristol* no sooner appeared, but he is clapt up in the *Tower*. Their Juggling Practices (whereof they were both guilty enough) must not yet come to Light to disturb the Proceedings in Parliament, *Bristol* had too much of the King's Commission for what he did, (though he might overshoot himself in what he said) which was not now to be discovered. Yet the Rigour of that Imprisonment would have sounded too loud, if he had not had a suddain Release; who finding the Duke high mounted yet in Power, and himself in no Degree to grapple with him, was content with Submission to gain his Liberty, and retire himself to a Country-privacy.

The Lords being now at Leisure, began to consider of that Stinging Petition (as the King called it) against Papists, how necessary it was to joyn with the Commons, to supplicate the King to take down the Pride of their high-flying Hopes, that had been long upon the Wing, watching for their Prey, and now they are made to stoop without it. And after some Conferences betwixt both Houses about it, the Petition was reduced to these Two Propositions, and presented to the King as Two Petitions.

The Parliaments Petition against Recusants.

'WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, do in all Humbleness offer unto your Sacred Majesty these Two Petitions following:

1. 'That for the more Safety of your Realms, 'and better keeping your Subjects in Obedience, and other Important Reasons of State, 'your Majesty would be pleased (by some such 'Course as you shall think fit) to give present 'Order, That all the Laws be put in due Execution, which have been made, and to stand 'in force against Jesuites, Seminary-Priests, and 'others, having taken Orders by Authority derived from the See of *Rome*, and generally 'against all Popish Recusants. And as for Disarming, that it may be according to the 'Laws, and according to former Acts and Directions of State in that Case. And yet that 'it may appear to all the World, the Favour 'and Clemency your Majesty useth towards all 'your Subjects of what Condition soever: And 'to the intent the Jesuites and Priests, now in 'the Realm, may not pretend to be surprized; 'that a speedy and certain Day may be prefixed by your Majesty's Proclamation, before 'which Day they shall depart out of this Kingdom, and all other your Highness's Dominions; and neither they nor any other to return or come hither again upon Peril of the 'severest Penalties of the Laws now in force 'against them. And that all your Majesty's 'Subjects may thereby also be admonished, not 'to receive, entertain, or conceal any of them 'upon the Penalties and Forfeitures, which by 'the Laws may be imposed on them.

2. 'Seeing We are thus happily delivered 'from that Danger which those Treaties now 'dissolved, and that Use which your ill-affected 'Subjects made thereof, would certainly have 'drawn upon us, and yet cannot but fore-see, 'and fear, lest the like may hereafter happen, 'which would inevitably bring much Peril upon your Majesty's Kingdom: We are most 'humble Suters unto your gracious Majesty, to secure the Hearts of your good Subjects by the Engagement of your Royal Word 'unto them, That upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty (or other Request in that behalf from any Foreign Prince or State whatsoever) you will take away or slacken the 'Execution of your Laws against Jesuites, 'Priests, and Popish Recusants.

'To which our humble Petitions (proceeding from our most Loyal and Dutiful Affections towards your Majesty, our Care of our 'Country's Good, and our own confident Perswasion, that these will much Advance the 'Glory of Almighty God, the everlasting Honour of your Majesty, the Safety of your 'Kingdoms, and the Encouragement of all your 'good Subjects) we do most humbly beseech 'your Majesty to vouchsafe a Gracious Answer.

The King prepared for it.

The King was prepared for the Petition, having given his own Resolution the Check at present, that whatsoever he might do hereafter, yet now he would comply; and therefore he sends for both Houses to *Whitehall*, to sweeten them with a gentle Answer to this Petition, that might take off those Sour Aspersions that this Miscarriage in Government might happily cast upon him. And we will not say, but his Intentions might rove towards the end, though he gave too much Liberty (through a Natural Easiness in himself) to those that he trusted with Management of great Affairs, by evil Means to pervert that end, which made him guilty of their Actions: For where true Piety is not the Director, Carelesness, as often as Wilfulness, carries Men out of the way. But he had this Principle, and made often use of it, (like ill Tenants when they let things run to ruin) to daub all over again when forced to it, and find no other Remedy. This was the effect of what he said in his own Excuse.

The King's Answers to the Parliament's Petitions, April 23.

My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses,

'I Cannot but commend your Zeal in offering this Petition to me; yet, on the other side, I cannot but hold my Self unfortunate, that I should be thought to need a 'Spur to do that which my Conscience and 'Duty binds me unto. What Religion I am of, 'my Books do declare, my Profession and Behaviour doth shew, and I hope in God I shall 'neverlive to be thought otherwise; surely I 'shall never deserve it. And for my part, I 'wish it may be written in Marble, and remain

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to Posterity as a Mark upon me when I shall swerve from my Religion: For he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with Men.

'My Lords, for my part, I protest before God, *That my Heart hath bled* when I have heard of the increase of Popery. God is my Judge, it hath been such a great Grief to me, that it hath been as Thorns in my Eyes, and Pricks in my Sides, and so for ever I have been, and shall be, from turning another way. And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be my Confessors, that one way or other it hath been my Desire to hinder the Growth of Popery, and I could not be an honest Man if I should have done otherwise: And this I may say further, That if I be not a Martyr, I am sure I am a Confessor, and in some Sense I may be called a Martyr, as in the Scripture, *Isaac* was persecuted by *Ismael*, by mocking Words, for never King suffered more ill Tongues than I have done, and, I am sure for no Cause; yet I have been far from Persecution, for I have ever thought that no way increased any Religion more than Persecution, according to that Saying, *Sanguis Martyrum est Semen Ecclesiæ*.

'Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your Petition, I will not only grant the Substance of what you craved, but add somewhat more of my own. For the two Treaties being already annulled, (as I have declared them to be) it necessarily follows of it self, that which you desire; and therefore it needs no more, but that I do declare by Proclamation, (which I am ready to do) That all Jesuites and Priests do depart by a Day; but it cannot be, as you desire by your Proclamation, to be out of all my Dominions; for a Proclamation here extends but to this Kingdom.

'This I will do, and more; I will Command all my Judges, when they go their Circuits, to keep the same Courses for putting all the Laws in Execution against Recusants, as they were wont to do before these Treaties; for the Laws are still in force, and were never dispensed with by me. God is my Judge, they were never so intended by me. But, as I told in the beginning of the Parliament, you must give me leave as a good Horse-man, sometimes to use the Reins, and not always to use the Spurs. So now there needs nothing but my Declaration for the disarming of them, that is already done by the Laws, and shall be done as you desired, And more, I will take Order for the shameful Disorder of the Resorting of my Subjects to all Foreign Ambassadors; of this I will advise with my Council how it may be best reformed. It is true, that the Houses of Ambassadors are Privileged Places; and though they cannot take them out of their Houses, yet the Lord Mayor and Mr. Recorder of *London* may take some of them as they come from thence, and make them Examples. Another Point I will add, concerning the Education of their Children, of which I have had a particular Care, as the Lord of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, and other Lords of my Council, can bear me Witness, with whom I have advised about this Business: For, in good Faith, it is a shame their Children should be bred here as if they were at *Rome*. So I do grant not only your Desire, but more: I am sorry I was not the first mover of it to you; but had you not done it, I should have done it my self.

'Now for the Second Part of your Petition; You have there given me the best Advice in the World; for it is against the Rule of Wisdom, that a King should suffer any of his Subjects to transgress the Laws by the Intercession of other Princes; and therefore assure your selves, that (by the Grace of God) I will be careful that no such ‖ Conditions be foisted in upon any other Treaty whatsoever: For it is fit my Subjects should stand or fall to their own Laws.

If the King had seriously and really considered the Minute of this Petition, the very last Clause, wherein the Glory of God, and the Safety of his Kingdoms, so much consisted, as the Parliament wisely express and fore-see, and, which the King saith, is the best Advice in the World, and which he promised so faithfully to observe in the next Treaty of Marriage for his Son, it might perhaps have kept the Crown upon the Head of his Posterity. But when Princes break with the People in those Promises that concern the Honour of God, God will let their People break with them to their Ruin and Dishonour. And this Maxim holds in all Powers, whether Kingdoms or Common-wealths: As they are established by Justice; so the Justice of Religion, which tends most to the Glory of God, is principally to be observed.

The King promises much, performs little.

The King grants them more than they desire, but not so much as they hope for; they have many good Words thick sown, but they produce little good Fruit: Yet the Parliament followed the Chase close, and bolted out divers of the Nobility and Gentry of Eminency, Popishly affected, that had Earth'd themselves in Places of High Trust and Power in the Kingdom, as if they meant to undermine the Nation: *Viz.*

A Swarm of Popery.

Francis Earl of *Rutland*, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Wives Father; Sir *Thomas Compton*, that was married to the Duke's Mother; and the Countess her self, who was the *Cynosure* they all steered by; the Earl of *Castle-Haven*; the Lord *Herbert*, after Earl of *Worcester*; the Lord Viscount *Colchester*, after Earl of *Rivers*; the Lord *Peter*; the Lord *Morley*; the Lord *Windsor*; the Lord *Eure*; the Lord *Wotton*; the Lord *Teinham*; the Lord *Scroop*, who was Lord President of the North (and which they omitted, the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord President of *Wales*, who married his Children to Papists, and permitted them to be bred up in Popery); Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Brudnell*, Sir *Thomas Somerset*, Sir *Gilbert Ireland*, Sir *Francis Stonnors*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *William Powell*, Sir *Francis Lacon*, Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Sir *William Awberie*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *John Shelly*, Sir *Henry Carvel*, Sir *Thomas Wiseman*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *John Filpot*, Sir *Thomas Russel*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Sir *William Wrey*, Sir *John Conwey*, Sir *Charles Jones*, Sir *Ralph Conyers*, Sir *Thomas Lamplough*, Sir *Thomas Savage*, Sir *William Moseley*, Sir *Hugh Beston*, Sir *Thomas Riddall*, Sir *Marmaduke Wivell*, Sir *John Townsend*, Sir *William Norris*, Sir *Philip Knevit*, Sir *John Tasborough*, Sir *William Selbie*, Sir *Richard Titchborn*, Sir *John Hall*, Sir *George Perkins*, Sir *Thomas Penruddock*, Sir *Nicholas Sanders*, Kts. besides divers Esquires Popishly addicted, either

‖ King *James*, in the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and the Daughter of *France*, the end of this very Year, agreed to the very same Conditions which he in this Speech, promises never to grant in any other Treaty whatsoever.

in their own Perſons, or by means of their Wives, too tedious to be expreſſed here. And theſe were diſperſed and ſeated in every County, who were not only in Office and Commiſſion, but had Countenance from Court, by which they grew up and flouriſhed, ſo that their Exuberancy hindred the growth of any Goodneſs or Piety their Malice pleaſed to drop upon.

Herba mimoſa. Theſe Men being now touched, began to ſhrink in their Branches, like the new-found *Indian* Plants, but they quickly put out again; for though this Diſturbance or Movement came upon them by the Diſſolution of one Treaty, yet they preſently got heart, and ſpread again by the other which was in Agitation.

A Treaty of Marriage with *France.* For our King, after the Breach with *Spain*, loth to be refuſed in *France*, (where the Younger Daughter to *Henry* the Great was reſerved to be the Fatal Mother of a Diſherited Royal Iſſue) durſt not venture upon an Overt Treaty, but ſends over the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, who was to ſound the King and Grandees of *France*, whether the Match were feaſible before he would begin to Treat publickly. He remained a Month in *France*, and moved not a Word, though they apprehended his Addreſs was to that end. While the Prince was in *Spain*, they looked upon the Count *Soiſon* as a fit Match for the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*; but our Prince's Gallantry (as they eſteemed it there) and his ſpritely Carriage in ſo dangerous and hazardous a Journey, both by Sea and Land, took ſuch Impreſſions in the Friſk of the *French* Humour, and raiſed him to ſuch a height of Bravery among them, that they were impetuouſly violent in deſiring the Match: Inſomuch, as upon the very firſt Overture, the King of *France* told the Earl of *Holland*, That he had rather have the Prince of *England* to his Brother, than any Man in the World. And when the Treaty was begun, the *Spaniſh* Factors began to play their Parts with the Pope, ſo that he ſent to the King of *France* to get ſome Immunities in the Articles now in Treaty for the Catholicks in *England*, and that there might be publick Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion for the Princeſs. This the Earl of *Holland* oppoſing, the King of *France* told him, That if he would go on with the Treaty, he would be tied no further to the Pope's Rules than did conſiſt with Reaſon: For he did acknowledge the next Dioceſan Biſhop to him, in his Dominions, to have as much Power as he. So that the Treaty went on with a pretty Admittance of the Catholick Religion, and Romiſh Miniſters about the Princeſs, to a private, and almoſt obſcure Condition; ſo eager was the King of *France* for the Match.

But the Jeſuitical Party, both here and there, were inceſſantly Laborious for a greater Liberty; and the King's Chief Agent in the Treaty, Monſieur *de Vieuxvill*, having pulled on him the Odium of the People, (through ſome Miſcarriages) being committed Priſoner by the King, to protect him from their Rage, the Cardinal *Richelieu* entring then into his Infancy of Favour, being preferred by the Queen-Mother to be a Manager of the Treaty, whoſe Intimate he was, and more Stubborn for promoting the Catholick Cauſe, yet all this could give no ſtop to the Career, but that the Match would be made up, upon very eaſy Terms.

But when the King of *France* underſtood, by his Miniſters and Agents in *England*, how eager our King was for the Match, (for he deſired it above all earthly Bleſſings, as one near him ſaid of him) for beſides the Reproach he thought would fall upon him by another Breach, he ſhould loſe the Glory of a Conjunction with Kings (which he highly wound up his Opinion to) to Sublime, and as it were, Deify his Poſterity in the Eſteem of the People, ſo that he would almoſt ſubmit to any thing, rather than the Match ſhould not go forward: Which the King of *France* finding, he bated his Humour of Earneſtneſs for it, and deſcended by the ſame Steps and Degrees that he found his Brother King advanced to it, and got ſeveral great Immunities for the Papiſts by it; notwithſtanding all our King's fair Promiſes to the Parliament, as may be ſeen by thoſe Articles ſealed and ſworn to by our King, ſome few Months before his Death.

* But a little before this, (when the Hopes of the Match with *France* began to bud) the Earl of *Carliſle* was ſent over to mature and ripen the Proceedings with the Earl of *Holland*, to bring the Treaty to ſome Perfection; yet with private Inſtructions, That if they could find by

* The Archbiſhop of *Embrun*'s Secret *Embaſſy* to *England* happen'd about this time, which it's no Wonder our Author knew nothing of, it not being made publick till within theſe few Years, at the end of Mon ſieur *d'Argon*'s Memoirs.

The Archbiſhop was a Man of Cunning and Intrigue, a Monk, and ſent over by the Courts of *Rome* and *France*. He was therefore the propereſt Tool they could employ, and his Errand was not only *to obtain good Terms for the* Roman *Catholicks in* England, *upon the Account of this Match with* France, *but likewiſe to ſound King* James *about his Thoughts of the* Romiſh *Religion*; for they had always entertained an Opinion that he was inclined that way. It ſeems the Duke of *Buckingham* was acquainted beforehand with his coming; for he ſent as far as *Canterbury* to meet him, and Conduct him to *London*. He was immediately upon his Arrival admitted to *Buckingham*, and by him brought to the King, into whoſe intire Confidence he ſo far wrought himſelf at his firſt Audience, that immediately thereupon all *the Priſons in England* were ſet open to the *Prieſts* and *Miſſionaries*, notwithſtanding King *James*, the Seſſion of Parliament before, had ſolemnly promis'd to put the Laws in Execution againſt them.

The Archbiſhop had gained ſuch an Aſcendant over the King, that, as we are told in his printed *Narrative*, King *James* taking him one Day by the Hand, us'd to him this Expreſſion, *You are the Man* (ſaid he) *ſent me from God, to whom I may freely open my Mind*: And then told him, He had always a good Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, and for it had ſuffered great Misfortunes ever ſince his Birth.

Thereupon he open'd to the Archbiſhop a Project he had long in his Thoughts, of Uniting all Proteſtants to the Pope: And was willing, in order to bring it about, to concert Meaſures with the *French* King, that there might be a Meeting at *Dover* and *Bologne* of Able Divines of both Sides; adding, That the Archbiſhop himſelf was the fitteſt Man in the World to negotiate ſuch an Affair with the *Roman* Catholicks abroad, while he was uſing his Credit and Intereſt with the Proteſtants to bring them to a Compliance. Withal, King *James* told him, He had ever a great Love and Eſteem for the preſent Pope ſince the time, when Cardinal, he had wrote a Copy of Verſes upon the Death of his Mother, which ſhew'd him to be a Man of Senſe and good Nature.

In fine, the Archbiſhop was ſo perfectly well ſatisfied with King *James*, and his Errand to *England*, that he wrote to the *French* King to aſſure him, That by the frequent Converſation he had with him, he queſtion'd not his Inclinations to reſtore the Catholick Religion in *England*. Inſomuch, that he tells us, That when the News came to *France* of King *James*'s Death; the *French* King ſaid to him with the greateſt Concern, Now all our Hopes of *England* are loſt.

Thus far the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*; and what Credit may be given to his Narrative, let the Reader judge, when at the ſame time he conſiders the whole Thread of King *James*'s Actions,

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their *Spanish* Correspondencies (as the Earl of *Carlisle* was a little Hispanioliz'd) that the Match there had any Probability of taking effect with the new Propositions, that then they should proceed no further in the *French* Treaty: So earnest was the King for the one, so violent for the other; the Sophisticate Drugs of the *Spanish* Restitution of the *Palatinate*, having not yet lost their Operation. Thus the Ambition of Princes (that devolve all their Happiness upon glorious Extractions) doth choak and smother those Considerations that Religion (like a clear Light) discovers to be but gross and cloudy Policy, which vanishes often, and comes to nothing.

The Lord Treasurer questioned in Parliament.

The Duke of *Buckingham* swol'n with Grandure (having two great Props to support him) doubted not to Crush any thing that stood in his way, so that he fell very heavily upon his Cousin the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord-Treasurer; for he remember'd how he repined at the Moneys that were spent in *Spain*, and his Comportment to him since his coming over (*Middlesex* being naturally of a Sullen and Proud Humour) was not such as (he thought) did become his Creature: Therefore he resolved to bring him down from that Height he had placed him in; and quickly found the Means to do it: For great Officers that dig deep in Worldly Treasures, have many Underminers under them; and those that are not just to themselves or others, must make use of such as will not be so Just to them; so that a Flaw may easily be found, whereby a great Breach may be made. And as *Middlesex* had not Innocency to Justify himself, so he wanted Humility whereby others might Justify him, which made him fall unpitied. The Prince (that was *Buckingham*'s Right Hand) took Part against him in the House of Lords, where he was Question'd; which the King hearing of, writes to the Prince from *New-Market*, (whether he often retired to be free and at ease from cumber and noise of Business) *That he should not take Part with any Faction in Parliament against the Earl of* Middlesex, *but to reserve himself, so that both Sides might seek him; for if he kindled to take away his Servants, the time would come that others would do as much for him.* This wise Advice speaks *Buckingham*, a little declining from the Meridian of the King's Favour, or the King from his; for if the King did know that *Buckingham* was his chief Persecutor, it could not but relish ill with the Duke to have the King plead for him: If the King did not know, there was not then that Intimacy betwixt them that used to be. But the Treasurer's Actions being throughly canvased (though he had not had such great Enemies) he was found Guilty of such Misdemeanours, as were not fit for a Man of Honour to commit; so that the Parliament thought to Degrade him, but that they looked on as an ill Precedent: But though they took not away his Titles of Honour in Relation to his Posterity (who had not offended) yet they made him utterly uncapable of Sitting in the House of Lords as a Peer: And for his Fine, it was so great, that the Duke (by Report) got *Chelsey-House* out of him for his Part of it.

Harman's Story.

There was an odd Accident happen'd in *Northamptonshire* while this Treasurer was in his Greatness. One *Harman*, a Rich Man, (that knew not well how to make use of his Riches) having some bad Tenants, and being informed that one of them, which owed him Money, had furnished himself to go to a Fair, to buy some Provisions for his Accommodation; *Harman* walks (as by Accident) to meet him in the way to the Market: When he saw his Tenant, he ask'd him for his Rent; the Man (that was willing otherwise to dispose of his Money) denied he had any: Yes, I know thou hast Money, said *Harman*, (calling him by his Name) I prithee let me have my Rent; and with much importunity the Man pulled out his Money, and gave all, or the most Part of it, to his Landlord. This coming to some Pragmatical Knowledge, the poor Man was advised to Indict his Landlord for Robbing him, and taking his Money from him on the High-way; which he did, and *Harman* for his sordid and base Carriage, being ill beloved in the Country, was found Guilty, but repriev'd by the Judges; and *Harman* hearing the Lord-Treasurer had a Secretary of his Name, he applied himself to him, promising to give him all his Estate (having no Children) if his Lord would bring him out of the Danger he was in; which the Lord-Treasurer by his Power with the King did effect, and *Harman* his Man within a short time after (by the other's Death) enjoyed an ample Estate.

The Lady Finch Viscountess of Maidstone.

The King, being a good Master, did by his Bounty much indear his Servants unto him, and seldom denied any Man a Reasonable Suit: This Treasurer by his Greatness also procured the King, by Patent (after the Example of the Countess of *Buckingham*) to create *Elizabeth*, the Widow of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, Viscountess of *Maidstone*, a Lady of great Fortune; and having a Mind suitable to it, she laid the Foundation of a Noble Family; Intailing not only this Title, but in the next King's Reign, the Earldom of *Winchelsea* upon her now flourishing Posterity. But it is thought this Treasurer got well by laying the Ground-work to this great Structure; for *Copt-Hall* (a Noble Seat in *Essex*) came to his hand from this Lady at a small value; which is the principal House he left to his Family.

Four Regiments sent into Holland.

This Spring gave Birth to four brave Regiments of Foot, (*a new Apparition in the English Horizon*) Fifteen hundred in a Regiment, which were raised and transported into *Holland* under Four gallant Colonels; the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*. These Four Regiments being well Armed, and Exercised in *Holland*, were ready to march into the Field with *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, General of the States Army; who having an Opposite, the Marquis *Spinola* as subtile, and more daring than himself, they both lay at the Catch, and their Wariness prevented many a Mischief. *Maurice* finding *Spinola* with the *Spanish* Army hankering about *Breda*, either thinking himself not ready enough to Encounter him, or not strong enough to Grapple with him, permitted him to work himself within Two strong Lines of Circumvallation, fortified with several Forts and Redoubts, notwithstanding that *Breda* was his Darling Town, and the Honour of his Excellency. And while *Spinola* was thus working, he diverted his Army into *Cleveland* to take in *Cleve-Castle*, a Poor and inconsiderable Place, which was surrendred to him as soon as he presented his Cannon before it; and when he had done that, and *Spinola* had finished his Works, he brought his Army to a little Village called *Mode*, which was close by *Spinola*'s Quarters, and there intrenched himself by his side: But the Enemy attended their Work, and would not busie themselves to look after him, being strongly fortified, and the

Spinola besieges Breda.

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Way open for their Convoys to bring Provisions out of *Flanders*, which went always very strong; and Prince *Maurice* would not go so far out of his way from his Victual Ships to interrupt them, lest he should want Provisions for his own Army. But his great Design of lodging so near the Enemy was to amuse them, that they should bend their Eyes and Thoughts upon him there, and neglect that the more which he aimed at; for he had the Surprising of the strong Castle at *Antwerp* in his Fancy, which (he was informed) at that time had but small Force in it; and he was so assured to prevail, that he would have none but the *Dutch* to have the Honour of it. But they attempted the Business so blunderingly, that they were discover'd, and lost their Labour; and so with some few little Bickering of small Parties of Horse betwixt the Two intrenched Armies, the whole Summer was shuffled away; and Winter approaching, the Prince seeing little good to be done there, drew his Army to *Rosendale* and *Sprang*, Villages adjacent, where they attended Opportunities of doing the Enemy Mischief. But the Glory of Prince *Maurice* began to decay; the loss of this Town (which he now gave as gone) came so near his Heart, that he went sick from the Army to the *Hague*, and never returned to it again.

Cruelty at *Amboina*.

While these Things were in Motion, Truth, that comes often with a Leaden Foot, brought News out of the *East-Indies*, that the Year 1622, gave Birth to a Mischief of so horrid a Countenance (for a Private one) that no Time or Age could Parallel. The *Dutch* (while the *English*, their great Supporters, were fighting for them at their own Doors) grasping at all the Treasures and Spices of the *Eastern* World, had not only wormed out the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* from many Islands and Colonies there, but (with unbounded Covetousness and Ambition) strove to hinder their Neighbours and best Friends, the *English*, from that free Commerce with the Natives they ever enjoy'd; so that many bickerings happed among them, till the Controversy was taken up by publick Treaty and Stipulation, agreed on betwixt our King and the States of the *Netherlands*, in the Year One Thousand six hundred and nineteen. And according to this Agreement, the *English* being as they thought secure, planted their Factories among them, where, after they had reaped the Fruit of their great Danger and Hazard, for some two Years, with much grumbling and repining, the *Dutch* began to practice their utter Extirpation: Not by a Massacre, for that had been a Merciful Mischief, but by Torture (to make their Cruelty Justice) in so horrid and savage a Manner, as if they had sucked their Rage from *Indian* Tigers.

The English accused of Treason.

Amboina was the bloody Stage where they acted this black Tragedy; and Fire and Water were their Engines, which are ever cruel Masters when they get Power: For pretending the chief Agent, Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* Factory, had an Intention, by the Assistance of some few poor *Japonesses*, to possess themselves of the Castle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the Island; they seiz'd upon them, and set their bloody Engines a-work, having no other Accusers but them. The Racks extending their Sinews, drew them out at Length; and the Waters which they subtilly forced into their Mouths, by their own respiration and breathing, swelled all their Bodies to a huge Proportion, making their very Eyes ready to bolt out of their Heads; and such whose sturdy Innocence would not be compell'd to accuse themselves, they burned the Soals of their Feet with Candles, till the Moisture which dropt from them extinguish'd the Flame, and with those burning Instruments made such holes in their Sides, that they might see their Entrails, yet would not see their Innocence: So Exquisite were they in their Devillish Cruelty, as will be ghastly to express; what was it then to suffer! Thus having tired the poor Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confess'd whatsoever their cruel Tormentors would have them say. The *Dutch* having in this Furnace wrought them to accuse themselves, with their pestilent Formality, got their Confessions under their Hands, and so concluded their Barbarism, with cutting off some of their Heads.

The improbability of the Attempt by the English.

There were not Twenty *Englishmen*, nor above Thirty *Japonesses*, in their whole Island, with whom they were said to Machinate this Conspiracy, and the Castle had in it Two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and Eight Ships riding before it well Mann'd, whereof two of them were above Twelve hundred Tuns a-piece: Besides, the *Dutch* had Two other Castles in the same Island; and what Probability could there be (if the Plot were as plain as their Malicious Tongues could make it) that so weak a Force should attempt upon so many, having Men enough in the Ships and Castles to have devoured the Attempters? And if they had effected their Work, what would the end have been but Ruine to their Estates, and everlasting Infamy to their Memories? knowing the *Dutch* were by the last Agreements to have that Castle 1619.
confirmed by the King, who hated Treason in any Man with his very Soul. Whereas the Men were of well-known, upright Conversation, loathing such Baseness, and every Man of them, with Christian Impressions, sealed the last Gasp of his Life with a Protestation of his Innocency.

Ten of the *English* lost their Lives, whereof Captain *Towerson* was one; the rest, with Rack'd, Burnt, and Macerated Bodies, were sent out of the Island to other *English* Plantations, and so the whole Factory was destroyed. The *Dutch* seizing into their Hands greedily (which they only Gaped after) the whole Trade, which they have ever since enjoyed. And to put a fairer Gloss upon this mad Mischief, Nine *Japonesses*, and One *Portugal*, that they would needs have to be Complotters with the *English*, were rack'd (poor Men) to the same Confession, and then Executed; there being more Horror in the Examination of the Fault, than in the Punishment of it.

This Cruelty had made an incurable Wound betwixt the two Nations (the Noise of it giving Animosity enough) but that it was new Skin'd over, the bloody Garment taken off by *Dutch* Apologies, and presented at Court with a Face of Justice: For nothing must come thither but in such Attire, as the great Ones about the King will please to put upon it; who might be wrought to any temper by that Forge that could frame such flagitious Actions: For they that had Barbarism enough to perpetrate the One, had Baseness enough to practice the Other. But leaving their Consciences besmear'd with this Gore, which they cannot wipe off, but may stick to them yet; we proceed to the Story.

All this while Count *Mansfeldt* wanted Employment; and having prepared his way both in *France* and *England* for gathering an Army, he Ship'd himself in *Zealand*, in the *Speedwell*

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(a Ship of our King's, commanded by Sir *John Chidle*) that was sent expresly for his Transport, which, in going out, run upon the Sands, and was, with the Violence of foul Weather, split in pieces: *Mansfeldt*, and some of his Followers, with difficulty escaping in her long Boat, got aboard a Pink that brought him into *England*; the Captain and the rest of the Company attending the Ship's Fate, were swallowed up in the Sea.

Mansfeldt goes into *England*.

While *Mansfeldt* remained in *England*, after some few Nights he was Lodg'd at St. *James's*, the Prince's House; Served and Attended in great State by some of the King's Officers, and Feasted with divers of the Nobility with much Magnificence: In which time a Press went through the Kingdom, for raising Twelve thousand Foot, which, with some Cavalry that *Mansfeldt* expected in *Germany* and *France*, would make up the Body of a considerable Army. *Mansfeldt's* Design was to go into *Germany*, thro' *France*, and he had fair Promises from thence, not only of Admission to pass through the Country, but Assistance from it. These 12000 were digested into Six Regiments. The Colonels were, the Earl of *Lincoln*; the Lord *Doncaster*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Carlisle*; the Lord *Cromwell*; Sir *Charles Rich*; Sir *John Burrows*, late Governour of *Frankendale*, and Colonel *Grey* a *Scotchman*, that had been an old *German* Commander, one that affected Buff in the time of Peace, and wore it in the Face of the Court, which the King seeing him in, and a Case of Pistols at his Girdle (which he never well liked of) he told him merrily, *He was now so Fortified that if he were but well Victualled, he would be impregnable*. Two Troops of Horse were also raised for this Service; the Earl of *Lincoln* had the Command of the one, and one *Gunter*, an ordinary Horse-Rider, was thought the fittest Man to command the other; as if none could command Horse, but such as could make them curvet in a Riding-House. And the Ignorance of these Times shews, that unpractical Reason cannot put forth it self to the Height, being bound up for want of Exercise; for we set a Valuation and Esteem upon *German* and *French* Horse, when (like them) we knew not our own Strength, for there are not in the World a more gallant Cavalry, both for the Activity of the Riders and Ability of the Horses, than may be formed in *England*, as Experience hath lately demonstrated.

Forces raised for him.

These being already in *Kent* for Transport about the Beginning of *February*, and Shipping provided, the *French* began to falter in their Promises, (notwithstanding our intimate Correspondence by the Treaty of Marriage agreed on) pleading many Inconveniencies in the passing of an Army through the Country; and the more, because our Men were so unruly in *Kent* (where some of them were tried by Martial Law) what would they be then in a strange Country? These being but Demurs, not Denials, the whole Army is Shipp'd, and put over to *Calais*, to wait the *French* Leisure; but the Charge of Shipping (being above 100 Sail that attended that Service) required more Speed than their faint and sickly Promises did expedite; for the *French* dallying with them, and delaying them, happily upon Design (the Queen of *France* being then more affected to the *Spanish*, and a less Enemy to her Blood and Kindred, than they have found her since) after a long stay, *Mansfeldt* was forced to leave the Hopes of his *French* Horse, and sail with his Army into *Zealand*. There the Soldiers lay at the *Rumkins* a long time in their Ships not suffered to land: For the States, not dreaming of such a Body of Men, could not determine suddenly what to do with them; besides, the Inland Waters being frozen, Provisions would grow short for their own Army, much more for them. After some stay in *Zealand*, they sailed up to *Geertruidenberg* in *Brabant*, which Town being not well provided with Victuals, they were not suffered to land; but continuing on Shipboard, the Ships, stuffed and pestred with Men, wanting Meat and all manner of Necessaries, such a Stench and Pestilence grew among them, that they were thrown into the Sea by multitudes; so that many Hundreds (if I may not say Thousands) beaten upon Shores, had their Bowels eaten out with Dogs and Swine, to the Horror of the Beholders. Those Bodies that drove up near those Towns where the *English* were, had great Pits made for them, wherein (being thrown by heaps) they were covered with Earth; but upon those Shores where they were neglected, (as they were in many parts of *Holland*) a great Contagion followed: And of *Mansfeldt's* Twelve thousand Men, scarce the Moiety landed.

The Design ruin'd.

This Winter Quarter, at *Rosendale*, was also fatal to the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Wriothesley* his Son. Being both Sick there together of burning Feavers, the Violence of which Distemper wrought most vigorously upon the heat of Youth, overcoming the Son first, and the drooping Father having overcome the Fever, departed from *Rosendale* with an Intention to bring his Son's Body into *England*, but at *Berghen-op-zoom* he died of a Lethargy in the View and Presence of the Relator, and were both in one small Bark brought to *Southampton*.

The Death of the Earl of *Southampton* and his Son.

And now our King found, by dear Experience, that the Favours he had done the King of *Spain* (in Protecting his Subjects and Seas from being Infested and ruined by *Turkish* Pirates, furnishing his Arsenals, and giving way to the Lord *Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, to transport so many *English* into *Flanders*) tended much to his Prejudice. For his Subjects in a strange Country, by this Means, fought one against another, which was a kind of an uncivil War; nor was it their voluntary Intention; for the *English*, that were shipped for *Flanders*, were tempted over by Popish Allurements, not knowing but that they were to go into *Holland*, which made them run away as they got Opportunity. But our King did not live to see how his Forces in the *Low-Countries* dwindled to nothing. And the Result of all is, That though he were a wise Prince, yet Blessings did neither attended his Counsels, nor Actions: So that it is not Human Wisdom, but Divine Directions, that orders and disposes all Things to a good End.

The Marquess *Hamilton* died before our King, suspected to be poysoned; the Symptoms being very presumptuous, his Head and Body swelling to an excessive Greatness, the Body being all over full of great Blisters, with variety of Colours; the Hair of his Head, Eye-brows, and Beard, came off being touch'd, and brought the Skin with them; and there was a great Clamour of it about the Court, so that Doctors were sent to view the Body; but the Matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it, only Doctor *Eglisham*, a *Scotchman*, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the Author of it. The Marquess's Son had a little before married the Earl of *Denbigh's* Daughter, who was the Duke of *Buckingham's* Niece, and yet this Tie could not oblige a Friendship betwixt them, because the Marquess was a true

The Death of the Marquess of *Hamilton*.

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to the Marriage. This Diſtance, and other Diſcontents, occaſioned ſome tumorous Diſcourſes, which reflected much upon the Duke, but they never broke out in this King's Time, being bound up cloſe (as it was thought) more by the Duke's Power than his Innocency.

The Death of the King

And not long after him, whether our King's Care for his Grand-Children, or the Hazard and Danger of his own Perſon at home (being ever full of Fears) or his Engagement in a War abroad, (being contrary to his very Nature) or whether his full Feeding and continual Uſe of Sweet Wines, (which he abundantly affected) ſet the groſs Humours a work, or what other Accident cauſed his Diſtemper, is uncertain; but he fell Sick of a *Tertian* Ague, which is not dangerous in the Spring, (if we believe the Proverb) and had ſome few Fits of it: After which he fell into a Fever, which was too violent for him. A little before his Death he called for the Prince his Son, who riſing out of his Bed ſomething before Day, and preſenting himſelf before him, the King rouſed up his Spirits, and raiſed himſelf up as if he meant to ſpeak to him; but Nature being Exhauſted, he had no Strength to expreſs his Intentions, but ſoon expired, being upon *Sunday* Morning, the 27th of *March*, 1625. at *Theobalds*, in the Nine and fiftieth Year of his Age, and Two and twentieth Year compleat of his Reign. And was Buried at *Weſtminſter* with great Solemnity the 7th of *May* following.

The Death of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, *April* 23. 1625.

Not long after our King's Death, (as if the Time and Seaſon, as well as the Diſeaſe, were Epidemical to Princes) old *Maurice* the Prince of *Orange* died; and his Brother Prince *Henry* (being made General of the States Army) put his Fortune into an unhappy Ballance, which loſt much of the Weight. For either valuing his Soldiers Lives leſs than his Brother, or the Loſs of ſo brave a Town as *Breda* more, or thinking to ſpring up with more Glory (*Phœnix*-like) from the Aſhes of his Brothers Funerals (being recruited with the Relicks of *Mansfeldt's* Army) he ſet upon one of *Spinola's* ſtrong Works at *Terheiden*, either to relieve the Town, or beat the Enemy out of his Trenches, but he failed in both, and loſt many gallant Men (eſpecially *Engliſh*) in the Enterpriſe.

The Death of the Earl of *Oxford*.

The Earl of *Oxford* having the Leading of the Van, (being a Man corpulent and heavy) got ſuch a ſweltring Heat in the Service, that though he came off without Hurt from the Enemy, yet he brought Death along with him; for he fell Sick preſently after, went to the *Hague*, and there died. The other two Gallant Colonels *Eſſex* and *Willoughby*, ſurvived to Command two *Engliſh* Armies in a Civil-War, *Eſſex* being General for the Parliament and *Willoughby* for the King, in *Kinton-field* in *Warwickſhire*, where *Eſſex* remained Victor, the King being there in Perſon, and leaving him the Honour of the Field, his General *Willoughby*, then Earl of *Lindſey*, being Slain in the Battel. But there will be a long Tract of Time and Diſcourſe before theſe Armies encounter, being the firſt Cloud of that fiery Exhalation, which broke out in the next King's Reign, and could not be quenched without the Blood of many thouſands of the Nation.

The different Carriage of Two Princes of *Orange*.

But the different Carriage of theſe two Sons of *Mars*, the two Brothers, *Maurice* and *Henry*, is very obſervable: Which ſhall be left to the Judgment of the Great Maſters in the Art of War, whether Error were the greater (ſo apt is the Under World to ſpy out great Mens Errors) *Maurice* that had a powerful Army of the States, and was reinforced with Six thouſand *Engliſh*, gallant and reſolute Men, that would have hugg'd a daring Enterprize, yet durſt not encounter *Spinola*, when he lay open to his Aſſault, but let him work himſelf into his Faſtneſs and rather bear the Burthen in his own Breaſt, than diſturb him, Or *Henry*, when *Spinola's* Works were in full Strength, confirmed by Time and ſettled Order, the oppoſite to the confuſed End he aimed at, to throw ſo brave a part of his Army upon eminent Deſtruction? Or is there not a Time and Period prefixt to earthly Things, and the All-Diſpoſing Power to that end, doth either infatuate or eſtabliſh Counſels? This Town and old Prince *Maurice*, as may be ſaid, were loſt together.

The King patient in Sickneſs.

But our King, that was very much Impatient in his Health, was Patient in his Sickneſs and Death. Whether he had received any thing that extorted his Aguiſh Fits into a Fever, which might the ſooner ſtupify the Spirits, and haſten his End, cannot be aſſerted; but the Counteſs of *Buckingham* (who traffick'd much with *Mountebanks*, and whoſe Fame had no great Savour) had been tampering with him in the Abſence of the Doctors, and had given him a Medicine to drink, and laid a Plaiſter to his Side, which the King much complained of, and they did rather exaſperate his Diſtemper than allay it: And theſe Things were admitted by the inſinuating Perſuaſions of the Duke her Son, who told the King, They were approved Medicines, and would do him much good. And though the Duke after ſtrove to purge himſelf for this Application, as having received both Medicine and Plaiſter from Dr. *Remington* at *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*, who had often cured Agues and ſuch Diſtempers with the ſame; yet they were Arguments of a complicated kind, not eaſy to unfold; conſidering that whatſoever he received from the Doctor in the Country, he might apply to the King what he pleaſed in the Court; beſides the Act it ſelf (though it had been the beſt Medicine in the World) was a Daring not juſtifiable; * and ſome of the King's Phyſitians mutter'd againſt it, others made a great Noiſe, and were forced to fly for it; and though the ſtill Voice was quickly ſilenced by the Duke's Power, yet the

* Dr *Egliſham*, one of the King's Phyſitians, was oblig'd to flee beyond Seas for ſome Expreſſions he had mutter'd about the manner of his Majeſty's Death, and liv'd at *Bruſſel*, many Years after. It was there he publiſh'd a Book, to prove King *James* was poyſon'd; giving a particular Account of all the Circumſtances of his Sickneſs, and laying his Death upon the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Mother. I have read the Book ſome Fifteen Years ago in the Hands of *Don Pedro Ronkillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who told me it had been tranſlated into *High-Dutch*, about the time *Guſtavus Adolphus* was entring into *Germany* for recovering of the *Palatinate*; and that by a Secret Order of the Court of *Bruſſels*, to throw Dirt upon the Royal Family of *England*. Among other Remarkable Paſſages I remember in the Book, there is one about the Plaiſter that was apply'd to the King's Stomach. He ſays, It was given out to have been *Mithridate*, and that one Dr. *Remington* had ſent it to the Duke, as a Medicine with which he had cur'd a great many of Agues in *Eſſex*. Now *Egliſham* denies it was *Mithridate*, and ſays, Neither he nor any other Phyſitians could tell what it was. He adds, That Sir *Matthew Liſter* and he being the Week after the King's Death at the Earl of *Warwick's* Houſe in *Eſſex*, they ſent for Dr. *Remington*, who liv'd hard by, and asking him; What kind of Plaiſter it was he had ſent to *Buckingham* for the Cure of an Ague, and whether he knew it was the King the Duke deſign'd it for? *Remington* anſwer'd, That one *Baker*, a Servant of the Duke's, came to him in his Maſter's Name, and deſir'd him, if he had any certain Specifick Remedy againſt an Ague to ſend it him; and accordingly he ſent him *Mithridate* ſpread upon

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the Clamorous made so deep Impressions, that his Innocence could never wear them out. And one of *Buckingham*'s great Provocations was thought to be his Fear, that the King being now weary of his too much Greatness and Power, would set up *Bristol*, his deadly Enemy, against him, to pull him down. And this Medicine was one of those Thirteen Articles that after were laid to his Charge in Parliament, who may be misinformed, but seldom accuse any upon false Rumour, or bare Suggestion; and therefore it will be a hard Task for any Man to excuse the King his Successor for dissolving that Parliament, to preserve one that was accused by them for poisoning his Father.

Lamb a Witch.

For Dr. *Lamb*, a Man of an Infamous Conversation, (having been arraigned for a Witch, and found guilty of it at *Worcester*; and arraigned for a Rape, and found guilty of it at the *King's Bench*-Bar at *Westminster*; yet escaped the Stroke of Justice for both, by his Favour in Court) was much employ'd by the Mother and the Son, which generally the People took notice of, and were so incens'd against *Lamb*, that finding him in the Streets in *London* in the Year 1628. they rose against him, and with Stones and Staves knock'd out his Brains, as *may be more particularly related in its due time*.

Butler a Mountebank.

And besides *Lamb*, there was one *Butler*, an *Irishman*, (which vaunted himself to be of the House of *Ormond*) who was a kind of Mountebank, which the Duke and his Mother much confided in. This *Butler* was first an Apprentice to a Cutler in *London*, and before his Time expired quitted his Master, having a running Head, and went to the *Bermudaes*, where he lived some time as a Servant in the Island; and walking by the Sea-side with another of his Companions, they found a great Mass of Ambergreece that the Seas Bounty had cast up to them, which they willingly conceal'd, meaning to make their best Markets of it. *Butler* being a subtle Snap, wrought so with his Companion, with Promises of a Share, that he got the Possession of it; and in the next *Dutch* Ship that arrived at the *Bermudaes*, he shipp'd himself and his Commodities for *Amsterdam*, where having sold his Bargain at a good Rate, and made his Credit with his Fellow-Venturer cheap enough, engrossing all to himself, he came into *England*, lived in a gallant and noble Equipage, kept a great and free Table at his Lodgings in the *Strand*, which were furnished suitable to his Mind, and had his Coach with Six Horses, and many Foot-men attending on him, with as much State and Grandure as if his Greatness had been real. But tho' his Means lasted not to support this long, yet it brought him into great Acquaintance; and being pragmatical in Tongue, and having an active Pate, he fell to some Distillations, and other odd extracting Practices, which kept him afloat; and some Men thought he had gotten the (long dream'd-after) Philosopher's Stone; but the best Recipe which he had to maintain his Greatness, after his Ambermoney fum'd and vapour'd away, was suspected to come from his Friends at *Whitehall*: And the Story of his Death (if it be true) is one great Evidence of some secret Machination betwixt the Duke and him, that the Duke was willing to be rid of him: For Mischief being an Ingrosser, is unsecure and unsatisfy'd, when their Wares are to be vented in many Shops. Therefore he was recommended upon some plausible Occasion by the Duke's Means (as Fame delivered it) to some Jesuites beyond the Seas; where he was entertained with a great deal of specious Ceremony and Respect in one of their Colleges or Cloysters; and at Night they attending him to his Chamber with much Civility, the Chamber being hanged with Tapistry, and Tapers burning in stretched-out Arms upon the Walls; and when they gave him the Good-night, they told him they would send one who should direct him to his Lodging; and they were now sooner out of this Room of Death, but the Floor, that hung upon great Hinges on one side, was let fall by Artificial Engines, and the poor Vermin *Butler* dropp'd into a Precipice, where he was never more heard of. That there are such secret Inquisition-Conveyances, of a horrid Nature, is obvious; and such close Contrivances may fly up and down upon the Wings of Rumour; but it is impossible to find out the Bottom of such black Pit-falls, but with as much Danger as those that find the bitter Effects of them. And this was reported to be the end of *Butler*.

The Description of King *James*.

But to conclude with our King, whom this do concern. He was born a King, and from that Heighth the less fitted to look into inferior Things; yet few escaped his Knowledge, being, as it were, a Magazine to retain them. His Stature was of the middle Size, rather tall than low, well set, and somewhat plump, of a ruddy Complection, his Hair of a light brown, in his full Perfection, had at last a Tincture of white. If he had any predominant Humour to ballance his Choler, it was sanguine, which made his Mirth witty. His Beard was scattering on his Chin, and very thin: And tho' his Clothes were seldom fashion'd to the Vulgar Garb, yet in the whole Man he was not uncomely. He was a King in Understanding, and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things: As in curing the *King's-Evil*, which he knew a Device, to aggrandize the Virtue of Kings, when Miracles were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, tho' he smil'd at it in his own Reason, finding the Strength of the Imagination a more powerful Agent in the Cure, than the Plaisters his Chirurgions prescrib'd for the Sore. It was a hard Question, Whether his Wisdom and Knowledge exceeded his Choler and Fear? Certainly the last Couple drew him with most Violence, because they were not Acquisitions, but Natural. If he had not had that Allay, his high touring and mastering Reason had been of a rare and sublim'd Excellency; but these Earthy Dregs kept it down, making his Passions extend him as far as Prophaneness, that I may not say Blasphemy, and Policy superintendent of all his Actions; which will not last long, (like the Violence of that Humour) for it often makes those that know well, to do ill, and not be able to prevent it.

He had pure Notions in Conception, but could bring few of them into Action, though they tended to his own Preservation: For this

upon Leather, but knew not till then that it was design'd for the King. But, continues *Eglisham*, Sir *Matthew Lister* and I shewing him a Piece of the Plaister we had kept after it was taken off, he seem'd greatly surpris'd, and offer'd to take his Corporal Oath, That it was none of what he had given *Baker*; nor did he know what kind of Mixture it was.

But the Truth is, This Book of *Eglisham*'s is wrote with such an Air of Rancour and Prejudice, that the manner of his Narrative takes off much from the Credit of what he Writes.

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A. Reg. 23. An. Christi 1625. was one of his Apothegms, which he made no timely use of. *Let that Prince, that would beware of Conspiracies, be rather jealous of such, whom his extraordinary Favours have advanced, than of those whom his Displeasure hath discontented. These want Means to execute their Pleasures, but they have Means at pleasure to execute their Desires.* Ambition to Rule, is more vehement than Malice to Revenge. Though the last part of this Aphorism, he was thought to Practice too soon, where there was no cause for Prevention; and neglect too late, when Time was full ripe to produce the Effect.

Some Parallel'd him to *Tiberius* for Dissimulation, yet Peace was maintained by him as in the Time of *Augustus*: And Peace begot Plenty, and Plenty begot Ease and Wantonness, and Ease and Wantonness begot Poetry, and Poetry swelled to that Bulk in his time, that it begot strange Monstrous Satyrs against the King's own Person, that haunted both Court and Country, which express'd, would be too bitter to leave a sweet Perfume behind him. And though bitter Ingredients are good to Embalm and Preserve dead Bodies, yet these were such as might endanger to kill a living Name, if Malice be not brought in with an Antidote. A. Reg. 23. An. Christi 1625. And the Tongues of those Times more fluent than my Pen, made every little Miscarriage (being not able to discover their true Operations, like small Seeds hid in earthy Darkness) grow up, and spread into such exuberant Branches, that evil Report did often pearch upon them. So dangerous it is for Princes, by a remiss Comportment, to give Growth to the least Error; for it often proves as fruitful, as Malice can make it.

But, alas good King! here was an end of his Earthly Empire; and little did he imagine, that the last Period to *Great Britain*'s Monarchy would not much exceed the Time of his own Reign, and in the true Extent come short of it.

Soli Deo Gloria.

THE CONCLUSION TO THE Discreet Reader.

Having now finished, (I will not say perfected) my little Work of this Great King, without Prejudice to his Person, or Envy to his Dignity, not having (for filthy Lucre Sake) any Man in Admiration, and willing to be less than the least in the Time's flatuous Opinion: I hope to free my self from that rigid censorious Humour, that foams in the Mouths of such whom the Venom of Passion hath corrupted, that I may clear the Way the better over the Precipices and prodigious Passages that will be found in the next King's Reign, which, to attempt, is a Daring unexpressible. For History seldom follows Truth so near the Heels, where a various and mixed Multitude may either pretend to, or really know more than one Man can well relate; and where Affection or Dislike to particular Men would willingly cover or sordidly lay open those Blemishes, which may besmear, if not quite deface, the living Character yet imprinted in their Memories. For though they that write near the Times are said to write partially, either for Fear or Friendship, yet they that write Truth, must either do it from private Knowledge, or publick Report; and who can know better than they that live near the Times? according to the French *Proverb,* Ce qu'on voit, est plus certain, que ce qu'on oit; *and as* Horat. *saith,* Oculis potius credendum quàm Auribus. *The Waters are the purest at the Fountain; they mingle and gather Dross by running through divers troubled Channels. And as every thing in a clear Spring will be perspicuous, so the Soil of Falshood or Mistake (if any be cast into it) will be the more visible. But some may retort the Argument, and say, In troubled Fountains the Waters are not so pure as they will be when they are further from the Spring; that Time may settle them, and then Men will take up that which runs clearest. But,* nimium altercando Veritas amittitur, *Truth may be lost in a Croud. And as all things are not to be spoken, so some things are not to be concealed; for it derogates from the Glory of God to have his Justice obscured, his remarkable Dispensations smothered, as if we were angry with what the Divine Power hath done, who can debase the Spirits of Princes, and is mighty among the Kings of the Earth. And though the Priest's Lips should keep Knowledge, yet (as the Prophet saith) he can make them contemptible and base before all the People. And therefore why should we grudge and repine at God's Actions? for his Thoughts are not as our Thoughts, nor his Ways as our Ways. His Judgments should teach us Wisdom, and his glorious Proceedings should learn us Righteousness, that his Anger may be turned away from us. And let them that stand, take heed lest they fall. For though God rewarded* Jehu *with the Kingdom, for the good Service he did him; yet because he walked not with him, God visited the House of* Jehu, *and laid the Blood of* Jezreel, *which he was commanded to shed, upon the Head of his Posterity. But all the Arguments of Men and Angels will neither penetrate nor make Impression in some ill-composed Tempers, till they are softened with the Fire of Love; and that holy Flame is best kindled with Patience, by willingly submitting to the All-disposing Providence that orders every thing: Before whose Alter (waiting for the Season of Grace) I will ever bring the best Fruits of my Labours. But if that which I intend should not come to Perfection, (the Day of Man's Life being but as a Dawning, and his Time as a Span) I will never be displeased with my Master (in long and dangerous Labours) for calling me away to Rest before my Work is done.*

FINIS.

AN

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